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THE FATHER OF SOCIALISM

BY CHARLES Q. DE FRANCE.

No follower of Karl Marx, the father of socialism, having volunteered to furnish a sketch of his life for this edition, I am obliged to write it myself. Acknowledgement is hereby made for material drawn from the biographical memoirs by Wilhelm Liebknecht (translation of Ernest Untermann, now one of the editors of the Appeal to Reason, Girard, Kas.; published by Charles H. Kerr & Co., Chicago; cloth, 181 pp., 50c).

Karl Marx was born May 5, 1818, at Treves, of Jewish parentage. "Only four years had passed," says Liebknecht, "since the province of the Rhine had been occupied by Prussia, and the new masters hastened, in the service of the Holy Alliance, to replace the heathenish French by a Christian German spirit. The pagan Frenchmen had proclaimed the equal rights of all human beings in the German Rhineland, and had removed from the Jews the curse of a thousand years of persecution and oppression, had made citizens and human beings of them. The Christian German spirit of the Holy Alliance condemned the heathenish French spirit of equalization and demanded the renovation of the old curse."

So, shortly after Karl Marx was born, an edict was issued leaving to all the Jews no other choice but to be baptized or to forego all official position and activity. His father was a prominent lawyer and notary public at the county court, and, submitting to the unavoidable, adopted the Christian faith. Liebknecht says that Karl Marx's "whole life was a reply and was the revenge" for this act of violence to religious liberty, his first pamphlet, published twenty years later, when he had grown to manhood, dealing with the question.

The elder Marx, his granddaughter writes, "was a man of great talent, and thoroughly imbued with the French ideas of the eighteenth century concerning religion, science and art." Karl's mother was descended from the Hungarian Jews who had settled in Holland in the seventeenth century. Among the boy's earliest friends and companions were Edgar and Jenny von Westphalen—the latter afterward becoming his wife. Karl's "first love for the romantic school," his granddaughter avers, was inspired by the father of his playmates—a half Scot. The elder Marx read Voltaire and Racine to Karl, and Westphalen read Homer and Shakespeare to him.

After taking the customary school course, Karl Marx entered first the University of Bonn, and afterward Berlin—where he studied law for a while to please his father, and history and philosophy to please himself. He had planned, in 1842, to establish himself at the University of Bonn as a lecturer of philosophy, but upon a friend's advice he abandoned this idea. But that fall he became editor of the "Rheinische Zeitung" (Rheinish Gazette). Here was a field of practical action in which he could display his extraordinary talent.

The German censorship was still in vogue and the "Zeitung" was in a continual fight with the censors. "The wonderful ability of Marx to win and dominate men," says Liebknecht, "already stood the test here. The censors allowed many passages to slip through that offended in Berlin; they received rebuke after rebuke. Finally, when censor after censor had been used up, the dangerous paper was submitted to double censorship; that of the censor and the further censorship of the president of the provincial government. But even this was ineffectual. Thoughts are not prehensible like butterflies. And the government, arrived at the end of its Latin, resorted to force and, in March, 1843, suppressed the Rheinische Zeitung."

Shortly before this Marx had married Jenny von Westphalen, the playmate of his childhood, a sister of the future reactionary Prussian minister von Westphalen, and sister-in-law of Florencourt, the Jesuit father and Christian social demagogue. Marx

now removed to Paris and united with Arnold Ruge in the publication of the "Deutsch-Franzoesischen Jahrbuecher" (German-French Annals). In these he published "a lengthy essay on Hegel's philosophy and another one on the Hebrew question." This publication lived only a short time and copies are almost unobtainable now. But during his relations with the Annals he became acquainted with Engels—an acquaintanceship fruitful of great things, for, says Liebknecht, "both supplemented each other admirably; this they understood and, equal in spite of their difference, they formed that union: a union of friendship and union of work—of political and scientific work—unparalleled in its kind and never for a moment loosened or disturbed—a union into which both of them carried their enormous power and in which both of them developed, strengthened and fully applied it."

After the "Jahrbuecher" was discontinued, Marx and Engels worked together with Heine, Ewerbeck and others on the Paris "Vorwaerts" (Ad-

vanced). Marx meanwhile occupied himself with the study of political economy and of the French revolution, keeping up at the same time a continuous war of the pen against the Prussian government. And the latter got revenge by securing his expulsion from France through Guizot, the all-powerful minister of the "citizen king."

From Paris Marx went to Brussels, where he helped to establish a workingmen's club, besides continuing his studies and contributing occasionally to the "Deutsche Bruesseleer Zeitung" (German Brussels News). He made a speech on free trade at the free-traders' congress in 1846, afterward published as a pamphlet in French; and he wrote "Poverty of Philosophy" in answer to Proudhon's book, "The Philosophy of Misery"—"showing already," says Liebknecht, "the complete Marx and belonging, although originally written in French, to our party literature" (socialism).

While in Brussels Marx and his friends entered the Communist Alliance.

that the revolution could only emanate from the workingmen." He had already proclaimed (in his essay on "The Critique of Hegel's Legal Philosophy") that the proletariat alone was capable of breaking the class rule, because it contained no class and in consequence nothing that could be suppressed.

This alliance had been founded in 1836 by German fugitives in Paris. Says Engels: "Up to the entrance of Marx a more or less conspiratory society, the alliance now transformed itself into a simple organization for the communist propaganda, secret only by force of circumstances, the first organization of the German Social Democratic party. The alliance existed wherever there were German workingmen's clubs; in nearly all the German clubs of England, Belgium, France, and Switzerland, and in very many clubs in Germany, the leading members belonged to this alliance, and the part played by the alliance in the growing movement of German workingmen was very important. At the same time our alliance was the

and creations while human beings are living on earth."

The Manifesto was published early in February, 1848, and "on February 22 the old crater of revolution reopened after eighteen years of rest; on February 24 the July-throne was turned in front of the July-column on the Bastille square and the July-column was once again for a short time a 'Column of Liberty.'"

Previously the Belgian government had refused several requests of the Prussian government to forbid a longer stay of "that disagreeable Marx," but now it had him arrested and transported across the frontier. He hastened to France, but did not like it in Paris. From there he went to Cologne in March with a plan to revive the "Rheinische Zeitung." The first number of the "Neue Rheinische Zeitung" appeared on June 1, 1848, with Marx assisted by such men as Engels, Wilhelm Wolf, Ferdinand Wolf, Ernst Dronke, Ferdinand Freiligrath, and Georg Weerth. "No other paper in Germany has ever had such an editorial staff," says Liebknecht: "It did not live quite a year, but was suppressed; the last number appearing May 19, 1849."

Marx then went to London. Here it was that he found "the bricks and mortar for his work. 'Capital' could be created in London only." Here was written his "Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," commemorating the coup of December 2, 1852, which destroyed the last prospects for a revolutionary revival then, and consequently the Communist Alliance went down.

During the years 1851 and 1852 Marx contributed to the New York Tribune a long series of brilliant articles, which have since been published in book form under the title of "Revolution and Counter-Revolution" (Kerr & Co., Chicago; cloth, 148 pp., \$1). In 1859 his "Critique of Political Economy" was published, demonstrating for the first time his theory of value.

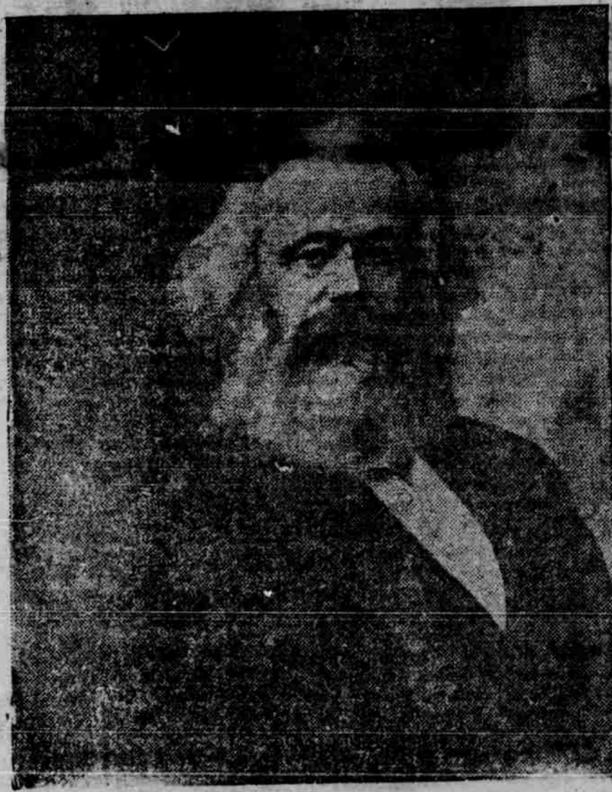
A series of meetings held in London sympathizing with Poland led to the organization of the International Workingmen's association, culminating, on the 28th of September, 1864, in the memorable meeting at St. James' Hall, London. Marx edited the inaugural address.

In 1867 the first volume of his "Capital" appeared; the later volumes were not finished when he died.

"Sickness," says Liebknecht, "brought on by excessively hard work, undermined Marx's originally very strong constitution and forced him in the seventies to go to Karlsbad and the south of France. Family misfortunes overwhelmed him. Death reaped his harvest. On the 2nd of December, 1881, his Jenny died—the playmate of his youth, his comrade for life, his friend, his adviser, his fellow-fighter. This blow struck him through the heart. With her he himself died. Her death was his death. We who knew him felt this well."

"A voyage to Algiers and the south of France did not bring him more strength. I was appalled when I saw him again in the summer of 1882. He did not complain—the deadliest blows kill the nerve, they do not cause any pain—only death. He did not recover. And then came the finishing stroke: Little Jenny, his favorite daughter, the image of himself, Longuet's wife, died suddenly after a short illness. He remained apprehensively calm on receiving the news. In the winter of 1882-3 he was attacked by pneumonia which, however, seemed to take a favorable course. It was even believed that he was convalescent. Vain hope. "On the 14th of March (1883) he died quietly in his armchair, with hardly a struggle."

It is not for me to attempt a eulogy of Karl Marx. He needs none. Liebknecht's memoirs gives glimpses of Karl Marx, the man, as distinguished from Karl Marx, the scientist, and show him to be a man with a big, (Continued on Page 8)



KARL MARX.