Documents

Considering the Evidence: Varieties of European Marxism

Among the ideologies and social movements that grew out of Europe's Industrial Revolution, none was more important than socialism. When it emerged in the nineteenth century, the word "socialism" referred to public or state ownership and control of the means of production and distribution (land, railroads, and factories, for example). Adherents hoped to achieve far greater equality and cooperation than was possible under the competitive and cutthroat capitalism of an industrializing Europe. Clearly the most important socialist ideas derived from the writings of Karl Marx. Known widely as Marxism, those ideas spawned a variety of interpretations, applications, and debates. For many people, they also served as a way of understanding the world perhaps akin to an alternative religion, or an alternative to religion.

The historical significance of Marxist socialism was immense. First, it offered a devastating critique of the industrializing process as it unfolded during the nineteenth century—its inequalities, its instability, its materialism, its exploitation of workers. For followers of Marx, however, that critique was thoroughly modern, embracing the new science, technology, and means of production that the Industrial Revolution had generated, while deploring the social outcomes of that process and the capitalist economic system in which it took place. Second, socialists offered an alternative model for industrializing societies, imagining a future that would more fully realize the promise of modern industry and more equally distribute its benefits. Third, Marxist thinking gave a sharp edge to the social conflicts that characterized industrializing Europe. Those conflicts featured two classes, both of which grew substantially during the nineteenth century (see pp. 833–36). One was the wealthy industrial business class, the bourgeoisie, those who owned and managed the mines, factories, and docks of an industrializing Europe. The other involved the proletariat, the workers in those enterprises—often impoverished, exploited, and living in squalid conditions. Finally, nineteenth-century Marxism provided the foundation for twentieth-century world communism as it took shape in Russia, China, Vietnam, Cuba, and elsewhere.

By the end of the nineteenth century, socialism had become a major element of European political and intellectual life, and it enjoyed a modest presence in the United States and Japan and among a handful of intellectuals elsewhere. Its spread to the rest of the world would have to await developments in the

twentieth century. The documents that follow illustrate some of the ways that Marxist socialism was expressed and contested within a nineteenth-century European context.

Document 18.1

Socialism According to Marx

The early currents of socialist thinking took shape during the first quarter of the nineteenth century in the minds of various thinkers—the Englishman Robert Owen and the Frenchman Charles Fourier, for example, both of whom were appalled by the social divisions that industrial society generated. As an alternative they proposed small-scale, voluntary, and cooperative communities, and their followers actually established a number of such experimental groups in Europe and the United States. But the most significant expression of modern socialism took shape in the fertile mind of the brilliant German intellectual Karl Marx (1818–1883). His life coincided with perhaps the harshest phase of capitalist industrialization in Europe. At that time an encompassing market economy was rudely shattering older institutions and traditions, but the benefits of this new and highly productive system were not yet widely shared (see pp. 835–36). But in this brutal process, Marx discerned the inevitable approach of a new world. Document 18.1 presents excerpts from the most famous of Marx's writings, the *Communist Manifesto*, first published in 1848. In this effort and throughout much of his life, Marx was assisted by another German thinker, Friedrich Engels (1820–1895), the son of a successful textile manufacturer. Engels became radicalized as he witnessed the devastating social results of capitalist industrialization.

Marx and Engels's *Manifesto* begins with a summary description of the historical process. Much of the document then analyzes what the authors call the "bourgeoisie" or the "bourgeois epoch," terms that refer to the age of industrial capitalism.

- How do Marx and Engels understand the motor of change in human history? How do they view the role of class?
- What are Marx and Engels's criticisms of the existing social system? What do they see as its major achievements?
- Why do Marx and Engels believe that the capitalist system is doomed?
- How does the industrial proletariat differ from the lower class of the preindustrial era? What role do Marx and Engels foresee for the proletariat?
- Which of Marx and Engels's descriptions and predictions ring true even now? In what respects was their analysis disproved by later developments?

■ How do Marx and Engels describe the socialist society that will follow the collapse of the capitalist system? Why do they believe that only a revolution, "the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions," will enable the creation of a socialist society?

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels

The Communist Manifesto

1848

The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes....

Our epoch, the epoch of the bourgeoisie, possesses, however, this distinct feature: it has simplified class antagonisms. Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other—bourgeoisie and proletariat....

Modern industry has established the world market, for which the discovery of America paved the way. This market has given an immense development to commerce, to navigation, to communication by land....

[T]he bourgeoisie has at last, since the establishment of Modern Industry and of the world market, conquered for itself, in the modern representative state, exclusive political sway. The executive of the modern state is but a committee for managing the common affairs of the whole bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part.

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his "natural superiors," and has left no other nexus between people than naked self-interest, than callous "cash payment." It has drowned out the most heavenly ecstasies of religious fervor, of chivalrous enthusiasm, of philistine sentimentalism, in the icy water of egotistical calculation. It has resolved personal worth into exchange value, and in place of the numberless indefeasible chartered freedoms, has set up that single, unconscionable freedom—Free Trade. In one word, for exploitation, veiled by religious and political illusions, it has substituted naked, shameless, direct, brutal exploitation.

The bourgeoisie has stripped of its halo every occupation hitherto honored and looked up to with reverent awe. It has converted the physician, the lawyer, the priest, the poet, the man of science, into its paid wage laborers.

The bourgeoisie has torn away from the family its sentimental veil, and has reduced the family relation into a mere money relation....

It has been the first to show what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, and Gothic cathedrals....

The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the entire surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere....

All old-established national industries have been destroyed or are daily being destroyed. They are dislodged by new industries, whose introduction becomes a life and death question for all civilized nations, by industries that no longer work up indigenous raw material, but raw material drawn from the

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Source: John E. Toews, ed., *The Communist Manifesto by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels with Related Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1999), 63–96.

remotest zones; industries whose products are consumed, not only at home, but in every quarter of the globe. In place of the old wants, satisfied by the production of the country, we find new wants, requiring for their satisfaction the products of distant lands and climes. In place of the old local and national seclusion and self-sufficiency, we have intercourse in every direction, universal interdependence of nations....

The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian, nations into civilization. The cheap prices of commodities are the heavy artillery with which it forces the barbarians' intensely obstinate hatred of foreigners to capitulate. It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image.

The bourgeoisie has subjected the country to the rule of the towns. It has created enormous cities, has greatly increased the urban population as compared with the rural, and has thus rescued a considerable part of the population from the idiocy of rural life. Just as it has made the country dependent on the towns, so it has made barbarian and semi-barbarian countries dependent on the civilized ones, nations of peasants on nations of bourgeois, the East on the West....

The bourgeoisie, during its rule of scarce one hundred years, has created more massive and more colossal productive forces than have all preceding generations together. Subjection of nature's forces to man, machinery, application of chemistry to industry and agriculture, steam navigation, railways, electric telegraphs, clearing of whole continents for cultivation, canalization or rivers, whole populations conjured out of the ground—what earlier century had even a presentiment that such productive forces slumbered in the lap of social labor?...

It is enough to mention the commercial crises that, by their periodical return, put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on its trial, each time more threateningly.... In these crises, there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity—the epidemic of overproduction....

But not only has the bourgeoisie forged the weapons that bring death to itself; it has also called into existence the men who are to wield those weapons—the modern working class—the proletarians....

These laborers, who must sell themselves piecemeal, are a commodity, like every other article of commerce, and are consequently exposed to all the vicissitudes of competition, to all the fluctuations of the market.

Owing to the extensive use of machinery, and to the division of labor, the work of the proletarians has lost all individual character, and, consequently, all charm for the workman. He becomes an appendage of the machine, and it is only the most simple, most monotonous, and most easily acquired knack, that is required of him....

Masses of laborers, crowded into the factory, are organized like soldiers. As privates of the industrial army, they are placed under the command of a perfect hierarchy of officers and sergeants. Not only are they slaves of the bourgeois class, and of the bourgeois state; they are daily and hourly enslaved by the machine, by the overlooker, and, above all, by the individual bourgeois manufacturer himself....

The lower strata of the middle class—the small tradespeople, shopkeepers, and retired tradesmen generally, the handicraftsmen and peasants—all these sink gradually into the proletariat.... Thus, the proletariat is recruited from all classes of the population....

This organization of the proletarians into a class, and, consequently, into a political party, is continually being upset again by the competition between the workers themselves. But it ever rises up again, stronger, firmer, mightier....

Finally, in times when the class struggle nears the decisive hour,... a small section of the ruling class cuts itself adrift, and joins the revolutionary class, the class that holds the future in its hands.... What the bourgeoisie therefore produces, above all, are its own grave-diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable....

We have seen above that the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the prole-

tariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy.

The proletariat will use its political supremacy to wrest, by degree, all capital from the bourgeoisie, to centralize all instruments of production in the hands of the state, i.e., of the proletariat organized as the ruling class; and to increase the total productive forces as rapidly as possible.

Of course, in the beginning, this cannot be effected except by means of despotic inroads on the rights of property....

These measures will, of course, be different in different countries.

Nevertheless, in most advanced countries, the following will be pretty generally applicable.

1. Abolition of property in land and application of all rents of land to public purposes.
2. A heavy progressive or graduated income tax.
3. Abolition of all rights of inheritance.
4. Confiscation of the property of all emigrants and rebels.
5. Centralization of credit in the banks of the state, by means of a national bank with state capital and an exclusive monopoly.
6. Centralization of the means of communication and transport in the hands of the state.
7. Extension of factories and instruments of production owned by the state; the bringing into cultivation of waste lands, and the improvement of the soil generally in accordance with a common plan.
8. Equal obligation of all to work. Establishment of industrial armies, especially for agriculture.
9. Combination of agriculture with manufacturing industries; gradual abolition of all the distinction between town and country by a more equable distribution of the populace over the country.
10. Free education for all children in public schools. Abolition of children's factory labor in its present form. Combination of education with industrial production, etc.

When, in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character. Political power, properly so called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another. If the proletariat during its contest with the bourgeoisie is compelled, by the force of circumstances, to organize itself as a class; if, by means of a revolution, it makes itself the ruling class, and, as such, sweeps away by force the old conditions of production, then it will, along with these conditions, have swept away the conditions for the existence of class antagonisms and of classes generally, and will thereby have abolished its own supremacy as a class.

In place of the old bourgeois society, with its classes and class antagonisms, we shall have an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all....

The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions. Let the ruling classes tremble at a communist revolution. The proletarians have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Document 18.2

Socialism without Revolution

Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels provided the set of ideas that informed much of the European socialist movement during the second half of the nineteenth century. Organized in various national parties and joined together in international organizations as well, socialists usually referred to themselves as social democrats, for they were seeking to extend the principles of democracy from the political arena (voting rights, for example) into the realm of the economy

and society. By the 1890s, however, some of them had begun to question at least part of Marx's teachings, especially the need for violent revolution. The chief spokesperson for this group of socialists, known as "revisionists," was Eduard Bernstein (1850–1932), a prominent member of the German Social Democratic Party. His ideas provoked a storm of controversy within European socialist circles. Document 18.2 is drawn from the preface of Bernstein's 1899 book, *Evolutionary Socialism*.

- In what ways and for what reasons was Bernstein critical of Marx and Engels's analysis of capitalism?
- Why do you think he refers so often to Engels?
- What strategy does Bernstein recommend for the German Social Democratic Party?
- What does he mean by saying that "the movement means everything to me and... 'the final aim of socialism' is nothing"?
- Why would some of Marx's followers have considered Bernstein a virtual traitor to the socialist cause?

Eduard Bernstein

Evolutionary Socialism

1899

It has been maintained in a certain quarter that the practical deductions from my treatises would be the abandonment of the conquest of political power by the proletariat organized politically and economically. That [idea]... I altogether deny.

I set myself against the notion that we have to expect shortly a collapse of the bourgeois economy....

The adherents of this theory of a catastrophe, base it especially on the conclusions of the *Communist Manifesto*. This is a mistake....

Social conditions have not developed to such an acute opposition of things and classes as is depicted in the *Manifesto*. It is not only useless, it is the greatest folly to attempt to conceal this from ourselves. The number of members of the possessing classes is today not smaller but larger. The enormous increase of social wealth is not accompanied by a decreasing number of large capitalists but by an increasing number of capitalists of all degrees. The middle classes change their character but they do not disappear from the social scale.

The concentration in productive industry is not being accomplished even today in all its departments with equal thoroughness and at an equal rate.... Trade statistics show an extraordinarily elaborated graduation of enterprises in regard to size....

In all advanced countries we see the privileges of the capitalist bourgeoisie yielding step by step to democratic organizations. Under the influence of this, and driven by the movement of the working classes which is daily becoming stronger, a social reaction has set in against the exploiting tendencies of capital.... Factory legislation, the democratizing of local government, and the extension of its area of work, the freeing of trade unions and systems of cooperative trading from legal restrictions, the consid-

Source: Eduard Bernstein, *Evolutionary Socialism*, translated by Edith C. Harvey (New York: Schocken Books, 1961), xxiv–xxx.

eration of standard conditions of labor in the work undertaken by public authorities—all these characterize this phase of the evolution.

But the more the political organizations of modern nations are democratized, the more the needs and opportunities of great political catastrophes are diminished....

[Engels] points out in conformity with this opinion that the next task of the party should be "to work for an uninterrupted increase of its votes" or to carry on a slow *propaganda of parliamentary activity*....

Shall we be told that he [Engels] abandoned the conquest of political power by the working classes...?

[F]or a long time yet the task of social democracy is, instead of speculating on a great economic crash, "to organize the working classes politically and develop them as a democracy and to fight for all reforms in the State which are adapted to raise the working classes and transform the State in the direction of democracy."...

[T]he movement means everything for me and that what is *usually* called "the final aim of socialism" is nothing....

The conquest of political power by the working classes, the expropriation of capitalists, are not ends themselves but only means for the accomplishment of certain aims and endeavors.... But the conquest of political power necessitates the possession of political *rights*; German social democracy [must] devise the best ways for the extension of the political and economic rights of the German working classes.

Document 18.3

Socialism and Women

Marxist socialism focused largely on issues of class, but that movement coincided with the emergence of feminism, giving rise to what many socialists called "the woman question." The main theoretical issue was the source of female subjugation. Did it derive from private property and the class structure of capitalist society, or was it the product of deeply rooted cultural attitudes independent of class? While middle-class feminists generally assumed the second view, orthodox Marxist thinking aligned with the first one, believing that the lack of economic independence was the root cause of women's subordination. Their liberation would follow, more or less automatically, after the creation of socialist societies. On a more practical level, the question was whether socialist parties should seek to enroll women by actively supporting their unique concerns—suffrage, equal pay, education, maternity insurance. Or did such efforts divide the working class and weaken the socialist movement? Should socialists treat women as members of an oppressed class or as members of an oppressed sex?

Among the leading figures addressing such issues was Clara Zetkin (1857–1933), a prominent German socialist and feminist. In Document 18.3 Zetkin outlines the efforts of the German Social Democratic Party to reach out to women and describes the party's posture toward middle-class feminism.

- How would you describe Zetkin's view of the relationship between socialism and feminism? Which one has priority in her thinking?
- Why is she so insistent that the Social Democratic Party of Germany address the concerns of women? How precisely did it do so?

- Why does she believe that women's issues will be better served within a socialist framework than in a bourgeois women's rights movement?
- How might critics—both feminist and socialist—argue with Zetkin?

Clara Zetkin

The German Socialist Women's Movement

1909

In 1907 the Social-Democratic Party of Germany [SDP] embraced 29,458 women members, in 1908 they numbered 62,257.... One hundred and fifty lecture and study circles for women have been established.... Socialist propaganda amongst the workers' wives and women wage-earners has been carried on by many hundred public meetings, in which women comrades addressed more particularly working-class women....

The women's office works now in conjunction with the Party's Executive....They are to make a vigorous propaganda that the wage-earning women shall in large numbers exercise the franchise to the administrative bodies of the State Sick-Insurance, the only kind of franchise women possess in Germany. The women comrades were further engaged to form local committees for the protection of children.... Besides this, Socialist women were reminded to found and improve protective committees for women-workers, and collect their grievances on illegal and pernicious conditions of labor, forwarding them to the factory inspector.

Besides their activity in that line, the Socialist women have continued their propaganda in favor of the full political emancipation of their sex. The struggle for universal suffrage... was a struggle for adult suffrage for both sexes, vindicated in meetings and leaflets. Public and factory meetings in great number; and an indefatigable activity in other different forms, have served the trade union organizations of the women workers....The work of our trade unions to enlighten, train, and organize wage-earning women is not smaller nor less important than what the S.D.P. has done to induce women to join in political struggles of the working class....

The most prominent feature of the Socialist women's movement in Germany is its clearness and revolutionary spirit as to Socialist theories and principles. The women who head it are fully conscious that the social fate of their sex is indissolubly connected with the general evolution of society, the most powerful moving force of which is the evolution of labor, of economic life. The integral human emancipation of all women depends in consequence on the social emancipation of labor; that can only be realized by the class-war of the exploited majority. Therefore, our Socialist women oppose strongly the bourgeois women righters' credo that the women of all classes must gather into an unpolitical, neutral movement striving exclusively for women's rights. In theory and practice they maintain the conviction that the class antagonisms are much more powerful, effective, and decisive than the social antagonisms between the sexes.... [T]hus the working-class women will [only] win their full emancipation... in the class-war of all the exploited, without difference of sex, against all who exploit, without difference of sex. That does not mean at all that they undervalue the importance of the political emancipation of the female sex. On the contrary, they employ much more energy than the German women-righters to conquer the suffrage. But the vote is, according to their views, not the last word and term of their aspirations, but only a weapon—a means in struggle for a revolutionary aim—the Socialistic order.

Source: Clara Zetkin, *The German Socialist Women's Movement*, Marxists Internet Archive, www.marxists.org.

The Socialist women's movement in Germany... strives to help change the world by awakening the consciousness and the will of working-class women to join in performing the most Titanic deed that history will know: the emancipation of labor by the laboring class themselves.

Document 18.4

Socialism in Song

While European socialists argued theory, debated strategy, and organized workers, they also sang. The hymn of the socialist movement was "The Internationale," composed in 1871 by Eugene Pottier, a French working-class activist, poet, and songwriter. Document 18.4 offers an English translation made in 1900 by Charles Kerr, an American publisher of radical books. The song gave expression to both the oppression and the hopes of ordinary people as they worked for a socialist future.

- What evidence of class consciousness is apparent in the song? What particular grievances are expressed in it?
- How does "The Internationale" portray the struggle and the future?
- What evidence of Marxist thinking can you find in its lyrics?
- How does this song, intended for a mass audience, differ from the more political and intellectual documents above?

Eugene Pottier (trans. Charles Kerr)

The Internationale

1871

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth!
For justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth!
No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
Arise ye slaves, no more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations,
We have been nought, we shall be all.

(Chorus)
'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place.
The international working class
Shall be the human race.

We want no condescending saviors
To rule us from a judgment hall;
We workers ask not for their favors;
Let us consult for all.
To make the thief disgorge his booty
To free the spirit from its cell,
We must ourselves decide our duty,
We must decide, and do it well.
(Chorus)

The law oppresses us and tricks us,
wage slav'ry drains the workers' blood;

Source: "The Internationale," http://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_Internationale_(Kerr).

The rich are free from obligations,
The laws the poor delude.
Too long we've languished in subjection,
Equality has other laws;
"No rights," says she, "without their duties,
No claims on equals without cause."
(Chorus)

Behold them seated in their glory
The kings of mine and rail and soil!
What have you read in all their story,
But how they plundered toil?
Fruits of the workers' toil are buried
In the strong coffers of a few;
In working for their restitution
The men will only ask their due.
(Chorus)

Toilers from shops and fields united,
The union we of all who work;
The earth belongs to us, the workers,
No room here for the shirk.
How many on our flesh have fattened;
But if the noisome birds of prey
Shall vanish from the sky some morning,
The blessed sunlight still will stay.
(Chorus)

Document 18.5

Lenin and Russian Socialism

By the late nineteenth century, most West European socialist parties were operating in a more or less democratic environment in which they could organize legally, contest elections, and serve in parliament. Some of them, following Eduard Bernstein, had largely abandoned any thoughts of revolution in favor of a peaceful and democratic path to socialism. For others, this amounted to a betrayal of the Marxist vision. This was particularly the case for Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov, better known as Lenin, then a prominent figure in the small Russian Social Democratic Labor Party, established in 1898. Lenin was particularly hostile to what he called "economism" or "trade-unionism," which focused on immediate reforms such as higher wages, shorter hours, and better working conditions. He was operating in a still autocratic Russian state, where neither political parties nor trade unions were legal and where no national parliament or elections allowed for the expression of popular grievances.

In a famous pamphlet titled *What Is to Be Done?* (1902), Lenin addressed many of these issues, well before he became the leader of the world's first successful socialist revolution in 1917.

- What were Lenin's objections to economism?
- What kind of party organization did he favor?
- Why did Lenin believe that workers were unlikely to come to a revolutionary consciousness on their own? What was necessary to move them in that direction?
- Was Lenin more faithful to the views of Marx himself than the revisionists and economists were?
- In what ways did Lenin's views reflect the specific conditions of Russia?

V. I. Lenin

What Is to Be Done?

1902

The history of all countries shows that the working class, exclusively by its own effort, is able to develop only trade union consciousness, *i.e.*, it may itself realize the necessity for combining in unions, for fighting against the employers, and for striving to compel the government to pass necessary labor legislation, etc. The theory of socialism, however, grew out of the philosophic, historical, and economic theories that were elaborated by the educated representatives of the propertied classes, the intellectuals.... [I]n Russia... it arose as a natural and inevitable outcome of the development of ideas among the revolutionary socialist intelligentsia.

It is only natural that a Social Democrat, who conceives the political struggle as being identical with the "economic struggle against the employers and the government," should conceive of an "organization of revolutionaries" as being more or less identical with an "organization of workers."...

[O]n questions of organization and politics, the Economists are forever lapsing from Social Democracy into trade unionism. The political struggle carried on by the Social Democrats is far more extensive and complex than the economic struggle the workers carry on against the employers and the government. Similarly... the organization of a revolutionary Social Democratic Party must inevitably *differ* from the organizations of the workers designed for the latter struggle. A workers' organization... must be as wide as possible; and... it must be as public as conditions will allow.... On the other hand, the organizations of revolutionaries must consist first and foremost of people whose profession is that of a revolutionary.... Such an organization must of necessity be not too extensive and as secret as possible....

I assert:

1. that no movement can be durable without a stable organization of leaders to maintain continuity;
2. that the more widely the masses are spontaneously drawn into the struggle and form the basis of the movement and participate in it, the more necessary is it to have such an organization....
3. that the organization must consist chiefly of persons engaged in revolutionary activities as a profession;
4. that in a country with an autocratic government, the more we restrict the membership of this organization to persons who are engaged in revolutionary activities as a profession and who have been professionally trained in the art of combating the political police, the more difficult will it be to catch the organization....

The centralization of the more secret functions in an organization of revolutionaries will not diminish, but rather increase the extent and the quality of the activity of a large number of other organizations intended for wide membership.... [I]n order to "serve" the mass movement we must have people who will devote themselves exclusively to Social Democratic activities, and that such people must *train* themselves patiently and steadfastly to be professional revolutionaries....

Let no active worker take offense at these frank remarks, for as far as insufficient training is concerned, I apply them first and foremost to myself. I used to work in a circle that set itself great and all-embracing tasks; and every member of that circle suffered to the point of torture from the realization that we were proving ourselves to be amateurs at a moment in history when we might have been able to say, paraphrasing a well-known epigram: "Give us an organization of revolutionaries, and we shall overturn the whole of Russia!"

Source: V. I. Lenin, *What Is to Be Done?* Pamphlet, 1902. Marxist Internet Archives, www.marxists.org.

Using the Evidence: Varieties of European Marxism

1. **Comparing socialisms:** While the various strands of Marxist socialism in nineteenth-century Europe shared some common views and values, it was also a sharply divided movement. How would you describe those commonalities as well as the divisions and controversies?
2. **Connecting human rights and socialism:** To what extent did socialist thinking reflect the human rights concerns expressed in the documents of Chapter 17? In what ways might socialists have taken issue with human rights advocates?
3. **Understanding class:** In what ways do these documents help you understand the experience of "class" during the first century of the industrial era?
4. **Considering responses to socialism:** With which of the variant forms of socialism might Marx himself been most and least sympathetic? Which of them do you think would have had most appeal in the United States? How might a manager or owner of a modern industrial enterprise respond to these ideas?

Visual Sources

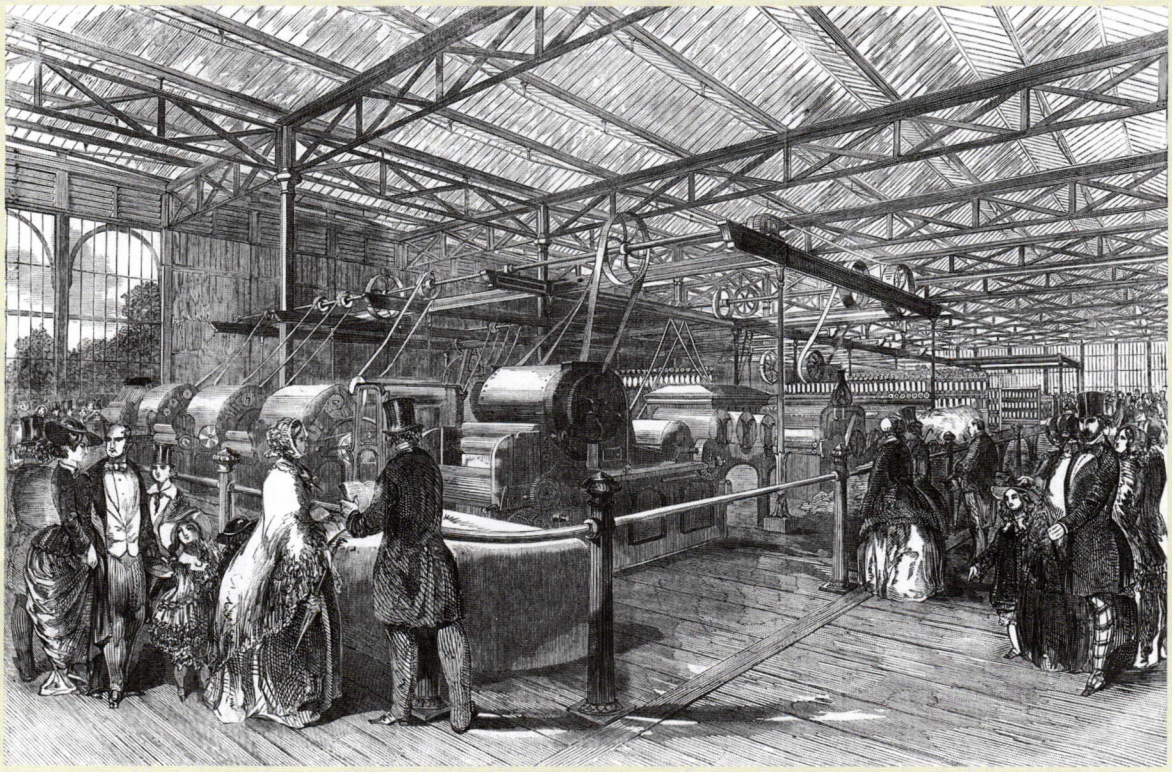
Considering the Evidence: Art and the Industrial Revolution

The immense economic and social transformations of the Industrial Revolution left almost no one untouched in those societies that experienced it most fully. But its impact varied greatly across social classes; among men, women, and children; and over time. Those variations registered not only in politics but also in the work of artists. Through their eyes and in their images we can find the full range of perceptions and reactions—from celebratory to devastatingly critical—which this epic upheaval generated. From the endless visual representations of the Industrial Revolution that are available to historians, we present six, drawn mostly from Great Britain, where it all began. The first three visual sources highlight positive perceptions of industrialization, while the final three illustrate the enormous cost of that process.

By the mid-nineteenth century, the Industrial Revolution and a growing global empire had generated for many people in Great Britain feelings of enormous pride, achievement, and superiority. Nowhere did that sensibility register more clearly than in the Crystal Palace Exhibition of 1851. Held in London, the exhibition was housed in a huge modernistic structure made of cast iron and glass and constructed in only nine months. It attracted more than 6 million visitors and contained some 14,000 exhibits from all around the world, allowing Britain to contrast its own achievements with those of "lesser" peoples. Visual Source 18.1, an engraving from the exhibition's "machinery department" first published in a London newspaper, illustrates the growing tendency of Europeans to view "technology as the main measure of human achievement."[28]

- What overall impression of Britain's industrial technology was this engraving intended to convey? Notice the building itself as well as the machinery.
- How are the visitors to this exhibit portrayed? What segment of British society do you think they represent? What does their inclusion suggest about the beneficiaries of the Industrial Revolution?

The most prominent symbol of the Industrial Revolution was the railroad (see the photo on p. 832). To industrial-age enthusiasts, it was a thing of wonder, power, and speed. Samuel Smiles, a nineteenth-century British writer and



Visual Source 18.1 The Machinery Department of the Crystal Palace (Mary Evans Picture Library/The Image Works)

advocate of self-help and individualism, wrote rhapsodically of the railroad's beneficent effects:

> The iron rail proved a magicians' road. The locomotive gave a new celerity to time. It virtually reduced England to a sixth of its size. It brought the country nearer to the town and the town to the country.... It energized punctuality, discipline, and attention; and proved a moral teacher by the influence of example.[29]

Visual Source 18.2, dating from the 1870s, shows a family in a railroad compartment, returning home from a vacation.

- What attitude toward the railroad in particular and the industrial age in general does this image suggest?
- Notice the view out the window. What do the telegraph lines and St. Paul's Cathedral, a famous feature of the London landscape, contribute to the artist's message?
- What marks this family as middle class? How would you compare this image with the painting of middle class life on page 834? Do the two

families derive from the same segments of the middle class? Do you think they could mix socially?

- What does the poem at the top of the image suggest about the place of "home" in industrial Britain? How does the image itself present the railway car as a home away from home?

Visual Source 18.2 The Railroad as a Symbol of the Industrial Era (Mary Evans Picture Library/The Image Works)

Visual Source 18.3 Outside the Factory: Eyre Crowe, *The Dinner Hour, Wigan* (© Manchester Art Gallery, UK/The Bridgeman Art Library)

The Industrial Revolution was more than invention and technological innovation, for it also involved a new organization of work, symbolized by the modern factory. The human impact of factory labor was a central feature in the debate about this massive transformation of economic life. Visual Source 18.3, an 1874 painting by English artist Eyre Crowe, shows a number of young women factory workers during their dinner hour outside the cotton textile mill in the industrial town of Wigan. Art critics at the time commented variously on the painting. One wrote, "We think it was a pity Mr. Crowe wasted his time on such unattractive materials." Another suggested, "Crowe has apparently set himself to record the unpictorial lives of the working classes of the manufacturing districts in a prosaic but entirely honest manner." Yet a third declared, "The picture is not a mere romantic invention: it is a veracious [truthful] statement."[30]

- How would you respond to these comments on Crowe's painting? In particular, do you think it was an "entirely honest" portrayal of factory life for women? What was missing?
- Why do you think Crowe set this scene outside the factory rather than within it?
- Notice the details of the painting—the young women's relationship to one another, the hairnets on their heads, their clothing, their activities during this break from work. What marks them as working-class women? What impression of factory life did Crowe seek to convey? Was he trying to highlight or minimize the class differences of industrial Britain?
- Notice the small male figure in a dark coat and carrying a cane. At least one observer of this painting has suggested that he may well be the mill owner, the "figure around which their [the women's] life depends."[31] If so, how would you imagine his relationship to the young women?

Turning to more negative and critical perspectives on industrialization, we begin with a sharply contrasting image of factory life, this time a colorized photograph of women and children at work in a vegetable cannery in Baltimore in 1912 (Visual Source 18.4). It was taken by Lewis W. Hine (1874–1940), a prominent American photographer who spent much of his professional life documenting child labor and factory working life. Often Hine briefly interviewed the children he photographed. When he asked one young girl her age, she replied: "I don't remember. I'm not old enough to work, but do just the same." A twelve-year-old illiterate boy told Hine: "Yes I want to learn, but can't when I work all the time."[32] Hine's photographs played a role in the passage of child labor laws in the United States.

- What impressions of factory life does Hine seek to convey in this photograph?
- How do the women and children in this image compare with those in Visual Source 18.3?
- How would you imagine a conversation between Hine and Crowe discussing these two images?
- Notice the male figure smoking a pipe. What do you think his role in the factory might be?
- Is a photograph necessarily a more truthful image than a painting? Consider the advantages and disadvantages of each as a source of information for historians.

Prominent among the criticisms of the industrialization process was its impact on the environment. The massive extraction of nonrenewable raw

Visual Source 18.4 Inside the Factory: Lewis Hine, *Child Labor, 1912* (Oil over photograph, 1912, by Lewis W. Hine. The Granger Collection, New York)

materials to feed and to fuel industrial machinery—coal, iron ore, petroleum, and much more—altered the landscape in many places. Sewers and industrial waste emptied into rivers, turning them into poisonous cesspools. In 1858, the Thames River running through London smelled so bad that the British House of Commons had to suspend its session. Smoke from coal-fired industries and domestic use polluted the air in urban areas and sharply increased the incidence of respiratory illness. (See the chapter opening image on p. 824.) Against these conditions a number of individuals and small groups raised their voices. Romantic poets such as William Blake and William Wordsworth inveighed against the "dark satanic mills" of industrial England and nostalgically urged a return to the "green and pleasant land" of an earlier time.

Nowhere in Britain were the environmental changes of the early industrial era more visible than in Coalbrookdale, a major center of the iron industry. A visitor wrote of the place in 1768:

> Coalbrookdale is a very romantic spot, it is a winding glen between two immense hills..., all thickly covered with wood.... Indeed too

Visual Source 18.5 Philip James de Loutherbourg, *Coalbrookdale by Night* (Science Museum/Science & Society Picture Library)

> beautiful to be much in unison with that variety of horrors art spread at the bottom: the noises of the forges, mills, etc., with all their vast machinery, the flames bursting from the furnaces with the burning of coal and the smoke of the lime kilns.[33]

In 1801, Philip James de Loutherbourg, an English artist born in France, painted *Coalbrookdale by Night* (Visual Source 18.5), an image that became for many people emblematic of the early Industrial Revolution in Britain.

- To what extent does that image reflect the description of Coalbrookdale above? Why do you think the artist set the image at night?
- How would you interpret the flames issuing from the iron foundry? What is conveyed by the industrial debris in the foreground of the image?
- How are human figures portrayed?
- What overall impression of the industrial age does this painting suggest? Does the painting strike you as beautiful, horrific, or both?

Visual Source 18.6 John Leech, *Capital and Labour* (The Granger Collection, New York)

In critiques of the industrial era, social issues loomed far larger than environmental concerns. Visual Source 18.6, an image by British artist John Leech, was published in 1843 in *Punch*, a magazine of humor and social satire. It reflects a common theme in the artistic and literary representations of industrial Britain.

- How precisely would you define that theme?
- How are the sharp class differences of industrial Britain represented in this visual source?
- How does this visual source connect the Industrial Revolution with Britain's colonial empire? Notice the figure in the upper right reclining in exotic splendor, perhaps in India.
- To what extent does the image correspond with Karl Marx and Frederick Engels's description of industrial society in Document 18.1 (pp. 856–59)?
- How might you understand the figure of the woman and small angel behind a door at the left?

Using the Evidence: Art and the Industrial Revolution

1. **Deciphering class:** In what different ways is social class treated in these visual sources?
2. **Celebrating industrialization:** Based on these visual sources, the documents on socialism (pp. 855–66), and the text of Chapter 18, construct an argument in celebration of the Industrial Revolution.
3. **Criticizing industrialization:** Construct another argument based on the evidence in the chapter criticizing the Industrial Revolution.
4. **Considering images as evidence:** What are the strengths and limitations of visual sources such as these in helping historians understand the Industrial Revolution?
5. **Distinguishing capitalism and industrialization:** To what extent are the visual sources in this section actually dealing with the Industrial Revolution itself and in what ways are they addressing the economic system known as capitalism? How useful is this distinction for understanding reactions to the industrial age?