

## UNIT III

### 1. EUROPEAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

#### EDWARD GIBBON

He was born in 1737, the son of Edward and Judith Gibbon at Lime Grove, in the town of [Putney, Surrey](#). He had six siblings: five brothers and one sister, all of whom died in infancy.

His grandfather, also named Edward, had lost all of his assets as a result of the [South Sea Bubble](#) stock market collapse in 1720, but eventually regained much of his wealth. Gibbon's father was thus able to inherit a substantial estate.<sup>[3]</sup> One of his grandparents, Catherine Acton, descended from [Sir Walter Acton, 2nd Baronet](#).

As a youth, Gibbon's health was under constant threat. He described himself as "a puny child, neglected by my Mother, starved by my nurse". At age nine, he was sent to Dr. Woddeson's school at [Kingston upon Thames](#) (now [Kingston Grammar School](#)), shortly after which his mother died. He then took up residence in the [Westminster School](#) boarding house, owned by his adored "Aunt Kitty", Catherine Porten. Soon after she died in 1786, he remembered her as rescuing him from his mother's disdain, and imparting "the first rudiments of knowledge, the first exercise of reason, and a taste for books which is still the pleasure and glory of my life".<sup>[4]</sup> From 1747 Gibbon spent time at the family home in [Buriton](#).<sup>[5]</sup> By 1751, Gibbon's reading was already extensive and certainly pointed toward his future pursuits: [Laurence Echard's](#) *Roman*

*History* (1713), William Howel(1)'s *An Institution of General History* (1680–85), and several of the 65 volumes of the acclaimed [\*Universal History from the Earliest Account of Time\*](#) (1747–1768).<sup>[6]</sup>

Oxford, Lausanne, and a religious journey: 1752–1758<sup>[edit]</sup>

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Following a stay at [Bath](#) in 1752 to improve his health, at the age of 15 Gibbon was sent by his father to [Magdalen College, Oxford](#), where he was enrolled as a [gentleman-commoner](#). He was ill-suited, however, to the college atmosphere and later rued his 14 months there as the "most idle and unprofitable" of his life. Because he himself says so in his autobiography, it used to be thought that his penchant for "theological controversy" (his aunt's influence) fully bloomed when he came under the spell of the deist or rationalist theologian [Conyers Middleton](#) (1683–1750), the author of *Free Inquiry into the Miraculous Powers* (1749). In that tract, Middleton denied the validity of such powers; Gibbon promptly objected, or so the argument used to run. The product of that disagreement, with some assistance from the work of Catholic Bishop [Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet](#) (1627–1704), and that of the Elizabethan Jesuit [Robert Parsons](#) (1546–1610), yielded the most memorable event of his time at Oxford: his conversion to Roman Catholicism on 8 June 1753. He was further "corrupted" by the 'free thinking' deism of the playwright/poet couple [David and Lucy Mallet](#);<sup>[7]</sup> and finally Gibbon's father, already "in despair," had had enough. David Womersley has shown, however, that Gibbon's claim to having been converted by a reading of Middleton is very unlikely, and was introduced only into the final draft of the "Memoirs" in 1792–93.<sup>[8]</sup> Bowersock suggests that Gibbon fabricated the Middleton story retrospectively in his anxiety about the impact of the [French Revolution](#) and [Edmund Burke](#)'s claim that it was provoked by the French *philosophes*, so influential on Gibbon.

Within weeks of his conversion, the adolescent was removed from Oxford and sent to live under the care and tutelage of Daniel Pavillard, Reformed pastor of [Lausanne, Switzerland](#). It was here that he made one of his life's two great friendships, that of [Jacques Georges Deyverdun](#) (the French-language translator of [Goethe's \*The Sorrows of Young Werther\*](#)), and that of [John Baker Holroyd \(later Lord Sheffield\)](#). Just a year and a half later, after his father threatened to disinherit him, on Christmas Day, 1754, he reconverted to Protestantism. "The various articles of the Romish creed," he wrote, "disappeared like a dream".<sup>[9]</sup> He remained in Lausanne for five intellectually productive years, a period that greatly enriched Gibbon's already immense aptitude for scholarship and erudition: he read Latin literature; travelled throughout Switzerland studying its cantons' constitutions; and studied the works of [Hugo Grotius](#), [Samuel von Pufendorf](#), [John Locke](#), [Pierre Bayle](#), and [Blaise Pascal](#).

Thwarted romance[[edit](#)]



Edward Gibbon, by [Henry Walton](#)

He also met the one romance in his life: the daughter of the pastor of Crassy, a young woman named [Suzanne Curchod](#), who was later to become the wife of [Louis XVI](#)'s finance minister [Jacques Necker](#), and the mother of [Madame de Staël](#). The two developed a warm

affinity; Gibbon proceeded to propose marriage,<sup>[10]</sup> but ultimately this was out of the question, blocked both by his father's staunch disapproval and Curchod's equally staunch reluctance to leave Switzerland. Gibbon returned to England in August 1758 to face his father. There could be no refusal of the elder's wishes. Gibbon put it this way: "I sighed as a lover, I obeyed as a son."<sup>[11]</sup> He proceeded to cut off all contact with Curchod, even as she vowed to wait for him.

Their final emotional break apparently came at [Ferney](#), France in early 1764, though they did see each other at least one more time a year later.<sup>[12]</sup>

First fame and the grand tour: 1758–1765[[edit](#)]



[Portchester Castle](#) came under Gibbon's command for a brief period while he was an officer in the Hampshire militia.<sup>[13]</sup>

Upon his return to England, Gibbon published his first book, *Essai sur l'Étude de la Littérature* in 1761, which produced an initial taste of celebrity and distinguished him, in Paris at least, as a man of letters.<sup>[14]</sup> From 1759 to 1770, Gibbon served on active duty and in reserve with the South Hampshire militia, his deactivation in December 1762 coinciding with the militia's dispersal at the end of the [Seven Years' War](#).<sup>[15]</sup> The following year he embarked on the [Grand Tour](#), which included a visit to Rome. In his autobiography Gibbon vividly records his rapture when he finally neared "the great object of [my] pilgrimage":

...at the distance of twenty-five years I can neither forget nor express the strong emotions which agitated my mind as I first approached and entered the *eternal City*. After a sleepless night, I trod, with a lofty step the ruins of the Forum; each memorable spot where Romulus *stood*, or [Tully](#) spoke, or Caesar fell, was at once present to my eye; and several days of intoxication were lost or enjoyed before I could descend to a cool and minute investigation.<sup>[16]</sup>

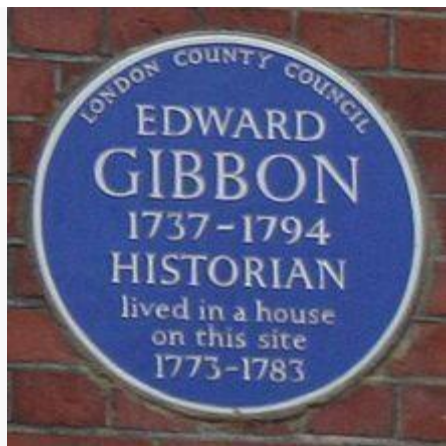
And it was here that Gibbon first conceived the idea of composing a history of the city, later extended to the entire [empire](#), a moment known to history as the "Capitoline vision":<sup>[17]</sup>

It was at Rome, on the fifteenth of October 1764, as I sat musing amidst the ruins of the [Capitol](#), while the barefooted fryars were singing [Vespers](#) in the [temple](#) of [Jupiter](#), that the idea of writing the decline and fall of the City first started to my mind.<sup>[18]</sup>

Womersley ([Oxford Dictionary of National Biography](#), p. 12) notes the existence of "good reasons" to doubt the statement's accuracy. Elaborating, Pocock ("Classical History," ¶ #2) refers to it as a likely "creation of memory" or a "literary invention", given that Gibbon, in his autobiography, claimed that his journal dated the reminiscence to 15 October, when in fact the journal gives no date. In June 1765, Gibbon returned to his father's house, and remained there until the latter's death in 1770.<sup>[19]</sup> These years were considered by Gibbon as the worst five of his life, but he tried to remain busy by making early attempts towards writing full histories. His first historical narrative known as the *History of Switzerland*, which represented Gibbon's love for Switzerland, was never published nor finished. Even under the guidance of Deyverdun (a German translator for Gibbons), Gibbon became too critical of himself, and completely abandoned the project, only writing 60 pages of text.<sup>[20]</sup> However, after Gibbon's death, his writings on Switzerland's history were discovered and published by Lord Sheffield in 1815. Soon

after abandoning his *History of Switzerland*, Gibbon made another attempt towards completing a full history.

His second work, *Memoires Litteraires de la Grande Bretagne*, was a two-volume set which described the literary and social conditions of England at the time, such as [Lord Lyttelton's](#) history of Henry II and [Nathaniel Lardner's](#) *The Credibility of the Gospel History*.<sup>[21]</sup> Gibbon's *Memoires Litteraires* failed to gain any notoriety, and was considered a flop by fellow historians and literary scholars.<sup>[22]</sup>



Blue plaque to Gibbon on [Bentinck Street](#), London

After he tended to his father's estate—which was by no means in good condition—there remained quite enough for Gibbon to settle fashionably in London at 7 [Bentinck Street](#), free of financial concern. By February 1773, he was writing in earnest, but not without the occasional self-imposed distraction. He took to London society quite easily, joined the better social clubs, including [Dr. Johnson's Literary Club](#), and looked in from time to time on his friend Holroyd in Sussex. He succeeded [Oliver Goldsmith](#) at the Royal Academy as 'professor in ancient history' (honorary but prestigious). In late 1774, he was initiated as a [Freemason](#) of the [Premier Grand Lodge of England](#).<sup>[23]</sup>

He was also, perhaps least productively in that same year, 1774, returned to the House of Commons for [Liskeard](#), Cornwall through the intervention of his relative and patron, [Edward Eliot](#).<sup>[24]</sup> He became the archetypal back-bencher, benignly "mute" and "indifferent," his support of the [Whig](#) ministry invariably automatic. Gibbon's indolence in that position, perhaps fully intentional, subtracted little from the progress of his writing. Gibbon lost the Liskeard seat in 1780 when Eliot joined the opposition, taking with him "the Electors of Leskeard [who] are commonly of the same opinion as Mr. El[l]iot." (Murray, p. 322.) The following year, owing to the good grace of Prime Minister [Lord North](#), he was again returned to Parliament, this time for [Lymington](#) on a by-election.<sup>[25]</sup>

*The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire: 1776–1788*[\[edit\]](#)

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After several rewrites, with Gibbon "often tempted to throw away the labours of seven years," the first volume of what was to become his life's major achievement, *[The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire](#)*, was published on 17 February 1776. Through 1777, the reading public eagerly consumed three editions, for which Gibbon was rewarded handsomely: two-thirds of the profits, amounting to approximately £1,000.<sup>[26]</sup> Biographer [Leslie Stephen](#) wrote that thereafter, "His fame was as rapid as it has been lasting." And as regards this first volume, "Some warm praise from [David Hume](#) overpaid the labour of ten years."

In a distant age and climate the tragic scene of the death of [Hosein](#) will awaken the sympathy of the coldest reader.

— Edward Gibbon, *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*<sup>[27]</sup>

Volumes II and III appeared on 1 March 1781, eventually rising "to a level with the previous volume in general esteem." Volume IV was finished in June 1784;<sup>[28]</sup> the final two were

completed during a second Lausanne sojourn (September 1783 to August 1787) where Gibbon reunited with his friend Deyverdun in leisurely comfort. By early 1787, he was "straining for the goal" and with great relief the project was finished in June. Gibbon later wrote:

It was on the day, or rather the night, of 27 June 1787, between the hours of eleven and twelve, that I wrote the last lines of the last page in a summer-house in my garden...I will not dissemble the first emotions of joy on the recovery of my freedom, and perhaps the establishment of my fame. But my pride was soon humbled, and a sober melancholy was spread over my mind by the idea that I had taken my everlasting leave of an old and agreeable companion, and that, whatsoever might be the future date of my history, the life of the historian must be short and precarious.<sup>[29]</sup>

Volumes IV, V, and VI finally reached the press in May 1788, their publication having been delayed since March so it could coincide with a dinner party celebrating Gibbon's 51st birthday (the 8th).<sup>[30]</sup> Mounting a bandwagon of praise for the later volumes were such contemporary luminaries as [Adam Smith](#), [William Robertson](#), [Adam Ferguson](#), [Lord Camden](#), and [Horace Walpole](#). Adam Smith told Gibbon that "by the universal assent of every man of taste and learning, whom I either know or correspond with, it sets you at the very head of the whole literary tribe at present existing in Europe."<sup>[31]</sup> In November 1788, he was elected a [Fellow of the Royal Society](#), the main proposer being his good friend Lord Sheffield.<sup>[32]</sup>



Later years: 1789–1794[[edit](#)]



Gibbon's memorial tablet on the Sheffield Mausoleum in St Andrew & St Mary The Virgin's church in [Fletching, East Sussex](#)

The years following Gibbon's completion of *The History* were filled largely with sorrow and increasing physical discomfort. He had returned to London in late 1787 to oversee the publication process alongside [Lord Sheffield](#). With that accomplished, in 1789 it was back to Lausanne only to learn of and be "deeply affected" by the death of Deyverdun, who had willed Gibbon his home, La Grotte. He resided there with little commotion, took in the local society, received a visit from Sheffield in 1791, and "shared the common abhorrence" of the [French Revolution](#). In 1793, word came of Lady Sheffield's death; Gibbon immediately left Lausanne and set sail to comfort a grieving but composed Sheffield. His health began to fail critically in December, and at the turn of the new year, he was on his last legs.<sup>[331]</sup>

Gibbon is believed to have suffered from an extreme case of scrotal swelling, probably a [hydrocele testis](#), a condition which causes the scrotum to swell with fluid in a compartment

overlying either testicle.<sup>[34]</sup> In an age when close-fitting clothes were fashionable, his condition led to a chronic and disfiguring inflammation that left Gibbon a lonely figure.<sup>[35]</sup> As his condition worsened, he underwent numerous procedures to alleviate the condition, but with no enduring success. In early January, the last of a series of three operations caused an unremitting peritonitis to set in and spread, from which he died.

The "English giant of the Enlightenment"<sup>[36]</sup> finally succumbed at 12:45 pm, 16 January 1794 at age 56. He was buried in the Sheffield Mausoleum attached to the north transept of the Church of St Mary and St Andrew, Fletching, East Sussex,<sup>[37]</sup> having died in Fletching while staying with his great friend, Lord Sheffield. Gibbon's estate was valued at approximately £26,000. He left most of his property to cousins. As stipulated in his will, Sheffield oversaw the sale of his library at auction to William Beckford for £950.<sup>[38]</sup>

Legacy[[edit](#)]

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Edward Gibbon's central thesis in his explanation of how the Roman empire fell, that it was due to embracing Christianity, is not widely accepted by scholars today. Gibbon argued that with the empire's new Christian character, large sums of wealth that would have otherwise been used in the secular affairs in promoting the state were transferred to promoting the activities of the Church. However, the pre-Christian empire also spent large financial sums on religious affairs and it is unclear whether or not the change of religion increased the amount of resources the empire spent on religion. Gibbon further argued that new attitudes in Christianity caused many Christians of wealth to renounce their lifestyles and enter a monastic lifestyle, and so stop participating in the support of the empire. However, while many Christians of wealth did become monastics, this paled in comparison to the participants in the imperial bureaucracy. Although Gibbon further pointed out the importance Christianity placed on peace caused a decline in the

number of people serving the military, the decline was so small as to be negligible for the army's effectiveness.<sup>[39][40]</sup>

Gibbon's work has been criticised for its scathing view of Christianity as laid down in chapters XV and XVI, a situation which resulted in the banning of the book in several countries. Gibbon's alleged crime was disrespecting, and none too lightly, the character of sacred Christian doctrine, by "treat[ing] the Christian church as a phenomenon of general history, not a special case admitting supernatural explanations and disallowing criticism of its adherents". More specifically, the chapters excoriated the church for "supplanting in an unnecessarily destructive way the great culture that preceded it" and for "the outrage of [practising] religious intolerance and warfare".<sup>[41]</sup>

Gibbon, in letters to Holroyd and others, expected some type of church-inspired backlash, but the harshness of the ensuing torrents exceeded anything he or his friends had anticipated. Contemporary detractors such as [Joseph Priestley](#) and [Richard Watson](#) stoked the nascent fire, but the most severe of these attacks was an "acrimonious" piece by the young cleric, Henry Edwards Davis.<sup>[42]</sup> Gibbon subsequently published his *Vindication* in 1779, in which he categorically denied Davis' "criminal accusations", branding him a purveyor of "servile plagiarism."<sup>[43]</sup> Davis followed Gibbon's *Vindication* with yet another reply (1779).

Gibbon's apparent antagonism to Christian doctrine spilled over into the Jewish faith, leading to charges of anti-Semitism.<sup>[44]</sup> For example, he wrote:

From the reign of Nero to that of Antoninus Pius, the Jews discovered a fierce impatience of the dominion of Rome, which repeatedly broke out in the most furious massacres and insurrections. Humanity is shocked at the recital of the horrid cruelties which they committed in the cities of Egypt, of Cyprus, and of Cyrene, where they dwelt in treacherous friendship with the

unsuspecting natives; and we are tempted to applaud the severe retaliation which was exercised by the arms of legions against a race of fanatics, whose dire and credulous superstition seemed to render them the implacable enemies not only of the Roman government, but also of humankind.<sup>[45]</sup>

Gibbon is considered to be a son of the [Enlightenment](#) and this is reflected in his famous verdict on the history of the [Middle Ages](#): "I have described the triumph of barbarism and religion."<sup>[46]</sup> However, politically, he aligned himself with the conservative Edmund Burke's rejection of the radical egalitarian movements of the time as well as with Burke's dismissal of overly rationalistic applications of the "rights of man".<sup>[47]</sup>

Gibbon's work has been praised for its style, his piquant epigrams and its effective irony. [Winston Churchill](#) memorably noted in *My Early Life*, "I set out upon...Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* [and] was immediately dominated both by the story and the style. ...I devoured Gibbon. I rode triumphantly through it from end to end and enjoyed it all."<sup>[48]</sup> Churchill modelled much of his own literary style on Gibbon's. Like Gibbon, he dedicated himself to producing a "vivid historical narrative, ranging widely over period and place and enriched by analysis and reflection."<sup>[49]</sup>

Unusually for the 18th century, Gibbon was never content with secondhand accounts when the primary sources were accessible (though most of these were drawn from well-known printed editions). "I have always endeavoured," he says, "to draw from the fountain-head; that my curiosity, as well as a sense of duty, has always urged me to study the originals; and that, if they have sometimes eluded my search, I have carefully marked the secondary evidence, on whose faith a passage or a fact were reduced to depend."<sup>[50]</sup> In this insistence upon the importance of primary sources, Gibbon is considered by many to be one of the first modern historians:

In accuracy, thoroughness, lucidity, and comprehensive grasp of a vast subject, the 'History' is unsurpassable. It is the one English history which may be regarded as definitive...Whatever its shortcomings the book is artistically imposing as well as historically unimpeachable as a vast panorama of a great period.<sup>[51]</sup>

The subject of Gibbon's writing, as well as his ideas and style, have influenced other writers.

Besides his influence on Churchill, Gibbon was also a model for [Isaac Asimov](#) in his writing of *The Foundation Trilogy*, which he said involved "a little bit of cribbin' from the works of Edward Gibbon".<sup>[52]</sup>

[Evelyn Waugh](#) admired Gibbon's style, but not his secular viewpoint. In Waugh's 1950 novel *Helena*, the early Christian author [Lactantius](#) worried about the possibility of "'a false historian, with the mind of [Cicero](#) or [Tacitus](#) and the soul of an animal,' and he nodded towards the [gibbon](#) who fretted his golden chain and chattered for fruit."<sup>[53]</sup>

## 2. Karl Marx

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**Karl Heinrich Marx** [FRSA](#) (German: [\[maʁks\]](#); 5 May 1818 – 14 March 1883)<sup>[13]</sup> was a German [philosopher](#), [economist](#), [historian](#), [sociologist](#), [political theorist](#), [journalist](#) and [socialist revolutionary](#). Born in [Trier](#), [Germany](#), Marx studied [law](#) and [philosophy](#) at university. He married [Jenny von Westphalen](#) in 1843. Due to his political publications, Marx became [stateless](#) and lived in exile with his wife and children in London for decades, where he continued to develop his thought in collaboration with German thinker [Friedrich Engels](#) and publish his writings, researching in the [reading room of the British Museum](#). His best-known titles are the 1848 [pamphlet](#) *The Communist Manifesto* and the three-volume *Das Kapital* (1867–

1883). Marx's political and philosophical thought had enormous influence on subsequent intellectual, economic and political history. His name has been used as an adjective, a noun and a school of social theory.

Marx's [critical theories](#) about society, economics and politics, collectively understood as [Marxism](#), hold that human societies develop through [class conflict](#). In the [capitalist mode of production](#), this manifests itself in the conflict between the [ruling classes](#) (known as the [bourgeoisie](#)) that control the [means of production](#) and the [working classes](#) (known as the [proletariat](#)) that enable these means by selling their [labour power](#) in return for wages.<sup>[14]</sup> Employing a critical approach known as [historical materialism](#), Marx predicted that capitalism produced [internal tensions](#) like previous socio-economic systems and that those would lead to its self-destruction and replacement by a new system known as the [socialist mode of production](#). For Marx, class antagonisms under capitalism, owing in part to its instability and [crisis-prone](#) nature, would eventuate the working class' development of [class consciousness](#), leading to their conquest of political power and eventually the establishment of a [classless, communist society](#) constituted by a [free association of producers](#).<sup>[15]</sup> Marx actively pressed for its implementation, arguing that the working class should carry out organised [proletarian revolutionary](#) action to topple capitalism and bring about socio-economic [emancipation](#).<sup>[16]</sup>

Marx has been described as one of the most influential figures in human history and his work has been both lauded and [criticised](#).<sup>[17]</sup> His work in economics laid the basis for much of the current understanding of labour and its relation to [capital](#) and subsequent economic thought.<sup>[18][19][20]</sup> Many intellectuals, labour unions, artists and political parties worldwide have

been influenced by Marx's work, with many modifying or adapting his ideas. Marx is typically cited as one of the principal architects of modern [social science](#).<sup>[21][22]</sup>



### **Childhood and early education: 1818–1836**

Karl Heinrich Marx was born on 5 May 1818 to [Heinrich Marx](#) (1777–1838) and [Henriette Pressburg](#) (1788–1863). He was born at Brückengasse 664 in [Trier](#), an ancient city then part of the [Kingdom of Prussia's Province of the Lower Rhine](#).<sup>[23]</sup> Marx was ethnically but not religiously Jewish. His maternal grandfather was a Dutch [rabbi](#), while his paternal line had supplied Trier's rabbis since 1723, a role taken by his grandfather Meier Halevi Marx.<sup>[24]</sup> His father, as a child known as Herschel, was the first in the line to receive a secular education. He became a lawyer with a comfortably [upper middle class](#) income and the family owned a number of [Moselle](#) vineyards, in addition to his income as an attorney. Prior to his son's birth and after the abrogation of [Jewish emancipation](#) in the [Rhineland](#),<sup>[25]</sup> Herschel converted from Judaism to join the state [Evangelical Church of Prussia](#), taking on the German forename Heinrich over the [Yiddish](#) Herschel.<sup>[26]</sup>



[Marx's birthplace](#), now Brückenstraße 10, in Trier. The family occupied two rooms on the ground floor and three on the first floor.<sup>[27]</sup> Purchased by the [Social Democratic Party of Germany](#) in 1928, it now houses a museum devoted to him.<sup>[28]</sup>

Largely non-religious, Heinrich was a man of the [Enlightenment](#), interested in the ideas of the philosophers [Immanuel Kant](#) and [Voltaire](#). A [classical liberal](#), he took part in agitation for a constitution and reforms in Prussia, which was then an [absolute monarchy](#).<sup>[29]</sup> In 1815, Heinrich Marx began working as an attorney and in 1819 moved his family to a ten-room property near the [Porta Nigra](#).<sup>[30]</sup> His wife, Henriette Pressburg, was a Dutch Jewish woman from a prosperous business family that later founded the company [Philips Electronics](#). Her sister Sophie Pressburg (1797–1854) married [Lion Philips](#) (1794–1866) and was the grandmother of both [Gerard](#) and [Anton Philips](#) and great-grandmother to [Frits Philips](#). Lion Philips was a wealthy Dutch tobacco manufacturer and industrialist, upon whom Karl and [Jenny Marx](#) would later often come to rely for loans while they were exiled in London.<sup>[31]</sup>

Little is known of Marx's childhood.<sup>[32]</sup> The third of nine children, he became the eldest son when his brother Moritz died in 1819.<sup>[33]</sup> Marx and his surviving siblings, Sophie, Hermann, Henriette, Louise, Emilie and Caroline, were [baptised](#) into the [Lutheran Church](#) in August 1824 and their mother in November 1825.<sup>[34]</sup> Marx was privately educated by his father until 1830, when he entered Trier High School ([Gymnasium zu Trier](#) [de]), whose headmaster, Hugo Wytttenbach, was a friend of his father. By employing many [liberal humanists](#) as teachers, Wytttenbach incurred the anger of the local conservative government. Subsequently, police raided the school in 1832 and discovered that literature espousing political liberalism was being distributed among the students. Considering the distribution of such material a seditious act, the authorities instituted reforms and replaced several staff during Marx's attendance.<sup>[35]</sup>



In October 1835 at the age of 17, Marx travelled to the [University of Bonn](#) wishing to study philosophy and literature, but his father insisted on law as a more practical field.<sup>[36]</sup> Due to a condition referred to as a "weak chest",<sup>[37]</sup> Marx was excused from military duty when he turned 18. While at the University at Bonn, Marx joined the Poets' Club, a group containing political radicals that were monitored by the police.<sup>[38]</sup> Marx also joined the Trier Tavern Club drinking society (German: *Landsmannschaft der Treveraner*) where many ideas were discussed and at one point he served as the club's co-president.<sup>[39][40]</sup> Additionally, Marx was involved in certain disputes, some of which became serious: in August 1836 he took part in a duel with a member of the university's [Borussian Korps](#).<sup>[41]</sup> Although his grades in the first term were good, they soon deteriorated, leading his father to force a transfer to the more serious and academic [University of Berlin](#).<sup>[42]</sup>

### **Hegelianism and early journalism: 1836–1843**

Spending summer and autumn 1836 in Trier, Marx became more serious about his studies and his life. He became engaged to [Jenny von Westphalen](#), an educated member of the [petty nobility](#) who had known Marx since childhood. As she had broken off her engagement with a young [aristocrat](#) to be with Marx, their relationship was socially controversial owing to the differences between their religious and class origins, but Marx befriended her father [Ludwig von Westphalen](#) (a liberal aristocrat) and later dedicated his doctoral thesis to him.<sup>[43]</sup> Seven years after their engagement, on 19 June 1843, they married in a Protestant church in [Kreuznach](#).<sup>[44]</sup>

In October 1836, Marx arrived in Berlin, matriculating in the university's faculty of law and renting a room in the Mittelstrasse.<sup>[45]</sup> During the first term, Marx attended lectures of [Eduard Gans](#) (who represented the progressive Hegelian standpoint, elaborated on rational development in history by emphasising particularly its libertarian aspects, and the importance of social

question) and of [Karl von Savigny](#) (who represented the [Historical School of Law](#)).<sup>[46]</sup> Although studying law, he was fascinated by philosophy and looked for a way to combine the two, believing that "without philosophy nothing could be accomplished".<sup>[47]</sup> Marx became interested in the recently deceased German philosopher [Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel](#), whose ideas were then widely debated among European philosophical circles.<sup>[48]</sup> During a convalescence in Stralau, he joined the Doctor's Club (*Doktorklub*), a student group which discussed [Hegelian](#) ideas, and through them became involved with a group of [radical thinkers](#) known as the [Young Hegelians](#) in 1837. They gathered around [Ludwig Feuerbach](#) and [Bruno Bauer](#), with Marx developing a particularly close friendship with Adolf Rutenberg. Like Marx, the Young Hegelians were critical of Hegel's [metaphysical](#) assumptions, but adopted his [dialectical method](#) to criticise established society, politics and religion from a leftist perspective.<sup>[49]</sup> Marx's father died in May 1838, resulting in a diminished income for the family.<sup>[50]</sup> Marx had been emotionally close to his father and treasured his memory after his death.<sup>[51]</sup>

By 1837, Marx was writing both fiction and non-fiction, having completed a short novel, *Scorpion and Felix*, a drama, *Oulanem*, as well as a number of love poems dedicated to Jenny von Westphalen, though none of this early work was published during his lifetime.<sup>[52]</sup> Marx soon abandoned fiction for other pursuits, including the study of both English and Italian, [art history](#) and the translation of Latin classics.<sup>[53]</sup> He began co-operating with [Bruno Bauer](#) on editing Hegel's *Philosophy of Religion* in 1840. Marx was also engaged in writing his doctoral thesis, *The Difference Between the Democritean and Epicurean Philosophy of Nature*,<sup>[54]</sup> which he completed in 1841. It was described as "a daring and original piece of work in which Marx set out to show that theology must yield to the superior wisdom of

philosophy".<sup>[55]</sup> The essay was controversial, particularly among the conservative professors at the University of Berlin. Marx decided instead to submit his thesis to the more liberal [University of Jena](#), whose faculty awarded him his PhD in April 1841.<sup>[56][2]</sup> As Marx and Bauer were both [atheists](#), in March 1841 they began plans for a journal entitled *Archiv des Atheismus* (*Atheistic Archives*), but it never came to fruition. In July, Marx and Bauer took a trip to [Bonn](#) from Berlin. There they scandalised their class by getting drunk, laughing in church and galloping through the streets on donkeys.<sup>[57]</sup>

Marx was considering an academic career, but this path was barred by the government's growing opposition to classical liberalism and the Young Hegelians.<sup>[58]</sup> Marx moved to [Cologne](#) in 1842, where he became a journalist, writing for the radical newspaper *Rheinische Zeitung* (*Rhineland News*), expressing his early views on socialism and his developing interest in economics. Marx criticised right-wing European governments as well as figures in the liberal and socialist movements, whom he thought ineffective or counter-productive.<sup>[59]</sup> The newspaper attracted the attention of the Prussian [government censors](#), who checked every issue for seditious material before printing, as Marx lamented: "Our newspaper has to be presented to the police to be sniffed at, and if the police nose smells anything un-Christian or un-Prussian, the newspaper is not allowed to appear".<sup>[60]</sup> After the *Rheinische Zeitung* published an article strongly criticising the Russian monarchy, Tsar [Nicholas I](#) requested it be banned and Prussia's government complied in 1843.<sup>[61]</sup>

### **Paris: 1843–1845**

In 1843, Marx became co-editor of a new, radical leftist Parisian newspaper, the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher* (*German-French Annals*), then being set up by the German activist [Arnold Ruge](#) to bring together German and French radicals<sup>[62]</sup> and thus Marx and his

wife moved to Paris in October 1843. Initially living with Ruge and his wife communally at [23 Rue Vaneau](#), they found the living conditions difficult, so moved out following the birth of their daughter Jenny in 1844.<sup>[63]</sup> Although intended to attract writers from both France and the German states, the *Jahrbücher* was dominated by the latter and the only non-German writer was the exiled Russian [anarchist collectivist Mikhail Bakunin](#).<sup>[64]</sup> Marx contributed two essays to the paper, "[Introduction to a Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's Philosophy of Right](#)"<sup>[65]</sup> and "[On the Jewish Question](#)",<sup>[66]</sup> the latter introducing his belief that the [proletariat](#) were a revolutionary force and marking his embrace of communism.<sup>[67]</sup> Only one issue was published, but it was relatively successful, largely owing to the inclusion of [Heinrich Heine](#)'s satirical odes on King [Ludwig of Bavaria](#), leading the German states to ban it and seize imported copies (Ruge nevertheless refused to fund the publication of further issues and his friendship with Marx broke down).<sup>[68]</sup> After the paper's collapse, Marx began writing for the only uncensored German-language radical newspaper left, [Vorwärts!](#) (*Forward!*). Based in Paris, the paper was connected to the [League of the Just](#), a [utopian socialist](#) secret society of workers and artisans. Marx attended some of their meetings, but did not join.<sup>[69]</sup> In *Vorwärts!*, Marx refined his views on socialism based upon Hegelian and Feuerbachian ideas of dialectical materialism, at the same time criticising liberals and other socialists operating in Europe.<sup>[70]</sup>

On 28 August 1844, Marx met the German socialist [Friedrich Engels](#) at the [Café de la Régence](#), beginning a lifelong friendship.<sup>[71]</sup> Engels showed Marx his recently published [The Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844](#),<sup>[72][73]</sup> convincing Marx that the working class would be the agent and instrument of the final revolution in history.<sup>[74][75]</sup> Soon, Marx and Engels were collaborating on a criticism of the philosophical ideas of Marx's former friend, [Bruno Bauer](#). This work was published in 1845 as [The Holy Family](#).<sup>[76][77]</sup> Although critical of Bauer, Marx

was increasingly influenced by the ideas of the Young Hegelians [Max Stirner](#) and [Ludwig Feuerbach](#), but eventually Marx and Engels abandoned Feuerbachian materialism as well.<sup>[78]</sup>

During the time that he lived at 38 Rue Vanneau in Paris (from October 1843 until January 1845),<sup>[79]</sup> Marx engaged in an intensive study of [political economy](#) ([Adam Smith](#), [David Ricardo](#), [James Mill](#), *etc.*),<sup>[80]</sup> the French socialists (especially [Claude Henri St. Simon](#) and [Charles Fourier](#))<sup>[81]</sup> and the history of France.<sup>[82]</sup> The study of political economy is a study that Marx would pursue for the rest of his life<sup>[83]</sup> and would result in his major economic work—the three-volume series called *Das Kapital*.<sup>[84]</sup> [Marxism](#) is based in large part on three influences: [Hegel](#)'s dialectics, French utopian socialism and English economics. Together with his earlier study of Hegel's dialectics, the studying that Marx did during this time in Paris meant that all major components of "Marxism" were in place by the autumn of 1844.<sup>[85]</sup> Marx was constantly being pulled away from his study of political economy—not only by the usual daily demands of the time, but additionally by editing a radical newspaper and later by organising and directing the efforts of a political party during years of potentially revolutionary popular uprisings of the citizenry. Still Marx was always drawn back to his economic studies: he sought "to understand the inner workings of capitalism".<sup>[86]</sup>

An outline of "Marxism" had definitely formed in the mind of Karl Marx by late 1844. Indeed, many features of the Marxist view of the world's political economy had been worked out in great detail, but Marx needed to write down all of the details of his economic world view to further clarify the new economic theory in his own mind.<sup>[87]</sup> Accordingly, Marx wrote [The Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts](#).<sup>[88]</sup> These manuscripts covered numerous topics, detailing Marx's concept of [alienated labour](#).<sup>[89]</sup> However, by the spring of 1845 his continued study of political economy, capital and capitalism had led Marx to the belief that the new political economic

theory that he was espousing – scientific socialism – needed to be built on the base of a thoroughly developed materialistic view of the world.<sup>[90]</sup>

The *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844* had been written between April and August 1844, but soon Marx recognised that the *Manuscripts* had been influenced by some inconsistent ideas of Ludwig Feuerbach. Accordingly, Marx recognised the need to break with Feuerbach's philosophy in favour of historical materialism, thus a year later (in April 1845) after moving from Paris to Brussels, Marx wrote his eleven "[Theses on Feuerbach](#)".<sup>[91]</sup> The "Theses on Feuerbach" are best known for Thesis 11, which states that "philosophers have only interpreted the world in various ways, the point is to change it".<sup>[89][92]</sup> This work contains Marx's criticism of [materialism](#) (for being contemplative), [idealism](#) (for reducing practice to theory) overall, criticising philosophy for putting abstract reality above the physical world.<sup>[89]</sup> It thus introduced the first glimpse at Marx's [historical materialism](#), an argument that the world is changed not by ideas but by actual, physical, material activity and practice.<sup>[89][93]</sup> In 1845, after receiving a request from the Prussian king, the French government shut down *Vorwärts!*, with the interior minister, [François Guizot](#), expelling Marx from France.<sup>[94]</sup> At this point, Marx moved from Paris to Brussels, where Marx hoped to once again continue his study of capitalism and political economy.

## Brussels: 1845–1848



The first edition of *The Manifesto of the Communist Party*, published in German in 1848

Unable either to stay in France or to move to Germany, Marx decided to emigrate to Brussels in Belgium in February 1845. However, to stay in Belgium he had to pledge not to publish anything on the subject of contemporary politics.<sup>[94]</sup> In Brussels, Marx associated with other exiled socialists from across Europe, including [Moses Hess](#), [Karl Heinzen](#) and [Joseph Weydemeyer](#). In April 1845, Engels moved from Barmen in Germany to Brussels to join Marx and the growing cadre of members of the League of the Just now seeking home in Brussels.<sup>[94][95]</sup> Later, [Mary Burns](#), Engels' long-time companion, left Manchester, England to join Engels in Brussels.<sup>[96]</sup>

In mid-July 1845, Marx and Engels left Brussels for England to visit the leaders of the [Chartists](#), a working-class movement in Britain. This was Marx's first trip to England and Engels was an ideal guide for the trip. Engels had already spent two years living in Manchester from November 1842<sup>[97]</sup> to August 1844.<sup>[98]</sup> Not only did Engels already know the English language,<sup>[99]</sup> he had also developed a close relationship with many Chartist leaders.<sup>[99]</sup> Indeed, Engels was serving as

a reporter for many Chartist and socialist English newspapers.<sup>[99]</sup> Marx used the trip as an opportunity to examine the economic resources available for study in various libraries in London and Manchester.<sup>[100]</sup>

In collaboration with Engels, Marx also set about writing a book which is often seen as his best treatment of the concept of historical materialism, *The German Ideology*.<sup>[101]</sup> In this work, Marx broke with Ludwig Feuerbach, Bruno Bauer, Max Stirner and the rest of the Young Hegelians, while he also broke with Karl Grun and other "true socialists" whose philosophies were still based in part on "idealism". In *German Ideology*, Marx and Engels finally completed their philosophy, which was based solely on materialism as the sole motor force in history.<sup>[102]</sup> *German Ideology* is written in a humorously satirical form, but even this satirical form did not save the work from censorship. Like so many other early writings of his, *German Ideology* would not be published in Marx's lifetime and would be published only in 1932.<sup>[89][103][104]</sup>

After completing *German Ideology*, Marx turned to a work that was intended to clarify his own position regarding "the theory and tactics" of a truly "revolutionary proletarian movement" operating from the standpoint of a truly "scientific materialist" philosophy.<sup>[105]</sup> This work was intended to draw a distinction between the utopian socialists and Marx's own scientific socialist philosophy. Whereas the utopians believed that people must be persuaded one person at a time to join the socialist movement, the way a person must be persuaded to adopt any different belief, Marx knew that people would tend on most occasions to act in accordance with their own economic interests, thus appealing to an entire class (the working class in this case) with a broad appeal to the class's best material interest would be the best way to mobilise the broad mass of that class to make a revolution and change society. This was the intent of the new book that



Marx was planning, but to get the manuscript past the government censors he called the book *[The Poverty of Philosophy](#)* (1847)<sup>[106]</sup> and offered it as a response to the "petty bourgeois philosophy" of the French anarchist socialist [Pierre-Joseph Proudhon](#) as expressed in his book *[The Philosophy of Poverty](#)* (1840).<sup>[107]</sup>



Marx with his daughters and Engels

These books laid the foundation for Marx and Engels's most famous work, a political pamphlet that has since come to be commonly known as *[The Communist Manifesto](#)*. While residing in Brussels in 1846, Marx continued his association with the secret radical organisation [League of the Just](#).<sup>[108]</sup> As noted above, Marx thought the League to be just the sort of radical organisation that was needed to spur the working class of Europe toward the mass movement that would bring about a working class revolution.<sup>[109]</sup> However, to organise the working class into a mass movement the League had to cease its "secret" or "underground" orientation and operate in the open as a political party.<sup>[110]</sup> Members of the League eventually became persuaded in this regard. Accordingly, in June 1847 the League was reorganised by its membership into a new open

"above ground" political society that appealed directly to the working classes.<sup>[111]</sup> This new open political society was called the Communist League.<sup>[112]</sup> Both Marx and Engels participated in drawing up the programme and organisational principles of the new [Communist League](#).<sup>[113]</sup>

In late 1847, Marx and Engels began writing what was to become their most famous work – a programme of action for the [Communist League](#). Written jointly by Marx and Engels from December 1847 to January 1848, *The Communist Manifesto* was first published on 21 February 1848.<sup>[114]</sup> *The Communist Manifesto* laid out the beliefs of the new Communist League. No longer a secret society, the Communist League wanted to make aims and intentions clear to the general public rather than hiding its beliefs as the League of the Just had been doing.<sup>[115]</sup> The opening lines of the pamphlet set forth the principal basis of Marxism: "The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles".<sup>[116]</sup> It goes on to examine the antagonisms that Marx claimed were arising in the clashes of interest between the [bourgeoisie](#) (the wealthy capitalist class) and the [proletariat](#) (the industrial working class). Proceeding on from this, the *Manifesto* presents the argument for why the Communist League, as opposed to other socialist and liberal political parties and groups at the time, was truly acting in the interests of the proletariat to overthrow capitalist society and to replace it with socialism.<sup>[117]</sup>

Later that year, Europe experienced a series of protests, rebellions and often violent upheavals that became known as the [Revolutions of 1848](#).<sup>[118]</sup> In France, [a revolution](#) led to the overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of the [French Second Republic](#).<sup>[118]</sup> Marx was supportive of such activity and having recently received a substantial inheritance from his father (withheld by his uncle Lionel Philips since his father's death in 1838) of either 6,000<sup>[119]</sup> or 5,000 francs<sup>[120][121]</sup> he allegedly used a third of it to arm Belgian workers who were planning revolutionary action.<sup>[121]</sup> Although the veracity of these allegations is disputed,<sup>[119][122]</sup> the

Belgian Ministry of Justice accused Marx of it, subsequently arresting him and he was forced to flee back to France, where with a new republican government in power he believed that he would be safe.<sup>[121][123]</sup>

### **Cologne: 1848–1849**

Temporarily settling down in Paris, Marx transferred the Communist League executive headquarters to the city and also set up a [German Workers' Club](#) with various German socialists living there.<sup>[124]</sup> Hoping to see the revolution spread to Germany, in 1848 Marx moved back to Cologne where he began issuing a handbill entitled the *Demands of the Communist Party in Germany*,<sup>[125]</sup> in which he argued for only four of the ten points of the *Communist Manifesto*, believing that in Germany at that time the bourgeoisie must overthrow the [feudal](#) monarchy and aristocracy before the proletariat could overthrow the bourgeoisie.<sup>[126]</sup> On 1 June, Marx started publication of a daily newspaper, the [Neue Rheinische Zeitung](#), which he helped to finance through his recent inheritance from his father. Designed to put forward news from across Europe with his own Marxist interpretation of events, the newspaper featured Marx as a primary writer and the dominant editorial influence. Despite contributions by fellow members of the Communist League, according to [Friedrich Engels](#) it remained "a simple dictatorship by Marx".<sup>[127][128][129]</sup>

Whilst editor of the paper, Marx and the other revolutionary socialists were regularly harassed by the police and Marx was brought to trial on several occasions, facing various allegations including insulting the Chief Public Prosecutor, committing a press misdemeanor and inciting armed rebellion through tax boycotting,<sup>[130][131][132][133]</sup> although each time he was acquitted.<sup>[131][133][134]</sup> Meanwhile, the democratic parliament in [Prussia](#) collapsed and the king, [Frederick William IV](#), introduced a new cabinet of his reactionary supporters, who

implemented counter-revolutionary measures to expunge leftist and other revolutionary elements from the country.<sup>[130]</sup> Consequently, the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung* was soon suppressed and Marx was ordered to leave the country on 16 May.<sup>[129][135]</sup> Marx returned to Paris, which was then under the grip of both a reactionary counter-revolution and a [cholera](#) epidemic and was soon expelled by the city authorities, who considered him a political threat. With his wife Jenny expecting their fourth child and not able to move back to Germany or Belgium, in August 1849 he sought refuge in London.<sup>[136][137]</sup>

### **Move to London and further writing: 1850–1860**

Marx moved to London in early June 1849 and would remain based in the city for the rest of his life. The headquarters of the Communist League also moved to London. However, in the winter of 1849–1850 a split within the ranks of the Communist League occurred when a faction within it led by [August Willich](#) and [Karl Schapper](#) began agitating for an immediate uprising. Willich and Schapper believed that once the Communist League had initiated the uprising, the entire working class from across Europe would rise "spontaneously" to join it, thus creating revolution across Europe. Marx and Engels protested that such an unplanned uprising on the part of the Communist League was "adventuristic" and would be suicide for the Communist League.<sup>[138]</sup> Such an uprising as that recommended by the Schapper/Willich group would easily be crushed by the police and the armed forces of the reactionary governments of Europe. Marx maintained that this would spell doom for the Communist League itself, arguing that changes in society are not achieved overnight through the efforts and will power of a handful of men.<sup>[138]</sup> They are instead brought about through a scientific analysis of economic conditions of society and by moving toward revolution through different stages of social development. In the present stage of development (*circa* 1850), following the defeat of the uprisings across Europe in

1848 he felt that the Communist League should encourage the working class to unite with progressive elements of the rising bourgeoisie to defeat the feudal aristocracy on issues involving demands for governmental reforms, such as a constitutional republic with freely elected assemblies and universal (male) suffrage. In other words, the working class must join with bourgeois and democratic forces to bring about the successful conclusion of the bourgeois revolution before stressing the working class agenda and a working class revolution.

After a long struggle which threatened to ruin the Communist League, Marx's opinion prevailed and eventually the Willich/Schapper group left the Communist League. Meanwhile, Marx also became heavily involved with the socialist German Workers' Educational Society.<sup>[139]</sup> The Society held their meetings in [Great Windmill Street, Soho](#), central London's entertainment district.<sup>[140][141]</sup> This organisation was also racked by an internal struggle between its members, some of whom followed Marx while others followed the Schapper/Willich faction. The issues in this internal split were the same issues raised in the internal split within the Communist League, but Marx lost the fight with the Schapper/Willich faction within the German Workers' Educational Society and on 17 September 1850 resigned from the Society.<sup>[142]</sup>

### ***New-York Daily Tribune and journalism***

In the early period in London, Marx committed himself almost exclusively to revolutionary activities, such that his family endured extreme poverty.<sup>[143][144]</sup> His main source of income was Engels, whose own source was his wealthy industrialist father.<sup>[144]</sup> In Prussia as editor of his own newspaper, and contributor to others ideologically aligned, Marx could reach his audience, the working classes. In London, without finances to run a newspaper themselves, he and Engels turned to international journalism. At one stage they were being published by six newspapers from England, the United States, [Prussia](#), Austria and South Africa.<sup>[145]</sup> Marx's principal earnings

came from his work as European correspondent, from 1852 to 1862, for the [New-York Daily Tribune](#),<sup>[146]:17</sup> and from also producing articles for more "bourgeois" newspapers. Marx had his articles translated from German by [Wilhelm Pieper](#) [de], until his proficiency in English had become adequate.<sup>[147]</sup>

The *New-York Daily Tribune* had been founded in April 1841 by [Horace Greeley](#).<sup>[148]</sup> Its editorial board contained progressive bourgeois journalists and publishers, among them [George Ripley](#) and the journalist [Charles Dana](#), who was editor-in-chief. Dana, a [fourierist](#) and an [abolitionist](#), was Marx's contact. The *Tribune* was a vehicle for Marx to reach a transatlantic public to make a "hidden war" to [Henry Charles Carey](#).<sup>[149]</sup> The journal had wide working-class appeal from its foundation; at two cents, it was inexpensive;<sup>[150]</sup> and, with about 50,000 copies per issue, its circulation was the widest in the United States.<sup>[146]:14</sup> Its editorial ethos was progressive and its anti-slavery stance reflected Greeley's.<sup>[146]:82</sup> Marx's first article for the paper, on the British parliamentary elections, was published on 21 August 1852.<sup>[151]</sup>

On 21 March 1857, Dana informed Marx that due to the economic recession only one article a week would be paid for, published or not; the others would be paid for only if published. Marx had sent his articles on Tuesdays and Fridays, but, that October, the *Tribune* discharged all its correspondents in Europe except Marx and B. Taylor, and reduced Marx to a weekly article. Between September and November 1860, only five were published. After a six-month interval, Marx resumed contributions in September 1861 until March 1862, when Dana wrote to inform him that there was no longer space in the *Tribune* for reports from London, due to American domestic affairs.<sup>[152]</sup> In 1868, Dana set up a rival newspaper, the *New York Sun*, at which he was editor-in-chief.<sup>[153]</sup> In April 1857, Dana invited Marx to contribute articles, mainly on military history, to the [New American Cyclopaedia](#), an idea of George Ripley, Dana's friend and literary

editor of the *Tribune*. In all, 67 Marx-Engels articles were published, of which 51 were written by Engels, although Marx did some research for them in the [British Museum](#).<sup>[154]</sup> By the late 1850s, American popular interest in European affairs waned and Marx's articles turned to topics such as the "slavery crisis" and the outbreak of the [American Civil War](#) in 1861 in the "War Between the States".<sup>[155]</sup> Between December 1851 and March 1852, Marx worked on his theoretical work about the [French Revolution of 1848](#), titled *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon*.<sup>[156]</sup> In this he explored concepts in [historical materialism](#), [class struggle](#), [dictatorship of the proletariat](#), and victory of the proletariat over the [bourgeois](#) state.<sup>[157]</sup>

The 1850s and 1860s may be said to mark a philosophical boundary distinguishing the [young Marx's Hegelian idealism](#) and the more [mature Marx's](#)<sup>[158][159][160][161]</sup> scientific ideology associated with [structural Marxism](#).<sup>[161]</sup> However, not all scholars accept this distinction.<sup>[160][162]</sup> For Marx and Engels, their experience of the [Revolutions of 1848](#) to 1849 were formative in the development of their theory of economics and historical progression. After the "failures" of 1848, the revolutionary impetus appeared spent and not to be renewed without an economic recession. Contention arose between Marx and his fellow communists, whom he denounced as "adventurists". Marx deemed it fanciful to propose that "will power" could be sufficient to create the revolutionary conditions when in reality the economic component was the necessary requisite. Recession in the United States' economy in 1852 gave Marx and Engels grounds for optimism for revolutionary activity, yet this economy was seen as too immature for a capitalist revolution. Open territories on America's western frontier dissipated the forces of social unrest. Moreover, any economic crisis arising in the United States would not lead to revolutionary contagion of the older economies of individual European nations, which were closed systems bounded by their national borders. When the so-called [Panic of 1857](#) in the

United States spread globally, it broke all economic theory models, and was the first truly global economic crisis.<sup>[163]</sup>

Financial necessity had forced Marx to abandon economic studies in 1844 and give thirteen years to working on other projects. He had always sought to return to economics.<sup>[citation needed]</sup>

### **First International and *Das Kapital***



The first volume of [\*Das Kapital\*](#)

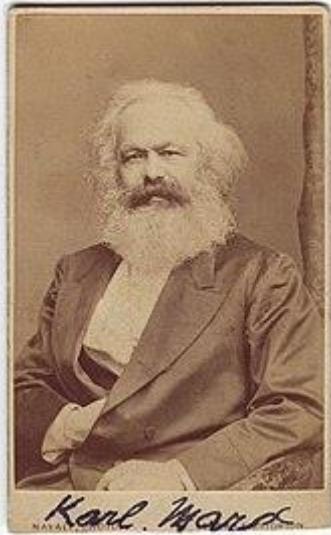
Marx continued to write articles for the *New York Daily Tribune* as long as he was sure that the *Tribune's* editorial policy was still progressive. However, the departure of Charles Dana from the paper in late 1861 and the resultant change in the editorial board brought about a new editorial policy.<sup>[164]</sup> No longer was the *Tribune* to be a strong [abolitionist](#) paper dedicated to a complete [Union](#) victory. The new editorial board supported an immediate peace between the Union and the [Confederacy](#) in the Civil War in the United States with slavery left intact in the Confederacy. Marx strongly disagreed with this new political position and in 1863 was forced to withdraw as a writer for the *Tribune*.<sup>[165]</sup>



In 1864, Marx became involved in the [International Workingmen's Association](#) (also known as the First International),<sup>[131]</sup> to whose General Council he was elected at its inception in 1864.<sup>[166]</sup> In that organisation, Marx was involved in the struggle against the anarchist wing centred on [Mikhail Bakunin](#) (1814–1876).<sup>[144]</sup> Although Marx won this contest, the transfer of the seat of the General Council from London to New York in 1872, which Marx supported, led to the decline of the International.<sup>[167]</sup> The most important political event during the existence of the International was the [Paris Commune](#) of 1871, when the citizens of Paris rebelled against their government and held the city for two months. In response to the bloody suppression of this rebellion, Marx wrote one of his most famous pamphlets, "[The Civil War in France](#)", a defence of the Commune.<sup>[168][169]</sup>

Given the repeated failures and frustrations of workers' revolutions and movements, Marx also sought to understand capitalism and spent a great deal of time in the reading room of the [British Museum](#) studying and reflecting on the works of [political economists](#) and on economic data.<sup>[170]</sup> By 1857, Marx had accumulated over 800 pages of notes and short essays on capital, [landed property](#), wage labour, the state and foreign trade and the world market, though this work did not appear in print until 1939 under the title [Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy](#).<sup>[171][172][173]</sup>

In 1859, Marx published [A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy](#),<sup>[174]</sup> his first serious economic work. This work was intended merely as a preview of his three-volume [Das Kapital](#) (English title: *Capital: Critique of Political Economy*), which he intended to publish at a later date. In *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy*, Marx expands on the [labour theory of value](#) advocated by [David Ricardo](#). The work was enthusiastically received, and the edition sold out quickly.<sup>[175]</sup>



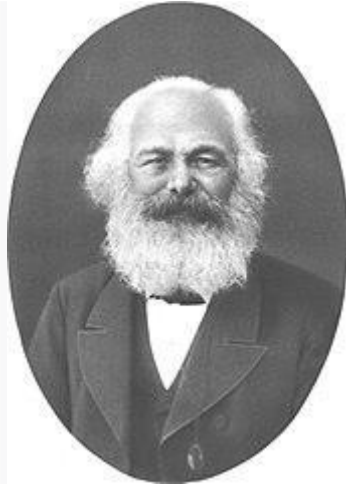
Marx photographed by John Mayall, 1875

The successful sales of *A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy* stimulated Marx in the early 1860s to finish work on the three large volumes that would compose his major life's work – *Das Kapital* and the [Theories of Surplus Value](#), which discussed the theoreticians of political economy, particularly [Adam Smith](#) and [David Ricardo](#).<sup>[144]</sup> *Theories of Surplus Value* is often referred to as the fourth volume of *Das Kapital* and constitutes one of the first comprehensive treatises on the [history of economic thought](#).<sup>[176]</sup> In 1867, the first volume of *Das Kapital* was published, a work which analysed the capitalist process of production.<sup>[177]</sup> Here Marx elaborated his [labour theory of value](#), which had been influenced by [Thomas Hodgskin](#). Marx acknowledged Hodgskin's "admirable work" *Labour Defended against the Claims of Capital* at more than one point in *Das Kapital*.<sup>[178]</sup> Indeed, Marx quoted Hodgskin as recognising the alienation of labour that occurred under modern capitalist production. No longer was there any "natural reward of individual labour. Each labourer produces only some part of a whole, and each part having no value or utility of itself, there is nothing on which the labourer can seize, and say: 'This is my product, this will I keep to myself'".<sup>[179]</sup> In this first volume of *Das Kapital*,

Marx outlined his conception of [surplus value](#) and [exploitation](#), which he argued would ultimately lead to [a falling rate of profit](#) and the collapse of industrial capitalism.<sup>[180]</sup> Demand for a Russian language edition of *Das Kapital* soon led to the printing of 3,000 copies of the book in the Russian language, which was published on 27 March 1872. By the autumn of 1871, the entire first edition of the German language edition of *Das Kapital* had been sold out and a second edition was published.

Volumes II and III of *Das Kapital* remained mere manuscripts upon which Marx continued to work for the rest of his life. Both volumes were published by Engels after Marx's death.<sup>[144]</sup> Volume II of *Das Kapital* was prepared and published by Engels in July 1893 under the name *Capital II: The Process of Circulation of Capital*.<sup>[181]</sup> Volume III of *Das Kapital* was published a year later in October 1894 under the name *Capital III: The Process of Capitalist Production as a Whole*.<sup>[182]</sup> *Theories of Surplus Value* derived from the sprawling *Economic Manuscripts of 1861–1863*, a second draft for *Das Kapital*, the latter spanning volumes 30–34 of the *Collected Works of Marx and Engels*. Specifically, *Theories of Surplus Value* runs from the latter part of the *Collected Works'* thirtieth volume through the end of their thirty-second volume;<sup>[183][184][185]</sup> meanwhile, the larger *Economic Manuscripts of 1861–1863* run from the start of the *Collected Works'* thirtieth volume through the first half of their thirty-fourth volume. The latter half of the *Collected Works'* thirty-fourth volume consists of the surviving fragments of the *Economic Manuscripts of 1863–1864*, which represented a third draft for *Das Kapital*, and a large portion of which is included as an appendix to the Penguin edition of *Das Kapital*, volume I.<sup>[186]</sup> A German language abridged edition of *Theories of Surplus Value* was published in 1905 and in 1910. This abridged edition was translated into English and published in 1951 in

London, but the complete unabridged edition of *Theories of Surplus Value* was published as the "fourth volume" of *Das Kapital* in 1963 and 1971 in Moscow.<sup>[187]</sup>



Marx in 1882

During the last decade of his life, Marx's health declined and he became incapable of the sustained effort that had characterised his previous work.<sup>[144]</sup> He did manage to comment substantially on contemporary politics, particularly in Germany and Russia. His *Critique of the Gotha Programme* opposed the tendency of his followers [Wilhelm Liebknecht](#) and [August Bebel](#) to compromise with the [state socialism](#) of [Ferdinand Lassalle](#) in the interests of a united socialist party.<sup>[144]</sup> This work is also notable for another famous Marx quote: "[From each according to his ability, to each according to his need](#)".<sup>[188]</sup>

In a letter to [Vera Zasulich](#) dated 8 March 1881, Marx contemplated the possibility of Russia's bypassing the capitalist stage of development and building communism on the basis of the common ownership of land characteristic of the village *mir*.<sup>[144][189]</sup> While admitting that Russia's rural "commune is the fulcrum of social regeneration in Russia", Marx also warned that in order for the *mir* to operate as a means for moving straight to the socialist stage without a preceding

capitalist stage it "would first be necessary to eliminate the deleterious influences which are assailing it (the rural commune) from all sides".<sup>[190]</sup> Given the elimination of these pernicious influences, Marx allowed that "normal conditions of spontaneous development" of the rural commune could exist.<sup>[190]</sup> However, in the same letter to Vera Zasulich he points out that "at the core of the capitalist system ... lies the complete separation of the producer from the means of production".<sup>[190]</sup> In one of the drafts of this letter, Marx reveals his growing passion for anthropology, motivated by his belief that future communism would be a return on a higher level to the communism of our prehistoric past. He wrote that "the historical trend of our age is the fatal crisis which capitalist production has undergone in the European and American countries where it has reached its highest peak, a crisis that will end in its destruction, in the return of modern society to a higher form of the most archaic type – collective production and appropriation". He added that "the vitality of primitive communities was incomparably greater than that of Semitic, Greek, Roman, *etc.* societies, and, a fortiori, that of modern capitalist societies".<sup>[191]</sup> Before he died, Marx asked Engels to write up these ideas, which were published in 1884 under the title *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State.*



#### ④ Annals School:

The Annals school is a group of historians associated with a style of historiography developed by French historians in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century to stress long-term social history. It is named after its scholarly journal *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale* which remains the main source of scholarship, along with many books and monographs. The school has been highly influential in setting the agenda for historiography in France and numerous other countries, especially regarding the use of social scientific methods by historians emphasizing social and economic rather than political or diplomatic themes.

The school dealt primarily with late medieval and early modern Europe with little interest in later topics. It has dominated French social history and influenced historiography in Europe and Latin America.

The main scholarly outlet has been the journal *Annales. Histoire Économique Sociale* founded in 1929 by Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch, which broke radically with traditional historiography by insisting on the importance of taking all levels of society into account. An attempt to require an *Annales*-written textbook for French schools was rejected by the government. By 1980 postmodern sensibilities undercut confidence in overarching metanarratives. As Jacques Revel notes, the success of the *Annales* school, especially its use of social structures as explanatory forces, contained the seeds of its own downfall. For there is no longer any implicit consensus on which to base the unity of the social, identified with the real. The *Annales* school kept its infrastructure but lost its mentalité.

#### Book For Reference:-

① E. H. Carr :- What is History?

② Arthur Marwick :- The Nature of History