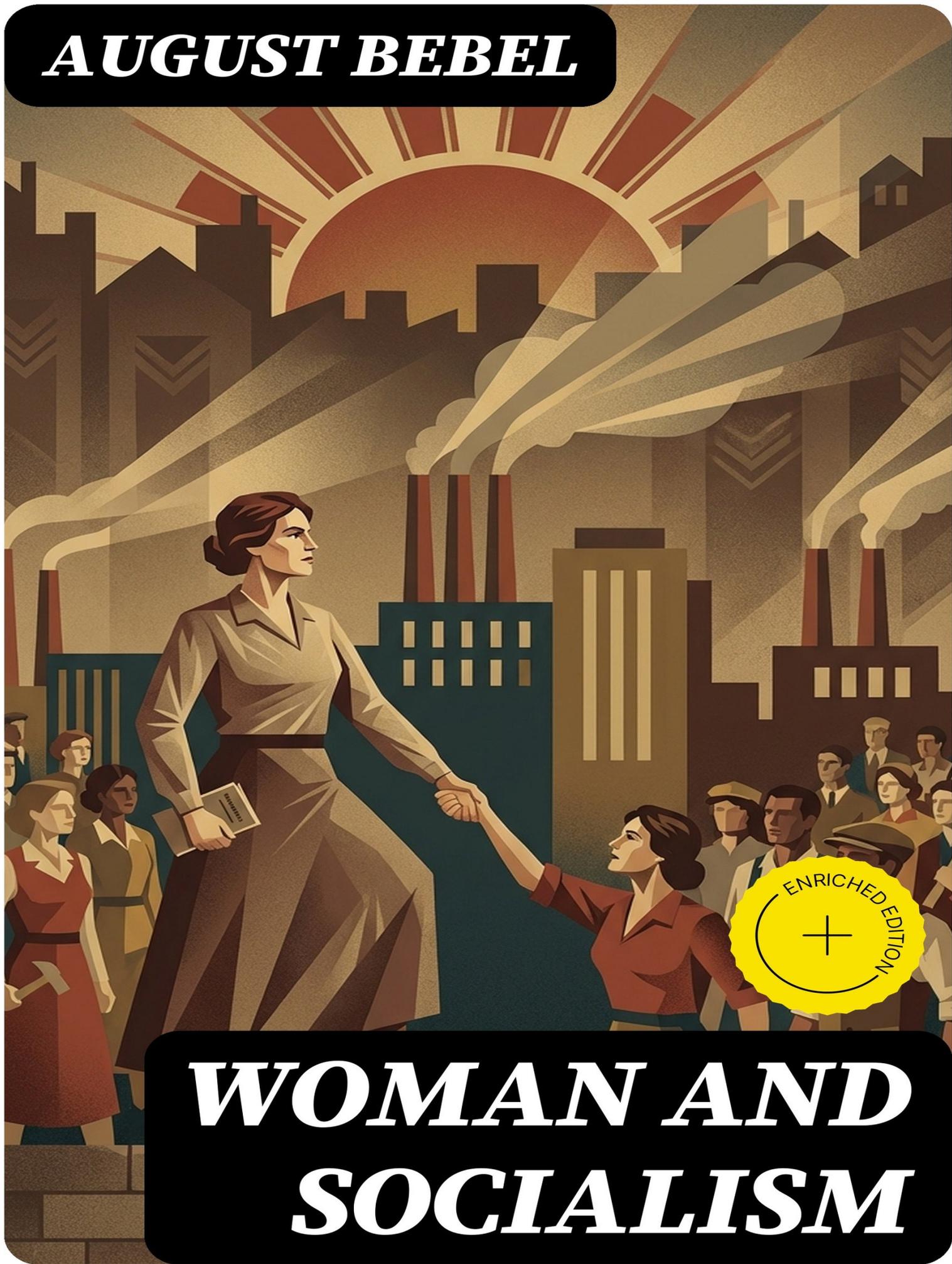
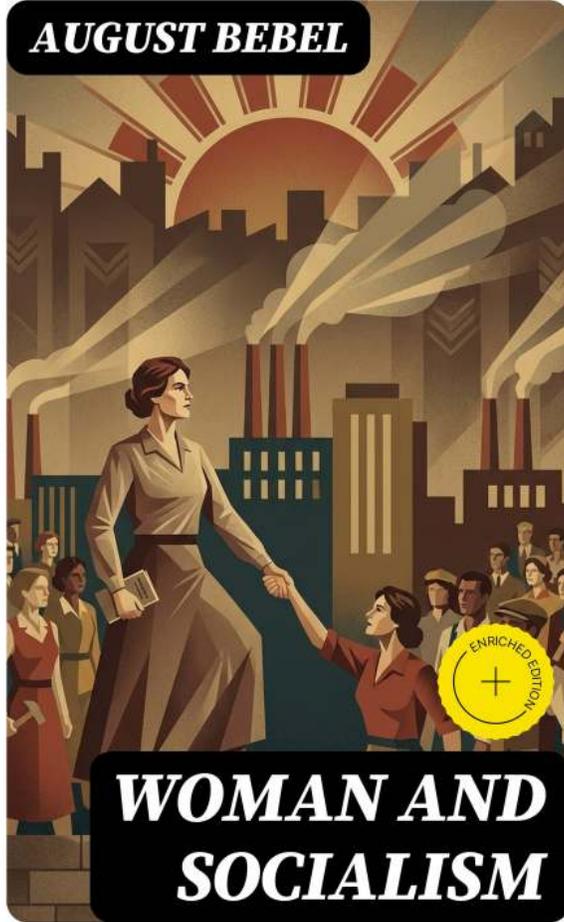


AUGUST BEBEL



**WOMAN AND
SOCIALISM**

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August Bebel

Woman and Socialism

Enriched edition.

Introduction, Studies and Commentaries by Brett Morgan

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Table of Contents

[Introduction](#)

[Synopsis](#)

[Historical Context](#)

[Woman and Socialism](#)

[Analysis](#)

[Reflection](#)

[Memorable Quotes](#)

[Notes](#)

Introduction

[Table of Contents](#)

At the heart of *Woman and Socialism* lies the unresolved contradiction of a modern society that celebrates liberty and progress while structuring economic life, domestic relations, and public power in ways that render women dependent, invisible, or expendable, a contradiction that August Bebel dissects to show how the emancipation of half the population is inseparable from the emancipation of all, how intimate life is shaped by political economy, and how freedom demands the remaking of institutions that determine who works, who cares, who decides, and who benefits from the wealth and possibilities generated by industrial modernity, and how social arrangements deemed natural are historically produced and open to deliberate change.

Written in the late nineteenth century amid rapid industrialization and the rise of organized socialism in Germany, *Woman and Socialism* is a work of political theory and social critique that situates questions of gender within the broader analysis of class, labor, and property. August Bebel, a prominent socialist parliamentarian and party leader, composes a wide-ranging treatise rather than a memoir or novel, speaking from the vantage of a movement confronting the upheavals of factory work, urbanization, and new forms of poverty. Its pages engage the social conditions of the time while advancing a programmatic vision aimed at readers across the emerging workers' movement.

Readers encounter a synthesis that moves from broad historical sketches to concrete observations about contemporary workplaces and households, written in an urgent, polemical voice that remains accessible and systematic. Bebel threads economic reasoning with moral argument, drawing on historical narratives and social observation to illuminate how family forms and labor markets interact. The style is declamatory yet organized, alternating exposition with critique, so the experience is less a detached academic treatise than an engaged public argument. Without relying on private anecdotes, the book builds a cumulative case, inviting readers to connect structural analysis with everyday realities without dictating a single emotional register.

Central to the book is the claim that women's subordination cannot be explained by nature or custom alone, but by economic structures that allocate work and resources through property relations. Bebel examines how marriage and family life reflect material arrangements, how access to education and employment conditions autonomy, and how unpaid domestic labor supports profit and public life while remaining undervalued. He analyzes the ways legal systems codify these inequalities and how cultural norms reinforce them, yet he

insists that the same forces that concentrate power can also be reorganized. The argument steadily reorients readers from individual shortcomings to systemic constraints and possibilities.

The constructive horizon of *Woman and Socialism* is an egalitarian social order in which economic independence, political participation, and shared responsibility for care become practical guarantees rather than private struggles. Equality is not framed as a mere extension of existing privileges, but as a reconfiguration of work, time, and resources through collective solutions that expand freedom for everyone. Bebel therefore links women's emancipation to broader transformations in production and governance, arguing that stable rights require material supports. The reform of laws matters, yet durable change, he contends, depends on reimagining how society organizes sustenance, education, and the daily labor that maintains life.

Contemporary readers will find in Bebel's analysis a vocabulary for ongoing debates about pay equity, care infrastructures, workplace discrimination, and the distribution of time and risk in a globalized economy. The book's insistence that household labor and wage labor are interdependent illuminates discussions of parental leave, childcare access, and the pressures of precarious work. Its focus on structural arrangements complements current conversations about representation, safety, and bodily autonomy by asking what economic conditions make rights real. Even where historical details reflect the period, the core questions—who bears the costs of social reproduction, and who controls the surplus it enables—remain urgent.

Approached today, *Woman and Socialism* reads as a foundational statement of socialist feminism as well as a snapshot of movement thinking in its formative decades, a text whose persuasive force lies in connecting personal conditions to public arrangements. Some formulations bear the marks of their era, yet the book's central insight—that emancipation is collective, institutional, and materially grounded—continues to challenge readers to think beyond individual remedies. As an introduction to the debates it helped shape, it prepares one to engage more deeply with histories of labor and gender while offering a principled framework for imagining a more capacious and practical freedom.

Synopsis

[Table of Contents](#)

August Bebel's *Woman and Socialism*, first published in 1879 and expanded in later editions, investigates the social condition of women through a socialist lens and argues that their full emancipation is inseparable from the broader liberation of the working class. Written by a prominent figure of the German labor movement, the book combines historical survey, social analysis, and programmatic proposals. Bebel situates women's subordination within the development of property relations and class society, seeking to show that prevailing gender arrangements arise from material conditions rather than immutable nature. The argument moves from history to contemporary critique and toward a transformative social alternative.

Beginning with pre-class communities and moving through antiquity and feudalism, Bebel sketches how changing modes of production altered family forms and women's status. As private property intensified, he argues, paternal authority and inheritance rules consolidated male dominance, while religious doctrine and civil law reinforced it. In this account, domestic labor is rendered invisible, and women's legal personhood is curtailed in matters of marriage, guardianship, and property. The aim is not antiquarian detail but a pattern: social structures shape gender relations, and when economies shift, familial norms follow. This framework underpins the book's subsequent examination of modern bourgeois society and its contradictions.

In his critique of contemporary life, Bebel analyzes the middle-class family as both an affective unit and an economic arrangement, contending that dependence within marriage reproduces hierarchy. Legal inequities, restricted education, and barriers to professions are presented as systemic, not accidental. He explores the double standard that condemns women while tolerating male sexual freedom, and he treats prostitution as a market outcome linked to poverty and unequal opportunities rather than personal failing. These observations culminate in a diagnosis: the private household and the wage system interact to confine women to unpaid or underpaid labor, sustaining social dependence behind a rhetoric of domestic virtue.

Industrialization, for Bebel, complicates this picture by pulling women into factories and workshops, where they encounter long hours, low wages, and precarious employment. He observes how economic necessity redraws family roles, strains motherhood, and exposes children to exploitative labor markets. Yet he also treats women's wage labor as historically significant, because participation in production undermines the premise of natural domestic

confinement. The analysis supports demands for equal pay, access to skilled trades, and measures safeguarding health and maternity. At the same time, Bebel contends that piecemeal reforms cannot overcome the structural dynamics that commodify both labor and intimate life.

The book's constructive core outlines a socialist reorganization of society intended to remove the economic basis of gender inequality. Collective ownership and coordinated production, Bebel argues, would enable broad public services—such as communal kitchens, laundries, and childcare—thereby socializing housework and freeing women and men for education, creativity, and civic participation. He advocates coeducation, universal access to learning, and full civil and political equality. In such conditions, personal relationships would be grounded in mutual inclination and responsibility rather than material compulsion, and parenting would be supported as a social concern, not privatized as an unequal domestic burden.

Strategically, Bebel links women's emancipation to the organized struggle of the working class while distinguishing his position from currents he deems narrowly liberal. He acknowledges the importance of legal reforms but argues that a feminism aligned solely with property-owning interests cannot address labor exploitation or the unpaid work that sustains households. Education, unionization, and political participation are presented as immediate tasks, coupled with a demand for equal suffrage and legal equality. Throughout, Bebel adopts a rationalist stance toward moral controversies, urging that questions of sexuality, family life, and social policy be considered in light of health, autonomy, and collective welfare.

Without relying on idealized portraits or mere denunciation, *Woman and Socialism* articulates a comprehensive case that gender justice is inseparable from a reordering of economic life. Its synthesis of history, social criticism, and practical proposals made it a foundational text for socialist and labor movements and a touchstone for later debates on care work, reproductive autonomy, and equality at work. Though written in a specific nineteenth-century context, the book's central question—how material structures mold intimate relations—retains relevance. Its enduring resonance lies in challenging readers to connect reforms in law and culture with the deeper organization of production and everyday life.

Historical Context

[Table of Contents](#)

August Bebel's *Woman and Socialism* emerged in the newly unified German Empire, founded in 1871 under Prussian leadership and chancellor Otto von Bismarck. Industrialization was transforming cities, labor, and family life, while the Reichstag provided limited parliamentary representation in an authoritarian constitutional monarchy. Bebel, a turner by trade and a cofounder of the German Social Democratic movement, wrote amid escalating repression: the Anti-Socialist Laws of 1878 banned socialist organizations, meetings, and press. First published in 1879 and revised repeatedly, his book addressed the political economy and social institutions of his time, intervening in debates on labor, citizenship, and the family.

German socialism had consolidated through the merger of two currents: Ferdinand Lassalle's ADAV (1863) and the Eisenach tendency of Wilhelm Liebknecht and Bebel, which formed the SDAP (1869). They united at Gotha in 1875, adopting a program that Karl Marx famously criticized for its compromises. Bebel and Liebknecht had already gained notoriety for opposing the Franco-Prussian War, leading to their 1872 imprisonment for high treason. After 1878, socialists were forced to organize clandestinely while still contesting Reichstag elections. This experience of persecution, parliamentary practice, and programmatic debates shaped Bebel's insistence that women's emancipation was inseparable from the broader socialist struggle.

In late nineteenth-century Germany, women faced entrenched legal and civic inequalities. They lacked voting rights at municipal and national levels and, until a 1908 reform of association law, were barred from membership in political parties. Access to higher education and many professions was severely restricted; substantial openings came only around 1900, and many aspiring students sought admission abroad, especially at the University of Zurich. The German Civil Code (*Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch*) of 1900 codified the husband's authority in marriage, including decision-making within the household and limits on a married woman's economic autonomy. These institutions formed the backdrop for Bebel's critique.

The German women's movement had organized since the 1860s through associations such as the Allgemeiner Deutscher Frauenverein (1865), led by figures including Louise Otto-Peters and Auguste Schmidt. Often middle-class and reformist, these groups prioritized education, employment access, and legal reforms but were cautious about class conflict. Social Democrats, by contrast, linked women's rights to a critique of capitalism and universal suffrage. Under

restrictive laws, SPD activists built separate networks and publications, later exemplified by Clara Zetkin's leadership and the journal *Die Gleichheit* from the 1890s. This landscape of bourgeois and socialist feminism informed the reception and uses of Bebel's arguments.

Public debates on sexuality and social hygiene intensified as cities expanded. Across many German municipalities, prostitution was regulated by police and medical authorities through registration and compulsory health examinations, a system that critics condemned as discriminatory. Transnational abolitionist campaigns, associated with activists like Josephine Butler, challenged regulationist regimes and double standards in sexual morality. Bebel's work intervened in these controversies by analyzing how economic dependence, poverty wages, and legal inequalities exposed women to exploitation. He situated questions of marriage, reproduction, and morality within broader structures of labor and power, arguing that social arrangements—not individual failings—underpinned contemporary gender relations.

Rapid industrialization drew large numbers of women into wage labor, particularly in textiles, domestic service, and factory piecework, typically at lower pay than men. Workdays were long, and the health consequences of industrial employment spurred protective legislation. A major revision of the Imperial Industrial Code in 1891 introduced restrictions on night work for women and young workers and strengthened Sunday rest provisions. Bismarck's pioneering social insurance laws—health (1883), accident (1884), and old-age and disability (1889)—addressed the “social question” while seeking to curb socialist influence. These reforms framed the terrain on which Bebel connected economic structures, class organization, and women's independence.

Bebel wrote in dialogue with socialist political economy and emerging social science. He shared analytical ground with Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and later stood alongside Engels's *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State* (1884), which drew on Lewis H. Morgan's anthropology to relate kinship forms to property relations. Socialist circles circulated ethnographic and historical studies to argue that gender hierarchies were historically contingent. Bebel assembled contemporary statistics, legal comparisons, and international examples to contest claims about “natural” female dependency. His synthesis reflected a broader nineteenth-century effort to anchor social critique in empirical research and historical development.

After the repeal of the Anti-Socialist Laws in 1890, the SPD adopted the Erfurt Program (1891), explicitly demanding equal rights and universal suffrage, and grew into Europe's largest socialist party, becoming the strongest Reichstag faction by 1912. *Woman and Socialism* went through many editions, was translated widely, and became a touchstone for socialist militants and readers of diverse backgrounds. It crystallized the era's conflicts over labor, citizenship,

and the family while indicting legal and economic institutions that sustained women's subordination. By linking emancipation to collective social transformation, Bebel's book offered a systematic critique of his age and a programmatic vision for change.

WOMAN AND SOCIALISM

[**Main Table of Contents**](#)

Introduction.

Woman in the Past.

CHAPTER I. The Position of Woman in Primeval Society.

CHAPTER II. Conflict between Matriarchate and Patriarchate.

CHAPTER III. Christianity.

CHAPTER IV. Woman in the Mediaeval Age.

CHAPTER V. The Reformation.

CHAPTER VI. The Eighteenth Century.

Woman at the Present Day.

CHAPTER VII. Woman as a Sex Being.

CHAPTER VIII. Modern Marriage.

CHAPTER IX. Disruption of the Family.

CHAPTER X. Marriage as a Means of Support.

CHAPTER XI. The Chances of Matrimony.

CHAPTER XII. Prostitution a Necessary Social Institution of Bourgeois Society.

CHAPTER XIII. Woman in Industry.

CHAPTER XIV. The Struggle of Women for Education.

CHAPTER XV. The Legal Status of Women.

The State and Society.

CHAPTER XVI. The Class-State and the Modern Proletariat.

CHAPTER XVII. The Process of Concentration in Capitalistic Industry.

CHAPTER XVIII. Crisis and Competition.

CHAPTER XIX. The Revolution in Agriculture.

The Socialization of Society.

CHAPTER XX. The Social Revolution.

CHAPTER XXI. Fundamental Laws of Socialistic Society.

CHAPTER XXII. Socialism and Agriculture.

CHAPTER XXIII. Abolition of the State.

CHAPTER XXIV. The Future of Religion.

CHAPTER XXV. The Socialist System of Education.

CHAPTER XXVI. Literature and Art in Socialistic Society.

CHAPTER XXVII. Free Development of Individuality.

CHAPTER XXVIII. Woman in the Future.

CHAPTER XXIX. Internationality.

CHAPTER XXX. The Question of Population and Socialism.

Conclusion.



Introduction.



Introduction.

Table of Contents



WE are living in an age of great social transformations that are steadily progressing. In all strata of society we perceive an unsettled state of mind and an increasing restlessness, denoting a marked tendency toward profound and radical changes. Many questions have arisen and are being discussed with growing interest in ever widening circles. One of the most important of these questions and one that is constantly coming into greater prominence, is the *woman question*[\[1\]](#).

The woman question deals with the position that woman should hold in our social organism, and seeks to determine how she can best develop her powers and her abilities, in order to become a useful member of human society, endowed with equal rights and serving society according to her best capacity. From our point of view this question coincides with that other question: In what manner should society be organized to abolish oppression, exploitation, misery and need, and to bring about the physical and mental welfare of individuals and of society as a whole? To us then, the woman question is only one phase of the general social question that at present occupies all intelligent minds; its final solution can only be attained by removing social extremes and the evils which are a result of such extremes.

Nevertheless, the woman question demands our special consideration. What the position of woman has been in ancient society, what her position is to-day and what it will be in the coming social order, are questions that deeply concern at least one half of humanity. Indeed, in Europe they concern a majority of organized society, because women constitute a majority of the population. Moreover, the prevailing conceptions concerning the development of woman's social position during successive stages of history are so faulty, that

enlightenment on this subject has become a necessity. Ignorance concerning the position of woman, chiefly accounts for the prejudice that the woman's movement has to contend with among all classes of people, by no means least among the women themselves. Many even venture to assert that there is no woman question at all, since woman's position has always been the same and will remain the same in the future, because nature has destined her to be a wife and a mother and to confine her activities to the home. Everything that is beyond the four narrow walls of her home and is not closely connected with her domestic duties, is not supposed to concern her.

In the woman question then we find two contending parties, just as in the labor question, which relates to the position of the workingman in human society. Those who wish to maintain everything as it is, are quick to relegate woman to her so-called "natural profession," believing that they have thereby settled the whole matter. They do not recognize that millions of women are not placed in a position enabling them to fulfill their natural function of wifeness and motherhood, owing to reasons that we shall discuss at length later on. They furthermore do not recognize that to millions of other women their "natural profession" is a failure, because to them marriage has become a yoke and a condition of slavery, and they are obliged to drag on their lives in misery and despair. But these wiseacres are no more concerned by these facts than by the fact that in various trades and professions millions of women are exploited far beyond their strength, and must slave away their lives for a meagre subsistence. They remain deaf and blind to these disagreeable truths, as they remain deaf and blind to the misery of the proletariat, consoling themselves and others by the false assertion that it has always been thus and will always continue to be so. That woman is entitled, as well as man, to enjoy all the achievements of civilization, to lighten her burdens, to improve her condition, and to develop all her physical and mental qualities, they refuse to admit. When, furthermore, told that woman—to enjoy full physical and mental freedom—should also be economically independent, should no longer depend for subsistence upon the good will and favor of the other sex, the limit of their patience will be reached. Indignantly they will pour forth a bitter indictment of the "madness of the age" and its "crazy attempts at emancipation." These are the old ladies of both sexes who cannot overcome the narrow circle of their prejudices. They are the human owls that dwell wherever darkness prevails, and cry out in terror whenever a ray of light is cast into their agreeable gloom.

Others do not remain quite as blind to the eloquent facts. They confess that at no time woman's position has been so unsatisfactory in comparison to general social progress, as it is at present. They recognize that it is necessary to investigate how the condition of the self-supporting woman can be improved; but in the case of married women they believe the social problem to be solved. They favor the admission of unmarried women only into a limited number of trades and professions. Others again are more advanced and insist that competition between the sexes should not be limited to the inferior trades and professions, but should be extended to all higher branches of learning and the arts and sciences as well. They demand equal educational opportunities and that women should be admitted to all institutions of learning, including the universities. They also favor the appointment of women to government positions, pointing out the results already achieved by women in such positions, especially in the United States. A few are even coming forward to demand equal political rights for women. Woman, they argue, is a human being and a member of organized society as well as man, and the very fact that men have until now framed and administered the laws to suit their own purposes and to hold woman in subjugation, proves the necessity of woman's participation in public affairs.

It is noteworthy that all these various endeavors do not go beyond the scope of the present social order. The question is not propounded whether any of these proposed reforms will accomplish a decisive and essential improvement in the condition of women. According to the conceptions of bourgeois, or capitalistic society, the civic equality of men and women is deemed an ultimate solution of the woman question. People are either unconscious of the fact, or deceive themselves in regard to it, that the admission of women to trades and industries is already practically accomplished and is being strongly favored by the ruling classes in their own interest. But under prevailing conditions woman's invasion of industry has the detrimental effect of increasing competition on the labor market, and the result is a reduction in wages for both male and female workers. It is clear then, that this cannot be a satisfactory solution.

Men who favor these endeavors of women within the scope of present society, as well as the bourgeois women who are active in the movement, consider complete civic equality of women the ultimate goal. These men and women then differ radically from those who, in their narrow-mindedness, oppose the movement. They differ radically from those men who are actuated by petty motives of selfishness and

fear of competition, and therefore try to prevent women from obtaining higher education and from gaining admission to the better paid professions. But there is no difference of class between them, such as exists between the worker and the capitalist.

If the bourgeois suffragists would achieve their aim and would bring about equal rights for men and women, they would still fail to abolish that sex slavery which marriage, in its present form, is to countless numbers of women; they would fail to abolish prostitution; they would fail to abolish the economic dependence of wives. To the great majority of women it also remains a matter of indifference whether a few thousand members of their sex, belonging to the more favored classes of society, obtain higher learning and enter some learned profession, or hold a public office. The general condition of the sex as a whole is not altered thereby.

The female sex as such has a double yoke to bear. Firstly, women suffer as a result of their social dependence upon men, and the inferior position allotted to them in society; formal equality before the law alleviates this condition, but does not remedy it. Secondly, women suffer as a result of their economic dependence, which is the lot of women in general, and especially of the proletarian women, as it is of the proletarian men.

We see, then, that all women, regardless of their social position, represent that sex which during the evolution of society has been oppressed and wronged by the other sex, and therefore it is to the common interest of all women to remove their disabilities by changing the laws and institutions of the present state and social order. But a great majority of women is furthermore deeply and personally concerned in a complete reorganization of the present state and social order which has for its purpose the abolition of wage-slavery, which at present weighs most heavily upon the women of the proletariat, as also the abolition of sex-slavery, which is closely connected with our industrial conditions and our system of private ownership.

The women who are active in the bourgeois suffrage movement, do not recognize the necessity of so complete a transformation. Influenced by their privileged social position, they consider the more radical aims of the proletarian woman's movement dangerous doctrines that must be opposed. The class antagonism that exists between the capitalist and working class and that is increasing with the growth of industrial problems, also clearly manifests itself then within the woman's movement. Still these sister-women, though antagonistic to each other on class lines, have a great many more

points in common than the men engaged in the class struggle, and though they march in separate armies they may strike a united blow. This is true in regard to all endeavors pertaining to equal rights of woman under the present social order; that is, her right to enter any trade or profession adapted to her strength and ability, and her right to civic and political equality. These are, as we shall see, very important and very far-reaching aims. Besides striving for these aims, it is in the particular interest of proletarian women to work hand in hand with proletarian men for such measures and institutions that tend to protect the working woman from physical and mental degeneration, and to preserve her health and strength for a normal fulfillment of her maternal functions. Furthermore, it is the duty of the proletarian woman to join the men of her class in the struggle for a thorough-going transformation of society, to bring about an order that by its social institutions will enable both sexes to enjoy complete economic and intellectual independence.

Our goal then is, not only to achieve equality of men and women under the present social order, which constitutes the sole aim of the bourgeois woman's movement, but to go far beyond this, and to remove all barriers that make one human being dependent upon another, which includes the dependence of one sex upon the other. *This* solution of the woman question is identical with the solution of the social question. They who seek a complete solution of the woman question must, therefore, join hands with those who have inscribed upon their banner the solution of the social question in the interest of all mankind—the Socialists.

The Socialist Party is the only one that has made the full equality of women, their liberation from every form of dependence and oppression, an integral part of its program; not for reasons of propaganda, but from necessity. *For there can be no liberation of mankind without social independence and equality of the sexes.*

All Socialists will probably agree with the fundamental principles herein expressed. But the same cannot be said in regard to the manner in which we picture the realization of our ultimate aims, that is, in regard to the particular form that institutions should take to bring about that desired independence and equality for all. As soon as we forsake the firm foundation of reality, and begin to depict the future, there is a wide field for speculation. A difference of opinion immediately arises as to what is probable or improbable. Whatever, therefore, is stated in this book concerning future probabilities, must be regarded as the personal opinion of the author, and eventual

attacks must be directed against his person, because he assumes full responsibility for his statements. Attacks, that are honestly meant and are objective in character, will be welcome; those that distort the contents of this book or are founded upon an untruthful interpretation of their meaning, will be ignored. It remains to be said, that in the following chapters all conclusions should be drawn which become necessary for us to draw, as a result of our investigation of facts. To be unprejudiced is the first requirement for a recognition of the truth, and only by expressing without reserve that which is and that which is to be, can we attain our ends.



Woman in the Past.



Woman in the Past.

[Table of Contents](#)

CHAPTER I. The Position of Woman in Primeval Society.

[Table of Contents](#)

1.—Chief Epochs of Primeval History.



IT is the common lot of woman and worker to be oppressed. The forms of oppression have differed in successive ages and in various countries, but the oppression itself remained. During the course of historic development the oppressed ones have frequently recognized their oppression, and this recognition has led to an amelioration of their condition; but it remained for our day to recognize the fundamental causes of this oppression, both in regard to the woman and in regard to the worker. It was necessary to understand the true nature of society and the laws governing social evolution, before an effective movement could develop for the

purpose of abolishing conditions that had come to be regarded as unjust. But the extent and profoundness of such a movement depend upon the amount of insight prevailing among those strata of society affected by the unjust conditions, as also upon the freedom of action possessed by them. In both respects woman, owing to custom, education and lack of freedom, is less advanced than the worker. Moreover, conditions that have prevailed for generations finally become a habit, and heredity as well as education make them appear “natural” to both parties concerned. That explains why women accept their inferior position as a matter of course, and do not recognize that it is an unworthy one, and that they should strive to obtain equal rights with men, and to become equally qualified members of society.

But whatever similarities exist between the position of woman and that of the workingman, woman has one precedence over the workingman. She is the first human being which came into servitude. Women were slaves before men.

All social dependence and oppression is rooted in the economic dependence of the oppressed upon the oppressor. Woman—so we are taught by the history of human development—has been in this position since an early stage.

Our understanding of this development is comparatively recent. Just as the myth of the creation of the world, as taught by the Bible, could

not be maintained in face of innumerable and indisputable facts founded upon modern, scientific investigation, it also became impossible to maintain the myth of the creation and development of man. Not all phases of the history of evolution have as yet been elucidated. Difference of opinion still exists among scientists in regard to one or another of the natural phenomena and their relation to each other; but, on the whole, clearness and a general consension of opinion prevails. It is certain that man has not made his appearance upon the earth as a civilized being—as the Bible asserts of the first human pair—but that in the long course of ages he gradually evolved from a mere animal condition, and that he passed through various stages during which his social relations as well as the relations between man and woman experienced many transformations.

The convenient assertion that is resorted to daily by ignorant or dishonest people, both in regard to the relation between man and woman as also in regard to the relation between the rich and the poor—the assertion that it has always been thus and will always continue to be so—is utterly false, superficial and contrary to the truth in every respect.

A cursory description of the relations of the sexes since primeval days is of special importance for the purpose of this book. For it seeks to prove that, if in the past progress of human development, these relations have been transformed as a result of the changing methods of production and distribution, it

is obvious that a further change in the methods of production and distribution must again lead to a new transformation in the relation of the sexes. Nothing is eternal, either in nature or in human life; change is the only eternal factor.

As far as we can look backward along the line of human evolution, we see the horde^[1] representing the first human community. Only when the horde increased in numbers to such an extent that it became difficult to obtain the necessary means of subsistence, which originally consisted of roots, seeds and fruit, a disbanding of the members resulted, and new dwelling places were sought for.

We have no written records of this almost animal-like stage, but studies of the various stages of civilization among extinct and living savages prove that such a stage has at one time existed. Man has not stepped into life as a highly civilized being, upon a command from the Creator, but has passed through a long, infinitely slow process of evolution, and in the ups and downs of wavering periods of development, and in a constant process of differentiation, in all climes and in all quarters of the globe, has passed through many stages until finally climbing the height of his present civilization.

And while in some parts of the globe great nations represent the most advanced stage of civilization, we find other peoples in various places representing varied stages of development. These present to us a vivid picture of our own past, and point out to us

along which roads humanity has traveled in its long course of evolution. If we shall at some time succeed in establishing general and definite aspects according to which sociological investigations shall be conducted, an abundance of facts will result, destined to cast a new light upon the relations of men in the past and the present. Events will then seem comprehensible and natural, that at present are quite beyond our comprehension, and that superficial critics frequently condemn as irrational, sometimes even as immoral. Scientific researches, commenced by Backofen[2], and since continued by a considerable number of learned men as Taylor, MacLennan, Lubbock and others, have gradually lifted the veil from the earliest history of our race. These investigations were elaborated by Morgan's able book, and to this again Frederick Engels has added a number of historic facts, economic and political in character. Recently these researches have been partly confirmed and partly corrected by Cunow.[2]

The clear and vivid descriptions given by Frederick Engels in his splendid work, that is founded upon Morgan's investigations, have cast a flood of light upon many factors in the histories of peoples representing various stages of development; factors that until that time had seemed irrational and incomprehensible. They have enabled us to obtain an insight into the gradual upbuilding of the social structure. As a result of such insight we perceive that

our former conceptions in regard to marriage, family and state, have been founded upon utterly false premises. But whatever has been proven concerning marriage, family and state, is equally true in regard to the position of woman, which, in the various stages of social development, has differed radically from what is supposed to be woman's "eternal" position.

Morgan divides the history of mankind—and this division is also adopted by Engels—into three chief epochs: savagery, barbarism and civilization. Each of the two earlier periods he subdivides into a lower, a medium and a higher stage, because these stages differ in regard to fundamental improvements in the method of obtaining the means of subsistence. Those changes which occur from time to time in the social systems of nations as a result of improved methods of production, Morgan considers one of the chief characteristics in the progress of civilization, which is quite in keeping with the materialistic conception of history as laid down by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Thus the lowest stage in the period of savagery represents the childhood of mankind. During this stage men still were tree-dwellers, and fruit and roots constituted their chief nourishment; but even then articulated language began to take form. The medium stage of savagery begins with the consumption of small animals such as fish, crabs, etc., for food, and with the discovery of fire. Men begin to manufacture weapons, clubs and spears

made of wood and stone, and this means the inception of the hunt and probably also of war among neighboring hordes, who contended with one another for the sources of nourishment and the most desirable dwelling places and hunting grounds. At this stage also cannibalism appears, which is still met with among some tribes in Africa, Australia and Polynesia. The higher stage of savagery is characterized by the invention of the bow and arrow; the invention of the art of weaving; the making of mats and baskets from bast and reeds, and the manufacture of stone implements.

As the beginning of the lowest stage of barbarism, Morgan denotes the invention of pottery. Man learns the domestication of wild animals with the resultant production of meat and milk, and thereby obtains the use of hides, horns and furs for the most varied purposes. Hand in hand with the domestication of animals, agriculture begins to develop. In the western part of the world corn is cultivated; in the eastern part, almost all kinds of grain, with the exception of corn, is grown. During the medium stage of barbarism we find an increasing domestication of useful animals in the East, and in the West we find an improved cultivation of nourishing plants with the aid of artificial irrigation. The use of stones and sun-dried bricks for building purposes is also originated at this time. Domestication and breeding favor the formation of herds and flocks and lead to a pastoral life, and the necessity of producing larger quantities

52 Refers to Madame de Pompadour (Jeanne Antoinette Poisson), the chief mistress of King Louis XV of France, known for her patronage of the arts and political influence at the French court in the mid-18th century.

53 French for 'the rights of man,' commonly referring to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen proclaimed during the French Revolution (1789), which asserted individual and collective rights but was originally framed in terms of men rather than women.

54 A month name from the French Republican (revolutionary) calendar; dates in the Revolutionary calendar are often cited alongside Gregorian dates (here 28 Brumaire is given as November 20, 1793).

55 Likely refers to the St. Gotthard (Gothard) Tunnel through the Swiss Alps, a major 19th-century transport tunnel (the original rail tunnel opened in 1882) that significantly eased north-south European trade and transit.

56 Refers to the Universal Postal Union, an intergovernmental organization established in 1874 to coordinate international mail standards, rates and delivery among member countries; 19th- and early-20th-century texts often call it the Postal Union.

57 Refers to Ernst Haeckel (1834–1919), a German biologist and popularizer of Darwinian ideas who wrote works such as *Natural History of the Creation*; in late 19th-early 20th-century debates he was sometimes invoked for views that applied biological metaphors to social policy, including support for severe punishments mentioned in the text.

58 A Marxist economic term for the value produced by workers in excess of the wages they receive; this unpaid portion is regarded as the source of profit, interest and rent appropriated by capitalists.

59 The Zollverein was the 19th-century German customs union (established 1834) that created a common tariff and facilitated economic integration among many German states; in Bebel's era it commonly referred to the German customs territory.

60 Ives Guyot (more commonly spelled Yves Guyot, 1843–1928) was a French economist and politician known for his free-trade views; he addressed the International Institute of Statistics in 1907 and is cited here for disputing the use of the word "concentration."

61 Charles Booth was a British social researcher whose multi-volume survey 'Life and Labour of the People in London' (published circa 1889–1903) systematically documented poverty and working-class conditions in London and influenced later social statistics.

62 In late 19th- and early 20th-century usage, "drummers" meant traveling salesmen or commercial travellers who solicited orders and promoted goods to retailers and customers—an occupation now usually described with terms like 'salesman' or 'traveling representative.'

63 Chevalier is the chemist Bebel cites for laboratory analyses of food adulteration (counts of methods used on coffee, wine, flour, etc.); the chapter gives only the surname, so the exact individual is not specified here but refers to a 19th-century analytical chemist whose published tests documented common adulterants.

64 An "entailed estate" refers to land subject to an entail (legal restriction) that keeps the property tied to a family line and prevents sale, division, or free disposal; such entails (also called fee tail) were common in 19th-century European inheritance law and limited owners' ability to alienate holdings.

65 Here "yokes" denotes a historical unit of land area (from German/Austrian joch), used in parts of Central Europe; one yoke is roughly 0.5–0.6 hectares (about 1.2–1.5 acres), so 70,000 yokes would be on the order of tens of thousands of hectares (approximate).

66 Parvus was the pen name of Alexander Helphand (1867–1924), a Russian-born Marxist publicist and theoretician active around the turn of the 20th century; he wrote on Russian economic and social conditions and is co-credited with the work cited here, often translated as "Starving Russia."

67 Refers to the formal set of policies and principles adopted by socialist parties or movements (in Bebel's time, typically late-19th-century European groups) that outlined aims such as equal rights, abolition of class privileges, and social ownership of production.

68 A French phrase traditionally attributed to King Louis XIV (1643–1715), usually translated "I am the state"; it expresses the doctrine of absolute monarchy, though historians note the exact wording may be a later paraphrase rather than a contemporaneous quotation.

69 Large business combinations or cartels, especially common in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, formed by manufacturers or companies to coordinate production and fix prices across competing firms; such arrangements led to legal and political responses (often called antitrust laws) in several countries.

70 Thuenen refers to Johann Heinrich von Thünen (1783–1850), a German economist whose book *The Isolated State* analyzed agricultural land use, location theory and economic rent and discussed how increases in national income may not proportionally benefit workers.

71 A reference to *The Quarterly Review*, a prominent 19th-century British literary and political periodical (founded in 1809) that influenced public debate and published reviews and commentary on politics, economics, and culture.

72 Named in the text as a 'famous English physicist' speaking at the British Association in Winnipeg in August 1909; the initial 'S.' and timing suggest this may refer to Sir Silvanus P. Thompson (1851–1916), an English electrical

engineer and author, but the abbreviated form in the source makes precise identification uncertain.

73 Refers to Marcellin Berthelot (1827–1907), a leading French chemist and former Minister of Public Instruction noted for his work in thermochemistry and synthetic organic chemistry; the text cites an address he delivered and records his death on March 18, 1907.

74 Count Leo Tolstoi (usually spelled Tolstoy) was a Russian novelist and social thinker (1828–1910), author of works such as *War and Peace* and *Anna Karenina*, who later wrote on moral, religious, and social reform advocating simple living.

75 Owen refers to Robert Owen (1771–1858), a Welsh textile manufacturer and early social reformer who pioneered cooperative labor practices (e.g., New Lanark) and advocated shorter working hours and other improvements for workers in the early 19th century.

76 The Prussian 'three-class' electoral system (Dreiklassenwahlrecht), instituted in the mid-19th century (around 1849), ranked voters into three groups by the amount of taxes they paid and allocated representation so that wealthier taxpayers had disproportionately greater voting influence than poorer citizens.

77 Here “the March” likely refers to the historical region called the Mark (Mark Brandenburg) surrounding Berlin — a northeastern German borderland long noted for its sandy, poor soils and sometimes called simply the March in 19th-century English-language texts.

78 P.Mack is cited in the footnote as an Althof-Ragnit cavalry captain and owner of a manorial estate who published a study in Königsberg in 1900 on the use of machinery and electricity in agriculture, including estimates of labor and cost savings.

79 The phrase refers to a German newspaper almost certainly meant to be the *Vossische Zeitung* (Berliner *Vossische Zeitung*), a long-running liberal daily published in Berlin; Bebel is citing an article from its 27 Sept. 1890 issue (the spelling here matches the text of this edition).

80 St. Florian refers to Saint Florian, an early Christian martyr (traditionally d. c. 304) venerated especially in Central Europe as the patron saint invoked for protection from fire and floods; his name appears in proverbial pleas for saving one’s own property even at others’ expense.

81 Professor Adolf Wagner was a German economist and university professor active in the mid- to late-19th century, known for influential textbooks on political economy; Bebel here cites Wagner’s views on the economic and social role of small farms.

82 Mammon is a biblical personification of wealth and avarice; the phrase 'Temples of Mammon' is a figurative 19th-century expression for institutions

devoted to profit (for example banks, stock-exchanges and similar money-making establishments).

83 An early essay by Karl Marx (published 1843) that critiques Hegel's philosophy of law and links religion and law to social conditions; the work is commonly referenced in English as Marx's critique of Hegel's philosophy of right.

84 Likely refers to Eduard Lasker (1829–1884), a German liberal jurist and parliamentarian who served in the Reichstag (German diet) and was known for liberal legal and political reforms; he was a public opponent of socialist policies.

85 Lausitz (Lusatia) is a historical region in eastern Germany; the Spreewald is a nearby forested wetland area in Brandenburg historically known for its rural communities and waterways, from which seasonal labor (such as wet-nurses) was sometimes recruited for Berlin.

86 Richard Wagner was a mid-19th-century German composer and conductor best known for his operas; he participated in the revolutionary events in Dresden (1849) and, around 1849–1850, published polemical writings such as "Art and Revolution" arguing that social change would transform art.

87 Refers to Ivan Petrovich Pavlov (commonly transliterated Pavlov), a Russian physiologist (1849–1936) known for experimental research on digestion and for discovering conditioned reflexes; his laboratory studied gastric juices and the role of sensory stimulation in digestive processes.

88 George Sand is the pen name of Amantine Lucile Aurore Dupin (1804–1876), a French novelist and essayist noted for her prolific literary work and an unconventional personal life that often challenged 19th-century gender norms.

89 Likely refers to Helmuth von Moltke the Elder (1800–1891), the Prussian Field Marshal and chief of the General Staff who directed Prussian operations in the 1870–71 Franco-Prussian War and published memoirs and studies on that conflict.

90 Thomas Robert Malthus (1766–1834) was an English cleric and political economist who published *An Essay on the Principle of Population* (first edition 1798), arguing that population tends to grow faster than food supply and thereby influencing debates on poverty, demography, and social policy.

91 Latifundia refers to very large landed estates—originally in ancient Rome but used later for similar concentrated estates in Europe and the Americas—often worked by tenants or left for grazing/hunting, and associated with land concentration and displacement of small farmers.

92 Virchow refers to Rudolf Virchow (1821–1902), a German physician, pathologist and public-health reformer who wrote on social conditions and medicine in the mid-19th century; the citation here is to his observations on living conditions and population in regions such as Upper Silesia.

93 Adherents of the ideas of Thomas Malthus (late 18th–early 19th century English economist), who argued that unchecked population growth tends to