Chapter Five

EMERGENCE OF THE MASSES

I. TRADE-UNIONISM

It is one of Clio's curious paradoxes that in the closing era of the nineteenth century, when individual men were being reduced to the status of automatons in a mechanized universe and to family relationship with lower animals and chunks of carbon, the masses of mankind attained to a self-consciousness and a social importance without previous parallel, unless it were in those medieval times which good moderns were taught to contemn. In the Middle Ages, at least locally, the masses had made their voice heard and their influence felt in craft guild or manorial court, in communal government or peasant insurrection, and there had then been a degree of actual if unnamed "feminism." But from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century the ordinary populace of town and country had been generally submerged under the weight of centralizing despotism of princes, extending privileges of landed nobility, and rising ambition and achievement of middle class. Guilds fell into decay, *jacqueries* all but ceased, the condition of women was worsened, and in certain regions the large percentage of popular illiteracy grew still larger.

The industrialization of the nineteenth century changed all this. By prompting mass migration to cities and factories for the mass production of goods, it broke multitudes loose from local economy and customary dependence on nobleman or country gentleman and herded them in big metropolitan centers peculiarly favorable to mass suggestion and mass action. Here they learned to pit against the self-interest and industrial combinations of employers a self-interest of their own and the institution of trade-unionism. Here, too, they had incentive and opportunity to agitate for democratic government, for popular education, for social reform. Here, finally,

they provided abundant fertile soil for the propagation of nationalism or Marxism. In the resulting emergence—or re-emergence—of the masses on a national and international scale, women conspicuously shared from the outset, and so also in time did rural folk by virtue of the progressive industrialization of agriculture and the special services of rail, post, and wire.

The trade-union movement was a kind of working-class thermometer of industrialization. It developed originally, as one might expect, in England in the early part of the century, and presently spread, with machine manufacture, to Belgium, France, Germany, and other Continental countries. In 1868 was held the first British trade-union congress, representing a membership of 250,000, and in the same year the first trade-union of the British type was established in Germany. British trade-unions, barely tolerated by parliamentary acts of 1824-1825, were finally sanctioned in 1871 and 1876. France legalized trade-unions partially in 1864 and fully in 1884. Austria authorized them in 1870.

The prevailing trade-unionism of the '70's and early '80's was a craft unionism, confined mainly to skilled workmen in particular trades, notably building, engineering, coal mining, cotton manufacture, printing, hatmaking, etc. It spasmodically sponsored strikes for higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions, but its chief and constant function was mutual insurance against sickness, accident, and death. It was utilitarian and opportunist, and what philosophy it had was untinged by ideas of class conflict. It postulated the desirability and practicality of democratic co-operation between capital and labor and accepted, perhaps a bit naïvely, the current liberalism of middle-class "radicals." In Britain its pretension to political neutrality hardly concealed its sympathy with the John Bright wing of the Liberal party, and on the Continent it was an open ally of the sectarian Liberals. In Germany its earliest and most "respectable" form was fashioned by two eminent Progressives—Hirsch and Duncker—and faithfully served their partisan purposes.

Another form took shape fairly early. Almost simultaneously with the establishment of Hirsch-Duncker unions (*Gewerkvereine*), a disciple of Lassalle inaugurated in Germany a few Socialist unions

(*Gewerkschaften*); and these, like some of the labor organizations in France, were soon permeated with Marxian principles. Until the late '80's, however, Socialist unions were not very important. In France they suffered setbacks from the suppression of the Paris Commune in 1871, from the ensuing popular reaction, and from internal controversy. In Germany they were seriously handicapped by governmental hostility and by the anti-Socialist legislation of 1878. In Britain they were simply nonexistent.

The progress of trade-unionism was most pronounced during the years of comparative economic prosperity from 1871 to 1873, 1879 to 1882, 1886 to 1892, and 1896 onward. In the intervening times of crisis and depression, it was stagnant if not in retreat.

It was during the spell of relative general prosperity from 1886 to 1892 that a "new unionism" arose and made unexpected gains. This, unlike the old, was articulated or at least impregnated with Marxian socialism; it sought working-class organization by industries rather than by crafts; it enlisted unskilled laborers as well as skilled artisans; it was distinctly militant. It was ushered in by a bitter and bloody strike of Belgian miners and glass workers at Charleroi in Belgium in 1886. In the same year, a national federation of French labor unions was effected under Socialist auspices, and very shortly afterwards Marxists gained control of budding trade-union movements in Austria, Italy, the Scandinavian countries, Holland, and Spain. In Germany, where the Liberal Hirsch-Duncker unions barely held their own, the Socialist unions forged rapidly ahead, especially after the lapse of discriminatory legislation in 1890. In Britain the "new unionism" was greatly forwarded by the London dock strike of 1889, and though in this instance it remained largely impervious to the specific gospel of Karl Marx, it tended to favor and eventually to identify itself with the separate and quasi-socialistic Labor party which a Welsh miner, Keir Hardie, founded in 1893. Incidentally it was during the same period that the American Federation of Labor was formed (1886), and that under Catholic sponsorship and in keeping with the counsels of Leo XIII a "Christian" trade-unionism was initiated in France, Italy, Germany, Austria, and Belgium.

Between 1886 and 1900 trade-union membership rose in Britain

from one and a quarter million to two million; in Germany, from 300,000 to 850,000; in France, from 50,000 to 250,000. At the highest these figures represented only a relatively small minority of the urban proletariat and practically no agricultural workers. Trade-unionism was a movement among, not of, the masses. Its constituency continued to be an "aristocracy of labor."

Nor was the movement revolutionary. In England, even after the rise of the new unionism with its fighting creed and its many notable strikes, the portion of union funds expended on strike pay was less than a fifth; four fifths still went for insurance benefits and administrative expenses. In Germany the Socialist trade-unions constituted an increasingly conservative element in the Socialist party, while the Christian and Hirsch-Duncker unions were eminently staid. Only at the end of the '90's and only in Latin countries where trade-unions were comparatively weak did any appreciable number of them avow the aims or adopt the tactics of "revolutionary syndicalism."

Yet the significance of trade-unionism must not be underestimated. It was undoubtedly a major factor in shifting the trend of public interest and opinion from the individualism and competition of the first two thirds of the nineteenth century to the socialism and co-operation of the last third, and it was truly a mass movement in that its leaders no less than its followers came from factory and mine and were quite unknown to either academic or polite society. To be sure, it was as yet but a leaven among the European masses as a whole, but it was an expanding and continually more effective leaven. After the turn of the century it would become a major force in politics and economics. Already it was a prime stimulus to the co-operative movement, to political democracy, to popular education, indeed to all developments favoring the emergence of the masses.

II. THE CO-OPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Related historically and logically to trade-unionism was a much broader co-operative movement, which spread among the masses in the wake of the Utopian agitation of the 1830's and 1840's. It assumed many forms. One was the co-operative retail store of the

type first successfully exemplified in England by the Rochdale Pioneers (1844). This gradually gained the support of a host of urban dwellers, workingmen and lower middle class; and, thanks to the tireless endeavors of Vansittart Neale, a Christian Socialist *à la* Kingsley, and of Thomas Hughes, author of *Tom Brown* and apostle of "muscular Christianity," it received full public sanction and protection by parliamentary enactment of 1876. Thanks also to the lifelong labors of George J. Holyoake, it was popularized throughout the United Kingdom and abroad. By 1900 there were in Britain more than 1,400 stores modeled after the Rochdale plan, with nearly two and a quarter million members, and a large number of similar stores in France, Germany, Switzerland, Italy and elsewhere. Primarily these stores were distributing organizations, but nearly four fifths of them engaged in some production, notably baking or bootmaking.

Another form of co-operation was the fraternal insurance society —the "friendly society," as it was called in England where it had originated in the 1840's. It included frankly commercial "mutual" societies like the "Royal Liver" of Liverpool, numerous local burial or building associations, certain nation-wide "orders" like Odd Fellows, Foresters, Rechabites, and Shepherds which catered to human fondness for mystery and ritual as well as to working-class need for insurance benefits, and organizations such as the Royal Antediluvian Order of Buffaloes which was solemnly reported to the government in 1871 as being "wholly convivial." After parliamentary legislation of 1875 in their behalf, the growth of all such friendly societies was phenomenal. By 1885 nearly seven million—and twenty-five years later nearly fourteen million—adults, mostly wage earners, were active members and thus enabled to make some provision for themselves and their children by way of insurance. By the '80's, furthermore, the fraternal orders had overflowed in torrential proportions into the European and American continents. A foreign visitor who studied England of that decade against Friedrich Engels's background of the England of the '40's, wrote of "the complete revolution . . . in the lives of a large number of English workmen" and of "an improvement . . . beyond the

boldest hopes of even those who, a generation ago, devoted all their energies to the work."[1]

As England was the home of co-operative stores and insurance companies and trade-unions, so Germany was the source of still another form of co-operation, that of credit banking. Here, co-operative loan banks for peasants which Raiffeisen had started in 1849 were counted after 1880 by the thousands, as were also the corresponding banks for urban craftsmen which Schulze-Delitzsch patronized in the '50's and '60's. By 1900 Europe at large had 30,000 co-operative credit societies, exclusive of building associations, and while they were still strongest and most numerous in Germany, they were widespread and important in the Scandinavian countries, Italy, Austria, France, etc.

Co-operative credit furnished impetus from the '80's to co-operative agriculture. Farmers united to manufacture or to market their products, or more often to buy and operate expensive machinery and to insure against risks. The most remarkable and thorough development was in Denmark, where a single co-operative dairy in 1882 multiplied to a thousand in 1892, at which date four fifths of all Danish milk, butter, eggs, fruit, and bacon were produced and marketed co-operatively. Following the lead of Denmark, similar co-operative agriculture struck firm root in Germany, France, Italy, Belgium, Holland, Finland, and Ireland. The first Irish co-operative dairy was established through the efforts of Sir Horace Plunkett in 1889. The French *syndicats agricoles*, starting in 1893, soon ran into thousands and their membership into hundreds of thousands.

Special forms of the co-operative movement flourished in particular countries. In Belgium a specifically Catholic form arose in rural districts, and Socialist *maisons du peuple* in industrial centers. In Italy a far-flung *Società di Lavoro* embraced co-operative labor gangs of navvies, stevedores, masons, ditchdiggers, agricultural workers, etc. Even in the huge and supposedly backward Russian Empire was a network of *artels*, consisting of groups of ten to fifty migratory workmen, frequently ex-serfs, who hailed from a particu-

[1] J. M. Baernreither, *English Associations of Working Men*, Eng. trans. (1889), 5.

lar locality and while industrially employed roomed together, kept a common table, and paid each his part of the common expense.

Whatever form the co-operative movement assumed—*artel, maison du peuple,* farming, banking, insurance, retail selling—it was essentially a working-class movement, both urban and rural, without great intellectual personalities. It was of and for the masses.

III. POPULAR EDUCATION

A most impressive—and perhaps in the long run the most fateful—phenomenon of the last third of the nineteenth century was the progress of literacy among the European (and American) masses and their consequent entry into the *Buch-und-Lesen* culture of modern times. Prior to the late 1860's the only countries where almost everybody could read and write were Prussia and adjacent German and Scandinavian states; and in these the impulse to popular education had come not from the masses themselves but from princes and Protestant clergymen who wanted disciplined soldiers and obedient and pious subjects. Elsewhere, despite educational projects put forth by eighteenth-century *philosophes* and despite some fostering of common schools by French revolutionaries and Napoleon, by Guizot and Cavour, by the English parliament from the 1830's and the Belgian from the 1840's, the vast majority of Europeans were still illiterate in the early '60's. Almost a third of the male and nearly half of the female population in Great Britain could neither read nor write; over half of the entire population in France and Belgium; three quarters in Italy and Spain; nine tenths in Russia and the Balkans. And these statistics minimize the extent of illiteracy among the masses, inasmuch as the middle and upper classes in all countries were generally literate. Schooling was still, in the '60's, usually a class and not a mass affair.

Many factors contributed to the movement for mass education from the late '60's onward. Fundamental was current industrialization, which provided necessary funds and mechanical means for the establishment and maintenance of great national systems of elementary schooling. Moreover, the urbanization which attended industrialization was helpful; mass education could be carried on more expeditiously and economically in congested cities than in

sparsely inhabited rural districts. Then, too, the intellectual liberalism of the period, whether ecumenical or sectarian, predisposed the middle classes and many persons in the upper classes to champion mass education. Liberals were heirs of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, which, in their somewhat immodest opinion, had made them the benevolent and progressive beings they were; if it was spread among the masses it might render them similarly decent and intelligent and liberal. From schools ordinary people could learn sound principles of economics and politics, and receive training in self-discipline and self-help. Also, at a time when multitudes were being uprooted from traditional habitat and habits and exposed to the peculiar vices of city life, popular schooling might exercise a most salutary moral influence in accordance with Guizot's epigram, "the opening of every schoolhouse closes a jail."

Besides, it was argued, the same elementary schooling for everybody would emphasize that "equality of opportunity" which philanthropic liberals talked so much about and otherwise did so little to realize; and surely it would be a basic means of adapting whole nations to the political, economic, and intellectual trends of an advanced age. Literacy and proper indoctrination would prepare the masses to participate intelligently in democratic government. Literacy and some technical training would improve their industrial efficiency and enable them to avoid unemployment and penury. Literacy together with patriotic and physical education would increase their national loyalty and their effectiveness in the new conscript national armies. A right sort of popular education, depending upon which party to the contemporary "warfare between science and theology" directed it, might either rescue the masses from "superstition" and "clericalism" or save them for "Christian civilization."

To the liberal and enlightened classes the cause of popular education quickly became a sacred cause, an object of humanitarian crusading zeal. But it appeared no less attractive to articulate sections of the populace—to trade-unions and friendly societies, and to popular political parties including, in the forefront, Marxian socialists. It promised emancipation for the masses, their approximation to the classes, their full emergence into the light and life of modern

society. It was a cause, therefore, in behalf of which the urban proletariat was ready and eager to unite with the intellectual and industrial bourgeoisie. However dilatory the latter might be in conferring the political franchise on the former, once a democratic regime was set up almost its first act was to create or consolidate a state system of popular elementary education. Presently with both masses and classes backing public schools, it became a race between nations to reach the highest degree of literacy; those left behind were deemed as backward as if they had lost a war or lacked industrial machinery.

In 1868, one year after the Austro-Hungarian *Ausgleich* and the establishment of parliamentary government in both parts of the Dual Monarchy, Hungary provided by law that every locality should maintain an elementary school and that every child between the ages of six and twelve should attend; and the next year Austria adopted similar legislation. In 1870, three years after enfranchising urban wage earners, Great Britain enacted an education bill sponsored by Gladstone's Liberal ministry, increasing state subsidies for denominational schools[2] and newly erecting a supplementary nation-wide system of secular schools. In 1872, one year after the proclamation of the German Empire and five years after the introduction of democratic suffrage into the federal constitution, the existing Prussian school system was consolidated,[3] nationalized, and in large part secularized. In 1874 Switzerland embodied in a new constitution a provision for compulsory attendance of all children at cantonal schools. In 1877 Italy undertook to oblige children between the ages of six and nine to go to school. In 1878 Holland and in 1879 Belgium extended and secularized public education. Between 1878 and 1881 Republican France, following the behests of Gambetta and Ferry, elaborated a state system of primary and normal schools. School attendance was made compulsory for British children in 1880 and for French children in 1882. Remaining tuition fees were abolished in France in 1886, in Germany in 1888, in Britain in 1891.

Few persons in any of these countries ventured to question the

2 Such subsidies had started in 1833 with the modest amount of £20,000; they rose gradually to £894,000 in 1870, and then sharply to £1,600,000 in 1876.

3 The direct financial contribution of the Prussian state to elementary education rose from 4,500,000 marks in 1871 to 146,000,000 in 1901.

desirability of popular education or the propriety of achieving it by a state-directed and state-financed system of elementary schools. Nor was any hue and cry raised, even by the most individualistic and doctrinaire Liberals, against the enactment or enforcement of state laws compelling school attendance in Germany, Scandinavia, Switzerland, France, and Great Britain. Only in Austria-Hungary and Italy, where industrialization was relatively backward, was compulsion tempered by popular inertia and administrative negligence.

The single question which excited continuous and acrimonious debate about all this popular education was whether it should include religious instruction or be exclusively secular and lay. At first, during the '70's and early '80's, the protagonists of secular education were usually successful. In Switzerland, in Holland and Belgium, in France (finally in 1886), and largely in Austria-Hungary, they banished religious instruction from state schools and confined it to strictly private and barely tolerated church schools. Only in Great Britain did the government continue financial contributions to church schools. Gradually, however, as sectarian liberalism passed into decline and something of a conservative and clerical reaction set in, the protagonists of religious instruction gained the upper hand. In addition to the Scandinavian countries, where such instruction had always been given in the public schools, it was extended in Germany and restored in Austria-Hungary in the '80's. Belgium provided for it partially in 1884 and fully in 1895. Holland began the subsidizing of denominational schools in 1889, and in Great Britain governmental support of them was greatly fortified by the Education Act of 1902. Only France and Switzerland adhered rigorously to an exclusively secular system of public schools.

The movement for mass education was strongest, it will be noticed, in western and northern Europe; it was much weaker in south-central Europe, and almost nonexistent in eastern Europe. It clearly correlated with the intensity of mechanical industry. In corresponding degree, too, it made the masses literate. Between 1870 and 1900 the percentage of literacy among the entire adult population of Great Britain rose from 66 to 95, of France from

60 to 95, of Belgium from 55 to 86. By the latter date the vast majority of these nations, like that of Germany, Holland, Switzerland, and Scandinavia, could read and write. In other countries, progress was slower or quite lacking. In 1900 almost a third of the Austrian population was still illiterate; a half of the Italian and the Hungarian, two thirds of the Spanish and Portuguese, and four fifths of the Russian and Balkan.

The movement was still mainly limited, even in the West, to elementary schooling of children under fourteen years of age. Only a beginning had as yet been made with continuation or trade schools or with university extension; and any big development of public education at the secondary-school level awaited the twentieth century. Nevertheless, to conscript all children of the masses as of the classes for a general war on illiteracy, to regiment them in state schools, to arm them with primers and writing pads and multiplication tables, was an undertaking novel and herculean enough for one generation.

It probably gave the masses more in the way of great expectations than any immediate or tangible benefit. Ambition was not necessarily fed by formal schooling, and the leaders whom the masses furnished to trade-unionism or co-operative enterprise, and likewise the individuals who ascended from their ranks into the middle class, were as likely to be self-taught as school-taught. To be sure, great expectations were not to be despised; they stimulated what in eras less materialistic have been called the virtues of faith and hope and what at the end of the nineteenth century was described as self-confidence.

One tangible result of popular education which is apt to be overlooked was the mustering of a very numerous staff of teachers, a kind of officers' corps, for the vast armies of mobilized children. Many of the teachers came, like their pupils, from the masses; and through the special training which they received at government expense and the common work which they did, they developed a strong corporate *esprit* and applied it to forwarding their own vested interests and to strengthening the attachment of the masses to their respective national governments.

Another result was long unperceived and is still debatable, the

increase of gullibility as well as of enlightenment among the masses. Schools taught everybody to read and to pay attention to what the teacher said. If one read something with one's own eye, one was inclined to believe it; and if a licensed teacher vouched for it, it must be true. The school, in other words, was a marvelous propagandist instrument, the full potentiality of which could be appreciated only when popular education was reinforced by popular journalism, cinema, and radio. The advent of cinema and radio was delayed, but popular journalism dogged the steps of popular education.

IV. POPULAR JOURNALISM

According to careful contemporary estimates, the number of newspapers in Europe stood at about 6,000 from 1866 to 1882, and then jumped to 12,000 in 1900.[4] But this doubling of journals within two decades, significant as it is, tells but a small part of the story.

Most of the 6,000 newspapers of the '60's and '70's were slight affairs of few pages, owned and managed by individual proprietors, conducted as journals of personal or political opinion, and limited in circulation to a local clientele among the middle and upper classes who could afford to pay the relatively high subscription price. Even the more substantial newspapers which enjoyed national and international repute, such as the London *Times* or *Post*, the Paris *Temps* or *Journal des Débats*, the Berlin *Vossische Zeitung* or *Kreuzzeitung*, the recently established *Neue Freie Presse* of Vienna, *Tribuna* of Rome, *Secolo* of Milan, had no mass circulation. They cost too much. They were too literary or sophisticated, or else too prosaic and dull. One had to read them leisurely over coffee or tea served by valet or butler, or in upholstered chairs of office, drawing room, or club.

Three main developments conspired to introduce in the '80's a truly popular journalism. One was mechanical, enabling publishers to speed up production, to expedite news gathering, and to lower the price. From about 1871 began the series of inventions by Kasten-

[4] These figures are derived from Eugène Hatin, *Bibliographie historique et critique de la presse périodique française* (1866); Henry Hubbard, *Newspaper and Bank Directory of the World* (1882); *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 10th ed (1902-1903). Europe had had about 2,200 newspapers in 1828 according to the *Revue encyclopédique* of that year, 1, 593-603.

bein, Mergenthaler, and Lanston which eventuated in the automatic typesetting machines of the next decade. Simultaneously another series of inventions by Tilghman and Eskman led to the large-scale manufacture of cheap wood-pulp paper and its substitution in newsprint for the more expensive (and durable) rag paper. Besides, the telephone of 1877 proved especially serviceable to reporters and editors, and the perfecting of photography to the attractive yet inexpensive illustration of newspapers. Moreover, rapidly improving means of communication invited the dispatch of "special correspondents" to distant and unusual places in search of interesting "eye-witness" stories, and at the same time it permitted a wider and speedier distribution of the finished product. And the Walter press which the London *Times* installed in 1869 and the Hoe press which the same pioneering journal adopted in 1895, were noteworthy landmarks in the progress of quick and quantitative mechanical printing.

A second development favorable to journalistic enterprise was the vogue of liberalism and its political issue in governmental guarantees of the freedom of the press. This particular freedom had been a constant and central article in the liberal *credo*; and in England, the native land of ecumenical if not sectarian liberalism, it was as firmly established two generations before 1870, and as inviolable, as the Englishman's proverbial castle. Then, as liberals gained ascendancy on the Continent, they almost invariably prefaced the written constitutions which they sponsored with pledges of freedom of the press. This was true, for example, of the Italian and Dutch constitutions of 1848, the Austrian of 1867, the Swiss of 1874, the Spanish of 1876. The climax came with legislation during the heyday of liberalism in the '70's and early '80's. Great Britain abolished the last special tax on newspapers in 1870 and required of them, by act of 1881, merely that they register with the government. The French Republic disclaimed from 1871 any censorship of the press, and guaranteed its full liberty by a model law of 1881. The German Empire enacted a liberal press law in 1874.

With liberty finally assured to journalism everywhere in western and central Europe and with new mechanical means of quickening and cheapening the publication and distribution of newspapers, it

was natural that the number and circulation of these greatly increased and that many of them became important business enterprises, shifting in character from "journals of opinion" to "journals of information" and relying for their profits less on subscriptions than on the advertising which the advance of industrialization rendered ever more impelling and lucrative. The greater the circulation of a paper, the more advertising it could secure; and the more advertising it carried, the better it could afford to reduce its subscription price in order to obtain wider circulation. One of the first and most influential examples of the newer kind of journalism was the London *Daily Telegraph*, which early cut its price to a penny and in the '70's blossomed forth, with a wealth of advertising, as the foremost organ of the English middle classes, high and low, supplying them with copious and colorless information, and in its editorial policy not so much forming as following public opinion. It was Liberal at first, then critical of Gladstone's foreign policy, and ultimately nationalist and imperialist; and it netted a fortune for its proprietors, Joseph Moses Levy and his son, who took the name of Lawson and gained the title of Baron Burnham.

Comparable with the *Daily Telegraph* were such famous journals as the London *Daily News*, which became a penny paper in 1868; the New York *Herald*, whose founder, the Scottish James Gordon Bennett, died in 1872, and the *New York Times* after its acquisition in the '90's by Adolph Ochs; the Paris *Matin*, which was launched in 1884; the Berlin *Neueste Nachrichten* and the Rome *Messaggiero*. Yet it was mainly from the enlarging middle classes that all such newspapers derived their increased circulation and their financial success. A really popular journalism could arise only when the twin developments of cheapening production by improved mechanical processes and of freeing it from governmental interference were supplemented by a third development—the spread of literacy among the masses and their consequent emergence as prospective readers of newspapers.

A conspicuous inaugural monument in the actual rise of popular journalism was the work of an American of Jewish extraction, Joseph Pulitzer. In 1883 he purchased the *New York World*, a moribund paper which had started twenty years earlier as a highly

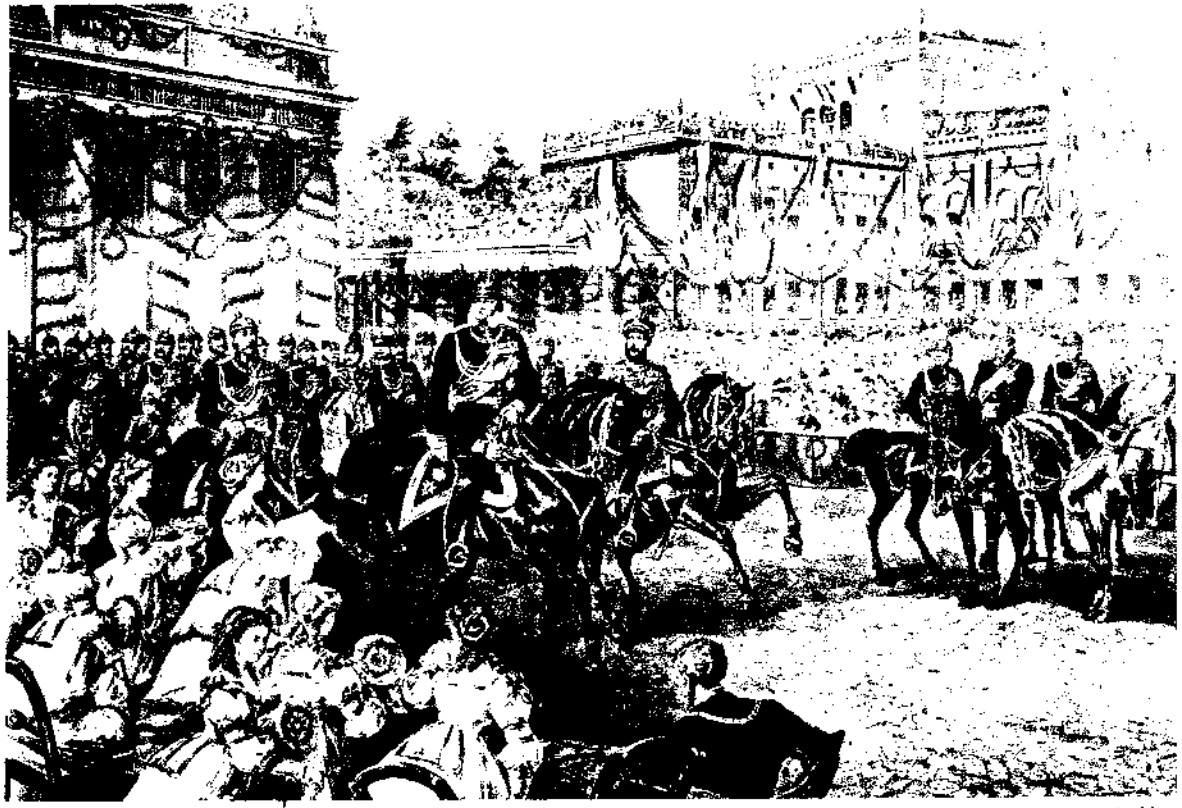
Sixty-two Illustrations
Drawn from Unusual Sources
and Specially Chosen by
the Author
for

A GENERATION OF MATERIALISM

1871 1900

by

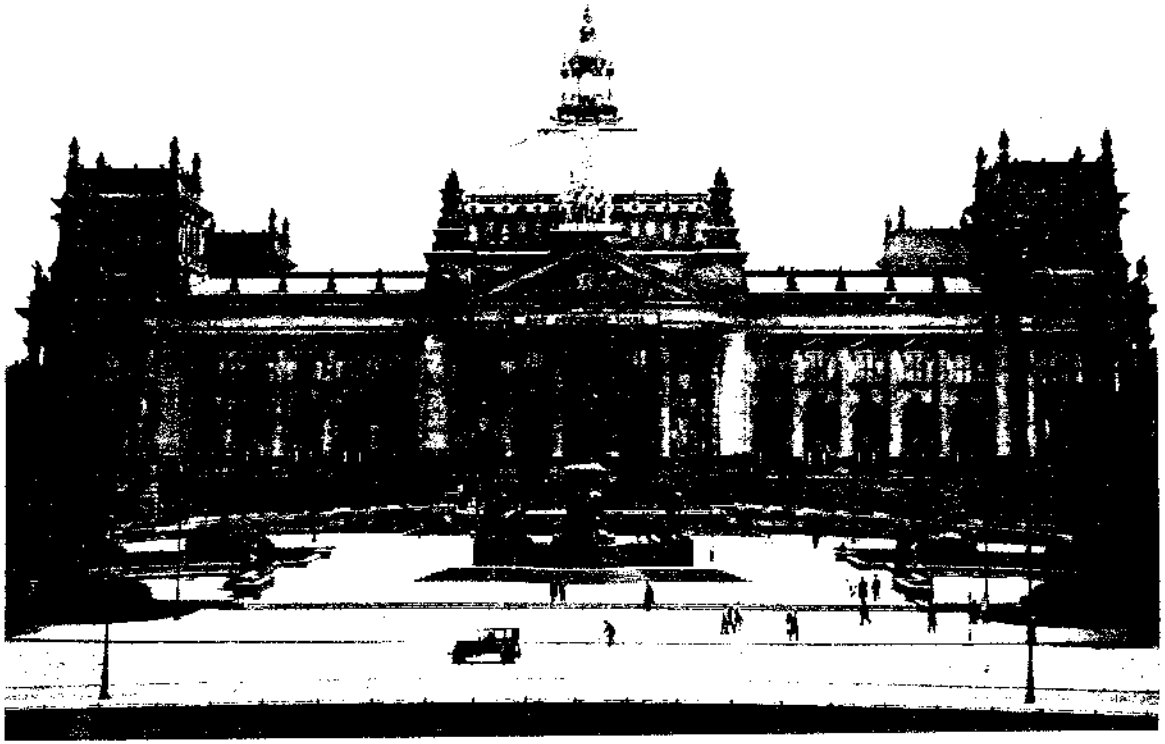
CARLTON J. H. HAYES



The Bettmann Archive

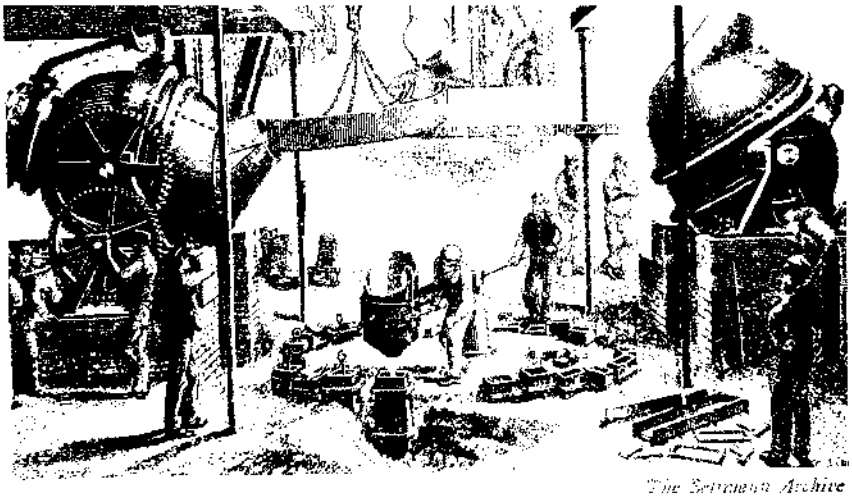
1. Emperor William I's Triumphal Entry into Berlin, 1871
From a contemporary lithograph

2. Queen Victoria shortly after her Diamond Jubilee, 1897



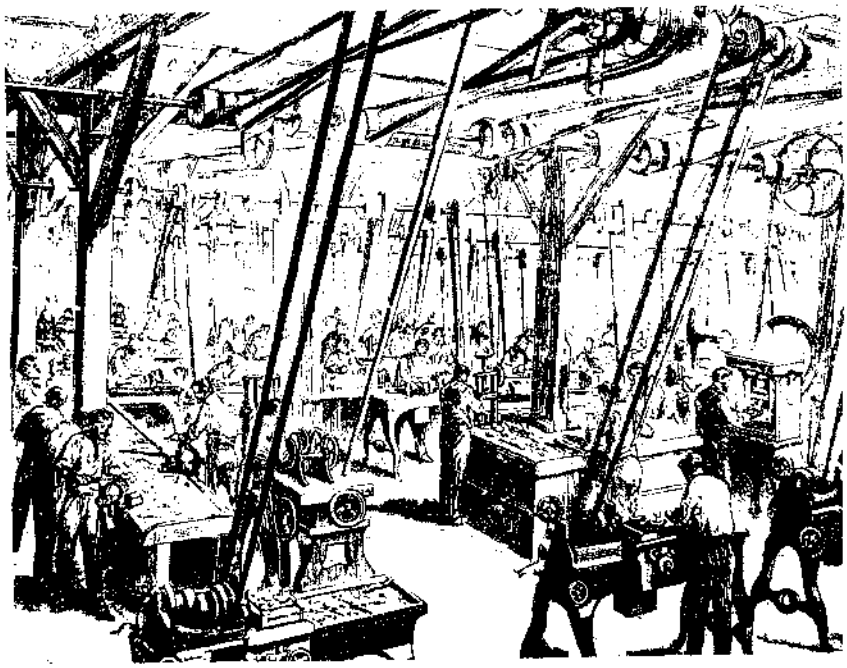
Courtesy German Railroads Information Office, New York

3. Parliament Building Erected at Berlin "to the German Folk" in the style of eclectic classicism

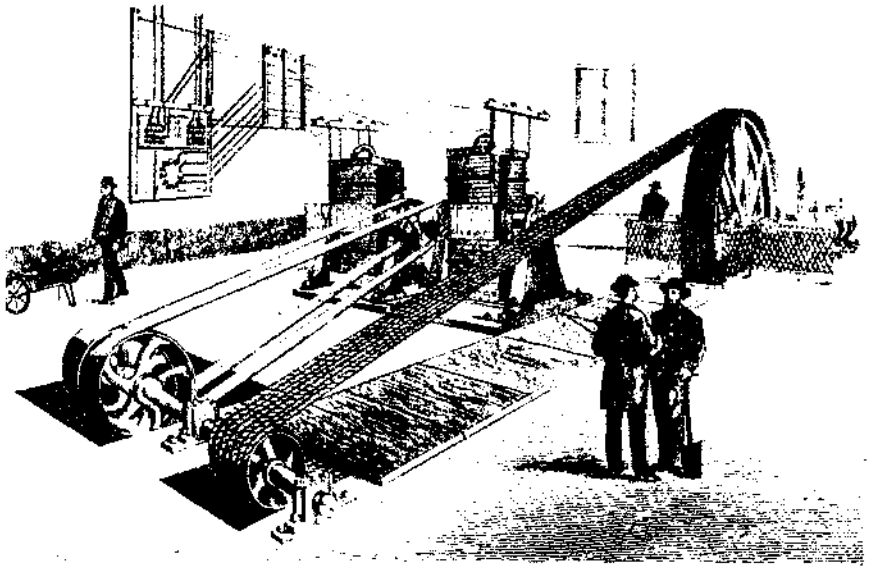


The Bettmann Archive

4. Making Steel by the Bessemer Process
From an engraving of 1875

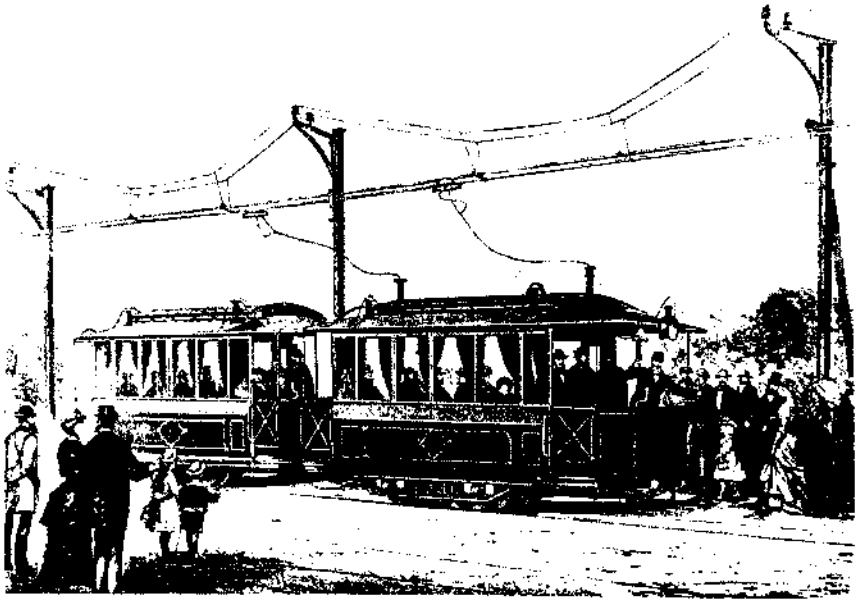


5. Making Machine Tools in the 1870's
From a contemporary Lithograph



The Bettmann Archive

6. Supplying Power for First Electric Street Railway in Europe, Frankfort



The Bettmann Archive

7. Tramcars on First Electric Street Railway in Europe, Frankfort

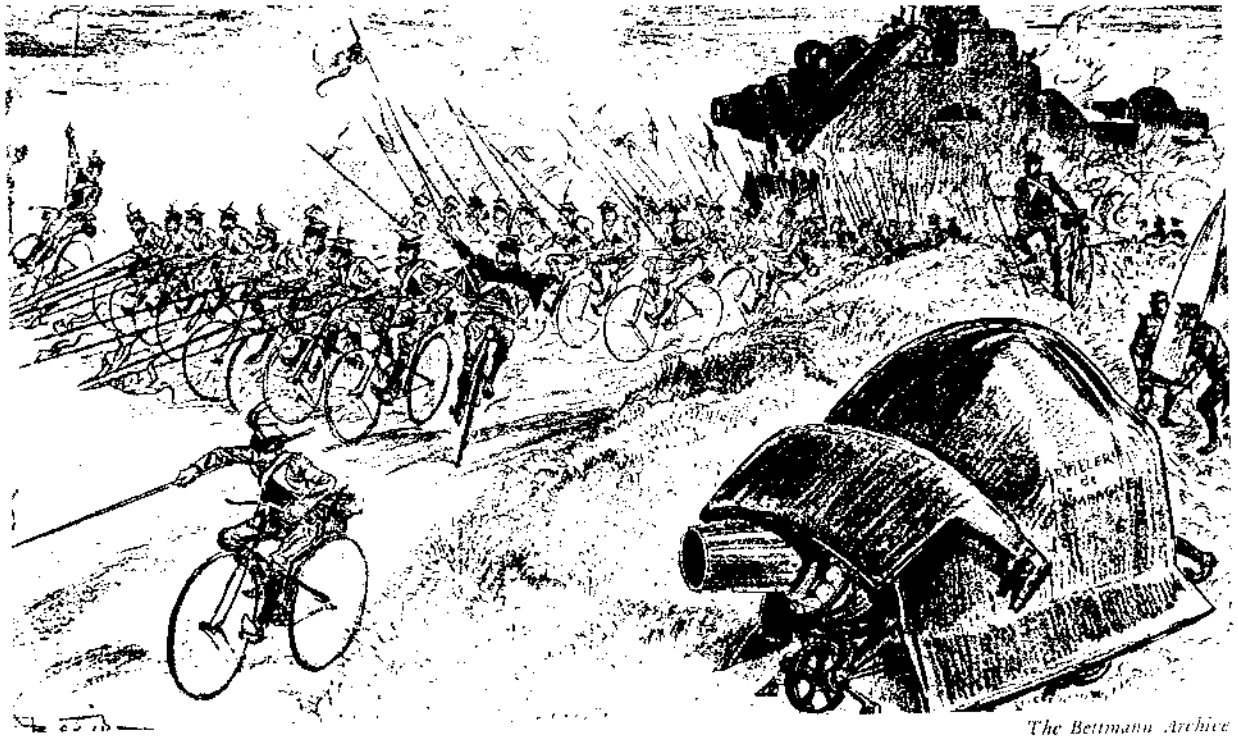
8. H. L. F. von Helmholtz (1821-1894)

9. Werner von Siemens (1816-1892)

10. Sir Charles Parsons (1854-)

The Bettmann Archive

11. Wilhelm von Rontgen (1845-1923)



The Bettmann Archive

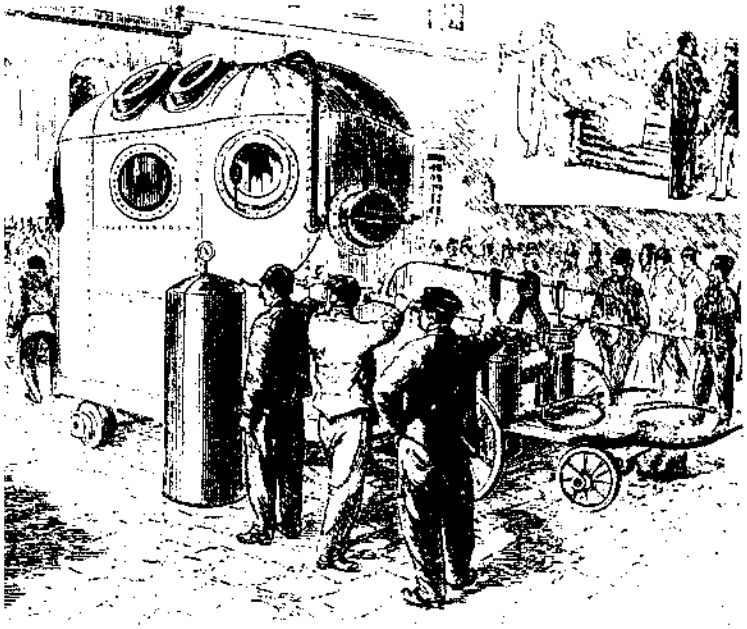
12. Prophecy of Mechanized War
From a Lithograph by Robida, 1882

The Bettmann Archive

13. Building the Trans-Siberian Railway
From a Russian drawing of 1893

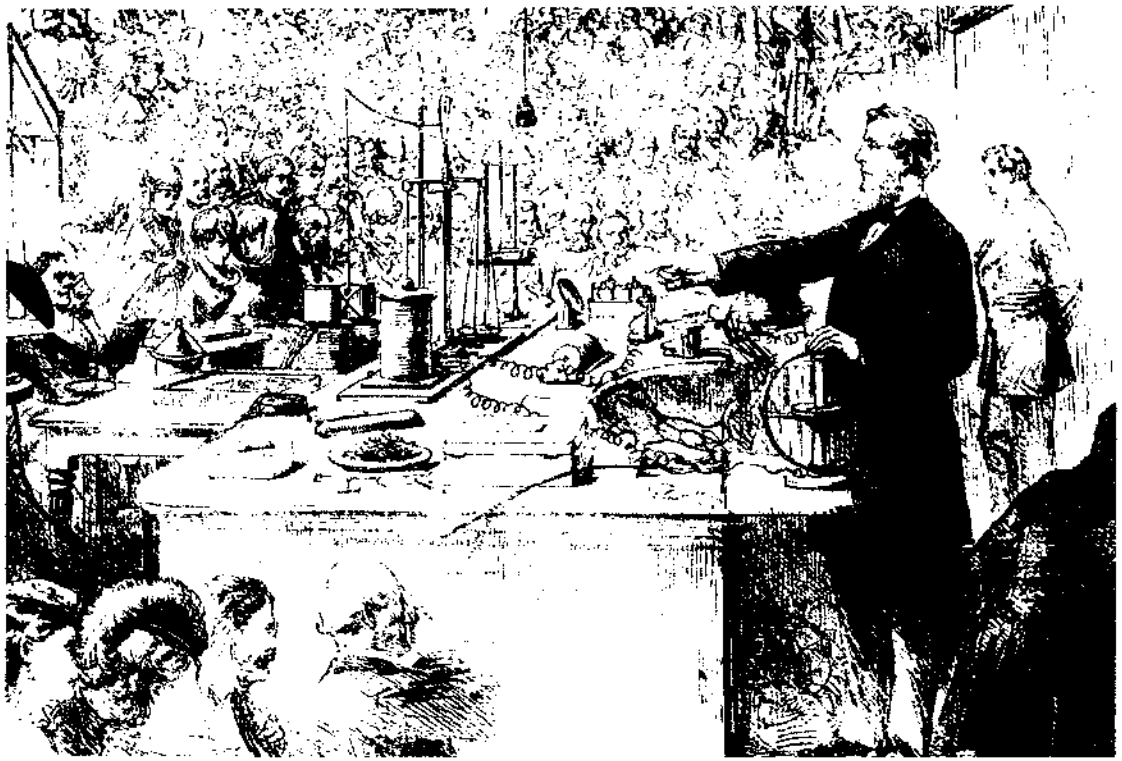
The Bettmann Archive

14. Pasteur in his Laboratory
From a contemporary drawing



The Bettmann Archive

15. Administering Anaesthesia in a Paris Hospital
From "L'Illustration," 1880



The Bettmann Archive

16. Popular Scientific Lecturing by John Tyndall in the 1870's

17. Thomas Henry Huxley (1825-1895)

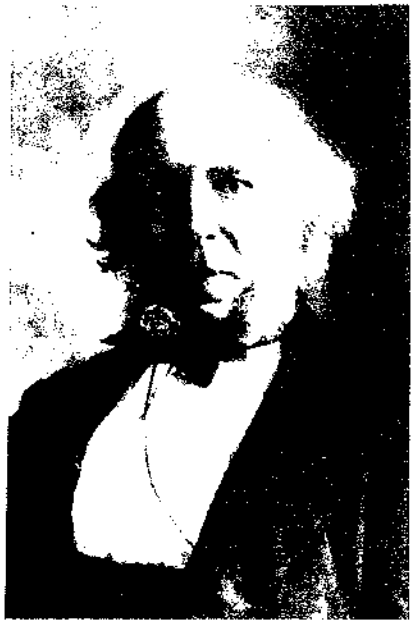
18. Ernst Haeckel (1834-1919)

19. August Weismann (1834-1914)

20. Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920)

21. Pithecanthropus Erectus,
the "Ape Man"
From the hypothetical reconstruction
of J. H. McGregor

22. "The Thinker"
From the statue by Auguste Rodin
in Metropolitan Museum, New York



23. Herbert Spencer (1820-1903)

24. Missionary "White Fathers" of Cardinal Lavigerie in North Africa

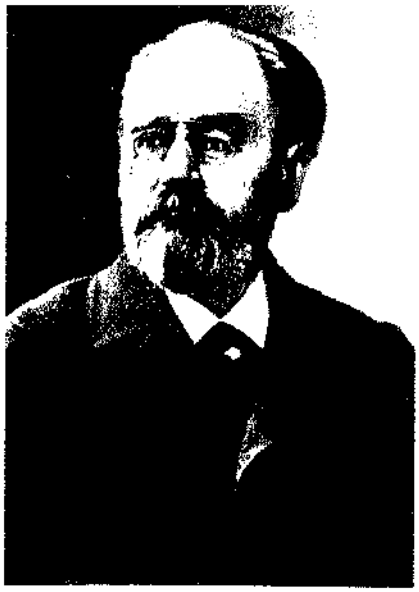
25. Friedrich Nietzsche
From a portrait by H. Olde

26. Richard Strauss (1864-)

27. Giacomo Puccini (1858-1924)

28. Peter Tschaikovsky (1840-1893)

29. Claude Debussy (1862-1918)



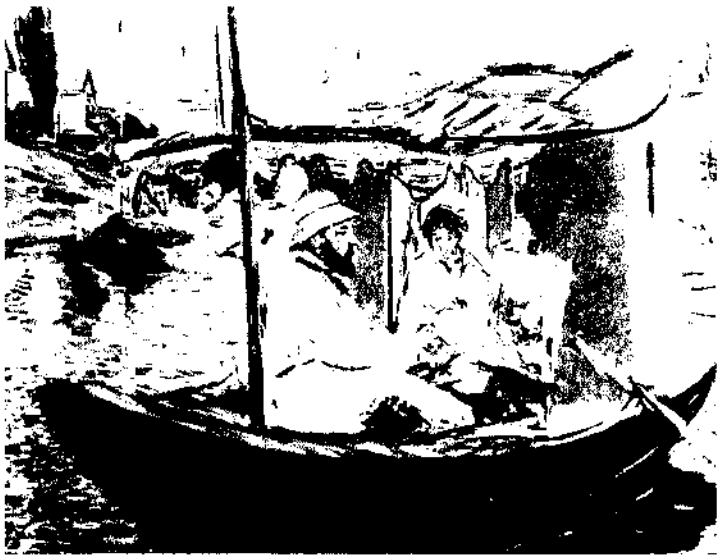
30. Émile Zola (1840-1902)

31. Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910)

32. Anatole France (1844-1924)

33. Henrik Ibsen (1828-1906)

34. Miners. From the Sculpture by Constantin Meunier



The Bettmann Archive

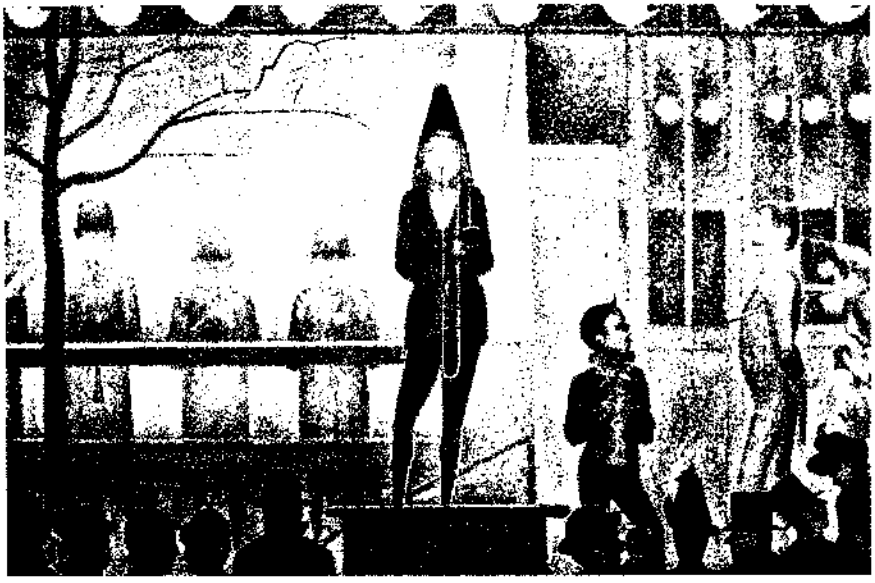
35. Self-Portrait by Manet in the Impressionist Style

36. Self-Portrait by Cézanne in the Post-Impressionist Style

Courtesy Museum of Modern Art

37. Night Café in Arles
From the painting by Vincent van Gogh, 1888

38. Three Tahitians
From the painting by Paul Gauguin, 1891



Courtesy Museum of Modern Art

Courtesy of the Philadelphia Museum of Art

40. At the Moulin Rouge
From the painting by Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec, 1890

The Bettmann Archive

41. London Society in the '90's
From a woodcut by George DuMaurier

The Bettmann Archive

42. Preparations for a Strike
From a painting by the Hungarian artist, Michael Munkaczy

43. August Bebel (1840-1913)

44. Jules Guesde (1845-1922)

45. Prince Peter Kropotkin (1842-1921)

The Bettmann Archive

46. Bismarck's Anti Socialist Law
From a cartoon in "Punch," 1878

The Bettmann Archive

47. Suffrage Demonstration at Brussels, May Day, 1886

The Bettmann Archive

48. Departure of Peasant Emigrants from German Village
From a painting by C. L. Bokelmann

The Bettmann Archive

49. Women Clerks in Paris Telegraph Office
From a lithograph of the early 1880's

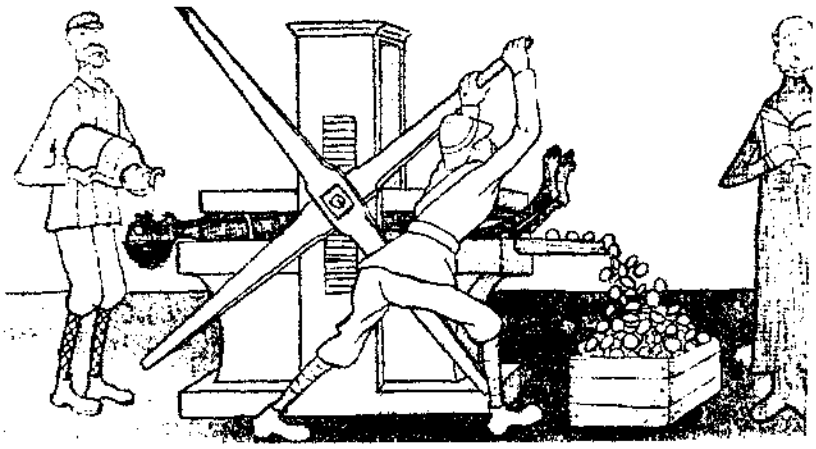
50. Cecil Rhodes, British Empire-Builder

51. Carl Peters, German Empire-Builder

52. Kitchener, Victor of the Sudanese and Boer Wars

53. Leopold II, Builder of the Congo Free State

54. Kipling and the "Lesser Breeds"
From the etching by William Strang



The Bettmann

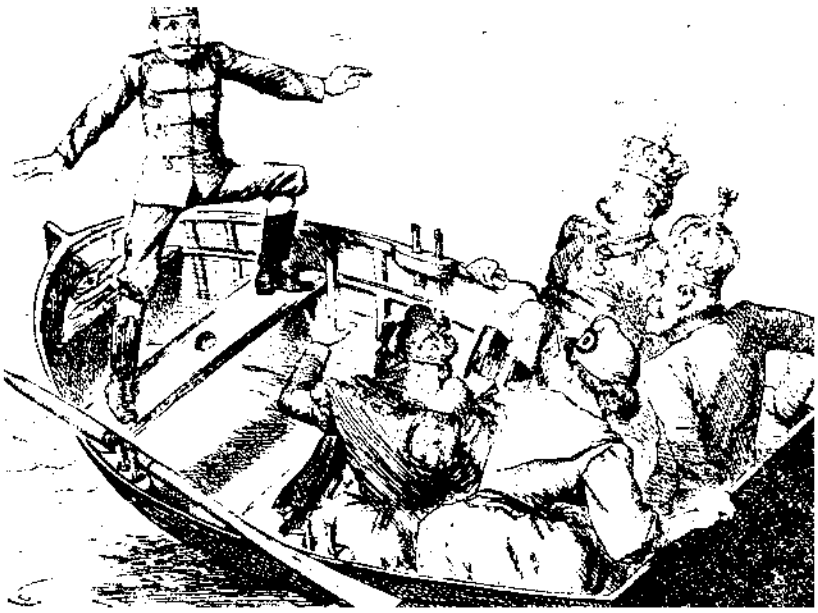
55. A German View of British Imperialism
From a cartoon in "Simplizissimus"

56. Pope Leo XIII

57. Emperor Francis Joseph

58. Tsar Alexander III

59. Joseph Chamberlain



The Bettmann Archive

60. An English View of William II as the Bad Boy among European Sovereigns.
From "Punch," 1890

61. William II Sees the European Powers Confronting the "Yellow Peril."
From his own design, 1895

62. Bismarck in Retirement

moral and religious sheet; and he soon transformed it into the most widely read journal in the United States. This he did by appealing directly to the masses through sensational headlines, a simple and staccato style of writing, a screaming patriotism, an enthusiastic if somewhat vague reforming spirit, a marked attention to "human-interest" stories of adventure, love, and crime, and a profusion of "special features"—cartoons and "funnies," sporting pages, a page for women, another for children, vari-colored "editions" for almost every hour of the day and night. But Pulitzer's *World* merely blazed trails which a decade later were expanded by others into broad and well-paved thoroughfares of "yellow journalism." By 1900 the recently founded Hearst papers were selling like hot cakes in New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, while at European capitals similar papers were meeting with similar success.

At Paris the daily sales of *Le Petit Journal* exceeded 2 million and a quarter, and of *Le Petit Parisien*, a million. At Berlin, under the guidance of August Scherl, who had had his training in America, the *Lokal-Anzeiger* surpassed the million mark. At London appeared in the late '90's those rival masters of popular journalism, the Harmsworth brothers and Arthur Pearson, whose respective half-penny *Daily Mail* and *Daily Express* promptly entered the "over-a-million" class[5] and won such popular favor that their proprietors were eventually raised by a dazzled and unconsciously humorous government to the British peerage—the Harmsworths as Lord Northcliffe and Lord Rothermere, Pearson as Viscount Cowdray.

Mass literacy, in conjunction with cheapness and freedom of the press, prompted a vast deal of popular propagandist journalism. Socialist publications multiplied, and edified myriads of working-class readers; the Berlin *Vorwärts* vied in circulation in the '90's with other Berlin dailies and stimulated emulation by Marxian journalists in every industrialized nation. Likewise, religious publications flourished as never before; the French Catholic *Croix*, beginning in 1880, had by 1895 a hundred weekly supplements for pro-

[5] If one contrasts the daily sales, running into the millions, of this class of papers in 1900 with the sales of the staid *Times* back in 1860 when they exceeded those of all other London newspapers put together and still amounted to but 51,600, one appreciates what is meant by the rise of popular journalism during the intervening forty years.

vincial towns and countryside. There were also popular anti-Semitic journals like the *Libre Parole* of Paris or the *Deutsches Volksblatt* of Vienna, and a host of other propagandist sheets preaching colonialism or navalism or some kind of social reform. Nor should one overlook the sporting papers, comic weeklies, and story magazines which from the '80's onward circulated widely among the masses.

That popular journalism followed popular education and that both attended industrialization receives confirmation from an analysis of the estimated number of newspapers in 1866 and again in 1900. For all Europe, as has been said, the number doubled. But there was hardly any increase in Russia and the Balkan countries, and a very slight one in Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Spain. On the other hand, the number almost doubled in France and Switzerland, slightly more than doubled in Great Britain and Scandinavia, and tripled in Germany. And it is a reasonable inference that corresponding discrepancies characterized the vastly greater increase of journal circulation.

In general, the masses did not conduct the new journalism or express themselves in it. They made it possible, however; and their likes and dislikes, their prepossessions and desires—at any rate what these were imagined to be—conditioned its orientation and much of its content. "What the people want," was its slogan, and if one found fault with the sensationalism, the cheapness, or the puerility of the popular press, one was told to look at the circulation figures for unanswerable proof that "the people were getting what they wanted." At least in the minds of managers and proprietors of great newspapers the emergence of the masses was a fact.

V. MARXIAN SOCIALISM

The heaps of Marxian literature which have piled up since 1871 have persuaded many scholars as well as large sections of the "general public" that Marxian socialism has been the mass movement, *par excellence*, of modern times; that it sprang from the masses, that it reflected their needs and desires, that at least from the 1880's it was the most potent force among them and the prime factor in their emancipation. There can be no doubt that the rise

and spread of this socialism did constitute a distinguishing and significant development of the era from 1871 to 1900. But if one avoids the propaganda and sticks to the hard cold facts of the era one is likely to arrive at a rather modest appraisal of Marxism as a mass movement during those years.

It did not spring from the masses, as did trade-unionism or the co-operative movement. It sprang from the brains of two bourgeois intellectuals, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, and by them and other middle-class intellectuals it was preached, like any philosophy or religion, to the masses—for some time without much effect. From the obscure publication of the *Communist Manifesto* in 1848 to the dissolution of the paltry "First International" in 1876, the gospel of Karl Marx was less a concern of workingmen (to say nothing of society at large) than of police officials. The former largely ignored it. The latter were unduly alarmed by it.[6]

The alarm of police and secret service, if undue, was natural. They did not understand that Marx always claimed a bigger following and wider influence than he really had, or that his loud praise of the revolutionary and bloody Paris Commune was for propagandist purposes and not because any appreciable number of his disciples were actual participants in it; and they were pardonably confused by his hobnobbing now with a rabid nationalist like Mazzini and anon with a wild anarchist like Bakunin. The latter of these "men of violence" formed in 1868 a "Social Democratic Alliance," with secret statutes and with a program calling for "universal revolution," immediate destruction of all governments and churches, and eventual common ownership of land and the implements of labor. It was a loose and sparse organization, comprising only some clockmakers in the otherwise obscure Swiss canton of Neufchâtel and scattered "sections" of crack-brained persons in Latin countries. Yet the affiliation of the "Alliance" with Marx's "International" in 1869 more than doubled the latter's size; and the highhanded expulsion of the Alliance, three years later when Marx finally broke with Bakunin, brought on the dissolution of the International. This held

[6] In Russia, amusingly enough, the authorities permitted the publication of *Das Kapital* on the ground that while it had "socialist" tendencies, "it is not written in a popular style . . . and is unlikely to find many readers among the general public." Cf. Isaiah Berlin, *Karl Marx* (London, 1939), 237.

its last real "congress" at Geneva in 1873; funeral rites for it were celebrated in 1876 by a corporal's guard at the remote and unconcerned World's Fair in Philadelphia.

As for Bakunin's "Alliance," its annual congresses steadily dwindled, until a little remnant, meeting for the last time at London in 1881, sorrowfully confessed that "the masses take no part in the movement"; it recommended special "study of chemistry, which has already rendered great service to the revolutionary cause." Although anarchism, from its very nature, could hardly beget any strong or stable organization, it continued after the demise of the Alliance and the death of Bakunin to inspire a number of intellectuals, including the Russian Kropotkin, the Frenchman Reclus, and the Austrians Most and Peukert, and through them to influence stray groups among the lower middle and laboring classes, especially in the Latin countries, in Austria, and in Russia. But that it was at any time a popular movement is belied by the mass hysteria and the mass applause of repressive legislation which invariably attended the application by anarchists of their "study of chemistry" to the assassination of political potentates: the Tsar Alexander II in 1881, the French President Carnot in 1894, the Austrian Empress Elizabeth in 1898, King Humbert of Italy in 1900, President McKinley in 1901.

In the meantime, whatever appeal Marxian socialism made to intellectuals and to the populace at large must be attributed less to its character as a mass movement than to the "timeliness" of its philosophy. Its philosophy (and prophecies), which had had few disciples and practically no influence during the rise and heyday of liberalism from 1848 to the late '70's, first assumed importance at about the date of Karl Marx's death, in the early '80's, when a general reaction set in against liberalism and individualism and in favor of socialization and what the French call *étatisme*. Of this it was a reflection rather than a cause; it profited from it more than it contributed to it. Moreover, the claims advanced in behalf of Marxism that it was the "scientific" kind of socialism, that it was evolutionary and materialistic, fitted nicely into the intellectual mood of a generation fully convinced of the postulates of New-

tonian physics and Comtean sociology and newly enamored of Darwinian evolution and Haeckelian materialism.

Furthermore, Marxism enshrined just enough of the radical liberal tradition of the Enlightenment to attract nostalgic ex-liberals: a loudly professed humanitarianism and internationalism, a devotion to free trade, free press, and free schools (unless these taught "superstition" or were run by "clericals"), a predilection for political democracy (if the "right people" were likely to benefit), and a contemptuous attitude toward any specific reform not dictated by conscious self-interest. Self-interest, this was the very essence of liberalism and of Marxism too, although by the latter it was applied to classes rather than to individuals. If the proletarians wanted reform—and they should—let them accomplish it themselves; it was no one else's business. A function remained, of course, for Marxian intellectuals: they might stimulate the class consciousness of the masses, and they might expound the "scientific" principles involved and the sound "tactics" to be pursued. All of which, in the last two decades of the nineteenth century, was very opportune.

It was middle-class converts, of radical liberal background, who brought Marxian socialism out of obscurity and won for it some standing in working-class quarters. For example, the effective originator of the movement in Germany was Wilhelm Liebknecht, who came of a distinguished family of scholars and state officials proudly claiming descent from Martin Luther, and who received appropriate university training at Giessen and Berlin. He participated as a youthful liberal and democrat in the abortive German revolution of 1848, and then, taking refuge in London, met Karl Marx and became his ardent disciple. Back in Germany in 1865, he won to his new views an exceptionally able and broadly self-educated young Saxon mechanic, August Bebel; and four years later the two organized their small following as the "Social Democratic Workers' party." This they enlarged in 1875 by drawing into it, against the protests of Marx, the older and more moderate Lassallean socialists.

In France the "fathers" were Paul Lafargue and Jules Guesde. Lafargue was a native of Cuba and a resident of Paris, in turn a republican and a Proudhonian anarchist until, on a visit to London

to complete his medical studies, he encountered Marx, married his daughter, and accepted his gospel. Guesde, the son of a boarding-school teacher and by profession a journalist, was a radical republican prior to his five-year exile for having taken part in the Paris Commune. Returning to France as confirmed Marxists, Guesde and Lafargue, between them, so manipulated the handful of delegates to the congress of the embryonic federation of French trade-unions at Marseilles in 1879 as to commit a majority of them to the Marxian principle of collectivism. Then, failing to prevent a reversal of this action by the next year's congress at Havre, the two leaders, backed by Marx and obedient to his instructions, entered the political arena in 1882 with a "French Labor party."

The English leader, if a man with almost no following can be called such, was Henry Hyndman, wealthy Cambridge graduate, traveler and sportsman, glib talker, and for a time war correspondent with Garibaldi's redshirts. In 1880 he chanced to read a French translation of the first volume of *Das Kapital,* and with characteristic impulsiveness he paid an instant visit of homage to the somewhat startled and skeptical Marx. The next year Hyndman, in conjunction with the poet and mystic William Morris, launched a "Social Democratic Federation," but it enrolled few members, and Morris, who had the haziest notions of Marx's doctrine,[7] soon withdrew.

Everywhere the same sort of bourgeois intellectual conducted the propaganda and furnished the leadership for Marxian socialism: the scholarly Anseele and Vandervelde in Belgium, the opulent physician Adler in Austria, the well-to-do journalist Turati in Italy. Of its chief apostles, only the Spaniard Iglesias and the German Bebel could be classed as "proletarians": the former was an ex-printer and the latter an ex-wood turner; both were would-be intellectuals and both made their living as propagandists and organizers. In Germany Bebel shared leadership of the movement with Liebknecht and a galaxy of other middle-class persons, including Kautsky the philosopher and Vollmar the social scientist.

[7] Said Morris, "I do not know what Marx's theory of value is, and I'm damned if I want to know," but he did know that "the rich are rich because they rob the poor," which was political economy enough for him. Philip, Viscount Snowden, *An Autobiography* (1934), 62

Until the end of the '80's the spread of Marxism among the masses was painfully slow. In Great Britain, where industrialization was most thorough, and where, *ex hypothesi,* conditions were most favorable for mass acceptance of Marxian socialism, a negligible number of workingmen rallied to it. The bulk of them neither read Marx nor listened to his missionaries; they seemed quite content to stick to their indigenous kinds of trade-union, co-operative store, and friendly society. True, a socialistic Fabian Society appeared in 1883 and enlisted some young literary men—Shaw, Wells, Sidney Webb—but its principles were eclectic rather than orthodox Marxian and its essays were caviar to the popular taste.

In Germany, on the other hand, where industrial conditions were also favorable (though theoretically less so than in Britain), the Social Democratic party captured a large fraction of trade-unionists as well as a relatively large contingent of intellectuals. It polled half a million votes in 1877 and almost as many during the next decade when socialist agitation was checked by special laws. Yet this seemingly large number constituted barely ten per cent of the total electorate. Obviously in Germany, the supposed stronghold of Marxian socialism, the great majority of the masses, urban as well as rural, were enlisted in hostile camps.

In France the Labor party of Guesde and Lafargue, by the utmost effort, polled 30,000 votes in 1885 and 120,000 in 1889, and nonetheless failed in either year to elect a single one of the six hundred Deputies. In Belgium, proportionately much more industrialized than France, it was not until 1885 that Anseele succeeded in forming a Labor party and not until 1894 that it adopted a frankly Marxian platform or won any parliamentary representation. In agricultural Denmark a Social Democratic party, organized in 1878, elected in 1884 two members of parliament; and a similar party in Alpine Switzerland returned the same number in 1890. Marxian parties were also started in Austria in 1888 and in Sweden and Norway in 1889, though for several years thereafter they were extra-parliamentary and comparatively insignificant. Prior to 1890 there were no organized parties, only little knots, of Marxians in Italy, Holland, Spain, Hungary, and eastern Europe. In general, the European masses were still unmoved.

It befitted the liberal and Jacobin tradition of the leaders of Marxian socialism that they inaugurated the so-called "Second International" with a congress at Paris on July 14, 1889, the centenary of the destruction of the Bastille and the beginning of what in polemical writings they were wont to describe as "the middle-class revolution." The congress was attended by 395 delegates, of whom 221 were French. The large majority were professional propagandists, of good bourgeois background, and very doctrinaire. They squabbled with a rival congress of anarchists and other dissidents and ended by profession of Marxian orthodoxy and adoption of mild resolutions in behalf of equal pay for women and international observance of May Day.

Subsequent congresses were held at Brussels in 1891, at Zurich in 1893, at London in 1896, at Paris again in 1900. At all of them the same leaders—Liebknecht, Bebel, Kautsky, Guesde, Lafargue, Anseele, Vandervelde, Adler, Turati—figured prominently and exercised decisive influence; and by all of them the faith was refined, and anathemas worthy of early church councils were hurled at heretics and schismatics, particularly at the anarchists. The Zurich Congress, by declaring for "the collective ownership of the soil," practically removed the large peasant population of Europe from participation in Marxian parties; and it hemmed about its formal condemnation of international war with a refusal to sanction the use of general strikes to halt war. The London Congress, reflecting, chameleon-like, its surroundings, put forth demands that were generically democratic and liberal rather than specifically socialist: universal suffrage and the referendum, emancipation of women, abolition of customs duties, limitation of armaments and of colonial expansion. The Paris Congress of 1900 finally fashioned a definite international organization of Marxists. A permanent central office was established at Brussels, and membership in it and in future congresses was opened to any national party or association adhering to "the essential principles of socialism," which were defined as "socialization of the means of production and exchange, international union and action of the workers, conquest of public powers by the proletariat organized as a class party."

The decade of these congresses witnessed the first big advance

of Marxian socialism among the electorates of western and central Europe. In Germany the popular vote of the Social Democratic party went up to a million and a half in 1890 and thence to three million in 1898, and the number of its Reichstag members from 35 to 56 (out of a total of 397). In France the Labor party elected Guesde to the Chamber of Deputies in 1893; and by collaborating with dissident Socialist groups and securing the invaluable co-operation of such new middle-class converts as Jaurès, Millerand, and Briand, it raised the total Marxian vote in 1898 to 700,000. In Belgium it rose in 1894 to 350,000—roughly a quarter of the whole. In Italy, through Turati's tireless efforts, a distinctively Marxian party took form in 1891; with 35,000 suffrages in 1895 it elected 12 members of parliament, and with 200,000 in 1900 it won 33 seats (out of a total of 508). And despite franchise restrictions, Austria in 1900 had fourteen Socialist Deputies, and Sweden one.

Great Britain still baffled Marxian propagandists. Her proletarians were far more numerous than any other country's, and long before 1900 almost all of them could read and vote. Yet Hyndman's Social Democratic Federation made no progress among them; the Fabian Society hardly touched them; and the Independent Labor party which the miner Hardie founded in 1893, and which was less Marxian than Evangelical Christian, polled fewer than 45,000 and returned not a single member of parliament. Presently, the British trade-unions would federate with these little socialist groups in a comprehensive Labor party, but that would be for the defense of trade-unions and not for the preaching of Marxism. In Britain the Socialist tail would not wag the trade-union dog.

Even on the Continent, after thirty years' endeavor, Marxian socialism was scarcely the substantial and supreme mass movement which it claimed to be. Almost without exception its formulators and carriers were urban-born and urban-minded, having scant association or sympathy with peasants and agricultural laborers; naturally enough, it made no appeal to the rural masses. Nor did it make any successful appeal to the numerous lower middle classes of the towns. Except for individual radicals and intellectuals who might hail from any class, it was only that segment of the masses referred to in Socialist parlance as the "proletariat" which yielded

an appreciable number of converts to the Marxian cause. But the "proletariat" was really not a simple entity; it was a congeries of classes, some of which took to Marxism more readily than others.

Indeed, the biggest conquests for Marxian socialism were made in those countries where a relatively late though fairly thorough industrialization generated an especially numerous and ambitious "aristocracy of labor" with well-organized trade-unions, and where, at the same time, the political regime remained sufficiently undemocratic or reactionary to alienate trade-unionists (and other "progressive" citizens) and to impel them toward the political party of most vociferous protest. This was certainly exemplified by that prize exhibit of Marxian socialism in the '90's, the German Social Democratic party. But to enlist "proletarian" trade-unionists under its banner, the German party catered to them more than to other elements of the "proletariat"; and to attract all possible "protest" voters it pursued tactics which pointed less to proletarian social revolution than to a general democratic reform. The larger the party grew, the more moderate it became—in fact if not in theory.

From the first, Marxian socialism, particularly its German version, had had a disproportionately large number of professional theorists or (to use their own appalling word) "theoreticians." Which was another indication that the movement was no ordinary mass movement, but that it was intellectual, esoteric, theological. Like other theologians, Marxian "theoreticians" were addicted to interminable debate about what constituted the original deposit of faith and revelation and what were the proper and orthodox methods (or "tactics") for realizing its promises in the future. They did not always reach the same conclusions, and sometimes, in the best theological manner, they anathematized one another, thus giving rise to most regrettable schisms. Among French Socialists, who were ultra-logical and ultra-quarrelsome, as many as five denominations appeared![8] In most countries, nevertheless—and eventually in France—the desire to present a common front for electoral and other "tactical" purposes usually overcame the scruples of the

[8] In addition to the Guesdists, there were the Blanquists, the Broussists, the Allemanists, the Malonists!

masters of orthodoxy and set them to devising formulas for harboring different schools of thought within a single organization still calling itself Marxian. To them, as to contemporary Christian modernists, the church loomed more important than the creed, and the church must be "broad."

In the late '90's an extremely difficult problem of tactics was posed by the rise of "higher criticism" of the gospel of Marx and the doubt it cast upon the accuracy of the master's prophecies. He had foretold that, through an inevitable evolution of capitalism, the bulk of the middle class would fall into the category of proletarians and that the class-conscious proletariat, thus becoming a numerical majority, would be enabled by sheer weight of numbers to possess political power, to abolish private property, and to erect the collectivist state and society. But it was now pointed out, with array of statistics, that while the management of capital was being concentrated in fewer hands, its ownership was being extended, that synchronizing with the descent of middle-class persons into the proletariat was a disconcerting ascent of proletarians into the middle class, and that there was no immediate prospect of a class-conscious proletariat's having the numerical strength of itself to capture by democratic means any existing government. If the "higher critics" were right—and what quantities of polemical literature issued from the Socialist press on this point!—then some revision of Marxian tactics was required. But in what direction? More polemical literature poured forth.

Eduard Bernstein, a prominent intellectual of the German party and one of the most trenchant of the "higher critics," argued that Socialists should move toward the "right." They should stress evolution and co-operation rather than revolution and class conflict. Instead of employing tactics which isolated them from all other parties, they should collaborate with any party or group that was democratically minded and willing to advance the socialization of industry. This revisionism or reformism of Bernstein was bitterly assailed by Kautsky, the premier expounder of orthodoxy, and seriously questioned by most of the other recognized "theoreticians," but it found favor with a considerable number of political leaders, notably Jaurès in France and Vollmar in Germany, and,

more pregnantly, with the rank and file of trade-unionists and "protest" voters. The upshot was a practical compromise, for which the adroit Bebel was largely responsible within the German party and also in the International Congress at Amsterdam in 1904. To keep the record straight, reformism was condemned; and to prevent the loss of voters, reformists were suffered to remain and to go on "boring from within."

On the other hand, Georges Sorel, a French engineer who styled himself a neo-Marxist, began arguing in the late '90's that in view of the disclosures of "higher criticism," Socialists should move toward the "left." Lacking a numerical majority, they should abandon the democratic dogma, intensify the class struggle, precipitate a violent revolution, and set up a dictatorship of the proletariat. Against any such leftward trend, Kautsky and all the orthodox were as adamant as Bernstein and the heterodox "right"; and prior to the World War, at any rate, it made little headway in the organized Marxian parties, save only the Russian, which was newest and infinitesimal and "a party in exile." Sorel's counsels appealed, however, to heirs of the anarchism of Bakunin, to extremists in an absolutist and industrially backward country like Russia, and to sizable groups of unskilled workers in southern Europe who had a deep-seated distaste for parliamentary government. In the syndicalist or "direct-action" movement which arose at the turn of the century, Sorel perceived a practical demonstration of how the masses might dominate industry and the state without wasting time or frittering away energy on the sham battles of parliamentary democracy.

At best but a fraction of the vast masses of the European peoples adhered to Marxian socialism in any or all of its forms—orthodox, reformist, syndicalist. Though the fraction would temporarily grow much larger during the early years of the twentieth century, it would still be a fraction and would suffer almost cataclysmic shrinkage and disruption from events of the World War and its aftermath. Marxian influences would remain, and the most populous and backward of European countries would be subjected to a professedly Marxian regime. Yet the Russian "proletarian" dictatorship of the future would hardly be what even a Sorel had

anticipated, and it certainly would not be what organized Marxian socialism had worked for and tended toward from 1871 to 1914. In truth, real Marxian socialism, just beginning its public career in 1871, was passing maturity and nearing death in 1914. It proved to be a flutter of the Generation of Materialism.

One should not underestimate the significance of that flutter. Although not a mass movement in inception or control, Marxian socialism was directed at the masses and served to implant in a large section of them, especially in urban workingmen, a sympathy for materialistic philosophy and other intellectual currents of the age, a feeling of self-importance, and a habit of corporate militancy. By these gifts it enormously contributed to the emergence of the masses, and incidentally to their training for a stellar role in the subsequent world drama entitled "The Rise of Demagogic Dictatorship."

VI. BEGINNINGS OF FEMINISM

Prior to 1870, fully half of all the European masses—and classes too—had been pretty well submerged for the simple reason that they happened to belong to the female sex. Back in the Middle Ages there had been a degree of women's rights and a kind of feminism, as evidenced in the careers of a Countess Matilda, a Catherine of Siena, a Blanche of Castile, and a large assortment of regnant queens and imperious abbesses. But by the sixteenth century the "regiment of women" appeared "monstrous" to many men other than John Knox; and the "enlightened" Europe of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was distinctly a man's Europe. The *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, which Mary Wollstonecraft published in 1792, with its demand for equal rights and equal opportunities for all human beings, irrespective of sex, found no substantial support then or for half a century afterwards. Humanitarians of those years were too busy emancipating men and talking about the emancipation of Negroes to give thought to the emancipation of women. The theoretical democrats of the French Revolution definitely excluded women not only from the franchise but even from public meetings and political agitation. Practically no opportunities existed anywhere for the education of girls beyond

the most elementary stage. In the eyes of the law, whether the common law of England or the Code of Napoléon, the daughter was a household serf, the wife a chattel.

Reform of the legal status of women and their emergence as an important self-conscious force in cultural, economic, and political life came in the latter part of the nineteenth century. Several factors contributed to the process. The basic one, no doubt, was the gradual disintegration of traditional family life, consequent upon mass migration from country to town and large-scale employment of wives and daughters in factory, office, and shop. This tended in a highly practical way to give cogency and application to the tenet of doctrinaire liberalism that the unit of the social order was not the family group but the individual human being; and from the appearance of John Stuart Mill's epochal *Subjection of Women* in 1869, few intellectuals of radical proclivity had reason to doubt that females were individuals quite as much as males and deserving of equal consideration.

That women, even of the upper classes, were in need of emancipation had already been sensationally demonstrated by the *cause célèbre* which Ferdinand Lassalle pressed in Germany for ten years and before thirty-six tribunals in behalf of the Countess Hatzfeld; and afterwards a galaxy of internationally famous literary men, such as Ibsen and Shaw, Zola and Meredith, gave powerful impetus to the movement,[9] as did a number of influential social scientists. Lewis H. Morgan, for example, dwelt in his *Ancient Society* (1877) on the importance of women in primitive tribal life and in the evolution of civilization, and Lester F. Ward put forth in his *Dynamic Sociology* (1883) a "gynæcocentric theory" of the natural priority and superiority of the female sex. The last provided a rationale for full-fledged feminism.

August Bebel, too, turned feminist and brought out in 1893 *Die Frau und der Sozialismus*. This was not a scholarly work but cleverly written propaganda to draw women into Marxian socialism. It borrowed from Morgan for its idealization of woman's role in primitive, pre-capitalistic society, and in the part devoted to modern

[9] On the other hand, a classic attack on feminism was made by the Swedish writer, August Strindberg, in *Giftas*, the collection of stories which he published in 1884-1886.

times it connected the submergence of women with the rise of capitalism. Bebel's book attracted a large reading public in Germany—it reached a fiftieth edition in 1910—and was translated into most other European languages. Not every Socialist "theoretician" agreed with Bebel. Belfort Bax, for instance, published a counterblast in 1896 under the suggestive title of *The Legal Subjection of Men*, and followed it up with a diatribe which he frankly called *The Fraud of Feminism*. But Bax was a bit heterodox and belated. In the meantime Engels and Kautsky and Liebknecht and most other pillars of Marxian orthodoxy, together with English Fabians and French Reformists, endorsed and amplified the thesis of Bebel. Let Socialists espouse the emancipation of woman, and women will be foes of capitalism and devotees of socialism. And the ensuing numerous enrollment of women in the several Marxian parties proved the soundness of the new tactic.

Even the Christian churches were not unsympathetic with the milder forms of the feminist movement. They kept more of a hold on women than on men, and they did so, in part at least, because they patronized and fostered a remarkable multiplication of auxiliary women's organizations—missionary circles, aid societies, devotional leagues and guilds, working-girl clubs. Some "liberal" churches of England (and America) took the revolutionary step of ordaining women preachers,[10] and among the larger and more conservative churches, whether Catholic or Anglican or Lutheran, most of the increased teaching and nursing services and much of the expanding foreign-missionary enterprise were entrusted to religious women. "Deaconesses" and sisterhoods were new phenomena in the Anglican Church, and in the Catholic Church the growth of religious communities for women was remarkable.

But whether their underlying philosophy was Christian or Marxian, conservative or radical, women in general displayed after 1870 an unusual self-assertiveness. From themselves emanated demands for something like equality in schooling, in opportunities for business and professional careers, in property rights, in political life. Gradually, also, through sheer press of numbers, guided by effective

[10] The Salvation Army counted 5,000 women officers in 1890. As the *Pall Mall Gazette* declared in a leading editorial on April 18, 1889: "The Hallelujah Lass and the Primrose Dame march in the van of the Women's Movement of the World."

propaganda and aided by liberal and susceptible males, European (and American) women secured the ends they sought. Naturally enough the speed and thoroughness of the process depended upon the degree of a country's industrialization and its attachment to liberal principles. It was fastest and most comprehensive in England, slowest and least obvious in eastern Europe.

New careers opened up for women. In England, by 1900, there were some forty thousand nurses and forty-five thousand women schoolteachers. A still greater opening occurred for women stenographers and secretaries. There must have been none of these before 1870, or else Dickens, who died that year, would have introduced us to one. According to census returns, however, England had 7,000 in 1881; 22,200 in 1891; 90,000 in 1901. The Bank of England began employing women as clerks in 1893. The new telephone service, almost from the start, was a female monopoly. Besides, despite a large amount of restrictive labor legislation, the number of women employed as operatives in factories (especially textile mills) and as sales girls in department stores and other retail shops steadily increased, while the number in old-time domestic service remained fairly constant and that of governesses and tutors rose.

The new national systems of popular elementary schooling which took shape in the '70's and '80's were for girls equally with boys, and they spread literacy with a fine impartiality as between the sexes. In opening higher education to women, the University of Zurich led the way in 1867, and Paris followed shortly afterwards. The universities of Sweden and Finland admitted women to their lectures and degrees in 1870; those of Denmark in 1875; those of Italy in 1876. The University of London conceded degrees to women in 1878, and Dublin in 1879. The universities of Norway followed in 1884; those of Spain and Rumania in 1888; those of Belgium and Greece in 1890; those of Scotland in 1892. Meanwhile, to offset the still adamantine opposition of "reactionary" Oxford and Cambridge to "women's rights," separate women's colleges were founded in England—Girton in 1872, Newnham in 1875, Somerville and Lady Margaret in 1879; while newly established provincial universities in England, like contemporary Western ones in America, were militantly coeducational.

The old honored professions of medicine and law were gradually opened to women. By 1870 Holland and various American states were admitting women to the practice of medicine. England followed in 1876; Belgium and Russia in 1890. Admission of women to the bar was generally slower, France not sanctioning it till 1900 and Great Britain not till 1903.

The right of women to their own property and their own earnings was recognized in Great Britain by parliamentary acts of 1870 and 1882; and most other European countries eventually arrived in various ways at approximately the same position. Moreover, a kind of local franchise was conceded to English women fairly early for vestries and boards of health, in 1869 for town council elections, in 1870 for school boards, and in 1888 for county councils.

From 1867, when John Stuart Mill had proposed to extend the parliamentary franchise to women on the same terms as to men, a general women's suffrage movement definitely crystallized. Much fun was made of it, and some of its leaders and protagonists undoubtedly merited the popular appraisal of them as "short-haired women and long-haired men." But during the decade of the '70's the petitions which these presented annually to Parliament averaged 200,000 signatures; and in 1888 was organized an "International Woman Suffrage Alliance" whose membership mounted rapidly and whose conventions were attended by delegates from an ever-increasing number of countries.

It was on distant and oversea frontiers of Europe that the first tangible fruits of the suffrage movement were reaped—Wyoming in 1869, Colorado and New Zealand in 1893, South Australia in 1894, Utah and Idaho in 1896. Not until the first decade of the twentieth century would Finland and Sweden become pioneers within Europe of the political enfranchisement of women, and not until then would the alarming violence of the Pankhurst women, Emmeline and Christabel, bring the British movement close to fruition. But then would come the climax of materialism (and much else) in the World War, which at least incidentally showed that the female as well as the male masses had emerged fully out of the preceding generation with electoral rights—and belligerent duties.