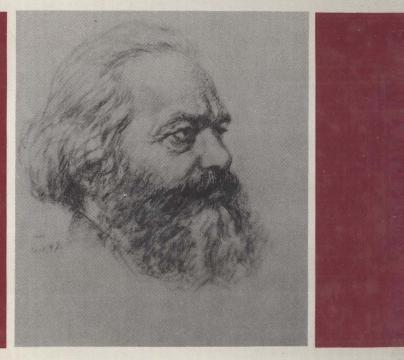
Facts On File Chronology Series

MARX LIFE AND WORKS

Maximilien Rubel



Facts On File

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Translated by Mary Bottomore

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MARX LIFE AND WORKS

General Introduction to the Chronology Series

The aim of this series is to provide an accurate, succinct, in-depth account of the central figure's life and ideas and the impact he had on the events of his day. Personal details are included when they shed light on character and personality. The subject's own writings and speeches are the main source of information, but letters and the opinions of his contemporaries are used when they add a useful extra dimension to the study. An attempt has been made only to record verifiable facts and to provide a reliable, up-to-date account of the subject's activities and influence. The main events of the time are included so as to set the person in historical perspective and to provide a rational context for his ideas and actions. Bibliographical references are given so as to permit readers, should they so desire, to follow up the quotations; a detailed bibliography of works by and about the subject is also included.

Martin McCauley, Series Editor

Preface to the English Edition

This English translation is a somewhat expanded version of the *Chronologie* presented in the first volume of the Pléiade edition of Marx's 'Economy' (Paris: Gallimard, 1963, 5th ed. 1977, p. LVII-CLXXVI).

Within its more limited scope this Marx Chronology has the same purpose as the author's previous publications in this field; namely, to provide the non-specialised reader with sufficient biographical and factual data to enable him to become acquainted with the personality and work of Karl Marx, rescued from travesties and parodies, and liberated from the received ideas about the teachings of a thinker and political militant who once modestly described his activity in the following terms: 'I am a machine condemned to devour books and to throw them in a changed form on the dunghill of history.'

The definitive biography of Marx has yet to be written. It should provide an unbiased portrait of the man and the thinker whose work, if disentangled from the legendary, mythical and ideological encumbrances which hinder access to it, will be seen as an attempt, sustained under the most unfavourable material and moral circumstances, to contribute to the emancipation of humanity through the conscious activity of 'the immense majority in the interest of the immense majority.' (Communist Manifesto)

When Marx, shortly before his death, declared that he was not a 'Marxist', it was not in order to condemn one category of disciples and to show his preference for another, but to indicate his support of a fundamental principle: the cause of the labour movement ought not to be linked to the name of any thinker, however great his creative genius. Tolerating the use by his followers of the terms 'Marxist' and 'Marxism' meant betraying the spirit of a theory, the originality of which was precisely that it had been conceived as the expression of the will and consciousness of a social class, 'the most numerous and the poorest class' (Saint-Simon). That would have been a concession to vanity, and

involved the risk of having his name associated with the activities of a political sect and the aberrations of a moral ideology. (Cf. M Rubel, *Marx*, critique du marxisme, Paris: Payot, 1974, p. 403)

The preceding passage embodies my justification of the field of research which I call 'Marxology'. I conceive it as an intellectual reaction of 'self-defence' against the spread of the obscurantist ideologies which, by invoking an alleged system of thought called 'Marxism', make use of of Marx's social theory for purposes of political oppression and economic enslavement. A meticulous search through the thousands of pages written by Marx would never discover a single line to justify an assertion such as the following:

'dialectical and historical materialism was the most important discovery in human thought, a veritable revolution in science, philosophy and universal knowledge.' (MEW, Vol. I, 1966, preface, p. IX)

Nor would it provide the slightest support for the statement:

'The dialectical materialist philosophy elaborated in creative collaboration by Marx and Engels, together with their political economy and scientific communism, are an intrinsically complete system of philosophical, economic and socio-political doctrines: they represent the only scientific Weltanschauung.' (Introduction to the new Marx-Engels-Gesamtausgabe, I, 1, Moscow-Berlin, 1975, p. 20)

It is unnecessary, I think, to refer to the incisive criticism made by Karl Popper in order to condemn such verbal excesses, which betray the state of mind, characterised by a lust for domination, of a new class of masters. Marx's work embodies theoretical principles and ethical arguments which dispose of the pseudo-science called 'historical materialism', with all its attendant 'historicist' myths and epistemological aberrations.

By way of conclusion let me cite a passage from a text which may be regarded as the theoretical complement of the present *Chronology*:

'In the Communist Manifesto Marx speaks of the "theoretical conclusions of the Communists", which "merely express, in general terms, actual relations springing from an existing class struggle,

Life and Works

from a historical movement going on under our very eyes." These are conclusions derived from the empirical study of historical and social facts, but not a new "scientific socialism". At the most they constitute a science of socialism, an analysis of an existing socialist movement and of the conditions in which it develops. (T B Bottomore and M Rubel, Introduction to Karl Marx: Selected Writings in Sociology and Social Philosophy London: Watts & Co., 1956, p. 16)

M.R. Paris, December 1979 The titles in italics under each year or period of years indicate Marx's principal writings during that time. The letter P after a title indicates a posthumously published work; it is followed by the date of first publication.

The principal sources used are: the works and correspondence of Marx and Engels in various collected editions; the Marx-Engels archives of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam; for those texts which are missing from the collected editions: Karl Marx, Chronik seines Lebens in Einzeldaten, Moscow 1934; O Mänchen-Helfen and B Nicolaïevski, Karl und Jenny Marx, Berlin 1933; the work of Heinz Monz, Karl Marx, Grundlagen der Entwicklung zu Leben und Werk, Trier 1973.

Contents

Introduction

Preface to this edition	
Chronology to Marx's Life	1
Bibliographical Notes	125
Index of Names	126

Place Index 133
Index of Works 135

Subject Index 139

1818-1835

May 5 1818: Born in Trier (Prussian Rhineland), the second son among eight children of Heinrich Marx (1782-1838), a lawyer, and Henriette, née Pressburg (1787-1863), both descended from rabbinical families. Two brothers and two sisters of Karl will die of tuberculosis in their youth. To escape from the situation of the Jews after the fall of Napoleon and the union of the Rhineland with Prussia, Karl's father, a moderate liberal, patriot and follower of Voltaire, was converted to protestantism between 1817 and 1819.

1824: The Marx children are baptised as protestants.

1825: Karl's mother also baptised. Protestantism was the religion of a minority of the Catholic Rhineland.

1830: Karl enters the Friedrich-Wilhelm Gymnasium in Trier.

1835-1841

Reflections of a Young Man on the Choice of a Profession (P, 1929) Wild Songs (1841) The Philosophy of Nature in Democritus and Epicurus (1841) (P)

1835 (August-September): Karl passes his school leaving examinations. He writes in his German composition (Reflections of a Young Man on the Choice of a Profession) '. . . To some extent, our relations with society have begun to be established before we are able to determine them . . . the main idea which should guide us in choosing a profession is the good of humanity and our own perfection . . . Man's nature is such that he can attain his own perfection by working for the welfare and perfection of his fellows.'

1835 (October): Marx begins to study law at the University of Bonn. He also takes courses in classical mythology and the history of art. During his time in Bonn (until March 1836) he joins actively in student life and is a member of a group of poets.

1836 (August): Marx obtains the University of Bonn leaving certificate. During the summer holidays in Trier he becomes secretly engaged to his childhood playmate, Jenny, four yours his senior (1814–1881), the daughter of Ludwig von Westphalen (1770–1842), a Prussian state councillor, and of Karoline, née von Heubel. Jenny is a descendant of members of the Scottish aristocracy, the Campbells of Argyle. One of her ancestors, Archibald, Earl of Argyle, was beheaded in Edinburgh for rebelling against James II. Jenny's step-brother, Ferdinand von Westphalen (1799–1876) will later become Prussian Minister of the Interior. Jenny's brother, Edgar, a classmate of Marx, will join the young couple in their political struggles in Brussels in 1846.

1836 (October): Marx enrolls in the Faculty of Law of the University of Berlin, and studies the Pandects with F K Savigny, criminal law with E Gans (a Hegelian and admirer of Saint-Simon), and anthropology with H Steffens. He sends Jenny three notebooks of lyrical poems and epigrams, many of which he offered to his father on his birthday.

Conflict between Karl and his father because of the secret engagement. The father loves and greatly admires his son, but knows and fears the 'demoniac' and 'Faustian' nature which may draw him into an equivocal situation with regard to Jenny's family, and compromise her reputation. 'There is no more sacred duty for a man than the one he assumes towards the weaker woman . . .' (letter to his son, November 9).

1837: Marx continues his studies in law, but also attends courses in philosophy and history. At the *Doktorklub*, a group of Hegelian writers and academics, he becomes friendly with the Bauer brothers, Bruno and Edgar, Karl Friedrich Köppen and others. He writes poetry and tries his hand at novels and plays. In a candid letter to his father (November 10 1837) he describes his tormented life and his studies in Berlin. Law, poetry, philosophy; an attempt at a 'new metaphysical system'; sleepless nights, solitude, illness. 'A curtain had fallen, my sanctuary had been desecrated and new gods had to be put there. Starting out from idealism, which I had compared to and nourished with that of Kant and Fichte, I decided to seek the Idea in the real itself.' He had read fragments of Hegel whose 'harsh, grotesque melody' had displeased him; he

had attempted a philosophic-dialectical analysis of the concept of divinity in its religious, natural and historical manifestations. 'My last sentence was the beginning of the Hegelian system; this task for which I had familiarised myself to some extent with natural science, Schelling, and history, and which (for it was meant to be a new logic) is written in such a confused style that I myself can hardly make it out now — this darling child of mine, nurtured in moonlight, carries me like a treacherous siren into the hands of the enemy.' The enemy is Hegel, whom the ailing Marx studies 'from beginning to end; and the majority of his disciples too.' In his letter Marx also speaks of the habit he has acquired of making excerpts from the books he is reading and scribbling down his reflections on them.

1838 (May 10): Death of his father, whose last letter expresses dissatisfaction and sadness concerning his son's moral crisis, but also shows faith in his vocation. In Berlin, Marx is declared unfit for military service, owing to a weak chest and the coughing up of blood, both in 1838 and 1839.

1839: Marx works all year on his doctoral thesis (on the Epicurean, Stoic and Sceptical philosophies) with the idea of obtaining a teaching post in Bonn, following the example of his friend, Bruno Bauer. The latter pesters and encourages him to get the examination over quickly. This is only a 'farce' for everything has still to be done in Prussia where, in the absence of political interests, universal interests are richer and more complex than anywhere else. Reading of Aristotle, with a view to a critique of Trendelenburg's Logical Investigations.

1840: While working on his thesis, Marx plans to write polemical, indeed satirical, essays against the attempts to reconcile religion and philosophy in certain university circles (G Hermes, K P Fischer). Karl F Köppen publishes a pamphlet, Frederick the Great and his Adversaries, which is a defence of the philosopher king and a profession of faith in favour of reason and progress; it is dedicated 'to my friend Karl Heinrich Marx, of Trier.' For Köppen, the greatness of Frederick II lies in his having united Epicureanism, Stoicism and Scepticism in his thought. In a letter to her son (May 29, 1840) Marx's mother complains of the unfriendly attitude of the Westphalen family toward her since the death of his father.

1841: Philosophical readings (Spinoza, Leibniz, Hume, Kant, etc.).

1841 Marx

January 23: Wild Songs, Marx's first publication, appears in Athenäum, a review founded by members of the 'Doctors' Club'. Marx writes his doctoral thesis which later, when preparing it for publication, he will dedicate to his future father-in-law, his 'dear, paternal friend', L von Westphalen, a follower of Saint-Simon, who had made him understand that 'idealism is not a chimera, but a truth'. Against the determinism of Democritus, Marx espouses the Epicurean principle of the freedom of consciousness and man's capacity to influence nature. In the preparatory notes for his thesis he defends the Epicurean ethic against the conventional moralism of Plutarch. From all this work there emerges an intention to criticise and to fight, a will to realise the philosophy of consciousness in its conflict with a world borne along by two currents: the first, that of liberalism which has philosophy as its principle and criticism as its activity; the second, positive philosophy, which remains closed in upon itself, never going beyond demands and tendentiousness. 'It is not ideology (!) nor vaingloriousness which we need for our life, but to live without confusion.' Marx receives his doctorate from the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Jena (April 15). In a letter (September 2) to the novelist Berthold Auerbach, Moses Hess, (the author of The Sacred History of Mankind (1837), in which he preaches a messianic communism and The European Triarchy (1841) in which he sets out a philosophy of action leading to the social and economic emancipation of mankind) calls Marx 'the greatest, perhaps the one genuine philosopher now alive'; in spite of his youth 'he will give mediaeval religion and politics their coup de grâce; he combines in his person Rousseau, Voltaire, Holbach, Lessing, Heine and Hegel. Marx travels to Bonn and becomes closely connected with Bruno Bauer; he expects to publish with him and L Feuerbach a review called Atheist Archives, more radical than the German Annals of A Ruge, one of the representatives of the Hegelian Left. As a result of proposing a Left Hegelian toast at a banquet in honour of the Liberal deputy Welcker, Bruno Bauer is suspended from his post at the University of Bonn (October). A month later he publishes anonymously The Trumpet of the Last Judgment on Hegel, the Atheist and AntiChrist. Ultimatum. Some parts of this pamphlet which, under the pretext of denouncing Hegel's atheism, presents the philosophy of universal consciousness in opposition to Hegel's World Spirit, were possibly written by Marx.

1842

The Proceedings of the Sixth Rhenish Diet
Leading article in No 179 of the "Kölnische Zeitung"
The Philosophical Manifesto of the Historical School of Law
Communism and the Augsburg "Allgemeine Zeitung"
Supplement to nos 335 and 336 of the Augsburg "Allgemeine Zeitung"
on the assemblies of estates in Prussia.

January-February: Marx returns to Trier where he remains until the death of Ludwig von Westphalen (March 3).

February: Marx sends Ruge Remarks on the latest Prussian Instruction on the Censorship. Intended for the German Annals, Marx's article, signed 'a Rhinelander', will appear a year later in Anekdota, a review also directed by Ruge, and published in Zurich: here Ruge publishes articles whose publication in Dresden is forbidden by the Prussian censorship. The article ends with this quotation from Tacitus: 'How rare and fortunate are those times when one can think as one wishes and say what one thinks.'

March 5: Marx tells Ruge he will soon be sending him two essays; in the first he discusses Christian art and in the second criticises Hegel's philosophy of law. 'Essentially, it is an attack on constitutional monarchy, a completely misbegotten contradictory creature which destroys itself. Res publica has no equivalent in German'. Marx writes to Ruge (March 20) that he has expanded the essay on Chrisian art into a study of 'religion and art considered in relation to Christian art', but that the work needs to be completely recast. A few days later he says that he is nearly ready and promises to send Ruge four essays: '1. On religious art, 2. On the Romantics, 3. The philosophical manifesto of the Historical School of Law, 4. The positive philosophers.' The study notebooks that are known from this period relate to the following subjects: C Meiner (General critical history of religions, 1806-1807), Jean Barbeyrac (Treatise on the ethics of the Church Fathers, 1728), De Brosse (On the cult of fetish-gods . . . 1785), C A Böttiger (Ideas on the Mythology of Art, 1826-1836), J J Grund (Greek painting . . . 1810-1811), C F von Rumohr (Italian explorations). Only the third of the essays mentioned was published.

April: Marx settles in Bonn and begins his collaboration with the

1842 Marx

Rheinische Zeitung (founded on January 1, 1842) with a series of essays on the debates of the 6th Rhenish Diet, which had sat in Düsseldorf from May to July 1841. The first essay (on the freedom of the press) will appear in May in six numbers of the paper; the censor bans the second essay (on the ecclesiastical conflict in Cologne); the third (on the law against the gathering of fire-wood) will appear in five parts in October and November. On this last essay and on the articles he will publish in 1843 (on the poverty of the Moselle winegrowers), Marx will observe in 1859 that they provided him for the first time with the opportunity to turn his attention to economic questions. He will also say that at that time he had only mistrust for the pale 'philosophical echoes' of French socialism and communism in the columns of the Rheinische Zeitung while recognising his incompetence to discuss them. In fact, it was through the articles of Moses Hess and G Mevissen, published in the same paper, that Marx became familiar with Saint-Simonian and socialist and communist ideas, but without giving great importance to them at that time.

May-July: Marx visits Trier on the death of his brother. He is refused the material help he had expected from his family. 'It is truly fortunate that public infamy prevents a man of character from allowing himself to be irritated by private injustice.' (Marx to Ruge, July 7)

October 15: Installed in Cologne, Marx takes over as managing editor of the *Rheinische Zeitung*. He writes a reply to an attack in the Augsburg *Allgemeine Zeitung* which accused *RhZ* of communist tendencies. In this article Marx mentions for the first time the names of Fourier, Leroux, Considerant, and speaks of the 'penetrating works' of Proudhon. He announces that the *RhZ* will submit their ideas to a 'thorough critical examination'

November: Irritated by the articles in the RhZ on the distress of the Moselle winegrowers, von Schapper, the first president of the Rhine province, launches official denials and accuses the RhZ of false reporting, calumny and incitement to disaffection. Friedrich Engels, en route to England, visits the editor of the RhZ. The meeting with Marx lacks warmth, as the latter believes Engels to be close to the 'Free', a group of Berlin Liberals, correspondents of the RhZ with whom Marx will publicly break off relations.

December: In several articles Marx criticises the corporative constitution

Life and Works 1843

of the Prussian state and compares the fiscal situation of landowners in France, England and Prussia. 'Because of their peculiar composition, the Diets are nothing more than an association of special interest, which are privileged to assert their particular concerns against the state. Consequently, they are legally constituted bodies of non-state elements within the state . . . the particular, in its isolated activity, is always the enemy of the whole, because it is precisely this whole which makes it feel its insignificance, or in other words, its limits.' On the state, Marx writes: 'The state permeates the whole of nature with cultural nerves, and at every point one must recognize that it is form, not substance, which is dominant; not nature without the state, but the nature of the state; not the servile object, but the free man.' Engels publishes several articles in the RhZ on the economic and political situation in England, on Chartism and the situation of the working class.

1843

The Ban on the Leipzig "Allgemeine Zeitung" Self-Justification by the correspondent from the Moselle Critique of Hegel's Public Law (P. 1927)

January-March: Marx continues the articles in which he attacks the Prussian censorship, and defends and comments on the reports published in November and December 1842 on the distress of the Moselle winegrowers. He is officially informed that, by government decision, the RhZ will be banned from April 1. The ban had been demanded by the Tsar following a violent article against Russian autocracy. Marx writes to Ruge (January 25): 'I can do no more in Germany, they are corrupting themselves (. . .) In the suppression of the RhZ I see a progress of political consciousness . . . It is painful to perform a servile task, even in the service of liberty, and to fight with pinpricks instead of with cudgels. I was tired of hypocrisy, stupidity and brutish authority, and also of kowtowing, manoeuvring, and having to employ a contorted, deceptive language.' In the same letter he alludes to a deep family conflict: 'I have fallen out with my relations . . . and while my mother is alive I shall have no right to my inheritance. Moreover, I am engaged, and I shall not leave Germany without my fiancée.' Disappointed by the timorous attitude of the RhZ shareholders, Marx resigns from the editorial staff of the paper, after maintaining (in