

Bishop Ketteler and Ferdinand Lassalle

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When Ferdinand Lassalle, during a triumphant speaking tour in 1864, cited the support of Bishop Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler of Mainz, both Roman Catholics and socialists were startled, and many were shocked. It was difficult to see in the same camp the promoter of a democratic, socialist revolution, and Germany's most prominent "ultramontane" clergyman. But there was a similarity in attitude between the brilliant agitator from the Jewish middle class and the pious divine from the Catholic aristocracy. The question whether the Lassalle-Ketteler combination represented a sincere merging of views in face of a new social situation, or a selfish and hypocritical manoeuvre on the part of two political manipulators puzzled contemporaries and has provided an inviting subject for historical speculation.

Students of Lassalle have described his references to Ketteler as demagogery.¹ Georges Brandes, an early biographer, was revolted at the scene of Lassalle attributing to the bishop a saintly reputation. "It was ... hardly worthy of Lassalle," Brandes wrote, "to appeal to the innocent confidence of the ignorant mob, who were thereby induced to regard as a saint the well-paid Bishop, who in after years defended the syllabus and championed the Obscurantist party."² The Jesuit Father Pfülf, in his detailed study of Ketteler's life, has shown that not only did socialists ridicule the Lassalle-Ketteler association, but both non-Catholic and Catholic opponents of Lassalle protested against the bishop ever having expressed himself in a way which they felt had intensified class animosity.³

The English historian, W. H. Dawson, wrote that Lassalle "undoubtedly had right on his side in claiming Bishop von Ketteler as a convert,"⁴ but an intimate witness of the German socialist movement, Bernhard Becker, described Ketteler's "The Working Class Question and Christianity," from which Lassalle had quoted, as "a Jesuitical piece of work," which gave apparent support to Lassalle but had

¹ Hermann Oncken, *Lassalle* (Stuttgart: 1904), p. 405.

² George Brandes, *Ferdinand Lassalle* (New York: 1881), p. 193. Bebel claimed that J. B. von Schweitzer, Lassalle's successor, made use of the bishop's name to obtain the support of conservatives for the General German Workingmen's Association. August Bebel, *Aus meinem Leben* (3 vols., Stuttgart: 1910-1914) II (1911), 47.

³ Otto Pfülf S. J., *Bischof von Ketteler (1811-1877). Eine geschichtliche Darstellung* (3 vols., Mainz: 1899) II. 193-196

⁴ William Harbutt Dawson, *German Socialism and Ferdinand Lassalle* (2nd. ed., London: 1891), p. 166.

the objective only of increasing the authority of the clergy.⁵ The Marxist historian, Franz Mehring, believed that Bishop Ketteler had borrowed from Lassalle's polemics in order to annoy the bourgeoisie, while at the same time the cleric had maintained the divine origin of property in order to quash the emancipation struggle in which the proletariat was then engaged.⁶

Even modern studies have pointed to Ketteler's hatred of liberalism as explaining his readiness to praise Lassalle, who for quite different reasons than the bishop flayed the liberal bourgeoisie. The German scholar Grebe has explained how Ketteler, seeing liberalism as hostile to the church, delighted in reading Lassalle's attacks on the liberal parties.⁷ The American Father Hogan wrote that Ketteler's "joy at having found another partner against liberalism" ⁸ Moreover, Hogan added, Ketteler had adopted a weak part of Lassalle's theory – "the iron law of wages" – a proposition which the facts of industrial and social life had already disproved by the middle of the last century.⁹ Fritz Vignier, in his scholarly analysis of Ketteler's career, cannot find evidence to show that the bishop should even be classified as a "social thinker." Slow in realizing the condition of the industrial proletariat, the Mainz cleric adopted some of Lassalle's phraseology rather for political reasons than because of social interest. Ketteler offered the old Christian *caritas* solution to the social problem to divert Catholic workers from both liberalism and socialism.¹⁰

Whatever the paradoxes in the mutual praise of the socialist and the divine, and whatever their inadequacies as economic theoreticians, there is no questioning the importance of Lassalle as the chief inspiration and leading organizer of a mass socialist movement in Germany,¹¹ nor of Ketteler as the chief spokesman of German Catholicism. Neither original nor profound, Bishop Ketteler yet proclaimed to all Germany the concern of the Catholic Church with the industrial proletariat. His borrowing concepts from Lassalle meant the spread of advanced social notions among German Catholics. The Lassalle-Ketteler

⁵ Bernhard Becker, *Geschichte der Arbeiter-Agitation Ferdinand Lassalle's* (Braunschweig: 1874), p. 219.

⁶ Franz Mehring, *Geschichte der Deutschen Sozialdemokratie* (4 vols. in 2, Stuttgart: 1919) III, 155.

⁷ Paul Grebe, *Die Arbeiterfrage bei Lange, Ketteler, Jörg, Schäffe. Aufgezeit an ihrer Auseinandersetzung mit Lassalle* (Berlin : 1935), pp. 49-51.

⁸ William Edward Hogan, *The Development of Bishop Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler's Interpretation of the Social Problem* (Washington, D.C.: 1946), p. 90.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

¹⁰ Fritz Vignier, *Ketteler Ein Deutsches Bischofsleben des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich and Berlin: 1924), pp. 417-418.

¹¹ Edward Bernstein, *Ferdinand Lassalle as a Social Reformer* (London and New York: 1893), p. 192; Ed. Bernstein, *Ferdinand Lassalle and seine Bedeutung für die Arbeiterklasse* (Berlin: 1904), p. 194.

agreement, while far from complete, marked a significant turning-point in German history.¹²

The Ketteler pamphlet which Lassalle had cited, “The Working Class Question and Christianity,” was published early in 1864. Here Ketteler had asserted Lassalle’s position that under the present working of free-enterprise capitalism, the working class was impoverished.¹³ The pamphlet allowed Lassalle to proclaim at Ronsdorf on May 22nd, 1864, that the bishop “has pronounced himself in favor of all my economic propositions and these in regards to the Progressists!”¹⁴ Lassalle exaggerated the extent of Ketteler’s support, but it was true that in the controversy between Lassalle and liberal Progressist “self-help” theorists, such as Hermann Schulze-Delitzsch, the bishop in the main took the side of Lassalle.

So close were the views of the two men, Lassalle in his Ronsdorf address quoted a number of paragraphs from the bishop’s pamphlet, including this presentation of the “iron law”:

The material existence of the working class, the providing of all necessary needs of life for the worker and for his family rests, with so few exceptions that they cannot alter this rule, on the wages of the worker, and in our time the wages of the worker are determined according to the needs of life in the strictest sense, that is according to what is necessarily indispensable for man in nourishment, clothing and habitation if his physical existence is not to be annihilated. The truth of this proposition has through the well-known controversy between Lassalle and his opponents been made so evident that only the intention to deceive the people can dispute it. In this lies, as it is maintained with complete justice, the whole working class question; on the one hand the need of the worker, on the other hand the touchstone for the value of all proposals to aid the working class.¹⁵

Ketteler’s picture of the de-humanising effect of the iron law of wages is similar to that which can be read in any of the great socialist writers of the nineteenth century, including Marx as well as Lassalle.¹⁶ The common source, of course, is the “classical economics” of writers such as Ricardo. The condition of the working man is determined by his wages, Ketteler repeated, but his wages are a commodity, the price of which is declared daily by supply and demand. In this mechanical world of exchange, even the most essential needs of a man sometimes

¹² Vigener, p. 459; Hogan, p. 248; Grebe, pp. 38-41.

¹³ “Die Arbeiterfrage and das Christentum,” in Johannes Mumbauer, ed., *Wilhelm Emmanuel von Kettelers Schriften* (3 vols., Munich: 1924) III, 57.

¹⁴ Eduard Bernstein, ed., *Ferdinand Lassalle Gesammelte Reden and Schriften* (12 vols., Berlin: 1919-1920) IV (1919), 213.

¹⁵ Ketteler, *Schriften* III, 14-15. See Lassalle, *Gesammelte Reden and Schriften* IV, 214.

¹⁶ Lassalle’s use of the “value” theory of labor was much more ethical than was that of Marx, according to Tatiana Grigorovici, *Die Wertlehre bei Marx and Lassalle* (Vienna: 1908), p. 94.

cannot be covered by the price of his labor.¹⁷

If there is a novel twist to this argument, it is the portrayal of the spirit of liberalism as the cause of man becoming the victim of the modern capitalist market-place. “This is the slave-market of our liberal Europe,” Ketteler protested, “formed according to the pattern of our humane, enlightened anti-Christian liberalism and Freemasonry.”¹⁸ In a sweeping and inexact generalisation, he attributed the forcing down of wages to capitalist competition and the principle of free trade, which he charged all liberals professed, from the National Liberals to the Progressists, from the great capitalists to the rationalistic professors.¹⁹ The bishop’s description of the proletarianisation of formerly independent workers and producers, of the concentration of capital in the hands of a few who used machinery only to cut costs and increase profits at the expense of the workers²⁰ was common-place in socialist writings; one meets it in a much more scholarly guise in Marx’s 1867 *Das Capital*.

Ketteler agreed with Lassalle that under capitalism the workers were too poor to benefit from co-operative associations which they themselves could form.²¹ Lassalle was right in his criticism of the liberals, but on the other hand his opponents were right in some of their criticisms of the socialist.²² Unrestricted capitalism should give way to a society where workers had a share in profits. A form of co-operative associations was desirable, the bishop held, but he rejected the role which Lassalle had given to the state; the government did not have the right to violate the sacredness of private property, the rich could not be compelled through taxation to support workers’ associations.²³ The solution Ketteler saw in adherence to the Christian spirit on the part of the poor and the rich.²⁴ Specifically, wealthy capitalists should aid working men to establish co-operative factories, which Ketteler called “productive associations.”²⁵

In appealing to the bishop before Catholics in Ronsdorf Lassalle was not overly scrupulous in his political methods. Certainly the ecclesiastic had employed language like that of the agitator in his attacks on capitalism, and it is hardly surprising that Lassalle would use what ammunition he could in his campaign to win working men away from the new and popular Progressists. But Ketteler was no socialist, nor even a democrat, and in almost all subjects which most divided men, Bishop Ketteler and Ferdinand Lassalle were opposed. This did not prevent Lassalle from making use of the Bishop’s name whenever he could –

¹⁷ Ketteler, *Schriften* III, 16-19.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 24-25.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-55.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 55.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 56-61, p. 125.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 94-95.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 94, 124-125.

at Ronsdorf, in an appeal on his conviction for treason,²⁶ or in that curious episode shortly before his fatal 1864 duel when he proposed to allow the bishop to baptise him in the Catholic faith as a means of making the parents of the girl for whom Lassalle pined more favorable to his marriage, the lover not having troubled to learn that the young lady was a Protestant.²⁷

There is no mystery about Lassalle's utilisation of Ketteler's name, for the bishop had publicly agreed with him. It is well known, moreover, that Lassalle had entered into negotiations with Bismarck and at the above-mentioned Ronsdorf address had with little justification claimed the support of the King of Prussia. But what can be said about Ketteler's invocation of Lassalle, or indeed about the bishop's entry into the polemics of the social question?

It seems to me that here the bishop's critics, anxious to dispel the myth of his apologists that Ketteler was a significant "path-finder" in social matters, have inclined to treat the Mainz cleric with undue severity. To say that Ketteler praised Lassalle only to further the interests of the church at the expense of liberalism and of socialism and that he was not interested in the condition of the working man as such is to miss the point. Ketteler's belief in the mission of the church was such that he thought there was an identification between the progress of the church and the welfare of the proletariat. Of course he wished to help destroy both socialism and liberalism, and hoped his pamphlet would further these desirable goals; for him either socialism or liberalism meant at once an attack on the church and the enslavement of man. "The Working Class Question and Christianity" concerned itself more with the evils of liberalism than with socialism, but Ketteler saw liberalism as an immediate enemy, while socialism was a hypothetical danger much more remote than the social ills so apparent to almost all observers. Nor was the 1864 pamphlet Ketteler's first examination of social problems.

As a young priest and a delegate to the National Assembly in 1848 Ketteler raised the social question. His addresses were given not at the assembly itself but in sermons and at meetings of the Catholic Union. Historians have disagreed as to the importance of Ketteler's remarks. An American apologist, Laux, described the priest's speech on the social question at the Catholic Union on October 4th, 1848, as a "landmark ... in the history of the Catholic Church and of Catholic social reform work,"²⁸ when he "opened up before the astonished gaze of his hearers the outlook of a vast and practically unexplored region – *the social question*."²⁹ According to Laux, Ketteler was "the first to draw the attention of the Catholic world to the supreme importance of the social question and to the only means of solving it."³⁰

The more scholarly Vigenor, however, points out that Ketteler had no real

²⁶ *Lassalle, Gesammelte Reden and Schriften* III (1919), 434-437.

²⁷ Brandes, p. 208.

²⁸ John Joseph Laux, writing under pseudonym of George Metlake, *Christian Social Reform* (Philadelphia: 1912), p. 25.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 28.

awareness of the position of the industrial laborer nor any appreciation of the role which the modern state could play in social matters. Ketteler was no innovator, he had no acquaintance with the writings of the Catholic Saint-Simonians nor the social school of French democracy; he was not acquainted with the English working class movement nor had he read German social-political literature of 1848 and earlier.³¹ Father Hogan agrees that Ketteler still had no concept of the condition of the industrial proletariat and that he was not unique in raising the social question.³² On the other hand, Bachem, the historian of the Center party, feels that Ketteler's speeches were of great importance. When read today his views seem well worn, but he offered much that was new to the Catholics of 1848 in his handling of social problems "with penetrating theological principles on the basis of the Christian moral law."³³

Ketteler in 1848 had yet to study the effect of large-scale capitalism on the condition of the working class, but his addresses were of significance not for their unusual insight but from the sincere enthusiasm with which the preacher called attention to the cause of the poor and to the role that the church must play in alleviating their condition.³⁴ As parish priest of Hopsten he had frequently discussed the problem of poverty, pointing out the love of Christ for the poor and urging the obligation of the rich to assist them.³⁵ All of Ketteler's speeches, actions and writings, as Bachem truly notes, show a warm, human sympathy for the working class.³⁶

To consider his social addresses and writings from the point of view of their hardly remarkable content or of their relationship to church-state problems would give one a distorted picture of the churchman's character. Before he realized the political, social and religious significance of the industrial proletariat, his heart as a Christian pastor went out to the poor. This was not a matter of words, for as chaplain, pastor and bishop he devoted much of his energy to the active work of charity – from the establishing of charitable institutions to visiting the poor and to seeing personally that poor children were adequately fed and clothed.³⁷

His concern for the poor was not a momentary enthusiasm of a young pastor nor the expediency of a crafty ecclesiastic in 1864 to counter Lasalle's propaganda. Ketteler until his death in 1877 consistently returned to the social question, regretting the great division between rich and poor, which he saw as a wound in society to be healed by the application of Christian principles.³⁸ He was

³¹ Vigener, pp. 107-108.

³² Hogan, p. 57.

³³ Karl Bachem, *Vorgeschichte, Geschichte and Politik der Deutschen Zentrumspartei* (2nd ed., 8 vols., Cologne: 1928-1931) II (1929), 57.

³⁴ On Ketteler's 1848 addresses see Pfülf I, 158-164.

³⁵ Ketteler, *Schriften* I, 60, 67-69.

³⁶ Bachem II, 63.

³⁷ Pfülf I, 128-129, 140-141; II, 173.

³⁸ Ketteler, *Schriften* II, 245; III, 145-253; Pfülf I, 168; II, 180, 203-204, 430-431, 434-435; III, 288-289.

not so naïve as to suppose that the “Christian solution” would bring about Utopia. “We do not maintain,” he wrote in his first message to his diocese, “that in religion one has the means to dry all tears, to heal all bodily wounds, to banish sickness and suffering. Rather, we do know that for us the world is a place of exile, a valley of tears, a laborious path to a better homeland.”³⁹ But this was no pious excuse for failure to act. The new bishop promised to work for the spiritual and bodily good of all; everyone, no matter how lowly, was a child of God.⁴⁰

The application of Christian principles involved not merely charity, but the reorganization of society on a corporative basis.⁴¹ Influenced both by Aquinas’s notions of private property and by the medieval guilds, and suspicious of the centralised state, Ketteler never gave up hope that Christian capitalists would establish the productive associations which he had discussed in his famous 1864 pamphlet.⁴² No such associations, however, were formed, the bishop having little time to put into practice what was very probably a fanciful scheme.⁴³ Indeed with all his interest in productive associations, Ketteler did not feel it was the church itself which should establish them, but rather capitalists and working men should found the associations; the founders would be motivated by the Christian principles which the cleric had tried to elucidate.⁴⁴

Despite the prominent role which the social question played in Bishop Ketteler’s pronouncements, he was much more than a “social” or even a “political” clergyman. His pastoral letters constantly emphasized the sacramental life of the church and the importance of religious duties.⁴⁵ He spoke and wrote frequently on the school question, defending the cause of the church in the field of education,⁴⁶ and he played a leading role during the *Kulturkampf*.⁴⁷ But Ketteler was a vigorous apologist of the church prior to the *Kulturkampf*. Nothing touching religion escaped his attention, as can be seen in the example of a skilful pamphlet which he penned in 1868 against an anti-Jesuit play. Aply defending the history of the church in Germany,⁴⁸ he concluded by accusing anti-Catholic liberals of a “pseudo-tolerance,” which at its roots was intolerant. “Modern” tolerance, he wrote, allowed religious convictions only when no one

³⁹ J. M. Raich, ed., *Wilhelm Emmanuel Freiherr von Ketteler Bischof von Mainz Hirtenbriefe* (Mainz: 1904), p. 11.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁴¹ Pfülf II, 203.

⁴² Grebe, p. 61; Hogan, p. 133; Vigener, pp. 460-461; Pfülf II, 200-202.

⁴³ Pfülf II, 197-201

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 430-431, 436.

⁴⁵ For one of many examples, see pastoral letter 12 February, 1854, Raich, p. 111.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 761; Ketteler, *Schriften* I, 397; II, 184.

⁴⁷ Ketteler, *Schriften* I, 246-251; Raich, pp. 702-716; Pfülf III, 299.

⁴⁸ Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler, *Die öffentliche Beschimpfung der katholischen Kirche auf der Bühne* (3rd ed., Mainz: 1868), pp. 11-13.

had any more religious convictions.⁴⁹

An effective preacher and pamphleteer, Ketteler was in no sense a creative theologian and had no remarkable appreciation of intellectual currents. His early religious inclinations were influenced by Fénelon and de Maistre,⁵⁰ and by the German Görres's romantic account of church heroes,⁵¹ but neither as a theological student in Munich nor as a priest and bishop did his theology go much beyond an insistence on the role of the church and the hierarchical notion of authority in the church.⁵² Ketteler spoke frequently of "freedom," which he pictured as the most lofty of concepts, since the power of the word came from the deepest, innermost needs of the human soul.⁵³ There was nothing new or profound in his argument, but he was always clear and persuasive in his style. The freedom in man, he maintained, represented man's share in the divinity; this freedom involved a choice of means towards happiness, was limited by man's nature and was connected with the obligation to follow God's will⁵⁴

As a matter of practical policy, freedom meant the freedom of the church to operate unmolested by the modern state. Ketteler saw the enemies of freedom both in the bureaucracy of the pre-1848 "wretched police states,"⁵⁵ and in the liberalism which would utilise the modern state for purely secular interests.⁵⁶ He opposed man's "sovereign spirit" to the "sovereign state,"⁵⁷ and upheld the right of each religious group to establish its own system of schools in accordance with the religious convictions of the parents.⁵⁸

Ketteler had been a delegate to the National Assembly in 1848 and was to sit as a Center party deputy in Bismarck's *Reich*, but since he was consistently a cleric rather than a politician, he cannot be classified as adhering to any one political position. He was, as might be expected from his aristocratic background and his church policies, much more conservative than liberal. Like many German Catholics, he had welcomed the 1848 revolution as an attack on the bureaucracy which both in the Catholic and in the Protestant Germanies had, Catholics felt, oppressed the Catholic church. At first Ketteler sat on the extreme left in the assembly, but when he became aware of the democratic aims of the left, he switched to the right.⁵⁹ In 1848 as in 1871 Ketteler strove for the political union of all

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵⁰ Read in 1840, see Vigener, pp. 39-40.

⁵¹ J. Görres, *Die christliche Mystik* 2 vols., 1836, read in 1838, see Vigener, pp. 20-21.

⁵² Vigener, pp. 46, 726.

⁵³ Ketteler, *Schriften* II, 1.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 2-3.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, I, 407.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, II, 26, 181.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 403; II, 31, 43.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 398.

⁵⁹ Pfülf I, 154-156; Bachem II, 48-49; Vigener, pp. 66, 78, 115.

Catholics as a means of maintaining the freedom of the church. When in 1871 he defended the right of the individual against “liberal centralisation,” he wrote not as a political theorist but as a Catholic prelate with very real fears concerning the church in the modern world.⁶⁰

In opposition to liberalism and in concern for the working man, Bishop Ketteler resembled Lassalle, but they were apart in their philosophies of history, in their views on the nature of freedom and in their concept of the state. Scholars like Savigny and Raumer had influenced the young Ketteler at university,⁶¹ while Rousseau, Robespierre,⁶² Heine, Borne and the young Hegelians, such as Feuerbach, gave direction to Lassalle.⁶³ The imprint of Hegel’s concept of the movement of history and the role of the state in assuring man’s freedom was very marked in Lassalle, who developed his Hegelianism to see an eventual communist state.⁶⁴ Lassalle rejoiced in the victory of humanism over scholasticism and in that aspect of the Reformation which offered defiance to the pope; Lassalle supported the cause of the peasants, and would have liked to have seen a successful revolution against the princes.⁶⁵ The revolutionary spirit of modern nationalism similarly met with his approval, to the extent that he was willing in the interests of Italian unity to support even Emperor Napoleon III against Austria.⁶⁶ Quite out of sympathy with the pope, Lassalle attacked Austria as the upholder of Catholicism in a way which fitted in well with the common trend of nineteenth century anti-clerical propaganda.⁶⁷ Ketteler, on the other hand, objected to the “revolutionary spirit” of the age and warmly defended the interests of the papacy, including its Italian temporal possessions.⁶⁸

It would be misleading to consider only the similarities in the anti-bourgeois, anti-liberal tirades of the two polemicists.⁶⁹ It is more instructive in understanding the wide gap between the two men to contrast Lassalle’s passionate demands in

⁶⁰ Wilhelm Emmanuel von Ketteler, *Die Centrums-Fraction auf dem ersten Deutschen Reichstage* (Mainz: 1872), p. 11. See also Ketteler, *Schriften* II, 137, and Bachem III (1927), 200-203.

⁶¹ FfiffI, 32.

⁶² Gustav Mayer, ed., *Ferdinand Lassalle Nachgelassene Briefe and Schriften* (6 vols., Stuttgart and Berlin: 1921-1925) I, 49-51.

⁶³ Oncken, pp. 18, 24, 28; Lassalle, *Nachgelassene Briefe* VI, 94.

⁶⁴ Oncken, p. 27; Charles Andler, *Les Origines du Socialisme d’Etat en Allemagne* (Paris: 1897), p. 187; Lassalle, *Nachgelassene Briefe* I, 103, 116-134; Lassalle, *Gesammelte Reden and Schriften* II, 196-197.

⁶⁵ Lassalle, *Gesammelte Reden and Schriften* I, 126-132; II, 126-132; Lassalle, *Nachgelassene Briefe* 11 (1923), 169-171.

⁶⁶ Lassalle, *Gesammelte Reden and Schriften* I, 29.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 36-37

⁶⁸ Raich, pp. 273, 286-296.

⁶⁹ For example see Lassalle, *Gesammelte Reden and Schriften* II, 189, 195; Ketteler, *Schriften* I, 202; III, 250-253.

the Saint-Simonian tradition for the emancipation of women with the bishop's insistence that the place for the female who was not a nun was as a housewife, at home, raising a large family.⁷⁰ Both men hated free enterprise capitalism and the predominance of the liberal politicians, but the bishop took care to point out he did not support the establishment of socialism through a social democratic party.⁷¹

Bishop Ketteler's statements on the social question, however, stimulated the German clergy to consider social problems and also gave impetus to the organisation of Catholic trade unions.⁷² In 1869 Marx told Engels of his worry that German priests, influenced by Ketteler, were weakening the position of Marxists who were agitating among Catholic workers.⁷³ Ketteler's influence indeed became world-wide, as can be seen in his at least indirect influence on Pope Leo XIII's *1891 Rerum Novarum*.⁷⁴

Through Ketteler the great German Center party developed a social conscience and among at least its more progressive members an appreciation of the ideals if not an agreement with the aims of social democracy. The Center party balked at Bismarck's anti-socialist laws, but supported social legislation, and in the Weimar Republic, Catholic statesmen co-operated with Social Democrats to maintain, however briefly, a democratic Germany. Knowing with the benefit of hindsight the terrible fate of the Weimar Republic, we might wish that men like Lassalle and Ketteler had been less vehement in their denunciation of the liberals.

The bishop of Mainz failed to see the positive aspects of liberalism. He must join that unfortunately large group of intellectuals who in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries helped to weaken Germany's appreciation of liberal ideas and thus contributed to the movement to a fiendishly inhuman totalitarianism. But Ketteler would probably have been as horrified and disgusted with the Nazi movement as any liberal. More to his liking would have been the present coalition between the Christian Democrats and Social Democrats. If his attacks on liberalism helped in a small way to prepare the path to the hideousness of the Nazi party, his support of the cause of the workingman and his praise of Lassalle more certainly contributed to the contemporary association of Christian and socialist democracy.

⁷⁰ Lassalle, *Nachgelassene Briefe* IV (1924), 13-15, 26-28; Ketteler, *Schriften* 1, 212-213.

⁷¹ Ketteler, *Schriften* III, 167-183, 242-253.

⁷² Francesco S. Nitti, *Catholic Socialism* (London and New York: 1895), pp. 130-131, 185; Emile de Laveleye, *The Socialism of Today* (London: 1884), pp. 133, 138-139; Pöhl II, 189-190.

⁷³ Marx to Engels, Hannover, 25 September, 1869, in A. Bebel and Ed. Bernstein, eds., *Der Briefwechsel zwischen Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx 1844 bis 1883* (4 vols., Stuttgart: 1919) IV, 194.

⁷⁴ Hogan, pp. 237-241.