



## LORENZ VON STEIN AS A DISCIPLE OF SAINT-SIMON AND THE FRENCH UTOPIANS

Stefan KOSLOWSKI\*

Para citar este artículo puede utilizarse el siguiente formato:

**Stefan Koslowski** (2017): «Lorenz von Stein as a disciple of Saint-Simon and the french utopians», en *Revista europea de historia de las ideas políticas y de las instituciones públicas*, nº 11 (octubre de 2017). Puede leerse este artículo en: <http://www.eumed.net/rev/rehipip/11/koslowski.html>.

**RESUMEN:** Estudio sobre las teorías sociales de Lorenz von Stein como discípulo de Saint-Simon y de los pensadores utópicos franceses. El autor contextualiza su artículo con las ideas de relevantes ideólogos políticos y sociales. La autoridad de Lorenz von Stein en su momento, a nivel europeo y su influencia en Francia, es algo de sobra conocido y reconocido por la doctrina. Incluso el propio Karl Marx se hizo eco de las obras de Lorenz von Stein. En España, Ángel López-Amo le prestó atención y escribió sobre su legado doctrinal.

**PALABRAS CLAVE:** Lorenz von Stein, Saint-Simon, Karl Marx, Auguste Comte, Victor Considérant, Louis Reybaud, Joseph Proudhon.

**RESUM:** Estudi sobre les teories socials de Lorenz von Stein com a deixeble de Saint-Simon i dels pensadors utòpics francesos. L'autor contextualitza el seu article amb les idees de rellevants ideòlegs polítics i socials. L'autoritat de Lorenz von Stein al seu moment, a nivell europeu i la seva influència a França, és una mica de sobra conegut i reconegut per la doctrina. Fins i tot, el propi Karl Marx es va fer ressò de les obres de Lorenz von Stein. A Espanya, Ángel López-Amo li va parar esment i va escriure sobre el seu llegat doctrinal.

**PARAULES CLAU:** Lorenz von Stein, Saint-Simon, Karl Marx, Auguste Comte, Victor Considérant, Louis Reybaud, Joseph Proudhon.

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century Saint-Simon's *European idea* found one of its most faithful followers on the right banks of the Rhine. Lorenz von Stein was one of the few<sup>1</sup> who at least partly *realised* the gospel of solidarity preached by Saint-Simon and his disciples. I will at first deal with Stein's depiction of the life and work of Saint-

---

\* Professor. Universität Tübingen. Philosophische Fakultät. Germany.

<sup>1</sup> After Hegel's death in 1831, in the winter semester 1832/33 *Eduard Gans* gave a lecture on *natural law and universal history, on the philosophy of history* as well as on *European and in particular German constitutional law* (see Riedel, Manfred 1981: Preface). There Gans praised Saint-Simonism for having shown the workers a way out of being atomized, thus addressing – similar to Franz von Baader – the social causes of *industrial misery* even before the Young Hegelians (see *ibid.* p. 92). I owe the hint to Eduard Gans to Waszek, Norbert 2015, p. 29-51 (44). In a much sharper while at the same time more pioneering way Franz von Baader wrote in 1835 that “ ... the possibility of revolutionizing ... the society of our time ... which is found simply everywhere ... has its roots not at all ... in the systems of government being inappropriate to those being governed ... but is due to the fact that *at the current evolutionary level of society ... there is an imbalance between those lacking wealth or the poor class and the wealthy when it comes to their living conditions* ... (Baader, Franz von 1835: p. 125ff (129)).

Simon, to then go on and present the *philosophy of action*<sup>2</sup> – and for Lorenz von Stein that was political science. As a conclusion, I would like to sketch the answers *Stein's administrative doctrine* provided to the challenges of the *industrial age* as a perfection of *Saint-Simon's vision* of the *Age d'or* which was to begin with and a result of the *industrial revolution*.

### 1. Lorenz von Stein and the prophets of Paris<sup>3</sup>

Already when being a Young Hegelian between 1838 and 1842 Stein had written three reviews<sup>4</sup> for the "Hallische" and, after they had been banned, the „Deutsche Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Kunst“: In these three reviews he committed himself to the *spirit of a new age* which, he said, would *abandon* the outmoded traditions:<sup>5</sup> “The result of such an overview”, it says in his *review of Anselm Feuerbach*, “... is thus that also here we are fast approaching a new era and that the previous development, as it has by itself been quiet and lawful, will result in our currently swaying position being lifted ...”<sup>6</sup>. In this last work for the „Deutsche Jahrbücher“ Stein understands his time and himself as representing an era of transition<sup>7</sup>. Furthermore, this is the first publication where the influence of Saint-Simon and his school on Lorenz von Stein becomes obvious. And this not because Stein, before having encountered the French social reformers, had been unaware of the power of the “material” over social life: This is proven both by his origins from a desolate family background<sup>8</sup> and his 1840 dissertation thesis *Der dänische Zivilprozess und das heutige Verfahren* (published 1841)<sup>9</sup>. There he understands law as a consequence of life which, again, indicates *levels* of the

---

<sup>2</sup> See Stein, Lorenz von 1876: p.116. On this see Stein, Lorenz von 1959: Vol. II, p. 236: “German philosophy is a philosophy of knowledge but no philosophy of action. ... Thus here there is rich, still unoccupied territory; indeed, the truly practical life of knowledge. The point now, from where we see the latter appear before our eyes, is *drive* or, as the French call it, *le passion*, passion”.

<sup>3</sup> I adopt this title from Manuel, Frank E. 1965, to whom I owe many ideas.

<sup>4</sup> In 1839, when still being a university student, Stein had reviewed "Die Wissenschaft der römischen Rechtsgeschichte im Grundrisse, erster Band" by his teacher in Kiel, Johannes Christiansen (Hall. Jahrb. 1839, p. 1601-1648) as well as in 1841 Carl von Savigny's "Lehrbuch des heutigen römischen Rechts" (Deut. Jahrb. 1841, p. 365-399) and in 1842 Anselm von Feuerbach's "Lehrbuch des gemeinen in Deutschland gültigen peinlichen Rechts" (Deut. Jahrb. 1842, p. 277-296).

<sup>5</sup> See Waszek, Norbert 2002: p. 9-61 (25f).

<sup>6</sup> Stein 1842b: p. 291).

<sup>7</sup> See Stein, Lorenz von 1888: *Theil III*: p. 12. On this see Elias, Norbert 1983: p. 103f: “On the one hand there is the social ethos of the professional bourgeoisie, whose norms oblige each family to spend less than their income and, if ever possible, to keep current consumption below the level of their income, so that the difference can be invested in the hope of increased future income. ... Different from this canon of professional bourgeois behaviour is prestige consumption. ... This obligation to spend according to rank requires an education towards dealing with money which is different from professional bourgeois education. ... From the lips of courtly-aristocratic people, until the late 18<sup>th</sup> century and sometimes even beyond the Revolution the term ‘*économie*’ in the sense of spending less than one’s income and purposefully limiting consumption for the sake of saving has a somewhat scornful touch. It is a symbol of the virtues of the commons.”

<sup>8</sup> See Schmidt, Werner 1956; Schlürmann, Jan, in, Schliesky, Utz/Schlürmann, Jan 2015: p. 11-17 (11-13); on this: Stein's *curriculum vitae*, handed in to the University of Vienna in 1853; in: Pankoke, Eckhart/Blasius, Dirk 1977: p. 181-189.

<sup>9</sup> Stein, Lorenz von 1841a.

*spirit being realised*<sup>10</sup>. The triadic pattern of Fichte's and Hegel's philosophies is completed and contradicted by empirically grasping given situations.

In that same year, during or shortly before achieving his doctorate, Stein had offered the above mentioned review to Ruge, adding that the further development of the legal doctrine would co-decide Germany's future development<sup>11</sup>. Two years were to pass from Stein's offer to review Feuerbach in 1840 and its publication in the *Deutsche Jahrbücher* in 1842, two years which very much expanded Stein's horizon and opened up the world of France and its legal and social history to him. On his critique of Feuerbach Stein wrote to Ruge from Paris in 1842 that in Germany one had hardly perceived, let alone understood, the *more recent* social developments in France; he intended to contribute to a correct understanding of the recent history and the recent trends, he wrote<sup>12</sup>. Ruge did neither answer this letter nor later ones:<sup>13</sup>

What Stein had told neither Ruge nor other Young Hegelians was the fact that apart from the sciences also the Prussian Ministry of the Interior benefitted from his research<sup>14</sup>. We may only speculate what made Stein spy for Prussia, even more as he was himself under surveillance<sup>15</sup>: In 1841 he had travelled to Paris via Lausanne, and in Switzerland he paid a visit to the progressive education-oriented „Weitlingianische Pension“<sup>16</sup> – as a report by the Austrian secret service told –. “Currently Dr. Stein is staying in Paris, where he hangs around much with Viktor Considérant and the other Phalanterists”<sup>17</sup>, a “confidant” reported. It is a good question who spied on whom in this situation. Anyway, Stein's advice not to ban Louis Blanc's work *for reasons of police tactics* worked in support of it

---

<sup>10</sup> See *ibid.* p. XXVif. On this: Taschke, Heinz (Edit.) 1985: p. 5.

<sup>11</sup> See Stein to Ruge 8. 12. 1840, in: Hundt, Martin (Edit.) 2010: Volume I, No. 613, p. 626: “Perhaps I will have the pleasure to see the here included critique ..., into your Yearbooks - ...; according to the content, it does, ... Perhaps there is more and more weighty movement in other parts of the sciences; however nowhere it is more crucial”.

<sup>12</sup> See Stein to Arnold Ruge, 4. Januar 1842, in: Hundt, Martin 2010: Vol. 2, p. 927: “Right at the time of my arrival I started dealing with the basic conditions of the social situation here and its development, and I have been much busy studying the theories of Saint-Simon, Fourier and Communism, the latter being very powerful over here. This has brought me to the conviction that all those basically and chronologically different phenomena are the result of one common aspect, and that they reflect the one main side of the whole spirit of the French people. I have thus decided to summarise the results by one closed presentation. I believed this to be even more necessary as often the German audience misunderstands, often is completely unaware of that inner connection”.

<sup>13</sup> In contrast to his lifelong friendship with Ludwig Feuerbach, Ruge's relationship to Moses Heß and Karl Marx broke at the end of 1844. See Stein to Arnold Ruge, 4. Januar 1842, in: Hundt, Martin 2010: Vol. 2, p. 927:

<sup>14</sup> See Stein, Lorenz von: Bericht vom 7. 1. 1842 fol. 68f., quoted after Blasius/Pankoke 1977: p. 30: The description of the current state of France might – if used appropriately – serve for “... bringing those back to true insight who, for their republican and revolutionary ideas, give an example as the reason for their wish to themselves connect to France, and who would like to stimulate others to, together with them, connect to this world and its history which is so alien to the German.”

<sup>15</sup> See Blasius, Dirk, „Lorenz von Stein als Geschichtsdenker“, in: Blasius, Dirk/Pankoke, Eckhart 1977: p. 3-76 (24f); Quesel, Carl 1989: p. 32f. After the break the left-wing Hegelianism of the „Deutsche Jahrbücher“, leading to Communism, stigmatised Stein as a defector from the movement and as a Neo-Schellingian.

<sup>16</sup> See Grolle, J. 1968: p. 82-96.

<sup>17</sup> Brügel, Ludwig 1922: Vol. I, p. 31; quoted after Uhl, H. 1977: p. 44. Uhl *ibid.* p. 4589 tells about Stein's reports to the police, developing the thesis that they had anticipated the basic structures of the overall work.

being spread. Against this background it was only “consequential” that in Kiel they refused to grant Lorenz von Stein the professorship for three years, by referring to his uncertain, that is liberal, opinion, and that there in 1848/49 he supported the revolution as a publicist<sup>18</sup>; that is why appointments as a professor in Königsberg, Würzburg and Tübingen failed due to repeated interventions by Prussia where, like Karl Marx, he was *persona ingrata* for all of his life<sup>19</sup>. His affinity to France becomes obvious also by the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of his famous work on French socialism, where it says, in the context of stating on the relation of theory and practice, that the Germans, “while flying over the concrete”<sup>20</sup>, rather stay vague and uncommitted. “Only the correct fulfilment of these general statements”, Stein writes, “thus provides the special and real; and there the French life with its energy, with its practical comprehensibility and its glowing conviction is top”<sup>21</sup>.

Already in 1842, in *Der Socialismus und Communismus des heutigen Frankreich. Ein Beitrag zur Zeitgeschichte*, apart from a historical depiction of the revolutions of 1789, 1815 and 1830 as well as the *Chartre du Roi des Français*, i. e. Louis Philippe (1773-1850), Stein had presented a systematic analysis of the Socialist doctrine which anticipated his life’s work. Thus, his studies in Paris had, due to personal contacts to Victor Considérant (1808-1893) and Louis Reybaud (1799-1865) as well as to Joseph Proudhon and the Communist Étienne Cabet (1788-1856), made him familiar with Saint-Simon and his *doctrine*<sup>22</sup>. Together with Saint-Simon, Stein identifies society as the true master of politics and state. Together with the former and his school he looks into the abysses of industrial society, and starts “understanding that the eternal necessity may become our own. Slowly, still unsteadily, we start having a will, start willing what we cannot deny, and thus from the course of history there results the law of our own will”<sup>23</sup>.

The French Socialists and their great predecessors Turgot, Montesquieu and Condorcet had been the first to see that society rules the state, but also that the future *can be planned* and that the *industrial social order* was only *transitory*.<sup>24</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> See Schmidt, Werner 1956: p. 150-157.

<sup>19</sup> See Koslowski, St. 2005: p. 32-39, 56-60; Schliesky, Utz/Schlürmann, Jan 2015: p. 68 and 76. Thirty years later, in 1871, Rudolf von Gneist (1816-1895) and Gustav von Schmoller (1838-1917) wrote to him that his writings of 1848/49 had not been forgotten: He was an undesirable in Prussia, even more as his critical attitude towards Prussia was well known.

<sup>20</sup> See Hundt, Martin 2010: Vol. 1, p. 216

<sup>21</sup> Stein, Lorenz von 1848: p. 215f.

<sup>22</sup> See Barrault, Émile 1830: « Tirées de la prétention de sciences positives à l'irreligion », i. e. in contrast to the superstition of a blind tradition. On p. 259 the *Doctrine* announces the start of the *positive era* and of *positive religion*, due to Galilei, Newton and C. H. de R. Saint-Simon: « Beaux arts, sciences, industrie, voilà donc la trinité philosophique de Saint-Simon, que nous avons opposée à celle de Platon : Cette différence est immense, puisque la philosophie de Saint-Simon doit servir de base à une morale *sociale*,..., qu'une morale *individuelle* qui n'a pas été perfectionné depuis dix-huit siècles, et qui ne saurait l'être sans la conception nouvelles des destinées de l'humanité ». Stein knew both the *Producteur* and the *Organisateur* as well as the *Exposition de la doctrine de Saint-Simon*.

<sup>23</sup> Stein, Lorenz v. 1842a: p. 21. The similarity to Marx’s eleventh thesis on Feuerbach is more than obvious (see Marx, Karl 1990: Vol. 3, p. 5-8 (7): “The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways; the point is to change it”).

<sup>24</sup> See Stein, Lorenz v. 1959: Vol. I, p. 187: “Already since the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century France had been provided with a number of the most extraordinary men who pointed out to the inevitable necessity of change. Let us just mention Fénelon, Bernardin de St. Pierre, Montesquieu. ...; their time had not yet come. When Louis XVI assumed the throne, he was aided by no less honest and

In 1774 Louis XVI. had started his reign by re-establishing the parliaments (November 12<sup>th</sup>, 1774), had re-granted the Protestants the citizenship rights they had been deprived of under Louis XIV, had lifted compulsory services and similar feudal burdens, and by Turgot and Malesherbes [Chretien-Guillaume de Lamoignon de Malesherbes (1721-1794) executed] had appointed two enemies of estate-based society ministers. Had the King and his ministers not failed due to resistance by the court, it says in August Leopold Warnkönig's and Stein's „Staats- und Rechtsgechichte Frankreichs“ of 1846, the government would have been able to reform the country and to avoid the atrocities of the Revolution<sup>25</sup>. This description of the prehistory and course of the French Revolution in fact combine's Hegel's<sup>26</sup> and Saint-Simon's judgements on the Revolution<sup>27</sup>.

## 2. Lorenz von Stein as a disciple of Saint-Simon

The social doctrine preceding the 1<sup>st</sup> volume of the history of the social movement in France does *in abstracto* build on Saint-Simon's writings, just like Stein memorialises him in the 2<sup>nd</sup> volume and in the 3<sup>rd</sup> one conjures, together with Saint-Simon, the King's *Grande alliance* with the *Industriels* or *Producteurs* against the *système stérile* of the *ancien régime* and the *transitoire* of industrial society: Stein's doctrine of the royalty of social reform<sup>28</sup> and his ideal of a *harmony of interests* as well as his theory of the state built on Saint-Simon and became the starting point of his *Science générale positive*, the *Staatswissenschaft*. His *economic* works internalise the insight of the physiocrats<sup>29</sup>, of the Marquis de Condorcet (1743-1794), of Benjamin Constant (1767-1830), of Saint-Simon and the Saint-Simonists, according to which in any private economy there *must* be a state element in the form of the provided infrastructure, the administration and not at last the educational system. Furthermore, from Saint-Simon's *Systeme industriel* (1821) and *Catéchisme des industriel* (1823) Stein adopted not only the motto « *Dieu a dit : aimez-vous les uns les autres, and the slogan in the opinions littéraires, philosophiques et industrielles (1825) : L'age d'or qu'une aveugle*

---

virtuous counsellors. ... For example, there were those two men representing France in those days, Turgot and Malesherbes ...”.

<sup>25</sup> See Warnkönig, August Leopold/Stein, Lorenz von 1846a: Vol. I, p. 505: “This restructuring >would have< happened by way of peaceful reform; yet that resistance which knew how to postpone the remedy year after year led to the violent radical change of the previous order of matters and to all those atrocities connected to a revolution and resulted in many years of nameless misery for France”.

<sup>26</sup> See Hegel, G. W. F. 1970: Vol. 12, p. 528ff.; the same 1971: Vol. 20, p. 291. On this: Koslowski, Stefan 2008: p. 95-106.

<sup>27</sup> There is much evidence that the *ancien régime* did not only fear the threatening revolution but also tried to break the rule of the *ties d'état*. See Claude Mey (1712-1796) and Gabriel-Nicolas Maulrot (1714-1803) 1775: *Maximes Du Droit Public Francois, Tirées Des Capitulaires, Des Ordonnances Du Royaume, & Des Autres Monuments De L'Histoire De France*. They prove the attempt by the *noblesse du robe* of overcoming absolutism and of reestablishing the old parliaments in a new shape: « Les rois sont pour les peuples, et non les peuples pour les rois”. And: « Le royaume de France est un État monarchique, non un empire despotique ». The independence of the courts is said to be « le dépôt des lois ». It had to be protected by the parliaments, for « la France est une monarchie tempérée par des lois ».

<sup>28</sup> See Stein, Lorenz v. 1959, Vol. III, p. 1-108.

<sup>29</sup> It may be mentioned just in passing that Turgot in his *Tableau philosophique des progrès succesifs de l'esprit humaine* marked levels of intellectually grasping the world, from mythical via metaphysical as far as to scientific, i. e. *positive* thought, thus anticipating the intellectual course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

*tradition a placé jusqu'ici dans la passé est devant nous* ». All of Stein's works pursue the *harmony* Christianity and industry were striving for in *Nouveau Christianisme*.<sup>30</sup> In short: In Stein's work the *New Christianity* announced by Saint-Simon as well as the religion of humanity the Saint-Simonists preached survive in a hardly coded way:

### 3. *The appreciation of Saint-Simon*

Stein wrote that already in 1804, in the *Lettres d'un habitant de Genève*<sup>31</sup>, Saint-Simon had hinted at<sup>32</sup> that what was to be written as late as twenty years later, in *Nouveau Catechisme* and *Catechisme des Industriels*: These letters had included those of Saint-Simon's opinions which were to be published only years later and even the "... serious idea of an emancipation of women which later became one of the main topics of his successors ..."<sup>33</sup>. At the end of the second letter Saint-Simon had suddenly had the insight that Christ had withdrawn the mandate of speaking in His name from the Catholic Church. A voice had told him to create a new world order in the *spirit of Newton*: This way he had for the first time extended the vague idea of "science générale" by a *new dimension*, that of *positive religion*, and had promised priesthood to women<sup>34</sup>. This way he had said goodbye to the old theology and metaphysics and, despite his *enthusiasm*, had founded the scientific, *positive thought* of a *new era*. Stein's description of Saint-Simon's revelations cannot really be described as being critical-distanced. Consequently, also his characterisation of Saint-Simon is old-school tradition: For Stein, Saint-Simon is of such an outstanding significance because "...by him the main issues of his time are not only generally reflected but even by their individual steps create their own, distinctive shape in his view. ..., familiar and adept in all genres of the scientific world, >he< unconsciously bears the type of his time within

---

<sup>30</sup> *Videre* Saint-Simon in: Stein, Lorenz v. 1959: Vol. II, p. 551f: « *Celui qui aime les autres a accompli la loi. Tout est compris en abrégé dans cette parole: Tu aimeras ton prochain comme toi-même* ».

<sup>31</sup> Stein quotes from *Œuvres de Saint-Simon par O. Rodrigues*, 1841, p. 22ff.

<sup>32</sup> By the *Lettres*, Saint-Simon took up a common genre of those days, the epistolary novel, and revealed himself as an educated *homme de lettres*.

<sup>33</sup> Stein, Lorenz v. 1959: Vol. II, p. 145.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.* See also Pickering, Mary 1993: (Paperback 2006): Volume I, p. 66f: "Like Madame de Stael and the *Idéologues*, all of whom were influenced by Condorcet, Saint-Simon contended that the public good was best served when those who dominated society were its most enlightened members. In an unpublished manuscript written in 1804, Saint-Simon admitted that Condorcet had profoundly influenced him. Adopting the term 'positive science' used by Madame de Stael in *De la littérature*, he maintained that the 'science of social organisation' would 'become a positive science' based on Condorcet's theories. The philosophe's most important idea was that control over society must be given to 'men of genius,' especially scientists, who should be led by mathematicians. ... In the disjointed style that characterized all of his work, Saint-Simon then outlined the history of the sciences to elucidate the 'progress of the human mind'. Astronomical phenomena were the first to be observed because they were the simplest, but astronomy could not develop fully until the astrologers were expelled and facts established by observation were the only ones admitted. After a time, chemistry, whose phenomena were more complex than astronomical ones, went through a similar process, eliminating alchemists. Physiology, whose phenomena were the most complex of all, was still basically undeveloped and needed to rid itself of the imaginative work of 'the philosophers, moralists, and metaphysicians,' who did not understand the moral and physical phenomena had the same character (Saint-Simon was using 'moral' in the way the *idéologues* did, that is, as relating to ideas and passions).

himself, and we rediscover exactly the point it has achieved, by creating its first Socialist, with all its doubts, ambiguities and distant hopes”<sup>35</sup>.

Saint-Simon, Stein writes, not only personally experienced the social contradiction, developing only with Napoleon’s codifications<sup>36</sup>, in the *commercial* as well as in the thus-emerging industrial society; furthermore he anticipated the disenfranchisement of the most efficient while at the same time biggest social class, that of the *industrielles* or *producteurs*, in short the *peuple*, he provided a voice for the emerging proletariat and thus made the Socialist doctrines possible<sup>37</sup>; an *achievement* on which his disciples had built and not only found their way to social science. After having completed his *Nouveau Christianisme*, on May 19<sup>th</sup>, 1825, Saint-Simon had summoned his disciples at his dying bed, had prophesied a great future for those *working* – and for him these were all labourers in the widest sense – as well as announced the appearance of a new journal, *Le Producteur. Journal philosophique de l'industrie, de la science et des beaux arts*, immediately after his death<sup>38</sup>. This journal would provide a voice for the working men and serve for their *education*. He had sacrificed a happy life to his vocation<sup>39</sup>.

---

<sup>35</sup> Stein, Lorenz v. 1959: Vol. II, p. 146.

<sup>36</sup> Although in his old days Stein moves away from Saint-Simon, he sticks to the latter’s interpretation of the French Revolution and antagonism of bourgeoisie and people which develops in Napoleon’s time. See Stein, Lorenz von 1888: Vol. III, p. 30: At the time of Napoleon’s dictatorship there developed the free capital, worldwide trade starts, and its effect on wages together with the worker’s individual dependency on the employer starts having effect. ... In the context of the liberal constitution, the capital has become a power which, in the name of the constitution, almost completely becomes the master of the private life of non-capital labour. Thus now, as early as in the 1830s, at first in France, then in Britain, then also in Germany via Switzerland, there is a feeling that there is an issue which is not solved by the constitution. It becomes obvious that the principle of equality of constitutional law is incapable of becoming the principle of equality in society and that, in the midst of the formal harmony of the constitutional order of living together, the deep contradiction between equality and inequality, which one believed to have overcome by the constitutional principle, is newly arising, the *charté vérité*. This is where Sim. de Sismondi has his lasting place in history. It was him, in his *Nouveaux principes d’écon. Politique* (2<sup>nd</sup> edition, 1823), who for the first time//instead of arithmetically calculating wages according to supply and demand, openly spoke about the social rule of capital and the danger of suppressing the wages in the field of national economy, although he was taken seriously as little as the utopias of French Socialism. St- Simon teaches his new revelation, with propertylessness and singleness as the solution of the riddle, however not like in Plato on a dialectic basis but based on a new revelation, Ch. Fourier in his wonderful system of association idealises the harmony of capital and labour; R. Owen pursues the hope of changing the factory into family life. Europe’s higher intellectuals, however, are still watching all this as something strange and as an ideology; however, the development of the capital and of ruling labour goes on; the machine starts ruling production, the machine wages start ruling the labour wages. This way the inner contradiction between the classes of society is growing; in Paris, since the July Revolution, reminiscences to old Communism are awakening again; secret societies of the workers are being formed; among them there spreads the idea of the earlier revolution, ... , and now old Socialism is disappearing. It is replaced by the as yet undeveloped, instinctive hatred of the right to property as such, ... .”

<sup>37</sup> In Bluhm, Harald (Edit.) 2010: p. 197-209 I explained that Marx’s scathing criticism of “German Socialism”, in particular of Karl Grün’s *Der Socialismus in Belgien* (1845) often refers to Stein’s *Der Socialismus und Communismus des heutigen Frankreich* (1842) as a reference against *German Socialism*.

<sup>38</sup> See Stein, Lorenz v. 1959: Vol. II, p. 178.

<sup>39</sup> See *ibid.*: “... Saint-Simon is one of those who sacrificed their outer happiness to the inner urge of their thoughts, and those men are rare”.

Stein's description of the life and work of Saint-Simon ends with reminiscences to Hegel's philosophy of history and its interpretation of great historical figures as "executives of the world spirit"<sup>40</sup>, however with the difference that no longer politicians and strategists but *scientific visionaries* – and this is what Saint-Simon is depicted as – will determine the course of world history. The judgement on the *Producteur* is appropriately positive. He is said to have, at least temporarily, succeeded with gaining the loyalty of the *avant-garde* of the French writers, and he is said to have this way considerably contributed to the emancipation of the working class<sup>41</sup>.

Who writes in such a way sees the flaws but most of all the greatness of a man and his school. Stein's theory of the *royalty of social reform* and the *harmony of interests* is not the result of any kind of conservative attitude but of a universal *ideal of charity and education*<sup>42</sup>. After having praised the *social and educational* achievements of the school<sup>43</sup>, Stein turns towards the causes of its abrupt end.

#### 4. Critique of Saint-Simon and the Saint-Simonists

Let us have a look back at Stein's time with the *Hallische* and *Deutsche Jahrbücher*: Arnold Ruge and Lorenz von Stein viewed the religious borrowings of the social movements in France very differently. What was a "spleen" for the one, was a *treasure* wasted by Saint-Simon's heirs for the other<sup>44</sup>. The Saint-Simonists, Stein stated, failed on the one hand by losing the problem of

---

<sup>40</sup> See Hegel, G. W. F. 1970: Vol. 12, p. 46f.

<sup>41</sup> See Stein, Lorenz von 1959: Vol. II, p. 182

<sup>42</sup> The preface to Volume I of the *Geschichte der sozialen Bewegung in Frankreich*, written in the autumn of 1849, closes with the enthusiastic words: "We, who are currently working as living persons, have only to prepare the ground on which a coming time will sow its seeds with a lucky hand. When and how this time with its beautiful harmony of all the noblest human forces will come, who dares calculating this? However, if truth is a power, and if living, faithful, hopeful emotion in the warm bosom of man, ... believes in an eternal love of the gracious God, ---, this time *will* come!" According to Angermann, E.: 1962; Fischer, K.: 1990; Hahn, M.: 1969; Lahmer, G.: 1982; Löbig, M.: 2004 Marcuse, H.: 1989; Pross, H.: 1966, und Quesel, C.: 1989, this is supposed to have been written by a conservative who was deeply concerned by the threatening social revolution.

<sup>43</sup> See Stein, Lorenz von 1959: Vol. II, Appendix I, p. 497-504.

<sup>44</sup> On this see Van Kley, Dale K. 1996: p. 300f: "Physiocrats, too, combined a generous conception of human capacities with a sufficient if secular grace for all, at least, a pedagogical grace. Would but the king adopts his proposed political catechism and have it taught to all schoolchildren, Turgot assured Louis XV. in 1776, and 'ten years from now your nation would be unrecognizable ... and infinitely superior to all other peoples past and present (Turgot: "Memorandum on local government", *The Old Regime and the French Revolution*, ed. and trans. Keith M. Baker, Chicago 1987, p. 102)'... . physiocracy bore a religious aspect, prompting even sympathetic observers to refer to its founders as proselytes, to its theory as doctrine, and to the whole movement as a sect. ... the marquis de Condorcet, had a zealously devout uncle, the scourge of Jansenists as Bishop of Auxerre. Turgot himself had intervened in the refusal-of-sacraments controversy with a pamphlet called *Le conciliateur*... However remote they may seem to us today, these connections and relations were not lost on contemporaries like the young councillor Jaques Duval d'Eprémessnil, who,..., accused the économistes of being secularized successors of the Jesuits'. ... Thus happened, for example, that the Parlement of Paris indifferently folded its arms while Turgot and his philosophical colleague Lamoignon de Malesherbes tried in vain to talk the General Assembly of the Clergy of 1775 into relinquishing the principle of clerical immunity to royal taxation, a reform to which Jansenists were generally sympathetic. And it was the Protestant minister Jaques Necker, not the episcopacy or the Parlement, who sponsored the modest increase in the *portion congrue* for poor parish priests in 1780".

production out of sight when dealing with the question of just distribution. On the other hand, the Saint-Simonist *Church* had been doomed<sup>45</sup> because of the different characters of its high priests, *Saint-Amand Bazard* and *Prosper-Barthélemy Enfantin*<sup>46</sup>. Here Stein implicitly reaches back to Warnkönig's and his own legal and state history of France when taking the religious convictions of the Saint-Simonists seriously. He leaves no doubt about his sympathies: From 1828 on, he says, Bazard<sup>47</sup> had been publicly appearing as a teacher, and two years before the July Revolution he had been the first to react to the victory of industrial society over nobility and clergy and the thus resulting contradiction of bourgeoisie and people. Like Saint-Simon, he had contributed to the promises of the bourgeois revolution also reaching the workers, and he had tried to reconcile the emerging proletariat with the social coldness of Liberalism<sup>48</sup>. Whereas Bazard had intended to drive on the principle of equality as far as to the legal equality of all classes and even the sexes, Enfantin ">had developed< that idea of the *emancipation of women* which aimed primarily at the restructuring of the family"<sup>49</sup>. By preaching the double priesthood (*couplepêtre*) of man and woman, Enfantin had openly attacked the unity of the natural family, had paid homage to worshipping *flesh* and *lust*, had changed the movement into a sect, and thus betrayed Saint-Simon's heritage. Bazard's opinion and ethos had vehemently opposed this. "This considerate man", Stein wrote, had recognized "that Enfantin intended to plant a kind of freedom into the most delicate relationships which industrialisation had just made subject to the hierarchical organisation of

---

<sup>45</sup> See Stein, Lorenz von 1959: Vol. II, Appendix I, p. 497-504.

<sup>46</sup> Other than Stein, Ruge and Marx had no understanding for the *religious dimension* of Saint-Simonism. See Ruge, Arnold, Brief and Ludwig Feuerbach of 15. 5. 1844, in: Hundt, Martin 2010: Vol. 2, Berlin, p. 1356-1359 (S. 1358f): The whole attitude of France is still seriously infected with the Catholic or Christian spleen. Eudaimonism is a completely correct demand, however meeting it with political imaginativeness without any sense of direction, without knowledge of the subject, and all this preferably with weapons in hand – this is worldly Christianity ... . Cabet is currently donating a Petit Colonie fraternelle near Paris (...), and at the same time he announces: Le vrai Christianisme suivant Jésus Christ, un volume en 16, 1 Fran at the most, which is supposed to prove "that it was Christ who was most committed to the Fraternité ou Communauté". But why not literally: In his monthly *Le Populaire* of May 2<sup>nd</sup> he says: « Nous y lémontrons que personne ne s'est jamais, autant que Jésus, intéressé aux pauvres, aux travailleurs, aux peuple que personne n'est se autant prononcé contre l'opulence, la misère et la domination; et que personne n'a fait autant d'efforts pour délivrer l'humanité de tous les maux, qui la désolent, en substituant le principe de la fraternité et de la communauté à celui de l'individualisme et de l'égoïsme. Nous publierons ensuite: 'Le vrai chrétien'. Puis nous examinerons le moyens de réalisation ». ..//.. Whenever the revolution appears and is victorious again, in all minds it will encounter the old confusion again, and a new 1793 would not remove it. France's theoretical liberation is yet to come".

<sup>47</sup> See Stein, Lorenz von 1959: Vol. II, p. 187: "... One may be bold enough to claim that Bazard was not given his due because Saint-Simon himself was not sufficiently known. However, this relation once again confirms that the first Socialist school in France is closely connected to the inner development of its time and that its shape actually reflects those elements as are fighting each other".

<sup>48</sup> See *ibid.* p. 187f: "Although the July Revolution has not yet // started, nevertheless the industrial society has already been clearly victorious over nobility and clergy, ... . Saint-Simonism is the first attempt to reconcile both, and it is this position it is always given by Bazard's appearance".

<sup>49</sup> Stein, Lorenz von 1959: Vol. II, p. 224.

production"<sup>50</sup>. Their contradicting *ideas of emancipation* became obvious and split up the movement<sup>51</sup>.

Who is missing in this portrait of Saint-Simon and his school is that man who, until he broke with the *master*, was Saint-Simon's most important disciple and propagandist of positive philosophy – Auguste Comte.

5. *Lire entre les lignes : Stein's critique of Comte's Cours de philosophie positive ou Sociologie<sup>52</sup> and Système positive.*

After Saint-Simon's death, Mary Pickering writes in her book *Auguste Comte. An Intellectual Biography*, Auguste Comte had considered himself the founder and master of the new scientific movement and *positive philosophy*. As the Producteur had shared many of his opinions, at first Comte had been ready to cooperate, despite his dispute with Saint-Simon. He had hoped to, by way of the new journal, be able to further spread his philosophy and to connect to the *Catéchisme industriel*<sup>53</sup>. After Enfantin had changed Saint-Simonism into a sect<sup>54</sup>, Comte had cancelled his cooperation. In so far Comte's and Stein's broken relationships with the Saint-Simonists are congruent with each other. However, whereas Stein sympathised with Saint-Simon from a chronological and spatial distance, Auguste Comte as the latter's former secretary was much closer. From this there resulted a competition between Saint-Simon and Comte, giving rise to different kinds of positivism. In so far Lorenz von Stein also belongs to the *conceptual history of positivism*:

Stein knew the terms *positive philosophy* and *social physics* from Saint-Simon, from *L'Organisateur* and *Le Producteur*. It is thus hardly credible when Stein

---

<sup>50</sup> Ibid., p. 220

<sup>51</sup> See *ibid.*: Inwardly, Saint-Simonism was still incomplete; that is why it was not capable of maintaining unity in the long run. However, with the loss of unity it was itself doomed forever." On this Pickering, Mary 2006: p. 415f from the point of view of her hero: "Enfantin reread Saint-Simon's *Nouveau Christianisme* several times, and by exaggerating its general concepts about religion, he made it the basis of the doctrine that he and his closest colleagues, Bazard and Olinde Rodrigues, developed between 1828 and 1830... Comte was an aloof master, who threatened them. Not wanting to join them or succumb to the charms of 'le père' Enfantin, he appeared to be a 'difficult person' (*mauvais coucheur*) who had to be // exorcised".

<sup>52</sup> See Comte, Auguste 1830-1842: *Cours de philosophie positive*, 6 Vols., Vol. IV, p. 252: « Je crois devoir hasardeur, dès à présent ce terme nouveau (sociologie), exactement équivalent à mon expression déjà introduite, de physique sociale, afin de pouvoir désigner par un nom unique cette partie complémentaire de l'ensemble des lois fondamentales propres aux phénomènes sociaux ».

<sup>53</sup> See Pickering, Mary 2006: p. 332: "In fact, *Le Producteur* did address many of Comte's concerns... The articles would examine the scientific, economic and literary productions that were leading to the growth of the new social system, which (Antoine S. K.) Cercllet emphasized was becoming 'more and more positive.'... These were the same themes that Comte and Saint-Simon had been expounding in *L'Organisateur* and *Le Catéchisme industriel*. Comte was in a sense asked to join *Le Producteur* in order to continue his work as a theorist of the 'new philosophy'."

<sup>54</sup> See *ibid.* p. 333: "The Saint-Simonians were (1825 St. K.) most interested in studying industrial and scientific developments. Consisting solely of Olinde Rodrigues, Prosper Enfantin, Saint-Armand Bazard, Léon Halévy, Bailly, and Charles Duvoyrier, the disciples of Saint-Simon had not yet even formed a school, much less a new church, and they welcomed outsiders, such as Adolphe Blanqui, to their journalistic enterprise. Comte was correct in his judgement that the new journal lacked a clear plan, for the subjects of the articles were indeed very far ranging. ... His relations to *Le producteur* were, in his words, strictly 'literary' (Comte to Michel Chevalier, January 5, 1832)".

claims to have never heard of Comte. – It is more than strange that the Professor of Statistics and National Economy in Vienna indeed mentions the mathematician and statistician Adolphe Quetelet and his *Science mathématique et physique* but not Auguste Comte and his *social physics*, and this despite having mentioned Comte as the co-editor of *L'Industrie* in the list of references of the second volume of *Social Movement*. The denial of Comte in all other works by Stein is even more conspicuous as in *L'Industrie* he identifies the issue in the context of which Saint-Simon had definitely turned towards the true *fabricants*. In contrary to Comte Stein backed Saint-Simon. Although Comte's *Cours de philosophie positive* and his *Système de politique positive* make the contradiction and interplay of individual and society a topic of discussion, in Stein's view they did not appropriately grasp the complex interaction of individual, society and state. For Lorenz von Stein Comte fell behind Saint-Simon because in contrast to the latter he did not confront society with the state as an *acting subject* and place of liberty. Secondly, it may be supposed that Stein considered Comte's *Système* to be overcharged because it clothed Saint-Simon's rather dreamy-poetic inspirations and revelations in a scientific dress, thus depriving the *process of civilisation* of its openness<sup>55</sup>, the actors of social change of their freedom<sup>56</sup>.

Stein's relationship to Saint-Simonism and positivism<sup>57</sup> is similar to John Stuart Mills and the latter's critique of *Auguste Comte*. In a letter to Richard Congreve, a British positivist, John St. Mill put his agreement with *and* opposition to Comte "in a nutshell": "It is M. Comte himself, who, in my judgement, has thrown ridicule on his own philosophy by the extravagances of his later writings;..."<sup>58</sup>. In 1865, in the paper *Auguste Comte and Positivism*<sup>59</sup>, Mill had at first praised Comte for having completed the concept of increasingly more differentiated sciences and his *Law of Three Stages* by the assumption that *civilisation* changed between periods of quietness and transition, i. e. between *static* and *transitory* stages<sup>60</sup>. However, Comte had sacrificed *positive thought*, which is obliged to unprejudiced

---

<sup>55</sup> Pickering, 2006: p. 693 mentions those points as also separating John Stuart Mill and Lorenz von Stein from Hegel, Marx and Comte: "Montesquieu, Saint-Simon, Herder and Hegel had shown Comte that society ultimately represented an application of ideas, particular moral principles, because people were united by a common worldview. Politics and morality had to change just as the reigning philosophy did. As the nineteenth-century mind-set was growing more and more scientific, Comte assumed that politics and morality could also become scientific, since all aspects of knowledge were interrelated and the mind felt naturally compelled to make all of its ideas homogeneous".

<sup>56</sup> See Stein, Lorenz von 1866: p. 115f.

<sup>57</sup> See Stein, Lorenz von 1888: *Teil III*: p. 21: Stein criticizes Spencer's and Huxley's unclear ideas "which base even economic life on the categories of physiology".

<sup>58</sup> Mill to Richard Congreve, August 8, 1865: *Later Letters*, 16: 1085; quoted after Pickering 2006, p. 697.

<sup>59</sup> See Mill, John Stuart 1891: p. 139f., 141 and 179: "Novalis said of Spinoza that he was a God-intoxicated man: M. Comte is a morality-intoxicated man. Every question with him is one of morality, and no motive but that of morality is permitted." "The *fons errorum* in M. Comte's later speculations is this inordinate demand for 'unity' and 'systematization'...: he demands that each should regard as vicious any care at all for his personal interests, except as a means to the good of others - should be ashamed of it, should strive to cure himself of it, because his existence is not 'systematized,' is not in 'complete unity.'" "The unwillingness of the human intellect and conscience, in their present state of 'anarchy,' to sign their own abdication, he calls 'the insurrection of the living against the dead.' To this complexion has Positive Philosophy come at last!"

<sup>60</sup> See *ibid.* p. 13: "This generalization is the most fundamental of the doctrines which originated with M. Comte; and the survey of history, which occupies the two largest volumes of the six composing his work, is a continuous exemplification and verification of the law.

observation and free of religious dogmas, to the confines of the system as well as to the emotional *Cult of the Supreme Being* and *humanity*, as they had been preached as early as in 1789.

Both Stein and Mill are aware of Saint-Simon's liberal starting point and Socialist end. Both criticize the totalitarian implications of closed systems, both – like the Socialists – want a free and harmonic society; however both believe that the utopians are trying to achieve the correct goal by way of the *wrong means*<sup>61</sup>, “and this”, Stein says, “is the danger our time is facing”<sup>62</sup>.

Furthermore, both of them – like Saint-Simon and Comte – condemned the *suppression of women*<sup>63</sup>. But there are grave differences: Stein believed that “... the true, noble emancipation of the woman >is in< becoming aware not only of what she is but of what she is supposed to *do*, in order of completely being what she is capable of being in the life of humanity”<sup>64</sup>. But the emancipatory goal is at least partly connected to Johann Gottlieb Fichte's ideal of the woman<sup>65</sup> and to Novalis's glorification of the *holy*:<sup>66</sup> The social meaning of house and family would automatically create the “... social power of the woman as the woman of *her* house, as the wife of *her* husband ...”<sup>67</sup>. However, as a result of industrialisation the independent work of the housewife had disappeared “ ... and the ‘Lady’, the ‘Madam’, started her completely or halfways idle hours and all that what comes along with the lack of urgent and valuable work”<sup>68</sup>. The idea of emancipation is combined with a clear understanding of roles, according to which women represent *emotion* and *tactfulness*<sup>69</sup> while men, on the other hand, represent

---

<sup>61</sup> See Mill, John Stuart: "On liberty," in: Ryan, Alan 1996: p. 121ff; Stein Lorenz von 1885: p. 148-162 „*Staatssozialismus und Finanzwissenschaft*“, p. 148-162 (162).

<sup>62</sup> Stein, Lorenz von 1885: Theil I, Stein Lorenz of 1885: „*Staatssozialismus und Finanzwissenschaft*“, *ibid.* p. 148-162 (162).

<sup>63</sup> See Mill, John Stuart: *The Subjection of Women*, in: Ryan, Alan 1996: p. 133-215 (214f): There is no country of Europe in which the ablest men have not frequently experienced, and keenly appreciated, the value of the advice and help of clever and experienced women of the world, in the attainment both of private and of public objects (...). When we consider the positive evil caused to the disqualified half of the human race by their disqualification - first in the loss of the most inspiring and elevating kind of personal enjoyment, and next in the weariness, dissatisfaction, and profound dissatisfaction with life, which are so often the substitute for it; one feels that among all the lessons which men require for carrying on the struggle against the inevitable imperfections of their lot on earth, there is no lesson which they more need, than not to add to the evils which nature inflicts, by their jealous and prejudiced restrictions on one another, ...: while every restraint on the freedom of conduct of any of their human fellow creatures, (...), dries up *pro tanto* the principal fountain of human happiness, and leaves the species less rich, to an inappreciable degree, in all that makes life valuable to the individual human being”.

<sup>64</sup> Stein, Lorenz von 1880: p. 74.

<sup>65</sup> Vgl. Fichte, Johann Gottlieb 1971: Bd. III, p. 304-368, § 5 (S. 342): “By making herself a means of the satisfaction of the man, the woman delivers her personality; she is given it as well as her entire dignity back only due to the fact that she did so for love of this one man”.

<sup>66</sup> See Novalis (Friedrich von Hardenberg) 1979: Volume 2: p. 740f): The result of modern thought was called philosophy, and among this one counted anything contradicting the old, preferably every idea against religion. ... France was lucky enough to become the womb and seat of this new faith, ... The members were busy with exterminating every trace of the holy, with spoiling the memory of all extolling incidents and humans by way of sarcasm, and with depriving the world of any colourful ornament.”

<sup>67</sup> See Stein, Lorenz von 1880: p. 62.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.* p. 90.

<sup>69</sup> See Stein, Lorenz von 1880: p. 62.

action and therefore the family towards the outside<sup>70</sup>. Stein's attempt to combine Fichte's contradictory educational goals and his idea of roles with Saint-Simon's ideal of the liberation of *both sexes* contradicts his own insight into the structure of industrial society as well as the liberal and social goals of his administrative doctrine<sup>71</sup>. John St. Mill *did not* share this *romantic* glorification of marriage. Out of deepest conviction he insisted that this was a false idealisation, a *relict of primitive barbarianism*<sup>72</sup>.

Nevertheless, on the whole, Mill and Stein followed Saint-Simon's "one thought" of "safeguarding for all men the freest development of their talents"<sup>73</sup>.

##### 5. The social state and the System of education as the completion of Saint-Simon's vision

Again and again Stein emphasizes the peace-securing significance of the *state under the rule of law*<sup>74</sup>. Right from the beginning the vision of a society of mutual interests fulfils two tasks: On the one hand it demonstrates that a *liberal social order* built on the legal equality of all its members is possible; on the other hand it proves that also the "society of mutual interest"<sup>75</sup> requires a "liberal, working state" next to and above the social particular interests<sup>76</sup>.

Stein's definition of the significance and function of administration for the educational system furthermore follows less J. G. Fichte and Hegel than Saint-

---

<sup>70</sup> See Stein, Lorenz von 1876b: p. 43f: The "true" emancipation of the woman, he says, is "... that indeed only *by way of* marriage, by providing male individuality with the eternally female, by the melting into one of the two basic forms of the human which will only this way unfold completely, the woman will become the second factor of everything human".

<sup>71</sup> See Schliesky, Utz 2015a: p. 1-43 (37-40).

<sup>72</sup> Mill, John Stuart: *The Subjection of Women*, in: Ryan, Alan 1996: p. 133-215 (210).

<sup>73</sup> Saint Simon in: Stein, Lorenz von 1959: Vol. II, p. 178. See Pickering, Mary 2006, p. 515: "One of the most important ideas that Mill appropriated from Comte as well as from the Saint-Simonians, who reinforced it, was that their epoch was an age of transition. This realization that the anarchy of moral and intellectual opinions was an abnormal state led him to envision a very different future, one in which liberty and permanent beliefs could coexist. In 1831, when Mill incorporated these ideas in a series of articles for the *Examiner* entitled "The Spirit of the Age", Thomas Carlyle called him a 'new Mystic' and sought to meet him".

<sup>74</sup> See Stein, Lorenz von 1869: *Die Verwaltungslehre. Part 1 Sect. 1*: p. 373f: "It is the task of administration, in contrast to legislation, to recognize and bring to bear the circumstances of real life by executing the laws. Among this there also count the legal rights of the individuals. Often these rights are very clear, // however often they are not. It is thus difficult to avoid a collision; however, it is also a calamity if the right of the individual suffers from such a collision. For, as a matter of fact then not only the welfare and the right of the individual do suffer but it is the law, made alive by this right, which is made subject to the decree and is lifted by it. ... Thus, basically the holiness of private law even towards the decree safeguards the rule of the law over political life and thus the principle of organic liberty".

<sup>75</sup> See Stein, Lorenz von 1959: Vol. III, p. 203: "*To make much profit, the capital requires labour; to be provided with the means of education and profit, labour must support the capital by efficient and willing activity.* Labour and capital, being mutually creating and dependent, have thus a *solidary interest*... If both estates and particularly the ruling, possessing one recognizes this,..., then, by this awareness of the mutuality of interests, the *harmony of material life*, the beginning of *true liberty* will start".

<sup>76</sup> See Retter, Hein 2007: p. 601: „In Stein, the predominance of the 'unity' of the many – i. e. of human community – over the individual is not,..., meant in the metaphysical but in the functional sense, however by emphasizing the *dependence* of the individual on the other and the others it is fundamentally *also* a challenge for the Christian-humane attitude without which the will of reform is unimaginable".

Simon and the Saint-Simonists: Apart from its economic significance education always also includes an act of self-elevation and purification<sup>77</sup>. This “religious motif” in Stein’s educational system is mostly overlooked because the educational system assumes the individual as an actor and is limited to creating and depicting the conditions of “free” vocational and subject-related education<sup>78</sup>. In other words: The higher education, the more independent and individual is the respective person, however also the more intensive his/her mutual relation with other individuals and thus the bigger the wealth of a society. As individuality cannot be derived but appears spontaneously, “... according to its nature”, Stein says, “it is at first negatively related” to the position society attributes to each individual, “by denying the ideal justification of any order of society which has made individuality and its endless self-determination just an aspect of the lives of others”<sup>79</sup>. By the concept of customs as a standstill of education, the social framework conditions of education are shaped *negatively*: Together with Saint-Simon Stein condemns the given customs as a *blind tradition* and *prison for creativity*. Education and educational system, on the other hand, as higher ways of personality and its freedom<sup>80</sup>, are said to be always moving<sup>81</sup>.

The individualization of ways of perception and the homogenization of lifestyles, he says, *are no contradiction*; indeed they presuppose each other. Apart from its ideal value, education has always the task of providing the individual with a material basis<sup>82</sup>; it reflects the social opportunities of the classes and furthermore is a benefit for the community. Therefore in Stein’s *Lehrbuch der Nationalökonomie* the depiction of the concept of economic value is illustrated by a literature-sociological insertion<sup>83</sup>: Just like, he writes, the novel describes the active aspect of the struggle of the individuals against the social situation, Scottish-English moral philosophy had dealt with the latter’s objective preconditions and consequences; the utilitarians had discovered those laws of economy as, by way of the market mechanism, gaining objective power over the ways of living together, thus creating the “classical school of national economy”. National economy and *the novel* were showing the connection between individual decision-making, economic laws and their consequences for individual and society. Thus Stein takes up again a motif and insight he owed to the *Producteur*

---

<sup>77</sup> See Stein, Lorenz von 1888: Part II, p. 119.

<sup>78</sup> See *ibid.* p. 202ff.

<sup>79</sup> Stein, Lorenz von 1878: p. 467.

<sup>80</sup> Stein, Lorenz von 1876a: p. 6f.: “And now there is no doubt anymore that, whereas formal vocational education only makes man and his work a technical element of life as a whole, only higher >vocational education< provides him with individuality and its power in the context of vocational education”.

<sup>81</sup> See *ibid.*: “None of the two elements can do without the other; none can be self-sufficient. A society without liberty becomes a mechanic organism of tasks, of the distribution of goods, indeed of the entire worldview; however, liberty without the order of society becomes an endless opposition of all individuals to each other”.

<sup>82</sup> See Roeder, Peter-Martin 1968: p. 236: After all, the hierarchy of work, from mechanic via commercial as far as to free intellectual activity, is one of the most important organisational principles of the educational system itself whose social function is most of all to make it possible for the individual ... to climb up this hierarchy of work”.

<sup>83</sup> See Stein, Lorenz von 1887: p. 74f.: “For the time being, the novel is the only philosophy of individuality within the incomplete mould of philosophy, and because again the novel comes from society, any novel is always tied to that idea of society its individuals are fighting, and it can be understood only according to the way of understanding this social order it assumes itself for this individual fight”.

thirty years ago: "Jusqu'à ce jour les économistes se sont principalement occupés de la production matérielle, it was said there; «...; ils n'ont considéré les travaux des savants et des artistes que sous un rapport industriel, celui du salaire qui leur était attribué, et de *la valeur échangeable* des produits immatériels »<sup>84</sup>.

Although Stein owed his "ideas on the history of work"<sup>85</sup> to the *Producteur*, in contrast to Socialist theory he realised them as a part of political science<sup>86</sup>. In *Verwaltungslehre*, Saint-Simon's and Owen's dream of a new *harmony of society* retreats behind a social- and administration-scientific way of organising the community of man. The system and the history of education serve for those educational ideals as are put into Saint-Amand Bazard's mouth in the history of the social movement and describe its economic and social conditions:

«Education is to the highest degree neglected;...; if it is supposed to be fruitful, it must definitely be imagined as the result of social prevision (prévision) as the subject of a political function. It must thus be general, however at the same time it must 'appropriate' each generation 'into the social order' it is meant to achieve 'by way of the progress of mankind.' It must thus be of a general nature for everybody, however it must also include each individual profession (professions) necessary for fulfilling the social needs; and finally teaching must be distributed in such a way that each level results from the preceding one and is the condition for the next one. Previous education has recognized none of these principles; nevertheless they are the foundation of the future of mankind!»<sup>87</sup>

In *Verwaltungslehre* and his handbook of public administration Stein bequeathed social-medical and building law concepts<sup>88</sup> that contemporaries considered utopian, whereas for our time they look surprisingly modern: Given the hygienic dangers posed by non-possession and non-capital labour, in both works he developed suggestions "... which are most of all based on the principle that *the health-interests of the workers must be superior to demands of economic interests and production*"<sup>89</sup>. These suggestions reached from restrictions on working time and special protection of women and youths via the establishment of day nurseries and elementary schools, the introduction of factory inspectors, the supervision of school premises and other public buildings by the health police<sup>90</sup> as far as to counselling and supervision by the health police when it comes to nourishment issues<sup>91</sup> as well as the introduction of a *standard working day*<sup>92</sup> according to the requirements of each specific trade, "... which, from a sanitary point of view, is based on the great fact that inappropriately long working

<sup>84</sup> *Le Producteur*, Paris 1825, p. 4.

<sup>85</sup> Vgl. Stein, Lorenz von 1849: p. 373: It is well known that most political economies refuse to recognize the intellectual goods as subjects of their science. One may hold differing views in this concern; however, it is quite certain that in any way intellectual work is part of the historical significance of work as such. ... and without it and its influence one will never understand the real life of Europe".

<sup>86</sup> Stein, Lorenz von 1876a: p. 140.

<sup>87</sup> Stein, Lorenz von 1959: Vol. II, p. 205.

<sup>88</sup> See Stein, Lorenz v. 1888: Part II, p. 95ff.

<sup>89</sup> See *ibid.* p. 96

<sup>90</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup> See Stein, Lorenz v. 1882: Part 3, p. 297.

<sup>92</sup> See Stein, Lorenz v. 1888: Part II, p. 97.

time consumes the capital of labour, resulting in the obligation to pauper relief<sup>93</sup> and<sup>94</sup>.

## 6. Conclusions

As a result of dealing with Saint-Simon and his school Lorenz von Stein had come to the opinions his concept of education and his educational system are based on, that is that education towards freedom must support the individual's independence, that this requires legal equality, and that the latter is only possible in the context of a public educational system which provides each individual with educational opportunities and thus inevitably becomes a *social* educational system.

"There is no doubt", he had written in 1866, "that there will develop a new, fourth shape of the social order. It will take one hundred or two hundred years, but it will come. And its topic will be to prove to wealth, prudence and even interest that what the love of mankind and a warm heart love to believe, that the material order of economic life as well as the formal one of public activities at last serve for something superior, and that the noblest emotions of mankind, that the highest laws of religion are entitled to one day rule over the 'practical world' and to be the foundation of administration"<sup>95</sup>.

If we connect to this heritage of Stein, the unity of Europe could be revived by way of the *individuality* of its *nations*<sup>96</sup>.

## SOURCES

Barrault, Émile, *Doctrine de Saint-Simon*, Bureau de L'Organisateur, Paris, 1830.

Baader, Franz von, „Ueber das dermalige Missverhältniss der Vermögenslosen oder Proletairs zu den vermögenbesitzenden Classen der Societät in Betreff ihres Auskommens sowohl in materieller als intellectueller Hinsicht aus dem Standpuncte des Rechts betrachtet“, in: Hoffmann, Franz (ed).

Cieszkowski, August, *Prolegomena zur Historiographie. Mit e. Einl. von Rüdiger Bubner*, Hamburg (Meiner), 1981.

Comte, Auguste, *Cours de philosophie positive*, Paris, 1830-1842, 6 volumes.

Elias, Norbert, *Die höfische Gesellschaft* (suhrkamp, stw 423), 1983.

Elias, Norbert, *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation*, 6. ed. Frankfurt a. M. (suhrkamp), 1978.

<sup>93</sup> Ibid.; see Stein, Lorenz v. 1882: Part 3, p. 291: "However, in this context it must be stated that each according to the nature of the production this day must be structured in very different ways if certain kinds of production are to exist at all, such as mines, glassworks and others".

<sup>94</sup> See Stein, Lorenz v. 1888: Part II, p. 98: "This whole movement >will< unfold its whole significance only when ... one day the factory inspectors are the representatives of health towards this source of the physical suffering of thousands of humans".

<sup>95</sup> Stein, Lorenz von 1866: p. VIII.

<sup>96</sup> In 1843 Stein had written about „*Die französische Municipalverfassung*“ and remarked in passing: "The German legal history, the awareness of the German life of law, shows a flaw which only the near future will remedy. >...< Into that same idea which tells us to research and pursue the German legal history we must also include // the legal histories of other nations; we must transfer on it that what other branches of the sciences have been owning since long, the free view which knows how to grasp the life of Europe as a unity, ... and which lifts the outer boundaries of nationalities to, by their unity, provide each of them with their higher shape again".

Fichte, Johann Gottlieb, „Die Bestimmung des Menschen“, in: *Fichtes Werke*, ed.: Fichte, Immanuel Herman, 1971, Bd. II, p. 167-319.

Fichte, Johann Gottlieb, *Grundlage des Naturrechts nach Principien der Wissenschaftslehre, Erster Anhang des Naturrechts. Grundriss des Familienrechts*, in: *Werke, Bd. III*, ed. by I. H. Fichte, Berlin, 1971, p. 304-368.

Fichte, I. H., *Bericht über meine philosophische Selbstbildung, als Einleitung zu den vermischten Schriften und als Beitrag zur Geschichte der nachhegel'schen Philosophie*, in: *Vermischte Schriften I.*, Leipzig, 1869, p. 1-117.

Gans, Eduard, *Naturrecht und Universalgeschichte*, ed.: Riedel, Manfred: Deutscher Idealismus, Philosophie und Wirkungsgeschichte in Quellen und Studien, vol. 2, Stuttgart, 1981.

Hegel, G. W. F., *Geschichte der Philosophie*, III, in: *Werke*, 1971, vol. 20.

Hegel, G. W. F., *Philosophie der Geschichte*, in: *Werke*, 1970, vol. 12.

Marx, Karl, „Thesen über Feuerbach“, in: MEW, 1990, vol. 3, p. 5-8.

Marx, Karl/Engels, Friedrich, „Die deutsche Ideologie“, in: MEW, 1990, vol. 3, p. 9-530.

Mey, Claude and Maultrot, Gabriel-Nicolas, *Maximes du Droit Public Francois, Tirées des Capitulaires, Des Ordonnances du Royaume, & Des autres monuments de l'Histoire de France*.

Mill, John Stuart, *Auguste Comte and Positivism*, 5. ed., London, 1891.

Mill, John Stuart, "On liberty," in: Ryan, Alan (Editor.): *Mill. The Spirit of the Age, On Liberty, The Subjection of Women*, Texts. Commentaries, Selected and Edited by Alan Ryan, 1996, p. 41-132.

Mill, John Stuart, "The spirit of the age", in: Ryan, Alan (Editor.): *Mill. The Spirit of the Age, On Liberty, The Subjection of Women*, Texts. Commentaries, Selected and Edited by Alan Ryan, 1996, p. 3-40.

Mill, John Stuart 1996: "The subjection of women", in: Ryan, Alan (Editor.): *Mill. The Spirit of the Age, On Liberty, The Subjection of Women*, Texts. Commentaries, Selected and Edited by Alan Ryan, p. 133-216.

Montesquieu, Charles de, *Vom Geist der Gesetze 1*, translated and edited by Ernst Forsthoff, 1992.

Nerrlich, P. (ed.), *Arnold Ruges Briefwechsel und Tagebuchblätter*, Bd. I (1825-1847), 1888.

Novalis (Friedrich von Hardenberg) 1979: „Die Christenheit oder Europa“, in: Mähl, Hans Joachim/Samuel, Richard (ed.) 1978: *Novalis. Werke, Tagebücher und Briefe Friedrich von Hardenbergs, Band 2: Das philosophisch-theoretische Werk*, p. 731-750.

*Producteur, Le, Journal de L'Industrie, des Sciences et des Beaux-Arts*, Paris, 1825.

Stein, Lorenz von 1842b: „Anselm von Feuerbachs Lehrbuch des gemeinen in Deutschland giltigen peinlichen Rechts“ (Deut. Jahrb. 1842, p. 277-296).

Stein, Lorenz von 1841a: *Der dänische Zivilprozeß und das heutige Verfahren*.

Stein, Lorenz von 1876b: *Die Frau auf dem Gebiete der Nationalökonomie*, 4. ed.

Stein, Lorenz von 1880: *Die Frau auf dem socialen Gebiete*, Stuttgart.

Stein, Lorenz von 1846a: *Geschichte des französischen Strafrechts und des Prozesses* (L. A. Warnkönig und L. Stein: *Französische Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte*, Bd. III).

Stein, Lorenz von 1876a: *Gegenwart und Zukunft der Rechts- und Staatswissenschaft Deutschlands*, Stuttgart.

Stein Lorenz von, *Lehrbuch der Finanzwissenschaft I*, 1855, 5. Aufl.

Stein, Lorenz von 1959: „*Die Geschichte der sozialen Bewegung in Frankreich von 1789 bis auf unsere Tage*“, vol. I: „Der Begriff der Gesellschaft und die soziale Geschichte der französischen Revolution bis zum Jahre 1830“; vol. II: „Die industrielle Gesellschaft, der Sozialismus und Kommunismus Frankreichs von 1830-1848“; vol. III: „Das Königtum, die Republik und die Souveränität der französischen Gesellschaft seit der Februarrevolution 1848“.

Stein, Lorenz von 1849: „Ideen zur Geschichte der Arbeit“, in: *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift*, p. 354-379.

Stein, Lorenz von 1888: *Handbuch der Verwaltungslehre, Teil I: Der Begriff der Verwaltung und das System der positiven Staatswissenschaften*, 3. Aufl.

Stein, Lorenz von 1888: *Handbuch der Verwaltungslehre, Teil II, Das Verwaltungssystem des persönlichen und des wirtschaftlichen Lebens*, 3. Auflage, Stuttgart (Cotta).

Stein, Lorenz von 1888: *Handbuch der Verwaltungslehre, Teil III: Die Verwaltung und das gesellschaftliche Leben*, 3. Aufl., Stuttgart.

Stein, Lorenz von 1885: *Lehrbuch der Finanzwissenschaft, Theil I*, 5. Aufl.

Stein, Lorenz von 1887: *Lehrbuch der Nationalökonomie*, 3. Aufl.

Stein, Lorenz von 1843: *Die Municipalverfassung Frankreichs*, Leipzig.

Stein, Lorenz von 1841b: „Carl von Savigny's Lehrbuch des heutigen römischen Rechts“, in: *Deut. Jahrb.* 1841, p. 365–399.

Stein, Lorenz von 1842a: *Der Sozialismus und Communismus des heutigen Frankreich. Ein Beitrag zur Zeitgeschichte*.

Stein, Lorenz von 1848: *Der Sozialismus und Communismus des heutigen Frankreich. Ein Beitrag zur Zeitgeschichte*, 2. Aufl, zwei Bände.

Stein, Lorenz v. 1852: *System der Staatswissenschaft. Erster Band: System der Statistik, der Populationistik und der Volkswirtschaftslehre*, Stuttgart und Tübingen (Cotta).

Stein, Lorenz von 1856: *System der Staatswissenschaft. weiter Band: Die Gesellschaftslehre. Erste Abtheilung. Der Begriff der Gesellschaft und die Lehre von den Gesellschaftsklassen*, Stuttgart und Augsburg.

Stein, Lorenz von 1869: *Die Verwaltungslehre. Teil 1 Abt. 1: Das verfassungsmäßige Verwaltungsrecht*, 2. ed.

Stein, Lorenz von 1866: *Die Verwaltungslehre, Teil 2: Die wirkliche innere Verwaltung und das Verwaltungsrecht. Erster Theil. Das Bevölkerungswesen und sein Verwaltungsrecht*.

Stein, Lorenz v. 1882: *Die Verwaltungslehre, Teil 3: Das Gesundheitswesen*, 2. ed., Stuttgart.

Stein 1883: *Die Verwaltungslehre. Theil 5: Bildungswesen, 1. Theil: Das System und die Geschichte des Bildungswesens der alten Welt*, 2. ed., Stuttgart.

Stein, Lorenz von 1868: *Die Verwaltungslehre. Teil 6, 1. ed. (!): Die allgemeine Bildung und die Presse*.

Stein, Lorenz von 1883: *Die Verwaltungslehre, Theil 6. Bildungswesen II: Das Bildungswesen des Mittelalters.: Scholastik. Universitäten. Humanismus*, 2. ed., Stuttgart.

Stein, Lorenz von 1884: *Die Verwaltungslehre, Teil 8, Bildungswesen III: Die Zeit bis zum 19. Jahrhundert*, 2. ed. Stuttgart.

Stein, Lorenz von 1878: *Die Volkswirtschaftslehre*, 2. ed.

Stein, Lorenz von: 1846b: „Vorlesungsmanuskript Deutsches Staatsrecht“, in:

Taschke, Heinz (ed. 1985): *Lorenz von Steins nachgelassene staatsrechtliche und rechtsphilosophische Vorlesungsmanuskripte*, Heidelberg.

Stein, Lorenz von 1839: „Johannes Christiansen: Die Wissenschaft der römischen Rechtsgeschichte im Grundrisse, erster Band“, in: Hall. Jahrb. 1839, p. 1601-1648.

Steiner, Rudolf, „Eine vergessene Strömung im deutschen Geistesleben“, in: ders.: *Vom Menschenrätsel. Ausgesprochenes und Unausgesprochenes im Denken, Schauen, Sinnen einer Reihe deutscher und österreichischer Persönlichkeiten*, Dornach, 1984, p. 58-87.

Warnkönig, August Leopold/Stein, Lorenz von, *Französische Staats- und Rechtsgeschichte*, Basel, 1846.

## SECONDARY LITERATURE

Angermann, E. 1962: „Zwei Typen des Ausgleichs gesellschaftlicher Interessen durch die Staatsgewalt. Ein Vergleich der Lehren Lorenz von Steins und Robert von Mohls“, in: Conze, W. (ed.) 1962: *Staat und Gesellschaft im deutschen Vormärz, 1815-1848*, Stuttgart, p. 173–206.

Blasius, Dirk 1970: *Lorenz Stein. Grundlagen und Struktur seiner politischen Ideenwelt*, Köln (Diss.).

Blasius, Dirk 2007: *Lorenz von Stein - Deutsche Gelehrtenpolitik in der Habsburger Monarchie* (Lorenz-von-Stein-Institut Schriftenreihe, vol. 24).

Blasius, Dirk 1977: „Lorenz von Stein als Geschichtsdenkler,“ in: Blasius, Dirk/Pankoke, Eckhart 1977: *Lorenz von Stein. Geschichts- und Gesellschaftswissenschaftliche Perspektiven*, p. 3-76.

Blasius, Dirk 2014: „Lorenz von Steins Sozialstaat im Kontext der 'Zeitgeschichte'“, in: Koslowski, Stefan (ed.): *Lorenz von Stein und der Sozialstaat*, Baden-Baden (Nomos), p. 30-41.

Bluhm, Harald (ed.) 2010: *Klassiker Auslegen! Marx/Engels: Die deutsche Ideologie*.

Brügel, Ludwig, *Geschichte der österreichischen Sozialdemokratie*, 1922.

Brüning, Christoph/Schliesky, Utz (ed.) 2015: *Lorenz von Stein und die rechtliche Regelung der Wirklichkeit*, Tübingen (Mohr Siebeck).

Grünfeld, Ernst 1910: *Lorenz von Stein und die Gesellschaftslehre*.

Fischer, K. 1990: *Die Wissenschaft der Gesellschaft. Gesellschaftsanalyse und Geschichtsphilosophie des Lorenz von Stein unter besonderer Berücksichtigung seines gesellschaftswissenschaftlichen Entwurfs*, Frankfurt a. M..

Grolle, J. 1968: „Lorenz von Stein als preußischer Geheimagent“, in: *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, vol. 50, p. 82-96.

Hahn, Manfred 1969: *Bürgerlicher Optimismus im Niedergang. Studien zu Lorenz von Stein und Hegel*, München.

Hundt, Martin (ed.) 2010: Der Redaktionsbriefwechsel der *Hallischen, Deutschen und Deutsch-Französischen Jahrbücher* (1837-1844), vol. 1, Der Briefwechsel um die *Hallischen Jahrbücher*, Berlin.

Hundt, Martin 2010: *Der Redaktionsbriefwechsel der Hallischen, Deutschen und Deutsch-Französischen Jahrbücher* (1837-1844), vol. 2, Berlin (Akademie).

Koslowski, Stefan 2008: „Hegel als Theoretiker der bürgerlichen Gesellschaft und des modernen Staates?“, in: *Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie* (ARSP), vol. 94, p. 86-110.

Koslowski, Stefan 2010: „Kritik des deutschen Sozialismus“, in: Bluhm, Harald (ed.) 2010: *Klassiker Auslegen! Marx/Engels: Die deutsche Ideologie*, p. 185-204.

Koslowski, Stefan, „Vom 'socialen Staat' über den Sozialstaat zu den Sozialmächten im Wohlfahrtsstaat“, in *Archiv für Rechts- und Sozialphilosophie*, 2015, vol. 101, p. 202-225.

Koslowski, Stefan 2014: *Was heißt und wozu dient Bildung als Kapital*, in: Koslowski, Stefan (ed.) 2014: *Lorenz von Stein und der Rechtsstaat*, Baden-Baden, p. 150-167.

Koslowski, Stefan 2005: *Zur Philosophie von Wirtschaft und Recht. Lorenz von Stein im Spannungsfeld zwischen Idealismus, Historismus und Positivismus*, Berlin.

Lahmer, Gundula 1982: *Lorenz von Stein. Zur Konstitution des bürgerlichen Bildungswesens*, Frankfurt a. M./New York.

Löbig, M. 2004: *Persönlichkeit, Gesellschaft und Staat. Idealistische Voraussetzungen der Theorie Lorenz von Steins*, Würzburg.

Manuel, Frank. E. 1965: *The Prophets of Paris, Turgot, Condorcet, Saint-Simon, Fourier, Comte*, New York/Harper & Row.

Marcuse, Herbert 1989 (english *Reason and revolution*, New York 1941): *Vernunft und Revolution. Hegel und die Entstehung der Gesellschaftstheorie*, Frankfurt a. M..

Pankoke, Eckhart/Blasius, Dirk 1977: *Lorenz von Stein. Geschichts- und gesellschaftswissenschaftliche Perspektiven*.

Pepperle, H. und I. (ed.) 1986: *Die Hegelsche Linke*, Frankfurt a. M..

Pepperle, I. 1978: *Junghegelianische Geschichtsphilosophie und Kunsttheorie*, (Ost-)Berlin.

Pickering, Mary 1993 (Paperback 2006): *Auguste Comte. An intellectual Biography*, volume I, Cambridge University Press.

Pross, Helge 1966: „Bürgerlich-Konservative Kritik an der kapitalistischen Gesellschaft. Zur Theorie Lorenz von Steins“, in: *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie (KZfSS)*, vol. 18, p. 131-138.

Quesel, C. 1989: *Soziologie und soziale Frage. Lorenz von Stein und die Entstehung der Gesellschaftswissenschaft in Deutschland*, Wiesbaden.

Retter, Hein 2007: *Reformpädagogik und Protestantismus im Übergang zur Demokratie. Studien zur Pädagogik Peter Petersens*.

Roeder, P.-M. 1968: *Erziehung und Gesellschaft. Ein Beitrag zur Problemgeschichte. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung des Werkes von Lorenz von Stein*, Weinheim.

Schliesky, Utz/Schlürmann, Jan 2015: *Lorenz von Stein. Leben und Werk zwischen Borby und Wien*.

Schmidt, Werner 1956: *Lorenz von Stein. Ein Beitrag zur Biographie, zur Geschichte Schleswig-Holsteins und zur Geistesgeschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts*, Eckernförde.

Taschke, Heinz (ed.) 1985: *Lorenz von Steins nachgelassene staatsrechtliche und rechtsphilosophische Vorlesungsmanuskripte*, Heidelberg.

Uhl, H. 1977: *Lorenz von Stein und Karl Marx. Zur Grundlegung von Gesellschaftsanalyse und politischer Theorie 1842-1850*, Tübingen.

Van Kley, Dale K. 1996: *The Religious Origins of the French Revolution. From Calvin to the Civil Constitution, 1560-1791*, New Haven and London.

Waszek, Norbert 2002: « Lorenz Stein. De l'idéalisme allemand à la sociologie», in: *Lorenz Stein. Le concept de société*, trad. par Marc Béghin, présenté par Norbert Waszek, Grenoble, p. 9-61.

Waszek, Norbert 2014: „Lorenz von Steins Frankreichtaufenthalt im Spannungsfeld von Idealismus und Soziologie“, in: Koslowski, Stefan (ed.) 2014: *Lorenz von Stein und der Sozialstaat*, Baden-Baden 2014, p. 64-82.

Waszek, Norbert, „War Eduard Gans (1797-1839) der erste Links- oder Junghegelianer?“, in: Quante, Michael/Mohseni, Amir (ed) 2015: *Die linken Hegelianer. Studien zum Verhältnis von Religion und Politik im Vormärz*, p. 29-51.

<p><i>Recibido el 25 de septiembre de 2016. Aceptado el 30 de marzo de 2017</i></p>
---