THIRD LECTURE
T H I R D  L E C T U R E

The proceedings to be described in this
lecture will be of a subordinate character. They consist
of the proceedings by the contributor to the
progress of the movement of which the situation is
such that it cannot be expected to in any way
interfere with the success of the political
democratization of the American people. It is
true that the constitutional guarantees of the
people, the relations of the laboring people,
and the rights of the property owners, are

W. M. C L A R K
THIRD LECTURE

Workingmen and Workingwomen:

The beginning of the last half of the nineteenth century witnessed in the principal European countries and also the United States an unparalleled growth and development in the capitalist system of production. It was the period in which the gigantic cotton industry in the North of England was unable to procure enough human flesh for absorption and transmutation into surplus value; it was the period in which the northern part of the Western Hemisphere was ravaged by a gigantic civil war, waged to decide the question whether the semi-feudal Southern aristocracy or the, comparatively speaking, progressive and impatient capitalist class of the industrial North should henceforth dictate the political policy and economic and social course of the Union; it was the period in which the gradually awakening Muscovite Empire, through the at least nominal emancipation of the serfs, created its first large armies of modern industrial and agrarian proletarians, and thereby proclaimed to the world the definite collapse of feudalism and the ascendancy of capitalism in Russia; it was the period in which the question of political and economic unity was becoming an ever greater problem and necessity to the general progress of the German States, and also the crying demand of the hour in torn and disunited Italy; in other words: it was the period in which the national units of capitalist production became conscious of their interests, and also began to look with envy upon the colonial possessions and the consequent imperialistic domination of England; it was the beginning of the great battle of capitalist national units for international supremacy—a struggle whose culmination is vividly illustrated by the present Great War. In the sixties and seventies of the last century, of course, the indications for a large era of imperialism were as yet only mildly perceivable. As stated before, countries like Germany, the United States and France were still occupied
with the development, organization and exploitation of their national resources or the reformation of their political institutions, in other words: the modern capitalist mode of production was still in its infancy—in its embryonic state.

However, one historic fact loomed forth portentously in all these countries, namely: that in proportion as the capitalist mode of production slowly cast off its swaddling clothes and grew into a vigorous specimen, so the class-consciousness of the exploited masses showed signs of awakening and development. Indications of a growing unrest amongst the workers were visible everywhere. In England the remnants of the Chartist organization were ably assisting in the building up of the trades-unions; factory legislation, regulating the hours of employment and particularly child labor, was the first direct product of this agitation and growing consciousness. In Germany Ferdinand Lassalle was sounding the tocsin of proletarian action along class lines; and in France the activity of the workers’ organizations, particularly in Paris, Lyons and other industrial centers, clearly betrayed an ever growing spirit of working-class solidarity.

This growing solidarity amongst the workers was stimulated and urged on to a more concrete manifestation, through the growing friendship and fraternal relations between the capitalists of various countries, an illustration of which was given at the second Universal Exhibition, held in London in 1862. This exhibition brought together a large number of business men and manufacturers from every nook and corner of the globe. And here, at receptions and banquets, the acquaintances were developed and the relations between the exploiters of the world solidified to such an extent that the exhibition became to be known amongst workingmen as the “International of the bourgeoisie.” The supplement to this “International” was born, when on September 28th, 1864, workers’ representatives from England, France, Germany, Poland and Italy gathered in St. Martin’s Hall, London, and upon the proposal of the French
delegate, M. Le Lubez, organized the proletarian expression of international solidarity under the name of the International Workingmen’s Association—the first International.

Karl Marx actively participated in the preliminary work necessary for the calling of the conference. As the corresponding secretary for Germany, he was at the same time a member of the committee elected to draw up the constitution, programme or platform, etc., also to which the temporary management of the young organization’s affairs was entrusted. Needless to say, the drafting of the association’s declaration of principles and constitution was quite a delicate and complicated matter, and necessitated a thorough knowledge of working-class conditions in the different European countries. Furthermore, at that early state of capitalist development, relatively speaking of course, the programme of the International Workingmen’s Association had to be formulated in such a manner as not to collide or be of hindrance to the different countries in their various stages of capitalist evolution. Under such manifold social and political conditions and at this particular period of capitalist development, the functions of the International could be at best only such of an advisory and educational capacity, and their effect in the main of a moral character. The International was to be a permanent or standing manifestation of the international solidarity of the proletariat, and its offices were to be employed to encourage, develop and cement these relations amongst the workers in the different countries wherever possible. Marx knew that only an internationally organized and class-conscious proletariat could hope to cope with and defeat the capitalist class and destroy the capitalist mode of production—an international institution; he also knew that organization and education of the workers would have to go hand in hand with the development of capitalism, if the workers were to achieve their end; he knew that no economic system ever disappeared or was relieved by another system until it had developed all faculties inherent in it; he, therefore,
KARL MARX: THE MAN AND HIS WORK

knew that tedious pioneer work would have to be done and that the social revolution was not to be accomplished via the route of conspiracy, spontaneous direct action of self-styled “minorities,” assassination and bombastic phrase-mongery. Around what programmatic standard was the international proletariat to marshal its forces?

It was Marx who drafted both the constitution and the programme of the International Workingmen’s Association, documents which were unanimously adopted by the organization. In the declaration of principles, better known as the “Inaugural Address,” Marx outlined a plan of immediate action for the proletariat. This activity formed but “a part,” to speak in the words of the “Address,” “of the general struggle for emancipation of the toiling classes.” The “Inaugural Address” was a child of the “Communist Manifesto.” It also called attention to and emphasized the ever growing wealth in the hands of the possessing minority in society, and contrasts this with the ever increasing numbers in the propertyless working class and the increasing misery of this class, underscoring sharply the class antagonism between the exploiters and the exploited—an antagonism which is but the reflex of the economic divisions in capitalist society, divisions that are the original source of the social unrest. The “Inaugural Address” calls upon the workers to rise against misery and exploitation and advises them—fully appreciating the significance of the legal ten-hour day in England—to conduct this struggle via the road of independent political action and constructive, i. e., protective factory legislation; this activity was to be engaged in, however, always with the ultimate aim in view to conquer the political power for the proletariat in order to use the political machinery of the capitalist state to destroy forever all class rule. The document lays special weight upon the necessity of international working-class solidarity, a solidarity out of which an important duty arises, namely: to carefully control the foreign politics of the various capitalist govern-
ments, and to protest most emphatically and use all the might at the workers’ command, should these politics pursue criminal aims, consciously exploit national prejudices and tend to squander the blood and possessions of the people in wars of conquest. When we read this passage in the light of the present war, then we can about perceive the significance of the warning: a warning which was, however, not heeded because the nationalism generated by the material conditions at the bottom of modern imperialism—understand full-fledged national capitalism—was able to even permeate the working-class movement, becoming for the time predominant in influence, even making international solidarity. ergo the class interests of the proletariat, subservient to its aim.

However, I am digressing from the subject proper. The principles and tactical suggestions just presented to you can be considered the basic aspirations and the ultimate and immediate aims of the first International at its inception. As the years of experience and constant struggle swept over this yet crude and immature class organization of the international proletariat, the clear-headed thinkers at its head were compelled to admit that the battle of the workers for emancipation was indeed an arduous struggle: a struggle which was inseparably interwoven with the development and perfection of the very system they, the proletarians, were destined to destroy. In the organization and growing class-consciousness of the proletariat is reflexed the organization and growing power of the capitalist system of production; the growth of one social layer compels the growth of the other, and just as intensive life foreshadows an early death, so does this social antithesis portend its culmination in the social revolution.

The process of economic evolution, with its accompanying class manifestations, is, however, as stated before, a tediously slow one. To the individual, conscious of his economic status and aware of the historic role the proletariat is to play in the
future, social development seems stagnant and society intellectually corrupted or fossilized—dormant. To him the revolution is a mental reality, and could become a material one, if, yes, if the workers would only see the light and become class-conscious, i.e., would only become Socialists. The individual who reasons in this fashion, and who by the way is by no means a rarity in the movement of to-day, is everything but a Socialist in the Historical Materialistic, that is scientific conception of the term. He is a soaring idealist, who has lost the firm foundation of historical reality and material possibility from under his feet, and who is, consequently, utopistic in his deductions, actions and tactics. The first International, as is also the Socialist movement of to-day, was abundantly blessed with a large number of these undoubtedly sincere but intellectually ill-balanced comrades, Karl Marx and his followers, perceiving capitalist society through the spectacles of dialectical evolution and Historical Materialism, and seeing in all its manifestations but the logical sign of social development, were bound to collide with the gasconading idealist, who contemplated revolutionizing society via the road of backroom conspiracies and armed uprisings, especially at a time when sporadic prosperity had momentarily blinded the average wage slave to his actual conditions.

This struggle between Historical Materialism and utopian Idealism has been largely recorded by Socialist historians as a personal struggle between Marx and Bakunin for leadership in the International. Such writers are also everything else but Socialist historians, because if their conception were true, then the ghosts of Marx and Bakunin are at this advanced day still seeking to settle their personal quarrel in the Socialist and radical movement of every modern country on the face of the globe. The struggle between Historical Materialism, ergo scientific Socialism, and utopian Idealism—whether disguised as Opportunism, Impossibilism, Anarchist-Communism, etc., matters not—first took on shape and form in the first International and was led
by Karl Marx and Michael Bakunin, respectively. It is not to be confused with the intellectual battle and polemics between scientific Socialism and the Utopianism of the French and English schools. As stated before, the intellectual struggle between these two conceptions is still going on in the movement, and will continue to go on until Historical Materialism or the Materialist Conception of History becomes the predominant conception in society—philosophically as well as socially: an intellectual revolution which we are rapidly approaching and which has its roots in the material conditions of capitalist production. The present world-war, I believe, has been a wonderful schoolmaster in this direction. Never were the interests, class aspirations and economic forces of the ruling classes and their pliable governments more openly exposed, and never have I read and perceived more articles and books, dealing with the economic and social aspects of the war, written and published by bourgeois members of society than since the outbreak of the war. Of course, in the Socialist movement the war has been also a great incentive to study and particularly to delve into the "mysteries" of the foundation of Scientific Socialism—the Materialist Conception of History.

To return to the subject. It cannot be denied, however, that the struggle between Historical Materialism and Utopian Idealism, as personified in Karl Marx and Michael Bakunin, tended gradually to disrupt the already loose form of the International's organization. This falling apart, however, carried within its womb the germs of consolidation and organization along national lines. And it is peculiar how the subsequent course of events furnished additional proof of the soundness of the Marxian method of historical analysis; for it is not indeed a striking coincidence only explainable with the aid of the Marxian key, when we perceive that in all countries with a prominent capitalist physiognomy, Marxism exercised full control in the organization, and in the Latin and chiefly agrarian countries Bakunism side by side with Marxism could be observed.
Then also capitalism was at this period commencing to carve out its national destiny in countries like Germany, France, Italy, the United States, etc., and in this process a series of so-called national problems was raised: problems, however, that had a disruptive influence and a disintegrating effect upon the International. In this connection I desire to cite the Franco-Prussian War which had resulted in the unification of the various German states and the organization of a powerful capitalist class in Germany. The reaction of the German conquests and annexation of Alsace-Lorraine, and the beastly crushing of the Paris Commune with the aid of Bismarck, had inflamed and aroused the national pride of the French people, and conjured the spectre of "revenge" upon the scene. England's undisturbed conquest of the world's markets, a conquest securely cemented by imperialist colonial possessions, had brought an era of prosperity to the British workers, of course relatively speaking; and the plan of the British imperialists to create a so-called world-empire, of course under the protectorate of Great Britain, a plan that was skilfully advocated by Lord Beaconsfield and that actually turned the heads of quite a few prominent men in the English labor movement, amongst them Joseph Cowen, who had been a strong supporter of the International, created such a spirit of jingoism in England and was productive of a national arrogance, which at this late day only finds its parallel in certain types of German workers.

These were the conditions and motives which prompted the Congress of the International at the Hague, in 1872, to transfer the seat of the organization's General Council to New York: a decision that in reality and practical effect actually implied the disbandment and the end of the International Workingmen's Association.

As a member of the General Council, Marx remained true to the International to the end. And to him the dissolution of this much-dreaded body implied only the reorganization of the proletarian forces on a larger and more class-conscious scale. The
"Inaugural Address" and "The Civil War in France" are two historic publications and documents of the International Workingmen's Association of which he is the author, and which are remarkable signposts of the proletariat's march to emancipation. They are truly fitting supplements to the "Communist Manifesto." However, no one will ever know the volume of work performed by Marx as the so-called intellectual head of the International. Only a small portion of this activity is available in documents. As a leader, educator and counsellor of leaders, he performed invaluable services, not only while member of the General Council, but up to his death. To one unfamiliar with the conditions, the turbulent and primitive conditions that existed in the early days of the modern labor movement, no adequate conception of the colossal magnitude of this task can present itself. However, it is no exaggeration when I state, and my assertion is based upon the reports of men who for years lived in intimate association with Marx, that it was primarily this daily stream of details, which steadily kept pouring in upon him from every nook and corner of the globe and demanded his time and attention, that prevented him from devoting his undivided energies to the far more important scientific studies. Marx was a most conscientious student and advisor, and could devote days to research, in order to furnish an authentic reply to an inquiry. Aside from the historic causes cited above, here we have a tributary cause responsible for Marx's retirement from leadership in the International—a retirement that fell together with the disintegration of the organization. In just this energy-absorbing phase of Marx's activity we can also locate the reason why on the day of his death, March 14th, 1883, the second volume of "Capital" was still uncompleted, and the material for the third volume had been only collected and fragmentally suggested or roughly sketched in his note book. However, to again quote Klara Zetkin: "The principal work of Marx is comparable to a grand torso of antique art, which even in its mutilated form speaks more impressively
and enchantingly to our soul than dozens of completed sculptures."

This presentation of the life and works of Marx would, however, be seriously defective, if no account of Marx's more intimate domestic life would be rendered, i.e., if that phase of life would be omitted which is really the basic element of all social activity—the every-day life. In order to do this intelligently, an understanding of the material conditions or social atmosphere in which he lived and of the characteristics of Marx and his inseparable companions is necessary.

Marx may truly and without indulging in platitudinous exaggerations be celebrated as an ideal type of revolutionist. He was, it is true, primarily a scientist; a scientist, however, who after having reached a definite deduction demanding a certain form of action did not shrink from the duty imposed upon him by scientific investigation and social circumstances, but cheerfully shouldered the task and unflinchingly labored to realize the demands of social evolution. Karl Marx was a true scientist, who did not consider himself a neutral and independent atom of the social organism—an atom that could function without affecting other atoms—but a scientist who through the result of his scientific findings felt himself morally compelled to participate in the reconstruction of society, who became a revolutionist, because he wanted to be and remain a true scientist. In Marx, therefore, the scientific world finds a man, who through his keen analysis and comprehension of social phenomena dedicated his faculties to the cause of the disinheritied working-class; because, unlike so many of his contemporaries, he saw in that class the pioneer of all real progress, and also because to him the social interest was of far greater importance than his own material welfare. He was a consistent revolutionist, because he sought to be and remain a consistent scientist. Here we have a gratifying example where theory is supplemented by corresponding action: where a man's conduct squares with his principles. To Marx,
scientific conviction and unhampered investigation were everything, and with sovereign scorn did he look down upon and treat that so numerous tribe of professorial scribes, who sell these indispensable prerequisites of liberty for the proverbial mess of pottage. And just because Marx was a searching scientist and his scientific findings made out of him a revolutionist, that is why he was ostracized by the class which to-day, by virtue of its economic power, is in control of the institutions of learning: that is why Marx was condemned to battle with the most dire poverty during the greatest part of his life.

To Marx, however, poverty was an incident of secondary importance and considered the legitimate product of a social manifestation of prime significance to him, and that was the movement—his ideal. Marx, like all great men of letters or geniuses, was a poor business man and an absolute failure as an administrator of the practical things in every-day life. To him life seemed to be a medium for the realization of certain aims and the promotion of the social welfare, and not an occasion for the talking of shop, the gratification of petty personal desires and the amassing of wealth, etc.

From the beginning of his exile in London and practically up to his death Marx and his family bore a burden of poverty far heavier and more unbearable than the one carried by the average proletarian family in those days. There were days in the Marx household when the stove was cold, the frost biting, the pantry empty and hunger upon the bill of fare; when the impatient landlord stormed and threatened, and the children’s starved faces and beseeching glances seemed to accusingly form themselves into a veritable indictment against their father. These ungratifying, yes, most miserable of miserable conditions pained Marx severely. Not because he feared or cared for material sufferings; no, Marx passed such vicissitudes of every-day life over with truly noble unconcern. What, however, affected and pained him so deeply was to see his wife, this faithful companion
of his joyous boyhood days, and his beloved little ones suffer. Marx worshipped his wife and adored his children with a love and adoration that knew no bounds. And, therefore, when two of his daughters and his only son, his little Moosh, succumbed to this pitiful and devitalizing poverty, were, so to speak, sacrificed upon the altar of incorruptible and path-breaking science and to the cause of proletarian and social emancipation, his grief was uncontrollable and laid the foundation for his early and untimely death. From the death of his son, a child who bore the physical curse of poverty from the day of his birth until his death, he never recovered. In order that I may not awaken the feeling of doubt in my auditors or be charged with exaggeration, permit me herewith to quote a letter of Mrs. Marx to Mrs. Weydemeyster, the wife of an intimate friend of Marx residing in New York:

"My dear Mrs. Weydemeyster:

"In answer to your kind letter, which I received this morning, and in order to show you how delighted I was to receive it, I will write you a detailed letter at once, for now I see from your writing that you would like to hear from us, and that you have still preserved the same feelings of friendship as we have done.

"For how would it be possible for such old and tried comrades and friends, to whom Fate has given the same sufferings, the same pleasures, the same happy and sad days, ever to become strangers, though time and the ocean intervene? And so I extend my hand to you, as to a brave, true companion in adversity, a fellow struggler and sufferer. Yes, indeed, my dear Mrs. Weydemeyster, our hearts have often been filled with sorrow and gloom, and I can well imagine what you have had to contend with, again lately! I fully realize all you have to contend with, the cares and deprivations, for have I not often suffered the same! But suffering hardships and love gives strength.

"The first years of our life here were bitter ones, but I will not dwell on those sad memories to-day, on the losses we suffered, nor the dear, sweet departed children, whose pictures are engraved in our hearts with such deep sorrow.

"I will write of a newer period of our life rather, which, despite much sadness, has nevertheless, brought us many bright gleams of happiness."
"In 1856 I travelled to Trier with my three remaining daughters. My dear mother was overjoyed at our arrival, but, unfortunately, the joy was doomed to be of short duration. The most faithful, the best of mothers became ill and, after suffering for eleven days, closed her dear, tired eyes, her last glance resting fondly upon the children and me. Your dear husband, who knew what a loving mother she was, can best estimate my grief. We laid the dearly beloved body in its last resting place, and left Trier, after having settled the little legacy of my dear mother, dividing this equally between my brother Edgar and myself.

"Up to this time we had lived, in London, in two miserable rooms. We were now enabled, by means of the few hundred thalers my dear mother had left me, despite all the sacrifices she had made for us, to furnish a little house for ourselves, not far from the beautiful Hampstead Heath, and which we are still occupying. (As the translator of the "Woman in White," you will probably recall this name.)

"It is, truly, a princely dwelling, compared with our former narrow holes, and although the furnishing of the whole house cost us but forty pounds ("second-hand rubbish" playing the leading role) we felt quite 'high-toned,' possessing, as we did, a parlour. All the linen and other remnants of former greatness were now redeemed from the hands of the 'Uncle,' and it was a joy to me to be able to count my damask napkins of old Scotch origin once more. This grandeur, however, was of short duration, for soon afterward, one piece after the other had to wander back to the "Pop House" (as the children call the mysterious Three-Balls shop). Yet it gave us great pleasure to live once more in comparative comfort and ease.

"Then the first American crisis came and our income was cut in half. Our living expenses had to be screwed down once more, and we even had to incur debts. These had to be incurred in order to be able to continue the education of our girls further as begun.

"And now I come to the brightest part of our life, from which the only light and happiness was shed on our existence—our dear children. I feel certain that your husband, who was so fond of the girls when they were children, would be more heartily pleased with them now since they have grown into tall and blooming young women.

"Although I must fear that you will take me for a rather conceited and weak mother, I will give you a description of these dear praiseworthy girls. They are both exceptionally good-hearted, of generous dispositions, of truly amiable modesty and girlish purity. Jenny will be seventeen years of age on the first of May. She is a most charming girl,
making quite a handsome appearance with her dark, shining, black hair and equally dark, shining soft eyes and her brunette, creole complexion with its acquired healthy English tints. The pleasant, good-natured expression of her round, childlike face makes one forget that she has a stub nose, which is perhaps not beautiful in itself, and it is a real pleasure when she speaks, to observe the friendly mouth with its fine teeth.

"Laura, who was fifteen years old last September, is perhaps prettier and of more regular features than her older sister, whose direct opposite she is. Although she is just as tall as Jenny, as slender and delicately formed, there is something lighter, brighter and more lucid about her. The upper part of her face may well be called beautiful with its waves of curly hair of chestnut brown, her sweet, dear eyes of changeable greenish lights that burn like triumphant fires, and her finely formed and noble forehead. The lower part of her face is less regular, being less developed. Both girls possess rosy, blooming complexions, and I often marvel at their lack of vanity, for I remember very well that the same could not have been said of their mother at a certain tender age!

"At school they have always carried off the first prizes. They are perfectly at home in English and are quite advanced in French. They are able to read Dante in Italian and also know a little Spanish; the German language seems to give them the greatest trouble; although I take every means in my power to prevail on them to take a German lesson now and then, my wishes do not always find obedience, so you see that respect for me and my authority are not very great. Jenny's special talent is for drawing, and the best ornaments in our home are her crayon drawings. Laura was so negligent about drawing that we had to deprive her of this instruction, as a punishment. She delights in practising on the piano, however, and sings charming English and German duets with her sister. Unfortunately, they commenced taking their musical instruction rather late, having begun only a year and a half ago. It had been impossible for us to raise the money for these expenses, for we had no piano. The one which we have now is only a hired one, and is old and dilapidated.

"The girls are a constant pleasure to us, owing to their affectionate and unselfish dispositions. Their little sister, however, is the idol of the whole house.

"This child was born at the time our poor, dear Edgar departed from life, and all our love for the little brother, all the tenderness for him, were now showered on the little sister, whom the older girls cherish with motherly solicitude. But you could scarcely find a lovelier child, so pretty, naive and full of droll humour is she. Her charming manner of
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speaking and relating stories is truly remarkable. This she learned from the Grimm brothers, who are her companions by day and night. We all have read the fairy tales until we are almost blind, but woe to us if we were to forget one syllable of Rumpelstilzkin or Schneewittchen! By means of fairy stories, she has been able to learn the German language, which she speaks correctly besides the English language, which of course lies in the air. This little one is Karl's favourite pet, laughing and chatting away many of his troubles.

"I am happy in still having our dear, loyal, conscientious Lenchen to assist me in housekeeping; ask your dear husband about her, he will affirm what a treasure she is to us. For sixteen years she has faithfully stood by us through storm and adversity.

"Last year we had to suffer great annoyance from the infamous and vile attacks made by the whole German, American, etc., press. You have no idea how many sleepless nights and how much worry it all cost us. Our lawsuit against the National-Zeitung cost us a large sum of money, and when Karl had his book ready, he could find no publisher who would accept it. He finally had to have it published at his own expense (paying 25 pounds) and now after its appearance, the cowardly, corrupt press is trying to kill it by silence. I am delighted that you are pleased with the book. Your opinion is almost literally identical with that of all our other friends. Through the very intentional disregard of the book by the press, it could not reach the splendid sale which we had every right to expect.

"Meanwhile, the high approbation of all those of foremost intellectual standing must satisfy us. Our adversaries and enemies even have had to acknowledge its high value. Bucher described it as a compendium of the history of ages, and Lassalle writes that the enjoyment afforded him and his friends by this work of art was indescribable, and that their rejoicing and delight at so much wit was limitless. Engels considers this to be Karl's best book, as does 'Luptus.' Congratulations arrive from all sides, even our old enemy, Ruge, calls it a good farce. I am curious to see if America will observe the same silence. This would be actually revolting, after having given space to all those worthless lies and calumnies. Perhaps your dear husband could give some assistance in spreading its circulation.

"I had scarcely finished copying the manuscript, when I suddenly fell ill. A most terrible fever attacked me, and we had to send for a doctor. On the 20th of November he came, examined me carefully, and after keeping silent a long time broke out into the words: 'My dear Mrs.
Marx, I am sorry to say you have got the smallpox—the children must leave the house immediately." You can imagine the distress and grief of the entire household at this verdict. What was to be done? The Liebknechts fearlessly offered to shelter the girls in their home, and by noon they had entered into exile, carrying their few belongings with them.

"I kept growing worse, hour after hour, the smallpox breaking out in the worst form. I suffered very, very much. Awful, burning pains in my face, complete sleeplessness, in deadly fear for Karl, who nursed me with the greatest tenderness, finally the loss of all senses save the inner sense of consciousness, which remained clear. I lay abed by the open window, so that the cold November air blew in upon me. At the same time there was a red hot fire in the stove; ice was placed upon my burning lips, and from time to time Bordeaux wine was infused in small quantities. I could hardly swallow, my hearing kept growing weaker, at last the eyes closed completely—who could tell if I should ever be able to see the light of day again?

"But my constitution was victorious, the tenderest, most faithful nursing assisted—and so I am sitting here again in complete health, but with disfigured face, marked by scars and a dark red coloring—quite a la hauteur de la mode couleur de Magenta! Christmas eve came and for the first time since my illness the poor children were allowed to return to their sadly missed home. This first meeting was indescribably pathetic. The girls were deeply affected and could hardly repress their tears when they saw me. But five weeks previous I had made quite an acceptable appearance beside my blooming daughters. Due to the surprising fact that I still had no gray hair and possessed good teeth and figure, I belonged to the class of well-preserved women—but now all this was gone! I felt as though I were a hippopotamus, belonging, rather to the Zoological Garden than to the Caucasian race. But do not let me frighten you too much. My appearance has improved quite a little, and the scars are beginning to heal.

"I had scarcely recovered sufficiently to be able to leave my bed, when my dearly beloved Karl took sick. Excessive fear, anxiety and vexations of every sort and description threw him upon his sick bed. For the first time, his chronic liver trouble had become acute. But thank heavens, he recovered after an illness of four weeks. In the meantime, the Tribune had placed us at half-pay again and, instead of getting some receipts from the book, we were obliged to meet a note. Added to this was the enormous expense of the most terrible of sicknesses. In short, you now have an idea how we fared last winter.
"As a result of all these affairs, Karl resolved to make a plundering expedition to Holland, the land of tobacco and cheese. He will endeavour to induce his uncle to help him out with money. So I am a grass widow at the present moment, and in high hope that the great Holland undertaking will be successful. Saturday of last week I received the first letter, which contained hopeful expressions and sixty gulden. Naturally, such a mission is not easily fulfilled; it takes time; one must be expeditious, use diplomacy and be a good manager. I am in hopes, however, that Karl will drain Holland dry and leave the country poverty-stricken.

"As soon as he has attained success in Holland, he will undertake a secret trip to Berlin, in order to reconnoitre the conditions there with the possible plan of arranging for a weekly or monthly periodical. The latest experiences have convinced us only too well that no progress is possible without our own organ. If Karl's plan to create a new party paper succeeds, he will certainly write to your husband and call upon him for reports from America.

"Soon after Karl's departure, our faithful Lenchen took sick and today she is still abed, though on the road to recovery. For this reason I have my hands full of work, and have had to write this letter in the greatest of hurry. But I could not and would not remain silent any longer; it has been a great relief to me to unload my heart to my oldest, truest friends. I will not make any excuses to you for having written in detail of everything and everyone. My pen ran away with me, and I can only hope and wish that you may experience only a little of the pleasure I felt at reading your letter. I have already attended to the note and all is quite in order, just as though my lord and master were here.

"My girls send their heartiest greetings and kisses to your dear children—one Laura greets the other—and I kiss each one of them in spirit. To you, dearest friend, I send my warmest regards. May you remain brave and unshaken in these days of trial. The world belongs to the courageous. Continue to be the strong, faithful support of your dear husband and remain elastic in mind and body, the true 'unrespected' comrade of your dear children, and let me hear from you again at your first opportunity.

Yours in sincere friendship,

"Jenny Marx."

In the face of such cold, cruel and inhuman facts, in the presence of such unbearable misery, comment and critical appreciation become paralyzed: appalled by the shock inherent in this tragic revelation of a page in a man's life, who is to-day
acclaimed and idolized as the formulator of a philosophical system for the proper conception of historical phenomena, and a pathfinder, if not the head, of modern Political Economy—who is considered the founder of a movement whose membership now runs into millions and which exercises a potential influence in every civilized country on the face of the globe! Any additional comment, in the face of such boundless and beautiful idealism and august devotion, seems sacrilegious and would only mar the profound impression created by this unpretentious narration of a phase in the life of this truly great and noble man. In conclusion I take the liberty to cite that well-known passage, a passage which is also quoted by Marx's daughter in closing her comment upon the turbulent life of her father:

"the elements
So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
And say to all the world: 'This was a man'."

The next article in this series will be an essay on "An Outline for the Study of Marxism."
AN OUTLINE FOR THE STUDY
OF MARXISM
AN OUTLINE FOR THE STUDY OF MARXISM

As a fitting supplement to the lectures published under this title in the first three numbers of this magazine, I will now endeavor to furnish the reader with a compilation of works which I deem absolutely essential for a serious and comprehensive study of Socialism. In the humble opinion of the writer, such a study must inevitably lead to a scientific understanding of Marxism—an understanding quite imperative to an intelligent and sound appreciation of Capitalism.

There is probably no social theory outside of the various religious conceptions, and no book except the Bible that can boast of more adherents and advocates the world over than Socialism and “Capital.” Socialism is to-day a factor in the social and political life of every nation, and the theoretical propositions and basic principles of Marxism are at this turbulent period the revolutionary force and intellectual standard around which the workers and all truly disinterested students of Sociology and Political Economy rally in their struggle against the debasing influences of the mercenary Social Sciences. Marxism can, therefore, and without indulging in exaggeration, lay claim to the legacy of Classical Political Economy, and consider itself the only legitimate heir to the scientific values of this science. And acting in accord with this dictate of social development, Marx has raised upon the solid foundation laid by a Petty, Smith, Ricardo and Mills a structure truly massive, colossal and inspiring in its mighty grandeur, and overpoweringly convincing, yes unassailable and irrefutable in the scientific profundity of its construction.

As has been amply elucidated and sufficiently explained, the two propositions upon which the theoretical system of Marx rests and whose proper appreciation is absolutely necessary for a
thorough and rational understanding of Marxism are the Materialist Conception of History and the Socialist critique and analysis of capitalist production, or Capitalism. I have dwelt at length upon these two fundamental phases of Socialist letters in my lectures, and, therefore, do not consider it essential to enter upon a discussion of them here, or to even emphasize the importance of their proper study and assimilation.

Every scientist will concede that the basis for a competent understanding of or mastery over any branch of learning rests solely in systematic study and the well organized classification and application of the knowledge or subject matter absorbed. Socialism is no exception to the rule. For a thorough knowledge of the elements of Socialist Philosophy and Economics a well planned and systematically executed course of critical reading and diligent study is absolutely essential. Such a course of reading and study is, however, taking the present conditions in the field of Socialist literature as a criterion, not so easily compiled; especially, if the prospective student attempts to perform this task himself, i. e., without procuring the advice or counsel of a competent authority. In no field of intellectual endeavor or pursuit, in no science are there more snares, snags and traps awaiting the unwary and trusting student than in the field of theoretical Socialism. And when we view the innumerable collections of irresponsible, defective, yes in many cases fundamentally erroneous works which are daily offered to the public as “recognized textbooks” on Socialism, then we can easily account for this ungratifying situation and also readily explain the Babylonian confusion and criminal inconsistency at times rampant in the Socialist movement. Furthermore, when perceiving that such “textbooks,” which in the most cases are at best only unquestionable testimonials of their author’s ignorance of Socialism, are circulated by responsible agencies in the Socialist Party, then the unbiased Socialist, to whom clarity in Socialist letters is more than a cherished aspiration, must confess
that it certainly is not such a simple task after all for the uninitiated seeker to arrive at a clear and scientific conception of Marxism.

I believe I am not exaggerating when I state that no movement has placed its founder upon a higher pedestal, or paid a greater tribute to its master than the Socialist movement. If anyone desires to view an example of deep gratitude and noble affection let him study the whole-hearted idolization of Karl Marx indulged in by the proletariat the world over. There is no civilized country upon the globe in which there are not hundreds of thousands of workingmen who proclaim themselves adherents to Marx's teachings. The picture of this great thinker adorns the parlor of every Socialist home, and can be found in every Socialist or trades-union hall. His masterpiece and textbook of scientific Socialism, "Capital," enjoys the undivided admiration of all Socialists. Be they orthodox revolutionists or plastic opportunists matters not, in the laudation of Marx and his works they are one and claim to be—Marxists. Another peculiarity, which has its origin in the object to exploit the international reputation of Marx for political purposes, is the persistency of Socialist organizations or factions with the most conflicting principles to proclaim their position to be in conformity with Marxian precepts, or to be the only "true" Marxian position. Consequently, since the death of Marx, the most farcical and disgusting political campaigns and pillaging expeditions have been labelled or masqueraded in the guise of Marxism, and are even at this late day usurping the name of the great master for the purpose of political capital. These unsavory tactics and ungratifying conditions are made possible and tolerated in the Socialist movement, because the reverence entertained for and unbounded confidence placed in Marx are not predicated upon a sound knowledge of or an even superficial familiarity with the actual works of this celebrated economist. There is probably no book in the scientific literature of the world that enjoys greater popularity, is more appealed to,
oftener recommended and less read than “Capital.” In consequence, it will be difficult to find another science, enjoying the same popularity as Marxism, in whose name are propagated so many conflicting and erroneous views. As already insinuated, the cause for these ungratifying conditions can be traced to the colossal ignorance prevalent amongst so-called “Marxian” Socialists on matters Marxian. Therefore, the only force able to curb and eventually obliterate “these evil powers of darkness” is familiarity with the works of their idol, and an acquaintance with the lucid teachings of their much heralded leader, through a systematic study of Socialist classics. The organization of classes or circles for the study of Socialist classics should, consequently, be seriously taken in hand by all Socialists who have the healthy development of Marxism at heart. A vigorous, revolutionary political and industrial movement of Socialism can only flow from a sound theoretical conception of Marxism; no conscious, effective and revolutionary policy can be expected from the vast majority of the political and economic forces now operating under the banner of Socialism.

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When a student enters upon the study of Socialism, the first truism he should remember is that Socialism as a science does not occupy itself nearly so extensively with the contemplation and elucidation of future society, as with the examination and economic analysis of the present one. Scientific Socialism is, therefore, not as it is generally and mistakenly assumed, a theoretical system dealing solely with the multifarious phases of the Cooperative Commonwealth, but one which constitutes primarily an inquiry into the origin, foundation, laws and tendencies noticeable in the development of capitalist production. In consequence, a knowledge of Socialism does not consist of an individual’s competence to memorize a definition formulating the economic and social basis of Socialist production, i. e., setting forth the economic groundwork of the Industrial Republic and the
social consequences resulting therefrom, but rather of his ability to file a brief for Socialism, by convincingly pointing out the necessity for and inevitability of the Cooperative Commonwealth germinating in the womb of capitalist society. A knowledge of Socialism demands, therefore, in the first place not so much a study of future society as it does a thorough investigation of present social and economic life. In consequence, Socialism represents more an investigation of capitalist production and an exposition of the social and economic laws underlying the same than an abstract theory or speculation of Industrial Democracy. However, it must be also emphasized that in order to have a normal, that is scientifically sound conception of future society, and an understanding of the forces and social elements making for it, a deep and scientific appreciation of Capitalism is absolutely indispensable.

As an excellent introduction into the so-called mysteries of Economics and the peculiarities of the Socialist nomenclature, also as a textbook of Socialism unparalleled for lucidity, pithiness and accuracy I recommend a close study of "Das Erfurter Programm," by Karl Kautsky, published in English complete under the name of "The Class Struggle" and translated by Wm. E. Bohn, or chapters of which are issued in pamphlet form under the titles of "The Working Class," "The Capitalist Class," "The Class Struggle" and "The Socialist Republic," translated and adapted to American conditions by Daniel De Leon. There is probably no book in the by no means limited assortment of Socialist literature that equals this work in its scrupulous accuracy of exposition; an accuracy made doubly effective because it is coupled with a remarkable and rare simplicity in the presentation of Marxian fundamentals. Here we have a compendium of Socialism, written by a Marxian scholar of international repute, classical in its treatment of the subject matter, and truly deserving the widest possible circulation in the Socialist and labor movement. "Das Erfurter Programm," as the German
title of “The Class Struggle” suggests, was originally written to furnish a theoretical explanation and scientific elucidation of the programme of the German Social Democracy, adopted at Erfurt, 1891, to the workers. The very purpose and nature of such a work makes out of it a rich source of information for particularly the serious student; because here the penetrating rays of Marxism are thrown upon the programmatic demands and principles of a political party of Socialism, and employed or utilized to verify the same before the bar of science. “Das Erfurter Programm” (“The Class Struggle”) succeeds admirably in presenting and explaining Socialist fundamentals to the novice or uninitiated. However, in doing this, it claims to be, as already stated, substantiating the demands and theoretical propositions laid down in the Erfurt programme of the Social Democratic Party. In the opinion of the writer, the object of this splendid work has been only partially fulfilled, at least the object of its publishers, because as an advocate of sound, scientific fundamentals it has no rival in Socialist literature, in consequence, neither can it find its equal as a repudiator of palliatives and so-called immediate demands, so popular in the German Social Democracy and with which the Erfurt programme is overloaded.

Possessing a working knowledge of the genesis and character of capitalist production, also of the economic and social status of the various classes in present society, the student should now seek to familiarize himself more thoroughly with the Socialist conception of social evolution, i.e., with the philosophical foundation of scientific Socialism. Familiarity with the elements and propositions of Historical Materialism will also lead to a better understanding and more competent appreciation of social phenomena, and simultaneously equips the reader with the knowledge that will henceforth enable him to differentiate intelligently between Utopian and Scientific Socialism. An intensive study of Frederick Engels’ masterpiece “Development of Socialism from Utopia to a Science” is now recommended. In conjunction with these philo-
sophistical studies, the student ought to read the “Preliminary Remarks” to “Principles of Political Economy,” by John Stuart Mills. In this introduction the great English Economist gives in a lucid and brilliant form a short résumé of the principal stages in the evolution of the human race. If this work is not procurable, then the student can commence immediately with the “Evolution of Property,” by Paul Lafargue. However, a diligent perusal of Mills’ “Preliminary Remarks” can not be too strongly recommended.

In order to develop and broaden the student’s knowledge of Political Economy, the study of the following works is now opportune and must be carried out in the order they are listed: “Wage, Labor and Capital,” by Karl Marx; “High Cost of Living,” by Arnold Petersen; “Value, Price and Profit,” by Karl Marx.

Knowing the economic and social forces underlying social development, also possessing a scientific conception of social phenomena and historical manifestations; furthermore, being somewhat familiar with the general phases of social evolution, it is now desirable and quite essential that the student begin a somewhat systematic study in Ethnology, Sociology and History. As an introduction to this interesting course of reading, the student should slowly and patiently explore that treasure island of facts, that monumental work in Ethnology, “Ancient Society,” by Lewis H. Morgan. A thorough and diligent study of this classic is absolutely imperative and will greatly assist in the proper understanding of the subsequent periods in historical development. A study of the following works is now recommended: “The Ancient Lowly,” by C. Osborne Ward; “Two Pages from Roman History,” by Daniel De Leon; “Crises in European History,” by Gustav Bang; “An Introduction to the Study of the Middle Ages” and “Medieval Europe,” by Ephraim Emerton; “The Middle Ages,” by Henry Hallam; “History of European Morals,” by William Edward Hartpole Lecky; “General History
of Civilization in Europe,” by Francois Pierre Guillaume Guizot; “History of Civilization in England,” by Henry Thomas Buckle; and as supplementary reading “The Mysteries of the People, or History of a Proletarian Family Across the Ages,” by Eugene Sue, translated from the original French by Daniel De Leon. The last work by Sue in this series consists of 21 volumes, and is really a universal history in itself, depicting the class struggle as it has raged through the ages and under the different social systems. For a study of social development in America the works listed below will be found suitable; these works are written by scholars well grounded in the theories of Historical Materialism, and, consequently lay bare the actual driving forces responsible for and behind social change in this country: “American Industrial Evolution from Frontier to Factory,” by Justus Ebert; “Social Forces in American History,” by A. M. Simons; and “The Workers in American History,” by James Oneal.

It is now also necessary that the student acquaint himself with the inception and growth of the Socialist movement, a growth, however, that has not always kept abreast with the development of theoretical Socialism. The following classics of Socialist literature and historic documents should now be critically read: “The Communist Manifesto,” by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels; “Revolution and Counter-Revolution, or Germany in 1848,” erroneously credited to and published under the name of Karl Marx, but actually written by Frederick Engels; “The Class Struggle in France 1848-1850,” by Karl Marx; “The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon,” by Karl Marx; and “The Civil War in France” (“The Paris Commune”), by Karl Marx. In conjunction with the foregoing the following works, dealing in the main with American conditions and problems, may be profitably read: “History of Socialism in the United States,” by Morris Hillquit; “Proceedings of the Ninth Convention of the S. L. P.”; “Proceedings of the Tenth National Convention of the S. L. P., 1900”; “New Jersey Socialist Unity Conference”;
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Fully equipped with the various subjects and phases constituting the theoretical system of Marxism, and being also somewhat familiar with the various stages and periods of social development, the student is now amply prepared to take up the study of works usually considered too ponderous or “academic” for the unprepared worker. These works form the basis of the theoretical structure of Marxism, and their study is, therefore, synonymous with imbibing the Socialist philosophy at its “original sources.” The first of this class of works to be assiduously studied is Frederick Engels’ “Landmarks of Scientific Socialism” (Anti-Dühring). In conjunction with this invaluable gem of Socialist literature “Feuerbach, Roots of Socialist Philosophy,” by the same author; and “A Critique to Political Economy” and “Poverty of Philosophy,” by Karl Marx should be read; special attention being given to the Preface of the “Critique.” In this connection “The Theoretical System of Karl Marx,” by Louis B. Boudin, will also serve as very effective and profitable supplementary reading.

The next and final work to be taken up in this course of reading will be the study of “Capital,” the so-called foundation or basic work of Socialist Political Economy. Before, however, commencing this important and tedious task, the student should do some additional preliminary reading and rehearse his studies in Economics. He should, for example, reread “Wage, Labor and Capital,” “Value, Price and Profit,” etc., and particularly seek to master the contents of Marx’s “A Critique to Political Economy,” already referred to above. Furthermore, a perusal of works of a critical and more or less controversial nature, occupying themselves with the various phases of Marxism as formulated and substantiated in “Capital,” will be of great assistance.
KARL MARX: THE MAN AND HIS WORK

to a proper understanding of this masterpiece. For this purpose, the following brochures are recommended as collateral reading: “Vulgar Economy,” by Daniel De Leon; “Marx on Mallock, or Facts versus Fiction,” by the same author; “Was Marx Wrong?”, by I. M. Rubinow; and “Karl Marx and Boehm-Bawerk, Vulgar Economy Illustrated,” by W. H. Emmett.

The study of “Capital” can now be taken up, and in this connection the following suggestions should be observed. The social and historical significance of this work has been, I believe, sufficiently emphasized and dealt with in the lectures proper and, therefore, requires no further elucidation. What is now of prime importance to the prospective reader or student of “Capital” is a plan or course of procedure netting the best possible results with the smallest expenditure of energies. It can not be denied, all popular assertions notwithstanding, that “Capital” is to the average workingman, unaccustomed to scientific works, quite a tedious and ponderous volume; furthermore, that an indiscriminate and unsystematic reading of this book is not very conducive to either the spirit and future efforts of the reader, or to an intelligent appreciation of the work itself. As underscored in this article before, in the humble opinion of the writer, an EXHAUSTIVE course of preliminary reading and study is absolutely essential, yes, a prerequisite, for a proper understanding of “Capital.” Hence if classes or individuals, not equipped with the aforementioned knowledge so necessary for a proper perception or understanding, i.e., unprepared and untrained to assimilate or digest the intellectual food offered in this monumental work, give up their studies in despair, then the reason should not be ascribed to the “ponderous form of presentation in ‘Capital’,” but to the insufficient preparation and inability of these students to understand the nature and mode of Marx’s investigations and deductions. However, those who have diligently followed the lecturer through his discourses and studied the books recommended in this Outline need have no fears on this
score, and will experience no difficulties in understanding “Capital.”

To the student desirous of conserving energy, also to the teachers of “Capital” I would suggest and warmly recommend that they begin the study of the book not in the customary way, but commence with Part VIII, The So-Called Primitive Accumulation. This section deals with and graphically depicts the social and economic origin of capital and capitalist production, and shatters once and for all time that well-known myth of capital being the result or fruit of abstinence. In a powerful and highly fascinating style, Marx unrolls before the eyes of the reader a picture vividly showing the birth, development and culmination of Capitalism. Here we have a history of the capitalistic stage in the endless chain of social development, a history written by the formulaire of Historical Materialism, and it is truly a presentation throbbing with the creative vitality only inherent in convincing and irrefutable arguments: arguments taken from and corresponding with the indisputable facts of historic data and events. In this section of the book the secret of primitive accumulation, the expropriation of the peasants and their dispossession from the soil, the bloody and barbarous legislation against the expropriated in the 15th, 16th and 17th Centuries, the genesis of agrarian and industrial capital, and the historical tendencies of capitalist accumulation are exposed and dispassionately analyzed; including a scientific dissection of our modern theory of colonization—an examination that will prove to be particularly interesting when read in the light of the present war.

From this part of the book turn to Part III, Chapter X, on The Working Day, and read Section 1, The Limits of the Working Day, Section 2, The Greed for Surplus Labor.—Manufacturer and Boyard, Section 3, Branches of English Industries without Legal Limits to Exploitation, Section 4, Day and Night Work.—The Relay System, Section 5, The Struggle for a Normal Working Day.—Compulsory Laws for the Extension of the Working
Day from the Middle of the 14th to the End of the 17th Century, Section 6, The Struggle for the Normal Working Day.—Compulsory Limitation by Law of the Working Time.—The English Factory Acts, 1833 to 1864, Section 7, The Struggle for a Normal Working Day.—Reaction of the English Factory Acts on Other Countries. As the sub-headings sufficiently indicate, this chapter deals solely with the historical growth of and tendencies developed by capitalist exploitation, and thus furnishes an indictment of fact fearlessly laying bare the revolting, barbarous and anti-social character of the capitalist system of production.

In order to refresh the student's memory along the lines of the Materialist Conception of History, and for the purpose of familiarizing him with a brilliant piece of applied Historical Materialism, he should turn to Part IV, and assiduously peruse Chapter XV, dealing with Machinery and Modern Industry. In this chapter the following interesting problems are taken up: The Development of Machinery, The Value transferred by Machinery to the Product, The Proximate Effects of Machinery on the Workman (Appropriation of Supplementary Labor-Power by Capital, The Employment of Women and Children, Prolongation of the Working Day, Intensification of Labor), The Factory, The Strife between Workman and Machinery, The Theory of Compensation as regards Workpeople displaced by Machinery, Repulsion and Attraction of Workpeople by the Factory System, Revolution effected in Manufacture, Handicrafts, and Domestic Industry by Modern Industry, The Factory Acts, etc., and Modern Industry and Agriculture.

Being fully acquainted with the origin, development and tendencies of Capitalism, also quite familiar with the historical role assumed by it in the process of social evolution, the student is now sufficiently equipped to study the economic structure and laws of the capitalist system of production. And to this phase of investigation the remaining and largest part of "Capital" is devoted. Having digested such works as "Value, Price and
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Profit,” “The Class Struggle,” “A Critique to Political Economy,” etc., the student is well grounded and at home in the Socialist and scientific terminology, also in the elements of Marxian Economics, and should, therefore, experience no difficulties in the study of such portions of the work dealing primarily with the investigation and analysis of capitalist production in its pure economic form. The first Chapter of Part I can be defined as the bedrock of Socialist Economics. In the four sections composing this masterly treatise on Commodities, the basic principles and substance of Marxian Economics are laid down. In this chapter such highly important subjects as The two Factors of a Commodity, Use Value and Value (the Substance of Value and the Magnitude of Value), The Twofold Character of the Labor embodied in Commodities, The Form of Value or Exchange Value and The Fetishism of Commodities are subjected to an examination, the findings resulting therefrom elucidated and formulated in concise statements and accurate deductions. A mastery of the first ninety-six pages of “Capital” is, consequently, essential for an intelligent understanding of the remaining chapters in the book; because such a mastery equips the student with a faculty of scientific conception and differentiation quite conducive and necessary to further progress; again, the fact of being at home in the labyrinth of theoretical definitions and economic complexities constituting the groundwork of Marxian Economics is in itself an invaluable asset to the future intellectual labors of the student, and implies, without exaggeration, a knowledge of the quintessential principles of Marxism. Once the student has a correct conception of such familiar terms as Wealth, Value, Use Value, Exchange Value, Commodity, Labor Power, Surplus Value, Capital, etc., the hardest or most irksome part of the task can be considered accomplished. The remaining chapters in the work can now be taken up and studied in their regular order, including a re-reading of those previously studied, and the student should, relatively considered, experience no exceptional difficulties in his work.
To not a few readers this course of study will no doubt seem ponderous and unnecessarily voluminous. It will probably strike many as being too “academic,” “theoretical” and “impractical.” The absence of the current and popular works and tracts on Socialism may also seem inexplicable to some and earn for this course the reputation of being too “scientific” or “orthodox.” To all these antiquated and well known but superficial criticisms and stereotype platitudes the author has only one reply to make, namely: that the above is to be a course in Marxian Socialism, aiming solely to equip the students with a working knowledge of the fundamentals and basic elements of the Socialist philosophy. It is not to be a course in the various “adaptations” and “practical” revisions or abortions of Marxism, popularly taught to a naive and guileless public as “scientific” Socialism by a set of unscrupulous political fakirs. All the works listed and recommended in this course are recognized classics of Socialism, and can be considered as standing proof for the absolute superfluousness of the countless collection of books and pamphlets published on this subject, all claiming to be “popular expositions” of Socialism and “filling a long felt want.” Most of these works contain as a rule nothing else but the intellectual drivel of a coterie of, in many cases, well meaning but ignorant pseudo intellectuals, and in other instances may be classified as the output of a set of unprincipled mercenaries, who see in the labor and Socialist movement a lucrative field for the realization of their personal ambitions. Therefore, the author sincerely trusts that the perusal and diligent study of the works listed in this course will assist to create a sound conception of Marxism and a demand for scientific SOCIALIST literature in the Socialist movement.

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In the essay entitled “The Constructive Elements of Socialism,” the author has attempted to combine Marxism proper with the tactical and constructive phases of Socialism as they exist in
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the modern labor movement and are necessitated or produced by the social forces inherent in modern and full-fledged Capitalism. This essay also concludes this series, and can be considered the practical application of revolutionary Marxism to oligarchic, imperialistic Capitalism.
KARL MARX

CRITICISM OF SOCIALISM

The works listed in this catalogue are all original publications of Marxian authors. The

KARL MARX

THE MAN AND HIS WORK AND THE CONSTRUCTIVE ELEMENTS OF SOCIALISM

THREE LECTURES AND TWO ESSAYS

BY KARL DANNENBERG

1918

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