

FRIEDRICH A. SORGE'S

*LABOR MOVEMENT
IN THE UNITED STATES*

A History of the American
Working Class from
Colonial Times to 1890

*edited by Philip S. Foner and
Brewster Chamberlin*

CONTRIBUTIONS IN ECONOMICS AND ECONOMIC HISTORY

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introduction by Philip S. Foner

*translated by Brewster Chamberlin
and Angela Chamberlin*

Contributions in Economics and
Economic History, Number 15



GREENWOOD PRESS

Westport, Connecticut • London, England

**This translation is dedicated
to the memory of
Kenneth D. Faris
1931–1966
and
Friedrich Wilhelm Krüger
1935–1975**

**The introduction is dedicated to Heinrich
Gemkow, Ursula Herrmann, Helmut Kresse,
Rosie Rudich, Horst Schumacher, and Heinz
Vosske of the Institut für Marxismus-
Leninismus, Berlin**



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PREFACE

For several decades, students of American labor and socialist history have seen in the notes and bibliographies of such studies as John R. Commons et al., *History of Labour in the United States* (New York, 1918), Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States* (New York, 1947), Samuel Bernstein, *The First International in America* (New York, 1965), David Montgomery, *Beyond Equality: Labor and the Radical Republicans, 1862-1872* (New York, 1967), David Herreshoff, *American Disciples of Marx: From the Age of Jackson to the Progressive Era* (Detroit, 1967), Samuel Bruce Kaufman, *Samuel Gompers and the Origins of the American Federation of Labor, 1848-1896* (Westport, Conn., 1973), and in articles in scholarly journals, references to Friedrich A. Sorge, "Der Arbeiterbewegung in den Vereinigten Staaten," *Die Neue Zeit* (1891-1895). (*Die Neue Zeit* was the theoretical journal of the German Social Democratic Party, published in Berlin.) Those who knew German were able to read these articles on the history of the labor movement in the United States in the original, while others arranged to have translations made of special sections in which they were interested.

Several years ago, I reached the conclusion that the fact that these articles were still untranslated left a serious gap in available sources in American labor history. After all, Friedrich A. Sorge was the leading Marxist in the United States in the post-Civil War era, an intimate colleague and constant correspondent of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, the General Secretary of the International Workingmen's Association (First International) from 1872 to 1874, and a man who was personally involved in many of the events he was discussing in *Die Neue Zeit*. In short, the articles comprised a basic source for understanding the development of the American labor movement. Yet in the

German language, they could be useful only to a limited number of scholars and an even more limited number of workers.

During a trans-Atlantic crossing from Germany, I had the good fortune to meet Dr. Brewster Chamberlin and his wife, Angela. In the course of one of our discussions aboard the *Bremen*, I mentioned the importance of having Sorge's articles translated. By the time the ship landed in New York, we had jointly agreed to prepare the work for publication in English. Dr. Chamberlin, whose specialty is the history of Germany, and his German-born wife would undertake the translation of the articles, and Dr. Chamberlin and I would edit them, making clear for the present-day readers those references by Sorge that needed amplification, and, where necessary, correcting errors that were perhaps inevitable in the light of the more limited primary sources on American labor history available to Sorge in the 1880s and 1890s compared to what has become available in the twentieth century.

Sorge's notes have been included along with the editors' notes in the back section of the work. Also included as an appendix is Sorge's only work in the English language—the pamphlet *Socialism and the Worker*, published in New York in 1876 and reprinted in England a few years later.

Sorge concluded the *Labor Movement in the United States* with Chapters 9, "The Two Major Labor Organizations," and 11, "Epilogue," of the present volume. However, he continued to send articles to *Die Neue Zeit* dealing with major strikes, political activities, unemployed demonstrations, and other events in the world of labor from 1892 to almost the end of the century. These additional articles make a full-size book by themselves; they are being translated, and will be published in a separate volume. I have included one of these articles in Chapter 10, "Homestead and Coeur d'Alene," so the reader can see how Sorge dealt with these issues.

On January 6, 1892, Engels informed Sorge: "I wrote K. Kautsky a few days ago and instructed him to inquire of Dietz regarding the reprinting of your articles in a separate book; I am still waiting for a reply." (Dietz was the official publishing house of the German Social Democratic Party.) Nothing came of Engels' suggestion so far as Germany was concerned. But in 1907 Vek publishing house in St. Petersburg, Russia, published the book *F. Sorge. The Labor Movement in the United States*, a Russian translation of Sorge's articles. The book of over 250 pages opened with Sorge's Introduction and ended with Chapter 7, 1886–1892. It did not, however, include any biographical material about Sorge or notes explaining the references in his articles other than those furnished by Sorge himself. The present volume is the first to make Sorge's articles available in book form together with this biographical and explanatory information.

Philip S. Foner



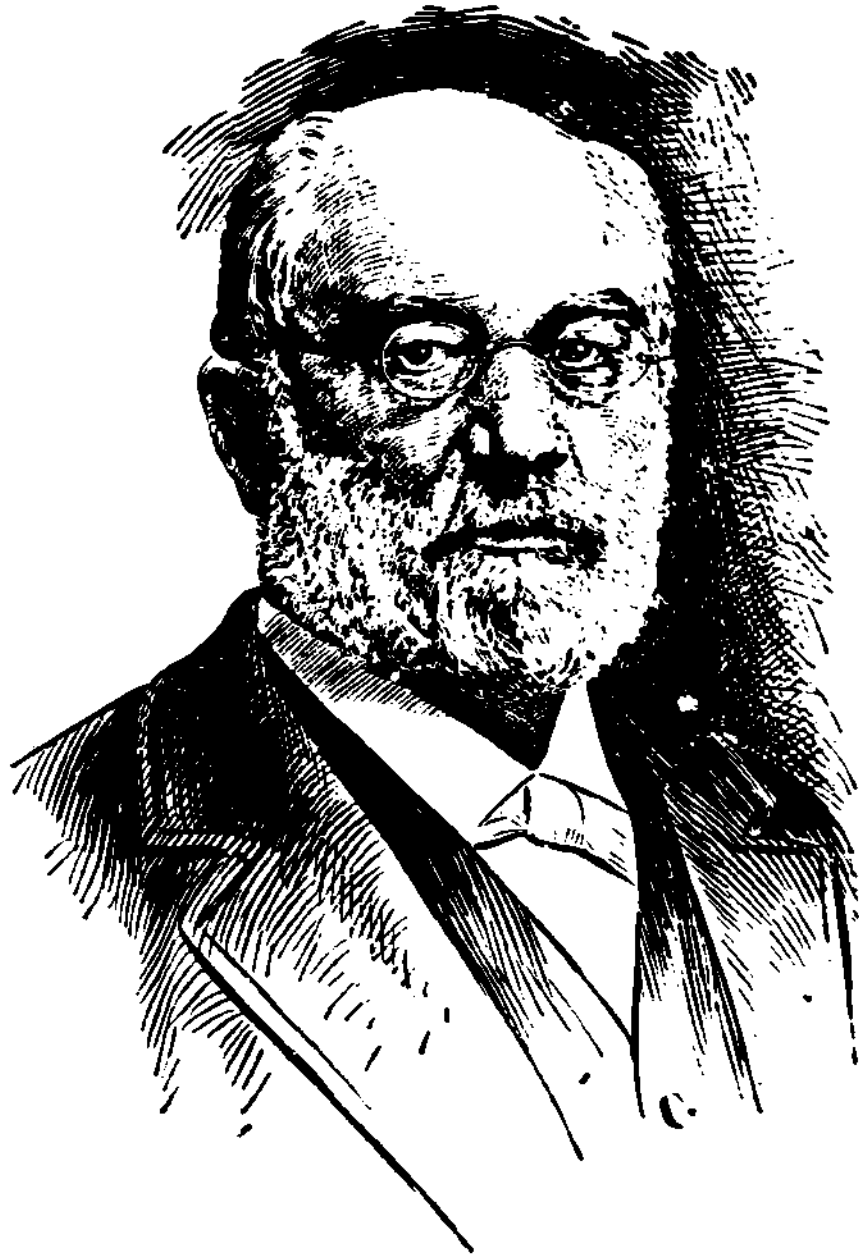
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The translators and editors would like to thank the staffs of the following libraries and historical societies for their kind assistance: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Tamiment Institute Library of New York University, Library of Congress, New York Public Library, Boston Public Library, Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus, Berlin, and Forschungsstelle fuer die Geschichte des Nationalsozialismus, Hamburg.

The editors would also like to thank Denise Moore for typing the final draft and both Ms. Moore and Denise Senstad for their assistance in proofreading the manuscript. Angela Chamberlin not only shared the duties of translator but was of inestimable help in correcting the final typescript as well.

Brewster Chamberlin
Philip S. Foner

FRIEDRICH A. SORGE'S
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R. H. Cerge.

FRIEDRICH ADOLPH SORGE: “FATHER OF MODERN SOCIALISM IN AMERICA”¹

by Philip S. Foner

Friedrich Adolph Sorge was born in Bethau bei Torgau, Saxony, on November 9, 1828, the son of Georg Wilhelm and Hedwig Klothilde (Lange) Sorge. His father was a freethinking pastor, one of the “Saxon ‘friends of light’ who played a very respectable role” in the pre-1848 development of liberalism. Sorge’s home became a way station on the underground railroad that led from France and Belgium to Poland; Polish revolutionaries often stayed there overnight and then moved five or six miles farther to the next station. During this period, Robert Blum, young Sorge’s first revolutionary hero, planned the Polish uprising that was to have opened the gates to the Cracow citadel.

As was the case in the homes of many Protestant pastors, Sorge’s father taught his numerous children himself and delved with them rather deeply into classical languages, history, and literature. The brief formal education young Sorge received at the Frankesschen Stiftungen, the free seminary in Halle, was interrupted by the revolutionary upheavals of 1848. Sorge joined a band of armed revolutionaries in Saxony, but the counterrevolutionaries won, and the twenty-year-old youth escaped to Switzerland. When news reached the exile in mid-June 1849 of the uprising against the regime in Baden, Sorge quickly returned to join the armed revolutionaries. The German revolutionary army was made up, in the main, of workers and journeymen-artisans and included some of the key revolutionaries of the period—among them, members of the Communist League like Friedrich Engels, August Willich (later a Union general in the U.S. Civil War), and Johann Philipp Becker. Engels, aide-de-camp to Willich, and Sorge, also in Willich’s company, were in the thick of the fight against the Prussians in various battles in Baden and Palati-

nate. But the revolutionary army was forced to give way before counter-revolutionary troops four times greater in number, and in mid-July, the Baden and Palatinate uprising was crushed. Its defeat brought to an end the bourgeois-democratic revolution in Germany.²

The triumphant counterrevolution executed hundreds, arrested thousands, and forced thousands more to emigrate. Sorge once again made his way south, where he was interned at Freiburg, but in September he was released and permitted to settle in Geneva. The pedagogical talent developed in his father's parsonage enabled him to keep body and soul together in the misery of exile by obtaining work as a music teacher. In his spare time, he spent hours in the Workers' Cultural Society of which Wilhelm Liebknecht, soon to become the leading Marxist of Germany, was the founder and dominant figure. There he came to know such men as the Marxist Johann Philipp Becker, the "True Socialist" Moses Hess, and other radicals.

Perhaps because of his activities involving various radical groups, the Swiss police forced him to leave the country. This time, Sorge moved to Liège, Belgium, where one of his brothers lived. The Belgian police reacted in the same way as the Swiss and soon ordered his expulsion. Unable to return to Germany, where he had been condemned to death in absentia because of his role in the revolution, and unwilling to chance living under Napoleon III's authoritarian rule in France, he chose England. But in London, Sorge was unable to find employment, and he had trouble with the language. He therefore decided to leave Europe entirely. Because of his antipathy to the slave system in the South and the impact of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 on the North, he planned to go to Australia rather than to the United States. Indeed, it was really by accident that, stricken with cholera and weak and dazed, he was placed aboard the wrong ship—one that sailed for New York and not the South Seas. He landed in New York on June 21, 1852, arriving in a country where, as Franz Mehring notes, he was destined to display "an important historical effectiveness."³

There was nothing to indicate this destiny when Sorge arrived in the New World. He had met Marx in London before he left England, but the meeting had been very casual, and Sorge himself was not yet sufficiently impressed with Marx's ideas to become a Marxist. To be sure, he was no political novice, but he was still basically a bourgeois radical when he arrived in New York.⁴

Like most other immigrants, Sorge had to struggle for the simple necessities of life. He rarely spoke of this period of hard times, but later, when a fellow German praised the glories of the view of New York harbor from the benches of the Battery, Sorge drily remarked that he had once spent many nights, hungry and freezing, on those very benches. It is difficult to determine exactly how long the hard times lasted, but Sorge did soon begin to earn a living as a music teacher, and a few years after he landed in New York, he

wed a young German immigrant Mathilde, with whom he spent more than fifty years in marriage. During the winter of 1872-1873, one of their children died, and another followed in 1877. A third child, Adolf, survived and spent the summer of 1881 visiting Marx and Engels in England.

By that time Sorge was one of the closest associates of Marx and Engels and their most fervent disciple in the United States. He was known as the "Nestor of American social democracy,"⁵ but this reputation was largely a post-Civil War development. It is true that soon after his arrival in the United States, Sorge met Joseph Weydemeyer, the friend of Marx and Engels who had emigrated to America at the end of 1851, and through both his newspapers, *Die Revolution* and *Die Reform*, and the *Proletarierbund* and the American Labor Union, laid the foundations of Marxism in the United States. But after giving Weydemeyer a detailed account of the German workers' society in London, Sorge remained aloof from the pioneer American Marxist's efforts to build an American labor federation that would unite American and foreign born and skilled and unskilled workers—an organization combining working class political and trade union demands.⁶ Nor did he involve himself in Weydemeyer's efforts to break the hold on German-American workers of Wilhelm Weitling, a veteran of the revolutionary movement in Europe who styled himself a "communist" but was fundamentally a utopian. For Weitling, the labor movement was merely an instrument through which to spread his utopian schemes of cooperative handicraft enterprises and labor exchange banks aimed at freeing workers from the prevailing system of wage slavery. Like other utopians, Weitling regarded the struggle for wage and hour improvements as unimportant compared to the movement for a cooperative system of industry. He considered trade unions useful only because they brought workers together and made converting them to his broader program easier. He dismissed political action as useless because he believed the politicians would always betray the working class. Only cooperative handicraft enterprises and exchange banks would enable the workers to liberate themselves from the state and capitalist society.⁷

Sorge learned something of Weitling's ideas during his first American winter, when he worked for three dollars a week in the New York headquarters of Weitling's *Arbeiterbund*. He also became familiar with Weydemeyer's attack on Weitling's ideas and with the Marxist's emphasis on the need for struggling for immediate demands and for organizing workers into trade unions that combined economic and political issues. He also learned of his efforts to steer the German-American workers in the direction of scientific socialism and away from Weitling's utopianism. But Sorge remained neutral in the dispute, and for his first five years in the United States he was politically inactive. He devoted whatever time he could spare from building a career as a music teacher to two groups. One was the secret Order of Secularists in New York City, a society of freethinkers founded in London to

propagate rationalism. The other was the American branch of the *Bund für Deutsche Freiheit und Einheit* (League for German Freedom and Unity), an organization dedicated to the liberation of Germany from autocracy by aiding the revolutionists who still remained in that country and worked secretly for a new uprising. Sorge spent a good deal of his spare time trying to raise funds for the new revolution in Germany.⁸ He was joined in his work by Karl Heinzen, the Forty-Eighter journalist, Dr. Abraham Jacobi, former member of the Communist League and one of the defendants in the Cologne communist trial, and Adolph Douai, another Forty-Eighter who became a pioneer in the kindergarten movement in the United States and settled in Texas, where his anti-slavery editorials in the *San Antonio Zeitung* compelled him to flee for his life.

All of Sorge's work, however, remained private. The first time Sorge's name appeared in public was in the *Sociale Republik* of June 26, 1858, as part of a report of a meeting held in New York City by the American branch of the International Association to pay respects to the martyrs of the June Days of 1848.⁹ Sorge, the *Sociale Republik* reported, represented the Communist Club and delivered the welcoming address.

On October 25, 1857, some of the former members of the European "Communist League" in the New York metropolitan area formed the first Communist Club in the Western Hemisphere. The club corresponded with Marx and with members of utopian settlements in America, including the Icarians in Nauvoo, Illinois. It also tried to stimulate the establishment in this country of a broad labor association to cooperate with similar movements in Europe. Weydemeyer, who at that time was living in Milwaukee, hailed the formation of the first Marxist organization in the hemisphere¹⁰ and helped it to broaden its contacts among the communist refugees. By 1858, there were Communist Clubs in New York, Chicago, and Cincinnati.¹¹

The Communist Club of New York was not only the first Marxist organization in the Western Hemisphere; it was the only socialist (and labor) organization that invited blacks to join as equal members. Its constitution required all members to "recognize the complete equality of all persons—no matter of whatever color or sex."¹² The club was also in the forefront of the struggle against slavery, and its members played an important role in mobilizing the German-American workers in opposition to the "peculiar institution." This was no easy task. Many of the German-Americans were indifferent to Negro slavery, partly because of the influence of Weitling's insistence that concentration on chattel slavery would divert attention from the more basic issue—the abolition of wage slavery.¹³ In part, too, it was because German-American workers, like many other northern workers, believed the pro-slavery propaganda that painted a dismal picture of what would happen to the wage and living standards of white workers in the North if the abolitionists had their way and if the emancipated slaves, prepared to work for a pittance, poured into the northern shops and factories.

Karl Heinzen challenged Weitling's approach to Negro slavery in *Der Pionier* and urged German-American workers to join in the rising northern opposition to the slave power. Sorge worked with Heinzen in this effort even after he had joined the Communist Club, despite the fact that the latter, an early advocate of Marx, had turned against Marxism before emigrating to the United States and repeatedly attacked Marx and Engels in his paper for advocating class warfare.¹⁴ Clearly, even though he was welcomed by the Marxists in the Communist Club, Sorge was not a Marxist at this time. Before he became one, he kept his feet in the camps of both the socialists and the radical bourgeois-democrats. In his work with both groups, Sorge assisted the effort to convince the German-American workers to join forces with all opponents of slavery. By 1860, these workers had become committed to a radical antislavery position. Moreover, men like Weydemeyer, Douai, and members of the Communist Club, including Sorge, formed a significant force in the Republican Party, seeking to push the party in a more radical direction, particularly in the direction of favoring the total abolition of slavery.¹⁵

When the Civil War began with the attack on Fort Sumter, most of the German radical organizations disbanded because the majority of their members enlisted in the Union forces. The New York Communist Club did not meet for the duration of the war since most of its members had joined the Union army.

Many socialist leaders joined the Union army, and some attained positions of high rank. Joseph Weydemeyer was commissioned as a colonel and assigned by Lincoln as commander of the military district of St. Louis. August Willich, the former Prussian officer and friend of Karl Marx, took part in a number of engagements; he was severely wounded and left the army with the rank of brigadier general. Robert Rosa, who had been a Prussian officer before he became a member of the New York Communist Club, was a major of the Forty-Fifth Regiment of New York. Fritz Jacobi, vice-president of the Communist Club of New York, enlisted as a private and was a lieutenant when he died on the field of Fredericksburg.¹⁶

The socialists actively promoted the cause of abolitionism as well as of the Union. They urged Lincoln to move toward a proclamation of emancipation, and when the provisions of the actual proclamation did not alter the legal status of bondsmen in the border states, they began a battle to implement it in those states. In Missouri, a struggle for emancipation legislation had begun even before Lincoln's proclamation was issued on January 1, 1863. After his term of service with the Second Missouri Artillery Regiment expired and he was mustered out on September 21, 1863, Joseph Weydemeyer joined the pro-emancipation forces and used the columns of the *Neue Zeit*, a socialist organ on whose editorial board he served, to press for the speedy emancipation of slaves in Missouri.¹⁷

Weydemeyer's position was endorsed by a convention held in Cleveland

from October 18 to 21, 1863, for the purpose of founding a national political organization of radical Germans. This convention marked the only time during the Civil War that Sorge came into public notice. He was among the delegates representing the New York Communist Club and spoke in favor of the resolutions adopted that voiced complete support for the "emancipationists who have been so furiously persecuted in Missouri" and declared that "more than any previous period, the present time compels us to recognize in the proclamation of equality of human rights in the Declaration of Independence . . . the fundamental law of Republican life."¹⁸

By the time the Civil War was over, the Marxist movement in the United States had all but disappeared. Several leading Marxists had died during the war, while others had drifted into other organizations.¹⁹ But in the years immediately following the war, the Marxists gained two recruits who were to play a leading role in rebuilding Marxist influence. These men were Adolph Douai and Friedrich A. Sorge. Both were on the executive committee of the League for German Freedom and Unity at the war's end, and both were devoting themselves almost exclusively to building a movement for German unification through revolution. But the Austro-Prussian war, climaxed by the Prussian victory at Sadowa in 1866, made it clear that Germany was going to be unified not through a socialist revolution but under Bismarckian despotism. Therefore, both Douai and Sorge moved simultaneously into the Marxist movement. Douai publicly announced his conversion to Marxism in 1868 after reading the first volume of Marx's *Das Kapital*, published in German in 1867.²⁰ Sorge at first studied the ideas of Ferdinand Lassalle, whose followers were exercising considerable influence in the German-American community. However, he decided that Lassalle's theories were based on false principles. He rejected the thesis of the "iron law of wages," that is, that the amount paid to a worker was equal to what was "necessary for his subsistence" and would never be any higher. He also rejected the view that trade unions and strikes were of no importance and that the ballot was the only instrument for lifting "the yoke of capital" from labor, since it alone could enable the workers to establish producers' cooperatives with state aid and thereby lift themselves out of wage slavery into socialism.²¹ Convinced that these ideas appealed more to handicraftsmen than to factory workers, Sorge concluded that Lassalleism had no future in the United States.²²

Logically and inevitably, Sorge turned to Marxism. In June 1867 he sent the first of many letters to Marx, informing him of his desire to set up a section of the International Workingmen's Association in Hoboken, New Jersey, near New York City, where he lived. Marx encouraged Sorge and thus began a correspondence that was to continue regularly until Marx's death in 1883.²³

The International Workingmen's Association—the First International—was founded on September 28, 1864, in London at a meeting sponsored by British and French labor organizations. Marx and Engels were active in the organiza-

tion from its inception, and Marx was the author of the *Inaugural Address of the Working Men's International Association*. All American radicals—Marxists and Lassalleans alike—were moved by Marx's appeal in the address: "To conquer political power has therefore become the great duty of the working classes. They seem to have comprehended this, for in England, Germany, Italy, and France there have taken place simultaneous revivals, and simultaneous efforts are being made at the political reorganization of the working men's party."²⁴ It was this stimulus that led in January 1868 to the formation of the Social Party of New York, organized as a result of the short-lived merger of the Communist Club and the General German Workingmen's Association, which was founded in 1866 by the followers of Lassalle. The party made an insignificant showing in the election of 1868. It was reorganized after the election and reconstituted itself in December 1869 as Section 1 of the International Workingmen's Association in the United States. Its secretary and moving spirit, and the leading force in the American sections of the International from their inception, was Friedrich A. Sorge. In July 1868 the IWA General Council had empowered Sorge to act in its name in the United States. When the German, French, and Czech sections in New York City organized the central committee of the International Workingmen's Association of North America in December 1870, Sorge became its corresponding secretary.²⁵ It was in this capacity that he informed the General Council of developments in the United States, including those in the National Labor Union.

The outbreak of the Civil War had extinguished most of the trade unions that flourished during the 1850s. But the deterioration of living conditions during the closing years of the war spurred a revival of trade unionism and brought an increase in the number of local and national unions. While the real center of organizational activity was the city trades assembly, a movement was launched to unify the labor movement nationally. It led to the convening of the National Labor Congress in Baltimore on August 20, 1866. Sixty-four delegates attended and organized the National Labor Union.²⁶

Section 1 was admitted to the National Labor Union early in 1869 as Labor Union No. 5 of New York, with Friederich A. Sorge as its delegate. The presence of a delegate from an American section of the First International is hardly surprising. The leading figures in the NLU—men like William H. Sylvis, president of the Iron Moulders' International Union and the outstanding labor leader of the Civil War and post-Civil War era; Richard F. Trevellick, president of the national Union of Ship Carpenters and Caulkers; and William J. Jessup, the most prominent figure in the labor organizations of New York, both city and state—were aware of the International Workingmen's Association and understood the need for international labor unity. Sylvis declared again and again that "the interests of labor are identical throughout the world. . . . A victory to them will be a victory to us."²⁷

The question of uniting American labor with European labor was brought

up at the founding congress of the National Labor Union in 1866. The request to send a delegate to the Geneva Congress of the First International was turned down because there was not enough time to do so. However, the congress wished them "Godspeed in their glorious work." A year later, at the 1867 congress, affiliation with the International was an important issue. President Jessup moved to affiliate and was supported by Sylvis. Although the congress voted against affiliation, it did decide to send Trevellick to the next congress of the International and adopted a resolution pledging cooperation to the organized workingmen of Europe in their struggle against political and social injustice.²⁸

Trevellick was unable to collect enough money to make the trip. However, two events that took place in the years immediately preceding the admission of Section 1 into the NLU strengthened the possibility of an alliance between that organization and the International Workingmen's Association. In April 1869 the General Council of the International received a communication from the New York Compositors' Union requesting its help in checking the importation of European strikebreakers. The council voted to aid the union. This action aroused great respect for the International in American trade union circles. Another display of international solidarity was shown that same year when the dispute over the "Alabama claims"—involving American grievances against Great Britain for assistance to the Confederacy during the Civil War—threatened war between the United States and Great Britain. The address of the General Council, written by Marx and addressed to Sylvis as president of the NLU, said:

Yours is the glorious task of seeing to it that at last the working class shall enter upon the scene of history, no longer as a servile following but as an independent power, as a power imbued with a sense of its responsibility and capable of commanding peace where their would-be masters cry war.

In his response, Sylvis said that labor's struggle was a common one throughout the world. In behalf of the working people of the United States, he extended "the right hand of fellowship" to the International and "to all the downtrodden and oppressed sons and daughters of toiling Europe."²⁹

Sylvis's death on the eve of the 1869 NLU convention was a great blow to international labor unity; nevertheless, that convention did vote to send a delegate to attend the Basel Congress of the International. (That fall, Andrew C. Cameron, the delegate selected, made the trip.)³⁰ At the 1870 convention, Sorge introduced a resolution that stated: "The National Labor Union declares its adherence to the principles of the International Workingmen's Association, and expects to join the said association in a short time."³¹ The delegates adopted the resolution but the expectation was never realized.

Apart from the timidity of the NLU leadership after Sylvius's death, the organization's decline prevented the resolutions adopted at the 1870 convention from ever being carried out. At the very time that it approved Sorge's resolution pledging early affiliation with the International, the NLU was already on its way to an early demise.

Two major currents were represented at the founding convention of the National Labor Union: the eight-hour movement, led by ex-machinist Ira Steward, and the currency reform movement, influenced by the theories promulgated by Edward Kellogg, a New York merchant, and promoted by Cameron, who was the editor of the Chicago *Workingman's Advocate*. Although there was some "confusion over which strategy to concentrate on" during the NLU convention in Baltimore in 1866,³² "the eight hour day received the loudest approval," and the NLU made the achievement of the shorter workday its major objective.³³ However, by the time Section I affiliated with the NLU, the currency reformers had begun to dominate the organization, and the eight-hour day was being relegated to the background, while the call for a new monetary system moved to the head of the organization's demands.

The dominance of the currency reformers stemmed in part from the failure of post-Civil War strikes and from the belief that producers' cooperatives, rather than work stoppages, were the answer to labor's problems. In their search for a solution to the problem of obtaining capital for cooperative experiments at interest rates they could afford, many in the labor movement turned to the currency reform "greenback" theories of Kellogg and Alexander Campbell, a midwestern promoter of coal mining and iron manufacture. Their panaceas for solving the problems of the working class lay in the establishment of a "people's currency." Both viewed the money system as the root of the evils confronting the social system and demanded the purging of the money bankers and gold gamblers and the establishment of a system of greenbacks. Once established, the greenbacks could be used to assist in the setting up of producers' cooperatives.³⁴

Writing to Sorge, Marx dismissed the "Kellogg money nonsense," and Ira Steward called it an "economic humbug" through which the capitalist class was seeking to "fix public attention" upon solutions that did not endanger the capitalist system. This one, he said, "leaves the laborer a laborer, the capitalist a capitalist, between whom there is an irrepressible conflict."³⁵ Sorge agreed wholeheartedly and reported in anger and frustration to the IWA General Council how, as it came under the domination of the currency reformers, the NLU had alienated the trade unions and attracted a motley group of middle-class reformers. After the 1870 convention, he reported: "The National Labor Union is losing ground amongst the great national and international trade unions of this country." He predicted that unless the organization rid itself of middle-class panacea peddlers, it was doomed to an early extinction.³⁶

Sorge's belief that it was currency reform alone that undermined the NLU was an oversimplification, as was his view that it drifted into "greenbackism" because middle-class reformers used the organization to advance their monetary reform scheme and thereby drove out the trade unionists. Actually, a number of trade unions withdrew because the NLU had decided to organize an independent labor reform party, and, in their view, this political move was bound to lead to disaster.³⁷ In addition, whatever its lack of merit as a solution for labor's problems—and it is clear that the belief that through producers' cooperatives based on easy credit, "laborers could become capitalists" was "bourgeois in outlook and totally lacking in class consciousness"³⁸—greenbackism was a way of expressing labor's discontent, and the men in the currency reform movement included leading trade unionists as well as middle-class reformers.³⁹ Greenbackism's insistence on government credit for producers' cooperatives bore a similarity to Lassalleian socialism, which was influential at the same time, and helps to explain why many workers, especially German workers, supported it. It is true that the Marxists viewed currency reform as a middle-class nostrum that diverted the workers from the basic class struggle, but a few, like Adolph Douai, fell under its spell.⁴⁰

In any case, Sorge's prediction that the important national unions would soon abandon the National Labor Union was fulfilled. Only seven delegates were present at the National Labor Congress that was held in September 1872, and only one—from the Morocco Dressers—represented a national trade union, whereas in 1867, ten national unions had sent delegates.⁴¹

Sorge was not present at the final National Labor Congress in 1872. He had led Local No. 5 out of the National Labor Union in 1871. During his brief stay in the organization, he had introduced exactly two resolutions. The one dealing with affiliation with the International Workingmen's Association has already been mentioned. The other, also introduced at the 1870 Congress, moved that the opening prayer be eliminated from the proceedings. The motion was tabled without discussion. Sorge also spoke out on a resolution advocating a protective tariff and proposed striking out the words claiming that the tariff would result in "lessening the price to consumers." The Marxist delegate was reported as stating: "It was untrue and an absurdity. He didn't believe a word of it, and no one who advocated a protective tariff did it for the purpose of lessening the price to consumers. He would not vote for such an untruth." This time he was successful.⁴² These positions were not surprising. What is surprising at first glance is Sorge's failure, while a delegate at the NLU conventions, to participate in the debate on a crucial issue of the day: the attitude of the labor movement toward the problems and needs of black workers.

On reflection, the fact that Sorge took no stand on this issue is not surprising at all. In the articles he published in *Die Neue Zeit* (1890–1892) dealing with the labor movement in the United States after the Civil War, he mentions

Reconstruction in the South briefly twice, and on both occasions, he writes scornfully of the period in which blacks voted and operated in the governments of the South under Radical Reconstruction. He describes the blacks as "voting cattle" for the Republican Party and sees only corruption and scandals during the years when Negroes participated in southern government. His conclusion seems to be that it was a tragedy that blacks were ever given the right to vote and hold office.⁴³

Sorge does note that the "prejudice of the Caucasians against the Negroes hindered the creation of labor organizations and the formation of a healthy labor movement in many southern states," and he is critical of the fact that the NLU did nothing concrete to bring blacks into the trade unions. But he makes no mention of the fact that neither he nor any other Marxists associated with the NLU did anything to press that organization to unionize black workers and to understand their special problems.⁴⁴

At the 1870 National Labor Union Congress, which Sorge attended as a delegate, a conflict arose between white and black delegates over a political resolution that declared that the major political parties were dominated by nonproducers, specifically the finance capitalists who drew their wealth from public plunder and from their control of the monetary system and who were interested in the workers only insofar as their own pecuniary or political gain was concerned. Noting that blacks constituted an important segment of the working class and were armed with the ballot, the resolution appealed to "our colored fellow citizens" to abandon the existing political parties and to unite with white workers in a Labor Reform Party. It assured blacks that their "highest interests" would be served by supporting a party of labor reform, since both Negroes and whites were slaves of capital and could never achieve liberation through the existing parties.

Cameron added his voice to the resolution's plea for black support. He asked the Negroes "whether the men who oppressed their race would be more likely to do them justice than their fellow workingmen," and he argued that they could put their faith in a political movement sponsored by the Congress. The labor press reported Cameron's warning to the blacks: "If they preferred to cast their lot with their oppressors, the responsibility would lay heavily on their own hands."

But the black delegates had little confidence that the white workers would reward them for political support by affording them "justice" on the economic front. They were more interested in eliminating barriers to their right to belong to trade unions and work in the shops than in reforming the monetary system through independent political action. While not uncritical of the Republicans, they were hardly ready to abandon the party they credited with ending slavery and enfranchising the Negro in favor of a movement launched by an organization whose constituent local and national unions excluded blacks from their membership, from work, and from apprenticeship

opportunities. "While the Republican Party is not the *beau ideal* of our notion of a party," said Isaac Myers, head of the Colored Caulkers' Trade Union Society of Baltimore and president of the Colored National Labor Union, "the interests of workingmen demand that they shall not hazard its success either by the organization of a new party or by an affiliation with the Democratic Party." In short, he said, a defeat for the Republican Party would be a tragedy for the black workers of the South since it would bring to power the party of the former slaveowners, which was also the party of the Ku Klux Klan and other terrorist organizations directed toward achieving and maintaining white supremacy.

Delegate Ewing delivered a long oration inveighing against the Republican Party as a representative of a moneyed aristocracy and describing the Democratic Party as making "a new departure in favor of the principles of the NLU." He extolled the southern leaders of the Democratic Party for their veneration of the Constitution and dismissed the notion that the Ku Klux Klan represented a threat to the black workers of the South. He termed reports about Klan atrocities as nothing more than a "red herring" with which "radicals" were attempting to justify the "rule of the carpetbaggers."⁴⁵ It was hardly a speech that would endear the National Labor Union to the black delegates, who knew the Klan from their own bitter experience.

It is difficult to understand why Sorge, already the leading Marxist in the United States, said nothing at the convention to enlighten the delegates on the special needs of black workers. It is difficult to believe that in his report to the General Council of the IWA dealing in detail with the proceedings of the 1870 convention, Sorge said nothing about the sharp conflict between the black and white delegates. He was critical of the convention's obsession with monetary reform, but he failed to note that the black delegates also rejected this step as the path to liberation. As far as the leading Marxist in the United States was concerned, the issues raised by the black delegates did not merit his attention, and their very presence at the convention was not even noted in his report.⁴⁶

Some of the actions of Section 1 did indicate progress on the Negro question. In December 1869 the section appointed a committee to promote the organization of Negro workers.⁴⁷ (However, it did not send a delegate to the Colored National Labor Union's founding convention that same month in Washington, even though the union widely publicized the fact that whites would be welcomed as fraternal delegates.)⁴⁸ Black members of a waiters' union and Negro plasterers took part in the great demonstration for the eight-hour day in New York City on September 13, 1871, marching with the International section behind the red flag and a large banner inscribed with the words "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity."⁴⁹

Sorge's description of the demonstration of September 13, 1871, was the only one he ever sent the General Council that even mentioned blacks. After

describing the participation of the section in the mass demonstration and the "deafening cheers" that greeted the red flag, Sorge added: "Equally significant was the participation of colored (negro) organizations for the first time in a demonstration got up by the English speaking unions. (The German unions have treated them as equals already years ago.)"⁵⁰

Soon after Section 1 was formed in 1867, Sorge received detailed instructions from the headquarters of the IWA in Geneva on how the cause should be advanced in the United States. "Once you have a secure base in New York," Johann Philipp Becker wrote for the IWA, "you should attempt to found the same organization in other cities in North America." Each section should have its own statutes in accordance with local conditions, except that they could not conflict in any way with the general statutes of the International. Becker then emphasized: "Our sections must maintain the initiative in every matter concerning labor problems; they must be the inspiring, organizing and indoctrinating element."⁵¹

Sorge and his colleagues in Section 1 worked tirelessly to achieve these objectives. They gave priority to the building and defense of trade unions, the support of the right to strike, the battle for the abolition of contract labor and the tenement house system, and especially to the struggle for the institution of the eight-hour day. As Marxists, they were convinced that the working class, organized in trade unions, would be developing its class consciousness in the day-to-day struggles for these immediate demands and would be taking the necessary initial steps for the transition to the struggle for socialism. Therefore they attended labor union meetings, sent delegates to labor conferences, commissioned speakers to attend union conventions during the Franco-German War of 1870, and influenced a number of these unions to pass anti-war resolutions. In conjunction with several trade unions, they organized a tremendous mass meeting at Cooper Union in New York City to protest the German plan for annexing Alsace-Lorraine and to uphold the right of self-determination. They also helped workers on strike, participated in demonstrations for the eight-hour day, maintained correspondence with miners, shoe workers, machinists, bricklayers, cigarmakers, carpenters, and furniture workers, and made a substantial contribution to the formation of national unions in a number of these trades.⁵² "It is not an overstatement that the section was a training ground of labor leaders who later participated in establishing the American Federation of Labor," observes Samuel Bernstein.⁵³

One of the reasons Sorge had been eager to serve as a delegate to NLU conventions was that he hoped to be able to continue this type of work at the congresses. But when he saw the NLU taken over by the adherents of a program for monetary reform, he concluded that it would be impossible to develop any class consciousness among the workers associated with the NLU as long as they were devoting themselves to "a question brought up by the parties of the ruling classes." He was by now convinced that it would be impos-

sible for the International to fulfill its mission in the United States unless it could first break the hold of middle-class reformers who had gained influence in the labor movement and were convincing workers that they could solve their problems through the peaceful and easy means of "universal suffrage, glittering educational measures, benevolent and homestead societies, universal language or other schemes or systems."

What aggravated the problem, as Sorge saw it, was the fact that as its prestige rose, the International began attracting all types of middle-class panacea peddlers. By the early 1870s, it was becoming a center for money and land reformers, language reformers, and tax reformers, what he called "reformers of every station and species, of every type and shade." It soon became clear that with such elements taking over its sections, it would be impossible for the International in the United States to "maintain the initiative in every matter concerning labor problems" and become "the inspiring, organizing and indoctrinating element."⁵⁴ Sorge was determined to convince the General Council that the enlistment in its ranks of all types of reformist schools constituted a tremendous obstacle to the growth of the International and that it must base itself on a working-class membership.

Sorge faced a difficult problem in carrying out this program. By October 1871 twenty-seven sections had affiliated with the central committee of the International Workingmen's Association of the United States. Most of them, however, were made up of foreign-born members. Six were American, ten German, eight French (exiled victims of the recently crushed Paris Commune), one Czech, and two Irish.⁵⁵ The General Council had long been convinced that this composition was hardly a desirable situation. Indeed, Marx himself had hinted to Sorge in March 1871 that an organization composed mainly of foreign sections could be of little influence in the United States.⁵⁶

Sorge's argument was that workingmen from other countries were not "regarded as *foreigners* or simple residents" but as full citizens of the United States, that they formed "an important and considerable part of this country's trade unions and Labor Societies," and that "some of the most powerful and best trade organizations in the U.S. consist almost exclusively of so-called 'foreigners,' viz., the Miners & Laborers Benevolent Association, the Cigar-makers International Union, the Cabinetmakers Societies, the Crispins, etc., etc." Equally important to him was the fact that there were fundamental differences between American and European conditions. The United States, he maintained, lacked a "homogeneous population," and America had to be "judged and decided" according to the circumstances "widely differing from those of European countries."⁵⁷

Sorge probably would not have convinced Marx and others on the General Council if he had not advanced the decisive argument that the so-called foreigners were at least workers with whom it was possible to build the International strictly along class lines. On the other hand, most of the native

Americans who joined the English-speaking section had no connection with wage labor and were precisely the type of middle-class reformers whose presence threatened to turn the International into a conglomeration of advocates of a whole variety of panaceas and utopias—admirers and imitators of Joseph Proudhon of France, anarchists like Josiah Warren, "Panatarchists" like Stephen Pearl Andrews, and free-love advocates like Ezra Haywood, Victoria Woodhull, and a host of others, many of whom were gathered together in Section 12 of New York, made up of middle-class reformers and a few trade unionists. Section 12 was led by Victoria C. Woodhull of Ohio, who, together with her sister Tennessee Claflin, espoused the cause of women's rights and social reform in the course of a spectacular career as Wall Street brokers. In 1870, after two years of residence in New York, the sisters succeeded in persuading the aging Cornelius Vanderbilt to finance *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*. The *Weekly* carried the first English translation of the *Communist Manifesto*; defended the Paris Commune and the Communards; advocated women's rights, civil and political rights for blacks, and a variety of other "advanced ideas"; and appealed to reformers of all types. Sorge described it, with obvious distaste, as appealing to a "motley gathering of bourgeois reformers, evangelists of free love, atheists and deists."

(It is not necessary here to recount the long and tangled battle that developed between Section 12 and the Marxists and spilled over into the General Council and the Hague Congress of the IWA in 1872. But some correction is needed to the tendency of most historians to treat Victoria Woodhull as primarily a beautiful, exotic, fortune-hunting nonconformist with "visionary ideas" that she tried to promote through tactless and intolerable behavior. She should also be credited with an advanced social view on such issues as women's rights, in which she was ahead of her times. In short, it is both unfair and inaccurate to reduce a remarkable, though admittedly unstable, woman to a caricature of a self-seeking exhibitionist.)⁵⁸

At first Marx seemed not to have been disturbed by the fact that Victoria Woodhull and her sister were members of the International. When *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* published a premature report of the "sudden and unexpected death of Karl Marx" in its September 23, 1871, issue and expressed sorrow at the loss of "one of the truest, most fearless and most unselfish defenders of all classes and all peoples suffering from oppression," Marx was quick to write to the paper and assure the sisters that he was alive and well and that the report was simply the fabrication of a Bonapartist paper. At the same time, he enclosed an account by his daughter Jenny of the persecution she and her sisters had suffered at the hands of the French government, which was published in the *Weekly*.⁵⁹ It is likely that Sorge and his associates were unhappy over the fact that Marx had written to the sisters and sent them Jenny Marx's letter, for the same issue of *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* that published the resolutions of sorrow over the report of Marx's death also contained

a hostile letter to the sisters from the German Workingmen's Society, Section 1 of the IWA in the United States, signed by Sorge, R. Starke, and Fred Bolte. It castigated the paper for having printed mixtures of "falsehoods and truths" about the International, and insisted that in the future they not "give publicity in your *Weekly* to anything regarding the International Workingmen's Association except authentic information."⁶⁰

In addition to resenting the *Weekly's* statement about the International, the Marxists were annoyed by its insistence on carrying lengthy reports on the women's rights movement. Sorge drew a distinction between women workers and women's rights advocates. He viewed the latter as middle-class reformers who were meddling in the trade unions and were seeking to divert working-class women from the struggle to improve their wretched conditions. Moreover, when several of the women's rights leaders, including Susan B. Anthony and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, began organizing working-class women, he reacted angrily to their tendency to recruit these women as strikebreakers against trade unions that refused to permit women to join their ranks. While he was justified in resenting the strikebreaking activities of the women's rights leaders, his righteousness was tarnished somewhat by his failure to say anything about the unions' refusal to open their ranks to women workers. In any case, he does not seem to have understood the meaning of Marx's comment: "Anybody knows, if he knows anything about history, that great social changes are impossible without the feminine ferment. Social progress can be measured exactly by the social position of the fair sex."⁶¹

All this, however, was incidental to the real issue. Sorge was convinced that Victoria Woodhull and her followers would bring discredit to the entire International. He feared that Victoria, with her scandalous behavior, would come to symbolize the International for much of the American public and that the IWA would become "merely the seat of long forgotten and small Reformers and other beneficiaries of mankind." He felt that unless the International got rid of these reformers and based itself on members who were wage earners, it would get nowhere in its efforts to build a following in the labor movement. Therefore, he kept insisting to the General Council that the whole mélange of reformers who comprised Section 12 should be immediately expelled.

In the spring of 1872, an event occurred that convinced the General Council that Sorge was correct. Through Sorge, it learned to its horror that Sections 9, 12, and 26 had sent delegates to a convention in New York City on May 10, 1872, that had nominated Victoria Woodhull and Frederick Douglass, the outstanding black leader in the United States, as candidates of the Equal Rights Party for President and Vice-President of the United States. The party platform called for a complete reconstruction of the government of the United States and the adoption of a new constitution "to meet the present

wants of the people." It demanded that all monopolies be abolished and that the government "take charge of all public enterprises which are to be for the public use." The platform also called for the employment of the unemployed by the government, the abolition of capital punishment, the right to vote for every person, male and female, and the elimination of discrimination based on sex, race, or color.⁶²

Sorge's report on the convention to the General Council furiously denounced the delegates from Sections 9, 12, and 26 for having made "a laughing stock" of the International by joining with suffragettes and representatives of sects of many types. He noted that the press was having a field day ridiculing the whole affair. The discussion at the May 28, 1872, meeting of the General Council endorsed Sorge's analysis. Engels called the whole business an example of "middle-class humbug in America," and Marx declared that the convention had "become the laughing stock of America. . . . Though the name of the International was used, only three sections were represented . . . one of which [Section 12], was organized only for political purposes. In three weeks the humbug would break up and it was a good job the Council took the initiative."⁶³

As Marx had predicted, the Equal Rights Party soon passed into oblivion. Douglass never accepted the nomination for Vice-President, despite his respect for Victoria Woodhull as a champion of women's rights and equality for blacks.⁶⁴ *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* was closed down by the government between June 20 and December 1872 on the ground that it was an obscene publication advocating free love. Instead of campaigning for President, Victoria Woodhull and her sister found themselves in jail in New York City on the charge of obscenity.⁶⁵

Soon after, the American Marxists assembled a rump meeting of the central committee. With representatives of only eight sections invited, they passed a statute requiring two-thirds of all members of any section of the IWA to be wage earners; they then used this regulation to expel Section 12. The central committee split, and under Sorge's leadership, fourteen sections seceded and reorganized a "provisional Federal Council of the International Workingmen's Association." A few days later, Section 12 and its following organized a rival federal council, which called together a congress of sections at Philadelphia. In July 1872 thirteen sections met in that city and claimed to represent "The American Confederacy of the International Workingmen's Association."⁶⁶

Both sides in the dispute appealed to the Hague Congress of the IWA for support, and a heated debate followed. Sorge, who had been elected a representative of the provisional federal council, spoke in favor of the expulsion of Section 12, and, among other arguments, insisted that "we need the [cooperation of the] Irish in America, but we cannot win them unless we rid ourselves of all connection with Section 12 and the free lovers." He went on to point

out: "The working class in America consists 1. of Irishmen, 2. of Germans, 3. of Negroes, and only 4. of Americans. Give us free play and a free field, so that we can make something decent out of the International in America." (Sorge appears to identify Americans with "whites," even though he here for the first time refers to Negroes as part of the working class.) William West, a delegate from Section 12 in New York, defended his associates. But the Hague Congress endorsed Sorge's position and sustained the expulsion of Section 12. Marx and Engels breathed a sigh of relief: the "humbug" had been exposed and eliminated.⁶⁷

When he left for the Hague Congress, Sorge was simply a representative of the North American Federation and the corresponding secretary of the American sections. When he returned to the United States, he was the general secretary of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, whose headquarters were now to be in New York City.

The transfer of the General Council from London to New York City resulted from Marx's fears that it might be taken over by the Blanquists and the anarchists and converted into an instrument for insurrection. Foreseeing the possibility that the followers of Auguste Blanqui and Michael Bakunin might seize the General Council in a conspiratorial "putsch," the Marxists concluded that the body would be safer on the other side of the Atlantic. Although the International in the United States had just split as a result of the conflict over Section 12, the Marxists were confident that the American branch would not only survive but move ahead.

If it did, it would probably have been the only one to do so. The Paris Commune had fatally damaged the International in Europe. At the time of the Hague Congress, it was outlawed in France and Germany, and elsewhere its members were persecuted. Where it was not underground, it was being weakened by splits with the anarchists. And in England, the British trade unions were avoiding any association with an organization linked in the public mind—however incorrectly—with the responsibility for the Commune. When Marx's *Civil War in France*, with its defense of the Commune, was published in England, George Odger and Benjamin Lucraft, two British trade union leaders, resigned from the General Council of the International. It is hardly surprising that the United States seemed to hold out the only hope for the International's survival.⁶⁸

The fact that Sorge would head the General Council strengthened this belief. Marx was deeply impressed with Sorge's leadership qualities. In 1871 he had written about Sorge: "It is my conviction that the General Council [of the IWA] must thank him for its effectiveness—a view I have repeatedly spoken in the General Council."⁶⁹ At forty-four, Sorge was a man with an international reputation; his command of several languages would enable him to communicate with the Europeans. Moreover, from the viewpoint of Marx and

Engels, he had just proven himself a stalwart Marxist by his success in preventing reformers, utopian visionaries, and romantics of all kinds from converting the International in the United States into a middle-class instrument for the propagation of every type of panacea, none of which had any connection with scientific socialism. Sorge's voting record at the Hague Congress served to further convince Marx and Engels of his qualities as a Marxist since he had stood with them on every important issue. To be sure, Sorge was not a wage earner—even though he viewed himself as one—but no one had been more devoted to the principles and aims of the International.

While en route to the Hague, Sorge had spent some time with Marx and Engels in London. It cannot be determined whether the three men actually discussed the change in the General Council's headquarters. Sorge seems to have been surprised when the resolution for the transfer was introduced at the Hague Congress. The fact that he abstained from voting on the resolution indicates that he did not welcome the responsibility being thrust upon him. Fortunately for the council, Sorge, who had resisted having his name placed on the list of the members of the new General Council, was finally persuaded to serve as General Secretary. On its last day, the Hague Congress elected twelve members of the new General Council and empowered them to increase their number to fifteen. All of them were to reside in the United States.⁷⁰ Of them, only Fred Bolte, the cigar worker, and Carl Speyer, the cabinetmaker, shared Sorge's Marxist viewpoint and were of any help to him. The others either resigned soon thereafter or became involved in bitter feuds with their fellow council members.

From the time he assumed the office of General Secretary up to his resignation on September 25, 1874, Sorge was faced with a herculean, if not impossible, task. It is not necessary to review here either the terribly intricate dissensions over political action and trade unions, theories of wages, and labor's position with respect to capitalism, or the many personal feuds in the organization, all of which continued to disrupt and disable the branches of the International in Europe and the United States. In addition to these internal clashes, Sorge had to cope with an almost completely depleted treasury when the organization moved to New York. He thus inherited an organization that was not only fast disintegrating but was totally without funds. On top of all this came the long depression, starting in September 1873, which further drained the association's resources and intensified the internal dissension over a policy with respect to the unemployed movement.⁷¹

The fact that the International was able to weather the storm to any extent at all was due largely to Sorge's selfless devotion to the advancement of its interests and to his insistence that it become the center for the organization of the working class into the trade unions. In his "Instructions to the Delegate of the General Council to the Sixth General Congress" of 1873, Sorge wrote:

The principal duty of the members and sections of the IWA shall be:

(1) To organize the working people of the industrial centers as well as of the agricultural districts into trade unions not only on the narrow basis of obtaining higher wages, but on the broad basis of the complete emancipation of labor, the demand of a normal working day being the first step to it.

(2) To combine those trade unions into central bodies, who, jointly with the F.[ederal] Councils of the respective countries, shall represent the trade unions and sections and conduct the political movement of the workmen of their country, whenever such movements shall be deemed opportune.

Every movement of the combined workmen as a class for the advancement of their own interests of course is a political movement. . . .⁷²

In this, Sorge was outlining the basic Marxist approach to the labor movement. In his letters to his American followers, Marx emphasized that the "final object" of the workers' movement was the "conquest of political power." Such an achievement, however, required "a previous organization of the working class developed up to a certain point, which itself arises from its economic struggles." For this reason, both the "purely economic movement" of the workers (the trade union efforts to force concessions directly from particular employers through strikes) and the "political movement" (efforts to achieve an eight-hour law) deserved support because both were "a means of developing this organization." But the creation of effective trade unions capable of conducting economic struggles had to precede the achievement of political power by the working class.⁷³

In carrying through this Marxist policy, Sorge and others on the General Council who shared his view ran into difficulties. In part, this was because the local groups they sought to influence, especially those made up of native American workers, were either hostile or apathetic to their appeals. Another contributing factor was the fact that they had to contend with the influence of the Lassalleans among both the native and foreign-born workers. In keeping with the ideas of their teacher Ferdinand Lassalle, and particularly his "iron law of wages," Lassalle's followers in the United States argued that it was impossible for workers under capitalism to raise their wages above the bare minimum necessary to sustain life and that the only way to escape from poverty and bondage was for them to establish their own cooperative enterprises and use the ballot to obtain state aid for these cooperatives. The Lassalleans entered the trade unions and sought to convert them from organizations that struggled for higher wages, shorter hours, and other improvements in the workers' lives to associations concentrating on cooperatives and on state aid

for these ventures. The Lassalleans viewed the trade unions as unimportant, and their primary purpose was to use them to create a labor party.⁷⁴

Under the leadership of Sorge, who was in constant correspondence with Marx and Engels, the Marxists in the International fought the Lassallean efforts to convert the trade unions into purely political bodies. While the Marxists were never able to break out of their isolation from American labor—the only union the International set up was the Furniture Workers' Association, made up of German workers, which was established in July 1873—they did give guidance and assistance to a number of labor leaders of the period who were busily engaged in building new local and national trade unions. In his autobiography, Samuel Gompers, who was involved in this activity among the cigarmakers and was one of the founders of both the Cigar Makers' International Union and the American Federation of Labor, wrote that the principles of the International, under Marxist leadership, appeared to him "as solid and practical." He acknowledged that as a result of the influence of the Marxists, there developed a clearer understanding in working-class circles "that the trade union was the intermediate and practical agency which would bring the wage-earners a better life." Sorge, he added, more than any other Marxian socialist, influenced the trade unions with his counsel.⁷⁵

The economic crisis of 1873 temporarily lessened the internal struggle within the International. Both the Marxists and the Lassalleans combined to mobilize the unemployed, and the International gained in influence as it organized and led their struggles. In a report to the government in France on December 11, 1873, a French secret agent noted that as a result of the economic crisis, "several members [of the International] were able for the first time to speak at meetings and gain the attention of the same American workers who had until then showed them only coldness and indifference." As a result of the participation by the International members, "some meetings borrowed from Socialist programs . . . *the right of every man without work to demand it from the state*, with an astonishing acclaim in a country where until now the best government to be appreciated and praised was the one which interfered least in private affairs." He concluded with the observation, "The action of the International, whether hidden or obvious, has an influence [on] the workers. One cannot blind oneself to it."⁷⁶

But the dispute between the Marxists and the Lassalleans soon broke out anew. When demonstration of the unemployed did not bring about any reduction in their suffering and their numbers continued to increase, the Lassalleans proceeded to characterize these demonstrations as useless. At the same time, the fact that trade union membership was reduced to one-third or one-fourth its former size gave impetus to the Lassallean argument that political action was the way out for the working class.⁷⁷

Sorge and his Marxist colleagues did not reject political action; indeed, they

believed that every class struggle was a political struggle. But they maintained that the time was not yet ripe for the formation of a workers' party strong enough to influence the elections. The trade unions, they said, were the cradle of the labor movement, and it was the duty of the American sections of the International to both revive existing unions and to help in the organization of new ones. The demonstrations of the unemployed should be continued, for they secured relief for homeless and hungry families, stimulated workers to think along socialist lines, and presented opportunities for bringing home to the workers the message that only socialism could end the exploitation of the masses. Moreover, when political action was undertaken, it had to be based on the working class and not, as the Lassalleans advocated, as part of a coalition of whatever groups were prepared to join in the campaign for state aid to cooperative enterprises. In reply to a Chicagoan who had asked the General Council for information and material for the organization of an English-speaking section in that city, Sorge wrote in June 1874:

An English translation of the very important resolutions on the political position passed by the late Congress at Philadelphia will be made and sent to you within a week. You will see by their perusal, that the IWA is taking a position against *all* political parties of the possessing classes and will take no political action except as *working class* opposed to all old and new political parties of the ruling classes, whether they call themselves Republicans, Democrats, Grangers, Farmers, Independents, Liberals or Reformers or whatsoever they might baptize themselves. "The emancipation of the working classes must be achieved by the workingmen themselves," and it is therefore quite immaterial to the working classes which of the many factions and fractions of the possessing classes is *in* or *out* of power and office. We bide our time.⁷⁸

But the Lassalleans were not willing to bide their time. They were confident that the time was ripe for carrying their policies into effect. In 1874, they left the International and established the Workingmen's Party of Illinois in the West, and the Social-Democratic Workingmen's Party of North America in the East. The Workingmen's Party of Illinois published a weekly organ in German, *Vorbote*, edited by the Lassallean Karl Klinge. *Vorbote* placed great stress on the fundamental Lassalleian demand for state aid to cooperative societies. In keeping with Lassalleian principles, it announced that the Workingmen's Party would have nothing to do with trade unionism since "it never led to any lasting betterment for the workingmen in the several trades."⁷⁹

Sorge was convinced that the workers would learn through experience that the Marxists were correct in their approach to the problems they faced, and his confidence was soon justified. The Workingmen's Party of Illinois and the

Social-Democratic Workingmen's Party of North America met with complete failure at the ballot box in the 1874 elections, thereby vindicating the Marxist contention that premature political action before the workers were organized into trade unions was futile. The advocates of trade union action in the Social-Democratic Workingmen's Party increased their influence by applying the lesson of this experience. At a party convention in 1875, a resolution was adopted asserting that "under the present conditions the organization of working people into trade unions is indispensable, and that each party member is obliged to become a member of the Union of his trade, or to aid in establishing a trade union where none exists." The *Socialist*, the English-language organ of the party published in New York City, hailed the resolution and called for "the defense of the trade unions and their principles upon every occasion, in order that the reorganization of society may be speedily accomplished."⁸⁰

In Germany, meanwhile, the Marxists, led by Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel, achieved a reconciliation with the Lassalleans. At the famous Gotha Congress of 1875, they finally worked out a program that was mutually acceptable. While Marx, in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, criticized the concessions to the Lassalleans, the Social Democratic Party that emerged from the unity congress was basically Marxist in orientation. The German example influenced socialists in the United States, and by the fall of 1875, socialist unity was the predominant issue in both Marxist and Lassalleian circles.⁸¹

Sorge kept in close touch with these developments. He was impressed with the fact that Liebknecht had been able to forge a program at the Gotha Congress that stressed the primary importance of organizing workers into trade unions. Indeed, his high regard for the veteran German socialist had been a key factor in his removal as a member of the General Council in the fall of 1874. He had proposed that Liebknecht be invited to contribute a weekly column to the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, the International's organ in New York City, and when this precipitated a bitter conflict with Konrad Carl, the paper's editor, Sorge had resigned from the paper's control committee, which later led to his being dropped by the General Council from its list of members. These unfortunate experiences had not lessened his respect for Liebknecht's contributions in forging a unified socialist party with a Marxist orientation in Germany.⁸²

On April 16, 1876, at a convention in Pittsburgh, the first concrete steps were taken to achieve unity. Although sponsored by the Social-Democratic Workingmen's Party, it was attended by socialists of all tendencies, and out of the gathering emerged a "Declaration of Unity" that proposed a unified movement to be called the "Socialist Labor Party of the United States of North America." The unified party's platform clearly reflected the dominance of Marxist thinking by advocating the Marxist principles of the primary significance of the "economical emancipation of the laboring class," the formation

of a party as a "centralized, *national* organization, presupposing international action," and emphasizing that while planning to take an "active part in the politics of the country, both in general and for obtaining legislative enactments, only in the interest of the working class as such," nevertheless

no election movement shall be undertaken by the party before it is strong enough to exert a perceptible influence; and said influence shall first be exerted in city and town elections; for which purpose, of course, also demands of a merely local character may be formulated, provided these be not at war with our general demands—Economically, it aims at organization of the trade unions on a national and international basis, for the improvement of our economical condition and for the spreading of our ideas and principles.

Finally, the "Declaration of Unity" issued a call for a union congress to be held in Philadelphia toward the end of July 1876 to which the Social-Democratic Workingmen's Party, the International Workingmen's Association, the Workingmen's Party of Illinois, and the Social Political Workingmen's Society of Cincinnati each would send one delegate for every five hundred dues-paying members in good standing and an additional delegate for each additional five hundred members in good standing. "Immediately after the completion of the labors of said congress all the societies therein represented shall enter the newly organized party."⁸³

The International Workingmen's Association that was invited to the Philadelphia Congress was no longer the great undertaking to unite labor internationally. Even before Sorge's resignation as General Secretary in September 1874, the meetings of the General Council had degenerated into factional fights. But this time, Sorge was convinced that the wisest course of action was to dissolve the International, but as soon as he put forth this proposal, he was accused of arbitrary behavior and of trying to set up an International under his complete domination. Even though he resigned in order to silence his attackers, his resignation did not put an end to the factionalism. Reporting on the status of the International in May 1876, a secret agent of the French government in the United States reported gleefully from New York City that "the General Council whose headquarters are in this city, has seen its members quarrel among themselves" to such an extent that "since eighteen months ago, this Council, has not given the least sign of life, and had made no communication to the sections. One can therefore consider the Marxist groups, as led by Sorge, the puppet of Karl Marx, as incapable of exercising any influence whatsoever on the international proletariat."⁸⁴

Although he was the founder and defender of the International in America, Sorge wasted no tears over the organization's impending demise. He was prepared to work as indefatigably for the new party as he had for the Interna-

tional, and he looked forward to the Philadelphia Congress as offering a new opportunity for the Marxists to make their influence felt among workers in industry.

While the centennial exhibition celebrating the nation's one-hundredth birthday was in progress, ten delegates representing American sections of the International Workingmen's Association arrived in Philadelphia. They came on July 15, 1876, and in the space of a day, they dissolved the once-powerful International and entrusted the archives and documents of the organization to the care of Sorge and Carl Speyer. Before adjourning, the convention adopted a proclamation that began:

Fellow Working Men:

The International Convention at Philadelphia has abolished the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, and the external bond of the organization exists no more.

"The International is dead!" the bourgeoisie of all countries would now cry out "with ridicule and joy," but there was no doubt, the proclamation went on, that the movement would never really die; indeed, it would soon be resurrected:

The comrades in America promise you that they will faithfully guard and cherish the acquisitions of the International in this country until more favorable conditions will again bring together the workingmen of all countries to common struggles, and the cry will resound again louder than ever:

"Proletarians of all countries, unite."⁸⁵

On July 19, 1876, the unity congress opened in Philadelphia. Seven societies sent delegations, but only four were considered in good standing and entitled to representation. Seven delegates were accepted: Friedrich A. Sorge and Otto Weydemeyer, son of Joseph Weydemeyer, from the International; three delegates from the Social-Democratic Workingmen's Party of North America; one delegate from the Workingmen's Party of Illinois; and one from the Social Political Workingmen's Society of Cincinnati. These seven delegates represented approximately 3,000 organized socialists in the United States, of whom 635 were in the International Workingmen's Association.

The unity congress lasted four days and established a united socialist party, the Workingmen's Party of the United States. The platform was a result of compromise. It adopted the trade union policies of the International but conceded to the Lassalleian request that a national instead of an international organization be established. On the key issue of political action and trade unionism, the platform took the Marxist position. It said:

The political action of the party is confined to obtaining legislative acts in the interest of the working class proper. It will not enter into a political campaign before being strong enough to exercise a perceptible influence, and then in the first place locally in the towns or cities, when demands of purely local character may be presented, providing they are not in conflict with the platform and principles of the party.

We work for the organization of trades unions upon a national and international basis to ameliorate the condition of the working people and seek to spread therein the above principles.

But the national executive committee, to be located in Chicago, was dominated by the Lassalleans. A further concession to the Lassalleans was made in a resolution advanced by Peter J. McGuire, one of the delegates from the Social-Democratic Workingmen's Party of North America, and opposed by Sorge and three others, empowering the executive committee to permit local sections to enter political campaigns when circumstances were considered favorable. Again, over Sorge's objection in which he was joined by other Marxists, the platform endorsed the Lassallean principle of governmental transfer of industrial enterprises to producers' cooperatives.

The unity congress said nothing about black Americans, but it adopted a resolution dealing with women's rights. In keeping with Sorge's approach to the subject, it acknowledged "the perfect equality of both sexes" but said nothing about women's political rights. Instead, it emphasized that "the emancipation of women will be accomplished with the emancipation of men, and the so-called woman's rights question will be solved with the labor question."

The *Vorbote* in Chicago and the *Sozial-Demokrat* in New York were designated as the party's official organs, with the latter's name to be changed to *Arbeiter-Stimme* (Worker's Voice). The English-language organ of the Social-Democratic Workingmen's Party, the *Socialist*, was also declared an official organ, but its name was changed to the *Labor Standard*, and Marx's former private secretary, J. P. McDonnell, was chosen as editor.

Although there had been concessions to the Lassalleans, the platform of the new party adopted the general principles of the First International. It recommended that workingmen "turn their backs on the ballot box" for the present and concentrate on organizing, for "organization is frequently destroyed and always injured by a hasty political movement." It stressed that the basis for the economic subjection of workers lay in the appropriation of the means of production by the capitalists; that the struggle for emancipation had to be carried out by a united and independent international working class; and that the final goal was the abolition of the wage system and the creation of a classless society. The ideas and even the language were Marxist, and much of it had been written by Sorge.⁸⁶

With the close of the unity congress on July 22, 1876, a unified socialist

party, Marxist in orientation, came into existence in the United States for the first time.⁸⁷ Having played a leading role in the organization of the party, Sorge faced the future full of hope. Shortly after the congress, he published his only piece of writing in English, *Socialism and the Worker*. After criticizing the usual picture of socialists as incendiaries and looters and explaining the true nature of socialism and indicating specifically how the demands of socialists, if realized, would solve the problems facing the nation as it moved into its second century, he pointed out that, despite oppression, persecution, ridicule, and scorn, "everywhere throughout the civilized world socialism has taken root. Everywhere it has begun the struggle against capital, monopoly, and class rule, and its victory is assured." Sorge concluded that socialism was also growing in America; its roots were in "the gallant endeavors" of the workers in their trade unions. The future of socialism in America, he was convinced, was linked to that of the unions:

They [the trade unionists] will transcend the narrow limits they made for themselves; they will expand and embrace the whole class of workers in this country as soon as they have overcome some prejudices, the natural outgrowth of their national conditions and then, perhaps, they will lead the van.⁸⁸

Sorge's hopes for the Workingmen's Party of the United States were soon dashed. No sooner had it been established than the old controversy over politics versus trade unionism broke out. The former Internationalists saw trade unionism as a necessary prelude to working-class politics and expected the new party to pursue this course according to the platform and principles adopted at its founding congress. But the Lassalleans, who preached political action first and foremost, were determined to ignore the mandate of the unity congress that political campaigns should be organized only when the party was "strong enough to exercise a perceptible influence." Peter J. McGuire, speaking for the Lassalleans, maintained that political action was the most important method of organizing the American workers for their emancipation:

We cannot successfully preach trade unionism in these hard times. Workingmen—members of our Party—find it difficult to pay even their ten cents a month to keep up the Party. How then can they support a Trades' Union, costing three times as much as the expense of membership in our Party? One form of labor organization in these hard times can exist only at the expense of the other.

Furthermore, the trade unions did not and would not support the party's principles, and after the party devoted time, money, and energy to organizing the unions, it would find itself deserted by the very organizations it had helped to create. If the unions stayed with the party, they would only do so in

order to steer it into conservative channels and to confine its activities to agitating for "a milk and water measure," like the eight-hour day, while the need was that it devote itself entirely to the achievement of socialism through the ballot box. Finally, if trade unions could really help workers solve their problems, what use was there for a workingmen's party?⁸⁹

The former members of the International—Sorge, McDonnell, Otto Weydemeyer, and Speyer—took issue with McGuire and defended the party's official position. They insisted that there was no conflict between trade unionism and political action, that the two actually complemented each other. To be sure, trade unions tended to be narrow, but they were not inherently hostile to socialism, and, under the party's direction, they could be brought to see that improvements such as higher wages and shorter hours, while important, would not fundamentally solve the problems of the working class under capitalism. Nevertheless, the struggle for these immediate demands was important, both to better the conditions of the working class and to train them in the movement for socialism. This was particularly true of the eight-hour day, which not only was not a "milk and water measure," as McGuire sneeringly charged but was "the most political of all measures," and, in the words of Ira Steward, the eight-hour champion, "the great gulf which must be opened between the old capitalistic parties and ourselves." Admittedly, the trade unions were not broad enough to include all workers, but it was the duty of the socialists to broaden them. That they did not readily accept advice from the socialists was no reason for writing them off. To the question, Why have a party if trade unions could help the workers solve their problems? the former Internationalists replied:

There is every use for our party. It can do the work which the unions cannot *at present* accomplish. It can agitate and create intelligence on economical questions. It can make war on the errors of the past. It can arouse the people to the necessity for union and action. It can show itself the party of intelligence and wisdom by helping along every labor union, by working and agitating for the thorough advancement of labor which can only be affected in *labor* organization. It can hurry the masses into their unions, and the latter it can hurry on to centralized action. If we are to hurry the birth of a better future we must strive for a healthy present. Let us not be foolishly selfish because our party is not the entire labor movement. It is only an advance guard.⁹⁰

The party's Lassalleian-dominated executive committee and its pro-Lassalleian corresponding secretary, Philip Van Patten, ignored these appeals, and McGuire continued to demand that the platform's restriction on political campaigns be revised. As early as September 1876, he won an important victory when the executive committee granted the New Haven section the right to engage in electoral campaigns. When Sorge and Weydemeyer denounced

the action as a departure from the official position, Van Patten dismissed their letter with the observation that it was "extremely personal and offensive."⁹¹ With the encouragement of the executive committee and the corresponding secretary, New Haven nominated a ticket in the fall election of 1876 and was speedily followed by sections in Milwaukee, Cincinnati, and Chicago, all in defiance of the official platform. When the electoral results showed that the socialist candidates in New Haven, Chicago, and Cincinnati had gained a large vote and that six socialists had been elected in Milwaukee,⁹² the Lassalleans were more than ever determined to ignore the official regulations. They mounted an intensified attack on the Marxist view that political action should await the formation of strong trade unions.⁹³

The dispute grew more acute after the *Labor Standard's* announcement on January 27, 1877, that it would henceforth refuse to print attacks on the platform. The executive committee responded by placing J. P. McDonnell, the Marxist editor of the weekly, under the supervision of a Lassallean co-editor. When this failed to intimidate McDonnell, the pro-Lassallean Social Democratic Printing Association refused the paper further credit, and it was forced to cease publication for a fortnight. When the paper reappeared on May 12, 1877, because of loans by former Internationalists, the executive committee continued its campaign to compel the paper to abandon its emphasis on trade unionism. But McDonnell, supported by the Internationalists, continued to call upon trade unionists to remain in their unions, to urge nonunionists to join labor organizations, and to plead with members of the Workingmen's Party to organize their fellow workers. Articles written by Friedrich Engels brought to the readers of the *Labor Standard* the news of trade union activities and labor struggles in Europe.⁹⁴

While the dispute over the party platform raged, the railroad workers began a strike against repeated wage cuts. The great railroad strike lasted two weeks, spread to seventeen states and other industries, and, more than any previous event, highlighted the fact that the class struggle was emerging clearly and sharply in the United States. The Workingmen's Party neither began the strike nor had a significant part in directing it, but its members became involved in the battle, especially in Chicago, St. Louis, and Cincinnati. They addressed huge audiences of strikers and other workers, advising them against rash and violent acts and urging them to organize into unions.⁹⁵

The defeat of the strike, however, was seized upon by the Lassalleans as proof that the ballot box was the only effective weapon with which workers could fight the capitalist class. Once the state was captured through the ballot, a socialist society would be at hand.⁹⁶ The Lassalleans succeeded in persuading even more sections to ignore the decisions of the unity congress and to rush into politics. The results were favorable. In the autumn municipal and state elections of 1877, the socialist vote increased considerably, and in Louisville, Kentucky, five of the seven socialist candidates were elected.⁹⁷

With such encouraging results, the Lassalleans determined to revise the par-

ty's program and constitution to eliminate the restriction on premature political action. Over the opposition of the former Internationalists, they summoned a special convention in Newark, New Jersey, on December 26, 1877, where the "political action" socialists gained complete control of the Workingmen's Party. (Sorge, McDonnell, Weydemeyer, and Speyer refused to attend.) The *Labor Standard* and *Vorbote* were stricken from the list of the party's organs; the party name was changed to the Socialist Labor Party; and the constitution and declaration of principles were completely reworked. All obstacles to immediate political campaigning were removed, and the main purpose of the party was the mobilization of the working class for political action. A subsidiary statement affirmed that the party "should maintain friendly relations with the trade unions and should promote their formation upon socialistic principles." But it was made quite clear that the chief function of the Socialist Labor Party was the organization of political campaigns.⁹⁸

Disgusted by the total abandonment of the Marxist principles laid down by the unity congress and by the complete victory of the Lassallean "politicals," Sorge, McDonnell, Weydemeyer, and Speyer withdrew from the party and joined with Ira Steward, George E. McNeill, and George Gunton to campaign for immediate demands around the slogan "Shorter Hours and Higher Wages." Their strategy was to build a mass working-class organization that would campaign for these demands, but whose ultimate aim was the abolition of the wage system.

When the General Council was moved to New York City in 1872, one of the instructions it had received from the Hague Congress was that it should concentrate on establishing an international labor union. This was never achieved during the remainder of the International's life, but at a conference in 1878, it did come into existence when J. P. McDonnell and George E. McNeill organized a provisional central committee of the International Labor Union. Included among the committee members were Friedrich A. Sorge, Carl Speyer, Otto Weydemeyer, Albert R. Parsons, Ira Steward, George Gunton, and others from eighteen states. George E. McNeill was selected president.⁹⁹

The International Labor Union united the forces of the eight-hour movement, under Ira Steward and George E. McNeill, with the former Internationalists. Steward and Sorge had been coming closer together since 1872 when the father of the eight-hour movement split with Wendell Phillips over the latter's endorsement of currency reform. In an article attacking Phillips, Steward wrote:

In 1866 he said in Faneuil Hall, "Don't meddle with ethics, don't discuss debts, keep clear of finance, talk only eight hours," and continued to speak in this strain until 1870. We adhere to that advice. No one accounts for his change though many recognize it; and in that

change, he has lost the confidence of some of the most thoughtful friends of the movement.¹⁰⁰

As Steward and his close associate McNeill looked about for a genuine working-class movement, they sought out closer relations with the Marxists in the International. Sorge, who viewed the eight-hour movement, led by Steward, as "an oasis in the desert of the Currency Reform humbug," invited them to establish such relations. In 1876 or 1877, Sorge mailed Steward a manuscript copy of a translation of parts of *Das Kapital*, including the complete section, "The Working Day." Steward informed Sorge that he and McNeill were greatly impressed by what they had read, and both wanted to familiarize Americans with it. "I shall quote from the Dr. several passages to help introduce and make his name more common to our readers. I never knew how much he had said on the Hours of Labor," he added.¹⁰¹

Steward never became a Marxist. Indeed, he always believed that the wage system would be abolished automatically through the eight-hour day, once that was achieved, for wages would continue to increase as workers' needs grew with more leisure, "until the capitalist and laborer are one." Therefore, "the way out of the wage system is through higher wages resultant from shorter hours."¹⁰² But after the dissolution of the International in 1876, Steward and the former IWA Marxists were on very good terms, despite their difference over how the wage system would be abolished. Both agreed on three principal points that were embodied in the program of the International Labor Union:

"That the wage-worker is forced to sell his labor at such prices and under such conditions as the employer of labor shall dictate"; "That political liberty cannot long continue under economic bondage"; "That the first step towards the emancipation of labor is a reduction of the hours of labor."

Both the Eight-Hour Leaguers and the Internationalists agreed that these principles could serve as a real foundation from which the skilled and unskilled workers could set out "to the end that poverty and all its attendant evils shall be abolished forever."¹⁰³

Membership in the International Labor Union was open to all who lived on their wages, regardless of nationality, sex, creed, or color, except those who had acted against the interests of labor. However, major attention was devoted to the organization of the unskilled in order to minimize their competition with the skilled. The members would unite for the achievement of shorter hours and higher wages; factory, mine, and workshop inspections; abolition of contract, convict, and child labor; employer accident liability; and the creation of labor bureaus. But these measures would be part of the work of the new

labor movement, since it would also work for "the final abolition of the wage system."¹⁰⁴

In the next few years, the ILU made its chief progress among the New England textile workers and in the textile centers in New Jersey and upstate New York. Its membership was never large. In 1878 McNeill placed its strength at 7,000 to 8,000 members in branches in thirteen states. A year and a half later, Carl Speyer, general secretary of the ILU, put the figure at between 1,400 and 1,500 members. By 1881, only one branch remained—in Hoboken, New Jersey, where Sorge lived. In 1883, Sorge reorganized the branch as the International Labor Union of Hoboken "to unite the members of the International Labor Union, for the purpose of aiding the trade unions of New Jersey in attaining favourable labour laws." In 1887, this last branch of the International Labor Union also disappeared.¹⁰⁵

Although its life was brief and although it did not have more than eight thousand members at any time, the International Labor Union is important for what it represented and what it attempted to do. It emphasized the primary importance of economic organization and was the first great effort to unite all unskilled workers into one union and, by uniting them with the trade unions of skilled workers, to achieve nationwide labor solidarity. While it did little to actually unify the labor movement, it did raise the importance of the issue, and it offered encouragement to those who would carry it forward in the immediate future.

The International Labor Union also marks the political retirement of Friedrich A. Sorge. After its decline, he was never again involved organizationally in any labor or political action. Indeed, he hardly ever published his opinion of current developments. Adolph Douai, who had passed through the International with Sorge, not only joined the Socialist Labor Party after the ILU's demise but played a leading role in that organization as both a speaker and an editor. But Sorge remained silent. Just how silent is indicated in a letter Engels wrote to him on October 12, 1889: "Your correspondence with the Nationalists in the W.A. pleased me, first because one recognized old Sorge ten miles away, and second because it is a *public* sign of life again from you."¹⁰⁶ "W.A." was the *Workingmen's Advocate*, the English-language weekly published in New York City and New Haven. Its September 28, 1889, issue carried a dialogue between "an adherent of Nationalism and an old Socialist" under the heading "Socialism or Nationalism?" The latter was anonymous, but as Engels indicated, it was not difficult to recognize that it was Sorge.

The Nationalist movement had been organized by the followers of Edward Bellamy, author of the novel *Looking Backward*, published in January 1888. Hundreds of thousands read this utopian account of a cooperative commonwealth in the United States in the year 2000. Bellamy's main plank, nationalization of industry, stimulated the growth of a short-lived movement "to nationalize the functions of production and distribution." Linked together

loosely through correspondence and the exchange of lectures, the Nationalist movement recruited its membership mainly from the urban middle class. Although it had little relation to scientific socialism and although Bellamy himself went to great lengths to point out that he was no Marxist, the Nationalist movement sought to win recruits from among members of the Socialist Labor Party. When one Nationalist tried, through Sorge, to start a recruiting drive among socialists, the veteran socialist decided to show his first "public sign of life" since the disappearance of the International Labor Union.

The dialogue began when the Nationalist wrote to Sorge, asking him to give "the Nationalist movement the aid of your valuable cooperation" by joining its ranks and furnishing the Nationalists with the names of "such other persons, men and women, as you may judge suitable." Included was a copy of the Nationalist platform with its statement that the Nationalist movement sought the "conversion of the cultured and conservative classes," and its promise that the new society would be achieved by "rational, peaceful means," and its proposal to take over industry after industry as the public became prepared for this change, and have the industries operated by the government.

Sorge replied that the objective of converting "the cultured and conservative classes" had "never been an article of my faith, because in the words of Karl Marx, 'The emancipation of the working classes must be achieved by the working classes themselves.'" Since "almost all my political connections are with working men and women within the ranks of Labor," he could not comply with the request. In his reply, the Nationalist charged Sorge with distorting Marx's real meaning and purpose. Both Marx and Lassalle "and the rest of Socialist philosophers," he maintained, even while insisting that labor is the essential force in society, had nevertheless "denied that only the manual is labor" and "never placed labor, because cultured, out of the ranks of labor." It was therefore a distortion of Marxism and any other type of socialism to contend, as Sorge did, that the "cultured classes . . . are not wanted, or are useless or are outside the ranks of labor." After all, from what class had Marx and Lassalle come, or "the Russian nobleman, Sergius E. Schevitsch, or Laurence Gronlund,¹⁰⁷ or Walter Vrooman, in this country; or Liebknecht, Bebel, or Viereck, who are fighting for Socialism and the rights of men in Germany"? Views such as those propounded by Sorge, he went on, had been largely responsible for having "kept Socialism back in America," and in seeking to alter this narrow approach, the Nationalists would be making a real contribution to the further advance of socialism. Basically, Sorge's approach was "not Socialism at all. It is class prejudice."

Sorge replied this time with the observation that to answer all the points raised by the Nationalist would require that he write a pamphlet. He noted, however, that his correspondent had distorted his comment about his "political connections" by omitting the words "almost" and "political"; hence his diatribe was directed against something Sorge had "never said or implied.

Men or women, working with pen or plow, with brain or muscle, *are* working men and women, and I have made no distinction between mental and manual labor." Turning to the Nationalist program, Sorge emphasized that it had nothing in common with socialism:

The vital principle of Socialism is the substitution of common property for private property, in the first place, of all the means of production. Your declaration of principles says nothing about that, and if you should insinuate that your paragraph 6 [calling for the taking over of industry by the government as the public became prepared for it] is aimed substantially at the same thing, so much the worse for the framers of your declaration of principles not daring to tell the truth in plain, unmistakable words. The first paragraph of your declaration of principles is false in every respect. The Socialist does not know of any "eternal truth," much less one governing the "world's progress." The whole paragraph, as well as the greater number of those following it, are commonplace phrases of middle-class philanthropists. Socialists, having studied, and studying, the economic evolution of society, could not be guilty of uttering such empty declarations.

In closing, Sorge observed: "You are what we call 'Ein Gefühlssozialist' [a socialist sympathizer, not a real socialist], and I hope that in a few years you will see the errors of Nationalism as seen by yours sincerely for the cause of labor." The Nationalist ended the dialogue by accusing Sorge of having displayed "a temper very much savoring of ingrained prejudice and dogmatism" and curtly signing himself, "yours sincerely for the cause of human progress."

Sorge's public inactivity may have been due partly to reasons of health; he suffered severely from the gout. Also, he was known for his shyness and modesty and seems to have had a distaste for public speaking. Indeed, in his entire association with the socialist and labor movements from the 1850s to the early twentieth century, he appears to have spoken in public on only two occasions. The first, as we have noted, was on June 23, 1858, at a meeting in honor of the martyrs of 1848 when he gave the welcoming address as the representative of the Communist Club. The other occasion was at the anti-war meeting in Cooper Union on November 19, 1870, at the time of the Franco-German War, where he was the chairman and spoke in English and then interpreted his remarks in German and French. Actually he spoke only briefly, stressing that while he had been born in Germany, he was no narrow patriot, and that "the greatest exploits of patriotism are those alone in the interest of mankind and civilization" and also that men were "born all alike and having the same right to the pursuit of happiness, life, and liberty."¹⁰⁸ Although Sorge was the first American to be informed of Marx's death in a March 14, 1883, cable from Engels and although he wrote the biography of Marx that

was published in the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* the following day under the heading, "The Founder of the International, His Life, His Work," he was not one of the speakers at the great memorial meeting in Marx's honor held at Cooper Union on March 19, 1883.¹⁰⁹

Yet another factor must be considered in trying to understand Sorge's public inactivity. It was also undoubtedly because he felt he could accomplish little in the creation of a viable socialist party in the United States. At the last meeting of the International on July 15, 1876, at which ten delegates in Philadelphia voted to dissolve the organization, Sorge had presented his idea on how to spread the principles of the International among native Americans. In his presentation, Sorge emphasized the need to avoid foreign models, especially the German, and for the Marxists to achieve closer relations with the trade unions.¹¹⁰ But during the 1880s, as he reported to Marx and Engels, Sorge noted with despair the sectarian approach of German-American socialists toward American workers. Engels agreed fully. In his letters to Sorge, he pointed out that German-Americans did not appreciate the fact that "our theory" was not a credo but "a guide to action," something that was living, not dead. Their refusal, on principle, to learn English was, to him, not only an example of their narrow-mindedness but also of their political ineptitude. For the socialists to play an important role in America, Engels insisted, "they will have to doff every remnant of foreign garb . . . [and] to become out and out American. They cannot expect the Americans to come to them, they are the minority and the immigrants must go to the Americans, who are the vast majority and the natives. And to do that, they must above all learn English." When Sorge informed him that he could report little progress in that direction, Engels wrote back in exasperation that "if the whole German Socialist Labor Party went to pieces . . . it would be a gain, but we can hardly expect anything so good as that."¹¹¹

Although he was on the sidelines of both the American socialist and labor movements, Sorge was not without a forum. He was sought out by the leaders of trade unions as their organizations slowly began to recover from the depression of the mid-1870s, and he met with them to discuss the relationship between trade unionism and socialism. When Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, wrote to Engels on January 9, 1891, and announced himself as "a student of your writings and those of Marx and others in the same line," he did not mention his indebtedness to Sorge.¹¹² But in his autobiography, he did, paying tribute to Sorge as one of the men who had driven home to the trade unionists of the post-depression years the principle that "the trade union was the fundamental agency through which we could achieve economic power, which would in turn give us social and political power."¹¹³

Sorge lived to see Gompers become increasingly hostile to socialism and socialists as he grew more and more conservative. He also lived to see the AFL develop into an organization made up primarily of skilled workers in the

craft unions and that increasingly neglected the needs of the unskilled and semiskilled workers, especially those in the mass production industries.¹¹⁴ This was certainly a far cry from the prediction Sorge had made in his *Socialism and the Worker* where he foresaw that the trade unions would "transcend the narrow limits they made for themselves" and would "expand and embrace the whole class of workers in this country." Yet he always believed that the AFL, with all its limitations, represented a major breakthrough in the development of the American labor movement. Unlike many of its predecessors and like its contemporary—the Knights of Labor—it was composed exclusively of wage earners, leaving no room for non-working-class elements who could divert the trade unions from the day-to-day struggle in the interests of the workers. Sorge always believed that a major error of a number of labor leaders of the post-Civil War era was their readiness to hitch the labor movement to the wagons of different utopian reformers who promised an easy solution to all the problems of the working class. He placed in this category such utopian nostrums as the single tax, currency reform, producers' cooperatives, and other enticing, all-embracing plans to lift the working class out of wage slavery by a shortcut. One of the results of this capitulation to middle-class reformist panaceas, Sorge emphasized, was that it tended to push the class struggle out of the minds of the workers by spreading the illusions that they could be transformed into farmers, independent businessmen, or cooperative self-employers in an economic system under which workers were likely to remain workers throughout their lives. In breaking from these influences, the AFL had placed the labor movement on a solid, working-class foundation.

For all of these reasons, Sorge felt that in its formative stage, the AFL, despite weaknesses and inadequacies, constituted an important step forward for the American working class. Although it represented only a minority of that class—the skilled workers—it approach was a working-class one, and on this, future advances could be built.¹¹⁵

Sorge made great contributions after his public retirement as a collector of invaluable historical materials and as a labor historian. He turned over to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin the voluminous archives—correspondence, papers, and documents—of the First International that had been entrusted to his care when the International was dissolved. Shortly before his death in October 1906, he deposited with the New York Public Library the correspondence of Marx, Engels, and other Marxists with Americans (many of them letters to Sorge), together with his own library and collection of labor papers. At the request of the German Social Democratic Party, Sorge sent a transcript of selected letters from his collection to J. H. W. Dietz, the party's publishing house in Germany, which published them in 1906 under the title, *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen von Joh. Phil. Becker, Jos. Dietzgen, Friedrich Engels, Karl Marx u.a. an F. A. Sorge und andere* (Letters and excerpts from letters by Johann Philipp Becker, Joseph Dietzgen, Frederick Engels, Karl Marx and others to F. A. Sorge and others.)¹¹⁶ In his preface to

the volume, dated August 1906, two months before his death, Sorge indicated that in selecting from the many hundreds of letters in his possession, he had omitted those that seemed unimportant to him. He also omitted (although he did not mention it) any passages referring to his own personal affairs or to those of other Americans who were still alive.¹¹⁷

A Russian translation of the volume was published in St. Petersburg in 1907 with a preface by V. I. Lenin, who stressed the importance of the collection in revealing, among other things, the sources of dogmatism and sectarianism in the American and British socialist movements. "What Marx and Engels criticise most sharply in British and American socialism," Lenin stressed, "is its isolation from the working-class movement," and he urged the socialists of Russia to learn from this significant correspondence and to apply the lesson in their own activities.¹¹⁸

At Engels's suggestion and with his encouragement, Sorge published a series of articles on the history of the American labor movement in *Die Neue Zeit*, the theoretical organ of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. The articles appeared between 1891 and 1895. When Sorge set out to write the history of the American labor movement, he did not have available the wide variety of sources discovered by John R. Commons and associates in the early years of the twentieth century. But he did have available a rich collection of documents, ranging from reports of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor to the socialist press, convention proceedings, tracts, and pamphlets. In addition, he was personally involved in many of the events he discusses. This gave his work an eyewitness quality that is often lacking in more scholarly accounts. With all its limitations, with all its oversimplifications and biases—and these are indicated in the notes accompanying Sorge's text—his history of the American labor movement represents one of the first efforts at a Marxist analysis of the movement's development. To be sure, Daniel De Leon, leader of the Socialist Labor Party in the 1890s, and editor of its English-language paper, *The People*, did not rate Sorge highly as a labor historian and advised *Die Neue Zeit* in 1895 to stop publishing the articles by "one who has so often patentized his lack of familiarity with the social, political and labor movements of America, as Mr. F. A. Sorge of Hoboken, New Jersey."¹¹⁹ But then, it was enough for Sorge to have words of praise for the positive contributions of the AFL to render him incompetent in De Leon's eyes to interpret the American labor movement. The pity is that too often Sorge tells us less rather than more than we would want to know, in view of his vast personal experience in the American socialist movement.

Sorge spent most of the last years of his life quietly in Hoboken. The quiet was broken by a visit from Engels during the socialist leader's all-too-brief stay in the United States in the summer of 1888, by weekly visits from his various comrades, and by his work for *Die Neue Zeit*, of which his history of the labor movement in the United States forms a great part. Franz Mehring describes a visit to Sorge in 1905:

He received us with a truly touching hospitality when we visited him last summer and spent unforgettable hours in his small house in which Marx and Engels greeted one from the walls of the library and Beethoven and Wagner in the music room. All his life he had been a happy drinker, and as we drank a final bottle given to him for his golden anniversary he clicked our glasses to a joyful reunion.¹²⁰

The reunion never took place. Friedrich Adolph Sorge died on October 26, 1906, at the age of seventy-eight, having given the greater part of his life to the socialist and labor movements.

Neither a notice of Sorge's death nor an obituary appeared in the English-language press, including *The Worker*, the organ of the Socialist Party of America, published in New York City. But the socialist *New Yorker Volkszeitung* of October 28, 1906, carried on its front page a large picture of Sorge and the headline: "F. A. Sorge Dies. A Pioneer of the Modern Labor Movement." It described Sorge as "a man whose name will be associated for all time with the American and international labor movement." After a brief discussion of the main features of his life, the report concluded:

F. A. Sorge's name is intimately associated with one of the best periods of the American labor movement. As long as there is a labor movement, Sorge's name will be connected with it, not only here in America, but in the entire world, as long as oppressed workers struggle for a better future.

In an editorial devoted to Sorge, the *Volkszeitung* expanded on his contributions, observing that until the eve of his death, he "gave his full attention to the international liberation struggles of the proletariat." The editorial continued:

The struggle of the working class—that was his element; this gave his life content. The thought the workers themselves had to free the working class penetrated into his flesh and blood, and nothing would rouse his anger more than when anyone expected help for the proletariat from the hands of the bourgeoisie.

How he hated the bourgeois reformers, who tried to dominate the labor movement in order to further their own interests! How angry could Sorge become when anyone expected something (even unimportant) for the workers from the progressive bourgeoisie! . . .

To further the struggles of the proletariat he gave his all. The unity of the workers of all countries was basic to his thinking, and for many long years, he devoted himself to one goal: to lay the ground for the International in the American working class. How often did the representatives and spokesmen of the American workers travel to him, the

German in Hoboken, to seek advice and help on questions related to the labor movement.

And not only the American workers, but the spokesmen of the workers of Europe, the international proletariat, turned often to Sorge for his advice regarding an important step in the struggle of the workers—and Marx and Engels also listened to the advice of their friend. . . .

He will not be forgotten by the struggling proletariat of both worlds.



INTRODUCTION

Forty years ago (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, 1850) Marx pointed to the incisive changes in world markets and world commerce as a result of the discovery of gold in California and the settlement of the Pacific coast by the "Yankees." He said: "For the second time world commerce moves in a new direction. . . . San Francisco and New York are now the new centers of commerce." And he added the warning: "The industry and commerce of old Europe must work very hard if they do not want to collapse as Italy's industry and commerce since the 16th century." But today, in 1890, Saxony and Thuringia, Austria and France, Belgium and England plaintively bewail the collapse of entire industries because the United States has closed markets to them in order to exploit them itself for its own manufactures.

How large the influence of North American grain is on European conditions should be known to everybody, and Paul LaFargue perfectly described this influence in his article "American Grain" in *Die Neue Zeit* (1885). That this influence on European conditions comes not alone from American grain but from almost all American produce of the soil, especially animal breeding, is proven by the European tariffs and importation regulations. In all European industrial countries we notice processes that stem directly from North American industry and commerce, so that one can say: the influence of North America, that is, the United States, pervades Europe.

Along with these points, the significance of which can hardly be overestimated, there are also others of similar importance that should be discussed in *Die Neue Zeit*. The influence of economic conditions in this country on its political life, the blossoming of heavy industry and the concurrent development of the labor movement in the United States, and the role played by immigrants in this development—these are themes of great interest to the readers

of this journal. Furthermore, German immigrants participated in large numbers in the struggle of the workers in the United States. Numerous German workers belong to workers' organizations here; indeed they founded and support many of these organizations and have won a certain influence on public life through the creation and support of their own press.

In 1887, *Die Neue Zeit* published excellent articles by Friedrich Engels and Edward and Eleanor Marx-Aveling on economic conditions and the labor movement in America.¹ The following articles will undertake to publish new material and hopefully present a historical survey of the whole matter. A priori it is understood that I will write almost exclusively about the United States, that is, the country that appears to be destined to take over the inheritance of "Old Europe." Canada, the northern neighbor, seems to be on the road to a shorter or longer assimilation process.

The United States of America (the official title of the country), which now consists of forty-four independent states, five so-called territories, and the District of Columbia, which includes the capital, Washington, contains the best part—the temperate zone—of the continent of North America and covers an area of 9,272,488 square kilometers, almost twice as much as European Russia and more than seventeen times the area of the German Empire, almost as large as the whole of Europe. Two oceans border the land in the east and west, the Atlantic and the Pacific; Mexico in the South, Canada (British North America) in the north are the only continental neighbors.

Sixty-three million people now live in this huge country, and it is reasonable to assume that in two decades it will have a larger population than Russia; that it will be the most populated country, India and China excluded, populated with people whose best qualities are much energy and high intelligence. The resources are quite inexhaustible and innumerable. It has the most fruitful fields, the richest coal and metal mines, almost inexhaustible oil and gas resources, impressive mountains, large navigable rivers and lakes, extended coasts with numerous secure harbors on the Atlantic and Pacific oceans, and, on the whole, a beautiful, healthy climate. It produces cotton, grain, cattle, and oil in huge amounts and supplies these to Europe particularly. Hard and soft coal and stone (from sandstone to the best marble), precious and base metal (gold and silver, copper, iron, etc.) are abundantly mined: what is more natural than that this country, with its continuously growing population and its almost inexhaustible natural resources, should try to utilize its wealth and create a great industry to join the industrial nations and to soon become their leader?

When the United States entered the political arena 115 years ago, their only ambition was to be left alone and to govern their own affairs. They were tired of tutelage and, like all young people at a certain age, leaped into an ocean of real and imagined freedom. Enraged by injustice, which they blamed on the monarchy and the feudal aristocracy, they destroyed the visible signs of these institutions and created a political system wherein each public office was

supervised or balanced by another, a system full of stilted and artificial mannerisms, full of contradictions that they tried to conceal. Excepting the then nationwide enslavement of Negroes, there were no classes, thus no class differences and no class conflicts,² and even the propertied people exhibited no great difference from the others, so that one could call the inhabitants—except the above-mentioned exception—a society of free and equal citizens.

The bourgeoisie, to a certain degree the ideal one, had been created. It was sovereign and put its imprint on all institutions. In the struggle with nature these citizens had steeled their strength; in dealings with the aborigines, the Indians, they learned a shrewdness that always worked to their advantage; through the difficulties of life and the war with England they learned that they needed allies and assistance. Thus, at the beginning, there occurred the magnificent introductory process leading to the Declaration of Independence, which is much more comprehensible and impressive than the *droits de l'homme* [rights of the people] of the French Revolution formulated almost two decades later. Though the Declaration of Independence proudly proclaimed that "all human beings are free and equal," only a few years after attaining independence the three-fifths clause, which gave three votes to each slaveholder with five slaves, was written into the Constitution. The word *slavery* was strictly avoided—it was called "involuntary servitude"—but the thing existed and was acknowledged.³

In the war of independence these citizens recognized the necessity of uniting their strength and thus created a central administration, but only empowered to deal with foreign affairs and commerce. The civil and criminal administration of justice remained in the hands of the individual states except for Indian affairs, which were handled by the federal government. The concept of what was forbidden or allowed was thus for the most part decided by geographical boundaries. The lawmaking power of the United States, that is, for the nation as a whole, was placed in the hands of Congress, which consists of two bodies, the House of Representatives and the Senate. The members of the former are elected by direct vote, the Senators indirectly through legislatures of the individual states. The active and passive right to vote depends on where one lives, and no citizen of one state can be sent to Congress by citizens of another state. The members of the House of Representatives are elected on the basis of the population of the state, but each state sends two Senators—Nevada with its 60,000 inhabitants as well as New York with its 6 million. The President is elected indirectly through so-called delegates and forms the executive power but needs approval of the Senate for his ministerial appointments—called secretaries here. The President has the power of veto. The number of official positions that he and his secretaries may fill is estimated today as exceeding 100,000.

The federal courts and Supreme Court are responsible for the administration of justice on the federal level. Their influence on the character of public life is enormous because they are the last resort on questions of the constitu-

tionality of all laws and institutions, and questions about constitutionality are often raised in this country.

Everything else was left to the individual state: civil rights as well as criminal laws, communal government including police, taxes and excises (excluding custom duties), streets, canals, etc., even the militia, though the President has some rights over the latter; and thus each state has a special legislature, almost always consisting of two houses, to regulate these matters. This is a point that one must always keep in mind when judging the political and economical conditions of this country.

It is easy to recognize that these peculiar political structures corresponded to the life and to the economic conditions of the people in the second half of the eighteenth century. Except to some extent fishing and hunting, agriculture was the livelihood of the inhabitants, mostly for their own use and, with few exceptions, they satisfied their needs with the help of the whole family. Their sense for independence was therefore strongly developed; they did not want anyone to give them orders. There was no real industry and even handicrafts were primitively developed, except for a few places on the coast; the farmers lived according to the style of the country, largely isolated from one another, were versatile in all sorts of craftsmanship, and only occasionally needed a blacksmith and shoemaker. Payment in kind reigned, manufactured objects were exchanged for the produce of the soil, and money was rare. To pay duties with money was almost impossible for them and thus a horror. So that no port of trade could supplant its rivals or take excessive advantage of the others, matters of commerce were placed in the hands of federal employees. The poor communications in the large territories of the original thirteen states (colonies) prevented exchange of thoughts and furthered splintering, local particularism—and the sects with their odd eccentricities. This self-consciousness, rooted in isolation where only one's own strength and work were valued, finally became arrogance, a characteristic that was inherited and expanded by those who followed.

In the next articles we shall see what became of these rural conditions and how the "free and independent" citizen developed further.

chapter 1

BEGINNINGS OF TRADE UNIONISM

After the War for Independence the United States lived through hard times. Commerce and transportation were destroyed, as were many of the best settlements. The wool and iron industries, which had become rather strong during the war, were crippled by the cheap English products that flowed into the country after peace had been established. Paper money sank to a minimum of its nominal value, and so on. Massive reconstruction stood before the new nation. Let us see how this occurred in the three groupings into which the United States was divided in the eighteenth century—the southern, middle, and New England states.

The southern states, which included Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, gained power and prestige through cotton, and the slave system expanded with the development of cotton. Slavery expanded greatly in geographical area through the purchase of Louisiana in 1801¹ and the annexation of Florida in 1821.² The southerners, the white inhabitants in the southern states, pursued this expansion successfully by erecting new slave states. Cotton and slavery, a whole new industry, soon were the only industries in the South, with the exception of Louisiana, which also grew cane sugar.³

The more northern southern states pursued the slave trade, and, particularly proud Virginia, supplied the cotton-growing states with this strange living product, which had the unique characteristic of being a product as well as a producer in the cotton states. Cotton was already known and grown prior to the War for Independence but only on a small scale because separating the seed necessitated too much manual work. In 1793, Eli Whitney,⁴ a worker from Massachusetts, developed the cotton gin, a machine that cleaned and sorted the cotton from the seed and that could do a thousand times more work

than a man with his hands. From then on the cotton industry developed quickly, and slavery, which had existed on a rather small scale up to that point, became connected to the industry for a long period of time. I should also mention that in Virginia and Maryland tobacco growing expanded rapidly.

The middle states—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and little Delaware—pursued agriculture. Pennsylvania and also parts of Maryland gradually developed strong iron and wool industries, and the cities of New York and Philadelphia became busy centers of trade. Shipping and shipbuilding soon became very important in New York, with its fine, incomparable harbor, and furthered related businesses. The North River, as the Hudson is called on the west side of New York, was the shipbuilding area as long as the forests in the nearby states supplied the necessary timber. Coal mining was pursued in Pennsylvania, though at first on a small scale.

The ruling slogan was: We have to build up. In this building up the New England states (Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire), to which later Maine and Vermont were added,⁵ played the dominant role. The inhabitants there are called Yankees, a name that the Europeans usually use, not quite correctly, to describe all the people in the United States. These New Englanders were—until approximately 1830—almost without exception the descendants of the old Puritans who settled on the northeast coast in the first half of the seventeenth century. They were intelligent and hard working, simple and strict in their customs, but also smart and tough.

The fields in New England yield little on the average, and agriculture is an unrewarding occupation for the dense population, so the people began to seek other forms of livelihood. The strong young people shouldered axe and gun and went west to search for better fields, which they soon found in the large flatlands of the tributary rivers of the Mississippi and on the southern banks of the huge lakes of this continent. The densely populated states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin were for the most part founded by these Yankees, the so-called pioneers of the West, who were later followed by the endless stream of immigrants from Europe.

The work of these pioneers was difficult and no help was available in these newly developed areas, and so they developed machinery to help them work the fields. While under ordinary conditions today machines are utilized to replace workers and throw them into the streets, in this case machines were used to do the work of the laborers who did not exist. As is well known, American agricultural machines are still famous all over the world. It is understandable that under these conditions of production, which existed almost to the middle of the nineteenth century, no real class differentiation developed. These settlements later contributed to the simplification of economic conditions, to the transition to modern means of production in that they collided with the slave system in their advancement and came into conflict with it.

As the pioneers left home to search for land, to possess it, and to cultivate

it, the Yankees left behind took to the water to better their situation and come up in the world. On the Atlantic Ocean New England has an extended, bay-filled coast; shipping, coastal and sea trade, and fishing came to the fore and soon became very important, along with shipbuilding and related businesses. But the rivers proved to be even more important than the sea, this water power which the shrewd Yankees used to their advantage. Numerous short but powerful running streams and rivers flowing from nearby mountains crisscrossed the land almost formally, inviting the population to build mills and factories and to create industries. Thus the new cotton industry, soon to conquer the world, was added to shoe production and the old industries of wool and iron production, which had to be reconstructed after the war. Indeed, in the year 1787 Massachusetts had its first cotton-spinning mill.⁶ The development of this industry kept pace with cotton cultivation in the southern slave states of the Union, whose development grew with particular speed in the 1820s.

These industries received a great boost during the struggle with England that began in 1807⁷ and led to the second war with that country from 1812 to 1814. But after the peace of Ghent, these industries received a sharp blow through the importing of cheap English products, so that in the year 1816, under pressure from the manufacturers, duties were placed on these goods. The free and independent citizens of the New England states became manufacturers, that is, purchasers of human labor, profit makers—and class differences, if only gradually, crystallized. This occurred because a determinant of the factory system is the wage earner, that is, the worker, who “as a free person disposes of his labor as a purchasable commodity,” and these workers were available although they did not yet fulfill the other conditions of existence of the modern proletariat: “to be free of all those things necessary for fulfillment of their labor”—did not fulfill these conditions because they were the sons and daughters, especially the latter, of the neighboring “free and equal” citizens. And herein lies the difference between the historical development of class contradictions in this country and the industrial countries of Europe, which created their *free* labor force through the method of expropriating peasant lands and the tradition that the children of workers must become workers themselves. (See Marx, *Capital*, Vol. 1, chapter 24.) That our American manufacturers knew how to create this missing condition and free their workers completely will be shown later.

It was said at the end of the first article: We shall see what became of these rural conditions and how the free and independent citizen developed further. Well—the settlers, the pioneers, carried these rural conditions with them to the west, while in areas they left behind, industry and factories grew; on the coasts of the Middle and New England states trade and fishing, shipping and shipbuilding blossomed. The “free and independent” citizens and proclaimers of the Declaration of Independence became slaveholders, slave traders and—slave breeders, merchants, shipowners, speculators, and manufacturers. Below

these stood the craftsmen and workers of all types in constantly growing numbers.

We will now report on the workers' style of living, their working hours, their first hesitant attempts at organizing, and their first skirmishes with the employers. Slavery and the circumstances connected with it will not be discussed at present in order that we may appropriately give the conditions in New England a prominent place.

As previously noted, trade, shipping, and shipbuilding blossomed in New York. The first major strike of sailors and seamen broke out there in the year 1802. The strikers marched through the streets and docks, in a manner now well known to us, to pressure the "scabs" into joining them. Through the use of the conspiracy laws, the strike was soon suppressed and the leaders thrown in jail.⁸ In 1803 the first union—of ships' carpenters—received legal recognition, followed in 1806 by the house carpenters. Various other trades organized local groups, and in 1818 printers received their charter, a valuable privilege because it ensured the union the right of a lawyer. Notable is the report by a petitioner, who requested and received permission to incorporate, that "two 'gentlemen' talked sharply to him because they were furious at the presumption of daily wage earners to want incorporation."

Shoemakers, coopers (barrel makers), and hatmakers organized early secret groups, and the shoemakers very successfully utilized the boycott as early as a hundred years ago.

In the harbors and coastal areas of New England a large number of skilled craftsmen gathered and soon began to unite, though at first only for social and self-help purposes. These weather-browned, powerful ships' carpenters and caulkers did not have a good reputation among the "gentlemen," as one writer describes them:

"Below the merchants [*sic*] the working class formed an energetic element [in Boston]. The caulkers were clever politicians. The rope-makers were pugnacious and looked for fights with the soldiers which led to the Boston Massacre."⁹

The confirmed fact that "the Caulkers Club was an organization formed for political purposes and made plans to place certain persons in influential posts and positions of trust" is particularly significant as an example of the new occurrences. The ships' carpenters and caulkers in Boston first received legal recognition through incorporation in 1822.

However, it was seen to that these workers did not have an easy time of it—their working hours lasted from sunrise to sunset, and they were a class beneath the merchants, lawyers, officials, priests, speculators, and the like. While the latter were the so-called gentlemen, the craftsmen and workers were called merely "goodmen." Our "free and independent" citizens did stamp out feudalism and the monarchy but retained as far as possible the perceptions and viewpoint of England in the second half of the seventeenth century regarding the position of hand workers. Indeed, they retained not only the view-

point but also the laws and customs of this period, especially the "conspiracy laws" (which are still valid in many states) and the right of the authorities, the "gentlemen," to set wage rates. In the last century, through legislation, the local community councils and similar bodies set the maximum that a worker could earn. A minimum rate was not mentioned. For example, in Newburyport (Massachusetts) in 1777 the following law was passed:

Pursuant to "an act of the General Court to Prevent Monopoly and Oppression it was voted by the Selectmen to establish the following as the maximum Wages to be paid:

"Carpenter . . . 5 shillings, 4 pence per day."

The reporter, McNeill¹⁰ from Massachusetts, added:

It will be noticed that by this vote the employers were prohibited from paying more than a certain sum per day, but they were not prohibited from paying the lowest possible price for labor.

As the working hours always lasted as long as the day, that is, an astronomical length of time, so the wages were never higher than the pecuniary interest of these "gentlemen" permitted.

Karl Marx reported in *Capital*, Vol. 1, pages 225ff. (3d ed.), on the shrewdness of the English factory owners' deceitful gaining of working hours, minute shaving, and the like, in the 1850s. Well, our Yankees understood this business too—and even earlier. In shipbuilding, as in other industries, it was the custom to supply free rum or other spirits to the workers at specific times. In 1817 a Mr. Magoun, a shipbuilder in Medford, Massachusetts, decided to get rid of this custom and succeeded after a short struggle. E. H. Rogers, who reported about this struggle, remarks:

The hours of labor at that time were from sunrise to sunset, and all employers were obliged by custom to furnish free liquor at least twice a day. These two periods for drink were really periods of rest, and were called luncheon times, the men having an opportunity to eat as well as drink, and Mr. Magoun's no-rum movement meant no luncheon time, and was practically an increase in the working time, the employer thus saving the cost of time as well as the cost of the rum. The hours of this luncheon privilege were eleven o'clock in the forenoon, and four o'clock in the afternoon.

The first report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1870, p. 91, reported the following about the factory workers: "The earliest operatives in our mills were of the home population,—an active, intelligent, industrious, thrifty, well-educated, orderly and clean body of young men and women.

Children under fifteen years of age were very seldom found in our factories."¹¹ The system of long hours was first adopted, as in England, and the operatives went to work before breakfast. For this meal thirty minutes were allowed, and for dinner forty-five. The general length of time per day was fourteen or fifteen hours.

There was no real workers' movement in this period, which lasted until approximately 1825. Industry was in its infancy, and class differentiation had hardly begun.

chapter 2

THE LABOR MOVEMENT, 1830-1840

LABOR PARTIES AND STRIKES FOR THE TEN-HOUR DAY

In the 1830s, revolution brewed in the United States—as elsewhere—a revolution of enormous influence, compared to which the July revolution seems rather small and insignificant:¹ the transportation revolution. Steam was used until then almost exclusively in industry as a substitute for human hands and strength in the production of goods; steam would now be used to transport these goods and humans in the place of animals or the forces of nature.

To describe the tremendous effect of this change on the development of the United States and particularly the industry of this country is far too complicated for these reports. The following outline must suffice: the most important change in transportation, the building of the railroads, created large industries, which in turn necessitated more railroads; large coalfields were opened to feed the steam engines, and new trains were built to transport the coal; older settlements were brought into closer contact; the railroad created new settlements, new cities, even new states, and new areas of industry and agriculture were opened. It is well known to experts that the United States surpassed all other countries in the world in railroad building, and occasionally we will report some interesting statistics and dates in this regard. Steamship transportation also helped greatly to open up the country; we will merely mention here the opening of shipping on the Mississippi (with its great tributaries the Ohio and the Missouri, etc.), the beautiful Hudson, and the numerous bays and inland lakes. Furthermore, trade in the raw materials of this land increased greatly from the start of the trans-Atlantic steamship lines.

The great influence of the transportation revolution is naturally especially

visible in the decades following 1840, but in the 1830s it is already noticeable because capital grows with the new industries, the exploiting class with the working population. There are conflicts between employers and workers. Class contrast is noticeable and becomes sharper with each step forward, regardless of attempts to hide this fact. The unification of workers spreads not only in individual areas, but they begin to create organizations that span several states; they no longer limit themselves to one trade but attempt to establish larger corporate bodies with many different trades; they influence the press and hesitantly attempt to start their own newspapers; they even demand consideration of their interests in legislation—though at first in vain; they make demands on life; they challenge the employers; they finally demand a *reduction of working hours*. It is this stage of development that is described in the *Communist Manifesto*:² "From time to time the workers win, but only temporarily. The real result of their struggles is not immediate success, but the ever-expanding unification of the workers. This is furthered through developing communications which are produced by the great industries and bring the workers in different locations into contact with one another."

The workers' demands in this period are often mixed with petty-bourgeois reform plans, and also utopian enterprises appear in this "first undeveloped period of the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie," enterprises that support themselves on a fanciful picture of the coming new society, about which the *Communist Manifesto* notes: "Fantastic descriptions of the future society originate in a period in which the proletariat is still highly undeveloped, and thus perceives its own position fantastically in its first ominous thrust towards a general alteration of society."

A rather large number of such enterprises were founded in the 1830s and 1840s in the United States, most of which ended pitifully. The only one we will mention here is New Harmony, Indiana, because of the interest in the name of its founder, the Englishman, Robert Owen.³ A million dollars was put into the colony, and after two years (1826–1828) it was abandoned. Historically interesting is the later attempt of Josiah Warren,⁴ a follower of Owen, to create a labor exchange, in which he set up working time as the only regulator of price. George E. McNeill, of whom we will speak further, in the book *The Labor Movement: The Problem of To-Day*, prints a facsimile of a document reflecting eight hours of shoemaking or a hundred pounds corn which is dated May 18, 1827. Such documents were supposed to become the circulating currency of transportation and commerce.

Two English-born brothers in New York named Evans⁵ published the *Working Man's Advocate* at the end of the 1820s which made twelve demands:⁶

First. The right of man to the soil, "Vote yourself a farm."

Second. Down with monopolies, especially the United States Bank.

Third. Freedom of public lands.

Fourth. Homesteads made inalienable.

Fifth. Abolition of all laws for the collection of debts.

Sixth. A general bankruptcy law.

Seventh. A lien of the laborer upon his own work for his wages.

Eight. Abolition of imprisonment for debt.

Ninth. Equal rights for women with men in all respects.

Tenth. Abolition of chattel slavery and of wage slavery.

Eleventh. Land limitation to one hundred and sixty acres; no person after the passage of this law to become possessed of more than that amount of land. But when a land monopolist died, his heirs were to take each his legal number of acres, and be compelled to sell the surplus, using the proceeds as they pleased.

Twelfth. Mails in the United States to run on the Sabbath.

These demands allegedly found many followers and created much turbulence at the time as Professor R. T. Ely reported in his *The Labor Movement in America*.⁷

In New York, in 1829, the first "Workingmen's Party"⁸ was founded. Amid strong opposition it sent a delegate to the state legislature where the "gentlemen" threatened to expel him. The resolutions of the Workingmen's Party were directed against private land ownership, the right of succession, banks, the nonsense of (often counterfeit) paper money, and church-owned property. The last point was used to label the party as a freethinking "infidel movement." This New York Workingmen's Party attempted to expand and publish newspapers in Rhode Island, Connecticut, and Massachusetts, as well as in New York, but because of lack of support it was short-lived. Nevertheless, the agitation lasted for some time; indeed in 1835 several members were voted into the state legislature—among them a wagon driver—and in 1836 a member of the Workingmen's Party, Ely Moore,⁹ became a representative in the U.S. Congress.

Almost concurrently, in any case with some effect, the New England states were stirring, especially Massachusetts, where in 1830 Edward Everett¹⁰ advocated the founding of a workers' party in a public speech. On February 16, 1831, the first meeting of the "New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics and Other Workingmen" was held in Boston, but nothing more about it is known except that they called for a convention of delegates for the next year, which met on September 6, 1832 in Boston. Seventy-five delegates attended from all the New England states except Vermont, and one delegate came from New York.

The convention had the following points to deliberate:

1. The creation of an organization in New England with a central committee for each state;
2. The creation of institutes for reading and lectures (educational clubs);
3. Reform of the military;
4. A call for a national workers' assembly;

5. Whether the ten-hour system should be made obligatory or optional;
6. The operation of the banking system;
7. The improvement of the school system;
8. The abolition of imprisonment for debt and the passage of a general bankruptcy law;
9. The expansion of suffrage in states where it was limited;
10. That the workers have first claim to the fruits of their labor.

The association's journal was named the *New England Artisan*. Nothing about the discussion and resolutions of the convention has been reported, and the last sign of this political organization is found in a simple notice reporting that the annual convention was held in Northampton, Massachusetts, in 1834.¹¹ It is worth mentioning that among the defenders of this organization and workers in general were W. E. Channing,¹² the famous liberal preacher, and Horace Mann,¹³ the education reformer.

The united workers of Baltimore, among them a fairly large number of Germans, celebrated the first workers' holiday on September 12, 1833,¹⁴ and put up two candidates for the legislature.

The workers' organizations in this period were for the most part initiated and pursued by immigrants, especially Englishmen and Scots, with the possible exceptions of the typesetters, shoemakers, and a section of the construction industry. We will discuss later why the native element participated so weakly, withdrew from any functioning branches, or was ousted from them.

As reported earlier, typesetters, printers, and ships' carpenters, along with related trades organized early, and especially the latter formed the avant-garde of workers in the most important struggles of this period. Masons and bricklayers, the shoemakers and tailors, the carpenters, the painters, the roof layers, the stonemasons, the cellar men, saddlers, blacksmiths, and in smaller numbers (because native?) factory workers in cotton factories and others soon followed in organizing.

Furthermore, concurrently with these local organizations an effort was made to centralize the different trades in one area as well as to combine the scattered local groups in larger organizations. A "General Trades'-Union" existed in 1833 consisting of the various trades and crafts in New York City, whose president was the aforementioned Ely Moore, and in Boston in 1834 a similar union was founded consisting at the start of sixteen different trade organizations.¹⁵ Similar things occurred in Baltimore and Philadelphia.

In the preceding period questions of social means and support were the first concern of these organizations; now (1825-1840) the horizon of the workers' organizations expanded, and they demanded a larger share of the good life. The resolutions were already aimed at the opposing class; their demands were formulated more sharply, and their methods were enjoyably daring. The New York General Trades'-Union wanted "to defend itself against the infringe-

ments of the aristocracy, to assert its natural and political rights, to raise its moral and intellectual level, to narrow the differences between workers and employers, to preserve the honor and security of our different professions, to further our pecuniary interests and to soften the misery of the unemployed." R. T. Ely even says in his already cited book (p. 44): "Two or three years later [he is speaking about 1833] there was sufficient class feeling in New York to enable Mr. Moore to secure an election to Congress as a representative of the workingmen."

The most important feature of this period is the ever-growing demand to reduce working hours, which were without exception from sunrise until sundown, that is, without exception as a minimum for the workers, whereas the employers were not ashamed to demand a prolongation of these inhumanly long working hours and several times succeeded in this demand. For example, the factory regulations in Peterson, New York, determined that *women and children* started work at 3:30 A.M., and in Peterboro, New Hampshire, and in other places it was the practice to light the factory an hour or even more before sunrise and to start work then, what the workers called "the establishment of two evenings for each day."

McNeill in his above-mentioned work calls this period "the period of the birth or the awakening of American socialism" and adds that the labor movement in this period developed "in the direction of a demand for less hours of labor and higher wages, and in cooperative experiments. The labor men of that day were reformers in every sense of the word. They were among the first to denounce chattel slavery and capital punishment, and the first to call attention to the displacement of laborers by the introduction of labor-saving machinery. The building trades were in the advance line. . . ."

Agitation for a reduction in working hours began around 1825. The numerous organizations of ship workers and construction trades, from Maine to Baltimore, discussed this question passionately, and there were many isolated, unsuccessful struggles, unsuccessful because as yet no close connections among the various local organizations had been established and also because, along with the influential "gentlemen," strong prejudices in the public had to be overcome. As reported above, this question was also brought before the public (at the Boston Convention of 1832), but the agitation succeeded only in keeping the question on the agenda and furthered the completion of the organization. In 1832 the ships' carpenters of Boston held a public discussion about the value of the ten-hour system, and in New Bedford a general strike broke out during which the strikers had their daily meetings announced by the town crier. Bath also experienced an unsuccessful strike. Boston in 1835 was rather lively; in 1836 the carpenters unsuccessfully went out on strike, and in the winter of 1836-1837 the ships' carpenters finally got the ten-hour system for repair work, whereas the same right for new construction was won only in 1840. It is interesting to note that the ship construction workers as early as 1837 (in a petition to the ship owners) declared themselves ready "to take

over repair work for daily wages or by piece work and to do good work without an overseer or a foreman."

In New York the movement for reduction of working hours was as lively as in the New England states but more successful since as early as 1832 individual workshops and in 1836 the whole trade of shipbuilders won the ten-hour workday. In 1833 the workers in Philadelphia had already won minor successes, and in 1835 a rather successful general strike broke out there.¹⁶ Similar events occurred in Baltimore, where the local general trades union sent the first memorial to the United States Congress demanding the ten-hour system for all public work, a demand that was not granted. The stone masons won the ten-hour day through a strike, and there would probably have been much greater successes had not the crisis in 1837 also damaged the workers' organizations and set them back for several years.

But life remained in the movement, and this was necessary because the workers experienced a difficult time. In the year 1832 merchants and shipowners held a meeting in Boston where they made the decision "to discountenance and check the unlawful [*sic*] combination formed to control the freedom of individuals as to the hours of his labor. . . ." This decision also pointed to the "pernicious and demoralizing tendency of these combinations, and the unreasonableness of the attempt, in particular where mechanics are held in so high estimation, and their skill in labor so liberally rewarded." In conclusion they said: "We will neither employ any journeyman who at the time belongs to such combinations, nor will we give work to any master mechanic who shall employ them. . . ." The New York merchants—shipowners were almost all merchants—made similar resolutions and complained that the workers were "idle during the two or three most valuable hours of the day"!! A Boston newspaper wrote that "to be idle several of the most useful hours of the morning and evening will surely lead to intemperance and ruin"!! The employers not only used the methods of meetings and boycott resolutions, but stronger weapons as well: they called for justice, the police and the militia to assist them. As early as 1829 striking workers on the Chesapeake and Ohio canal were simply imprisoned, though they were soon released. In 1833 in Geneva, New York, shoemakers were sentenced for conspiracy and thrown into prison. In 1836 in New York City twenty-one striking tailors were sentenced to pay between \$100 and \$150 in fines for striking, and the honorable judge said: "This is not only a struggle between master and workers, but one on which the harmony of the whole Union hangs." The mayor of New York City went even further and, in the same year, called in the militia and threatened the striking dockworkers with live ammunition. Similar events occurred in Philadelphia.

However, the movement had grown so considerably that the police had to pay constant attention to it. Meetings were held almost weekly in all larger cities and the industrial areas of New York, Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and

Maine, and strikes were on the agenda when President Martin Van Buren released his famous ten-hour decree on April 10, 1840,¹⁷ which contained the following:

By direction of the President of the United States, "all public establishments will hereafter be regulated, as to working hours, by the ten-hour system." The hours for labor in this yard will therefore be as follows, viz.: From the first day of April to the 30th day of September, inclusive, from 6 o'clock A.M., to 6 o'clock, P.M. During this period, the workmen will breakfast before going to work, for which purpose the bell will be rung, and the first muster held at 7 o'clock, A.M. At 12 o'clock, noon, the bell will be rung, and the hour from 12 to 1 o'clock allowed for dinner, from which hour to 6 o'clock, P.M., will constitute the last half of the day.

From the first day of October, to the 31st day of March, the working hours will be from the rising to the setting of the sun. The bell will then be rung at one hour after sunrise, that hour being allowed for breakfast. At 12 o'clock, noon, the bell will again be rung, and one hour allowed for dinner, from which hour, say 1 o'clock, till sundown, will constitute the last half of the day. No quarters of days will be allowed.

EARLY FACTORY WORKERS

The decree of President Martin Van Buren was the first official word in favor of the workers of this land, the first official acknowledgment of their demands. While England passed the first law to limit working hours as early as 1802 and while the English Parliament, regardless of the reasons, repeatedly concerned itself with related questions, the American bourgeoisie in its Congress and in almost endless legislatures concerned itself not at all about the labor question except occasional demagogic remarks when questions concerning protective tariffs "for the workers," or free trade "for the workers," and the like, arose.

On the other hand, politicians learned rather early to play the role of "I'm also a worker" whenever election time neared and nominations for offices were made, and on the huge posters of the political parties the word "workingmen" appeared almost stereotyped in large printed letters behind the political slogans in most districts of the eastern and middle states—for example, "Democratic Workingmen's Candidate," "Whig Workingmen's Candidate," "Republican Workingmen's Candidate," and the like.¹⁸

But the protocols of Congress and the state legislatures, and the statutes they passed, contained not one single word about the demands and needs of the workers until the 1840s, with the exception of a few insufficient, naïve, and limited school statutes in Connecticut and Massachusetts, and when the

first statistical labor office in the United States, located in Massachusetts, published its first report in 1870, it filled approximately fifty pages with a review of the English labor laws in the absence of any American ones. The rather lame excuse for this was that "the history of the former (i.e., English) is the history of our own producing classes. . . ."

The "free and independent citizens" of these states had become the bourgeoisie who only thought of filling their purses, and who, for this purpose, sacrificed all the beautiful slogans and golden words that had slipped out in a careless moment.

The greed of the bourgeoisie for riches knew no bounds and was not only equal to its English class and racial counterpart, but far outweighed it, because until the 1840s not even the smallest legal limitation was set against the exploitation of the workers in the United States. In this period the factories in this country were an El Dorado for exploiters, a pandemonium for the workers, especially those of the New England states.

The cruelty of the bourgeoisie is proverbial. From all the many testimonies to the cruelty and ruthlessness of the American bourgeoisie I shall cite only what Professor R. T. Ely wrote of that period: "The regulations of the factory were cruel and oppressive to a degree, I think, scarcely known among us at present. . . . Women and children were urged on by the use of a cowhide. . . ." And Ely tells the story of a deaf and dumb boy: "He was mangled in a shocking manner, from his neck to his feet. He received I should think, one hundred blows" (pp. 48-50).

Their thirst for surplus value by lengthening working hours is clearly proven by the fact that the thirteen- and fourteen-hour day was not long enough for them. Not satisfied with cheating the workers through a prolongation of working hours, they also made attempts to rob the workers by opening up boardinghouses under the direction of high-placed employees or other persons loyal to them, and the truck system was often used.¹⁹

Our American bourgeoisie were eager Christians and therefore also concerned with the souls of their factory workers of whom they demanded regular church attendance. The Christian devotion of the workers was a characteristic the exploiters found very useful. Also, of course, the workers' free time (!) would then be less devoted to useless thinking and brooding. Indeed! Reporters noted and the very Christian Professor R. T. Ely remarked that "workers were taxed for the support of religion." That is, the company made deductions from their wages for this purpose, and some companies punished regular non-church attendance with dismissal.

The "bulwark of the Republic," "the extension of the right to vote so that the producing classes could secure representation and a voice in the government," even then was no hindrance to the political plans of the bourgeoisie, for, as McNeill reported in a profound play on words, "The hands (workmen) were expected to vote as the head (agent) directed." McNeill added resignedly: "In most cases there was less harshness involved than today."

How the American bourgeoisie used the old conspiracy laws, the police, and the militia against the workers and how they boycotted those who were disobedient has already been noted. They even used huge sums of money for this purpose. The real, infallible characteristic of the nature of the bourgeoisie is its voracious appetite for women and child labor, about which I shall now report using the sources already mentioned and others.

In the 1830s the wool and cotton factory was "a mecca for ambitious country girls where they went for a few months or at most a few years and then returned home." Very nice, glowing reports about these girls and the factory conditions of that time were still written in the past decade and widely circulated. However, if the Mecca was a myth or if it became like the Arabic one a contagious nest for all sorts of infirmities [*Gebrechen*], the flow of labor was soon insufficient, and to cover the needs of the working force the owners sent emissaries to lure the young people and organized real hunts for girls as follows:

The stubborn agitation of the Yankee factory girls for better conditions in the factory centers led to a rather peculiar kind of worker procurement. A long, low, black wagon was sent from Cabotville, now called Chicopee, on regular trips to northern parts of Massachusetts, Vermont, and New Hampshire. The wagon driver received one dollar for each girl that he brought back, for longer distances even more. It is said that he distorted the facts and told the girls that the work was very neat, the wages such that they could dress in silks and spend half their time reading.

The Bureau of Labor Statistics in Massachusetts published in its annual report of 1883 a long essay, "Early Factory Labor," written by a woman who had been a factory worker.²⁰ Here are several significant excerpts from this essay, and since it is especially concerned with Lowell, let it be noted that Lowell, near Boston, was from the start a considerable industrial area and is today one of the most important factory cities in the land.

In 1832, Lowell was little more than a factory village. Five "corporations" were started, and the cotton mills belonging to them were building. Help was in great demand and stories were told all over the country of the new factory place, and the high wages that were offered to all classes of work-people; stories that reached the ears of mechanics' and farmers' sons and gave new life to lonely and dependent women in distant towns and farm-houses. Into this Yankee El Dorado these needy people began to pour by the various modes of travel known to those slow old days. The stagecoach and the canal-boat came every day, always filled with new recruits for the army of useful people. . . . Troops of young girls came from different parts of New England, and from Canada, and men were employed to collect them at so much a head, and deliver them at the factories.

Many farmers' daughters came to earn money to complete their wed-

ding outfit, or buy the bride's share of housekeeping articles

These country girls, as they were called, had queer names, which added to the singularity of their appearance. Samantha, Triphena, Plumy, Kezia, Aseneth, Elgady, Leafy, Ruhamah, Lovey and Florilla were among them. They soon learned the ways of the new place to which they had come, and after paying for their transportation they used their earnings to re-dress themselves, and in a little while they were as stylish as the rest. Many of them were of good New England blood, and blood tells even in factory people. . . .

It was to overcome this prejudice that such high wages had been offered to women that they might be induced to become mill-girls, in spite of the opprobrium that still clung to this degrading occupation. At first only a few came; others followed, and in a short time the prejudice against factory labor wore away, and the Lowell mills became filled with blooming and energetic New England women. . . . The early mill-girls were of different ages. Some were not over ten years old; a few were in middle life, but the majority were between the ages of sixteen and twenty-five. The very young girls were called "doffers." They "doffed," or took off, the full bobbins from the spinning-frames, and replaced them with empty ones. These mites worked about fifteen minutes every hour and the rest of the time was their own. When the overseer was kind they were allowed to read, knit, or go outside the mill yard to play. They were paid two dollars a week. The working hours of all the girls extended from five o'clock in the morning until seven in the evening, with one half-hour each, for breakfast and dinner. Even the doffers were forced to be on duty nearly fourteen hours a day. This was the greatest hardship in the lives of these children. . . .

Those of the mill-girls who had homes generally worked from eight to ten months in the year. . . . Their life in the factory was made pleasant to them. [?] In those days there was no need of advocating the doctrine of the proper relation between employer and employed. *Help was too valuable to be ill-treated.* . . . A certain agent of one of the first corporations in Lowell (an old sea captain), said to one of his boarding-house keepers: "I should like to rule my help as I used to rule my sailors, but so many of them are women I do not dare to do it."

One knew the antecedents of these workers, and that was the bastion of their freedoms. The majority of them were of equal if not better social background than their overseers, and they were brought up far better.

Though their hours of labor were long, yet they were not overworked. They were obliged to tend no more looms and frames than they could easily take care of, and they had plenty of time to sit and rest. . . . They were not driven. They took their work-a-day life easy. At

first the mill-girls had but small chance to acquire book learning. But evening schools were soon established, and they were filled with those who desired to continue their scant education, or supplement what they had learned in the village school or academy. Here might often be seen a little girl of ten puzzling over her sums in Colburn's Arithmetic. . . . In 1836 or thereabout, a law was made by several corporations which compelled every child under fourteen years of age, to go to school three months in the year. And then the little doffers (and I was one of them) had another chance to nibble at the root of knowledge. . . . Life in the boarding-houses was very agreeable. These houses belonged to the corporation, and were usually kept by widows. . . . Each house was a village or community of itself. There fifty or sixty young women from different parts of New England met and lived together. When not at their work, by natural selection they sat in groups . . . busy at some agreeable employment. . . . These boarding-houses were considered so attractive that strangers, by invitation, often came to look in upon them and see for themselves how the mill-girls lived. Dickens, in his *American Notes*,²¹ speaks with surprise of their home-life. . . .

They stood by each other in the mills. . . . At this time the mule and spinning-jenny had not been introduced, and two or three looms, or spinning-frames, were as much as one girl was required to tend. More than that was considered "double work. . . ." And the fame of the circulating libraries that were soon opened drew them [the factory girls] and kept them there, when no other inducement would have been sufficient. I knew one who spent her winters in Lowell for this very purpose. She was addicted to novel-reading, and read from two to four volumes a week. While she was at work in the mill, the children of the family where she boarded were allowed to read the books. It was as good as a fortune to them. For six and a quarter cents a week the novels of Richardson, Madame D'Arblay, Fielding, and Smollett could be devoured by four hungry readers. The early mill-girls were omnivorous readers of the few magazines and newspapers. . . .

In our house there are eleven boarders, and in all thirteen members of the family. I will class them according to their religious tenets as follows: Calvinist, Baptist, Unitarian, Congregational, Catholic, Episcopalian, and Mormonite, one each; Universalist²² and Methodist, two each; Christian Baptist, three. . . . We have also in the house what perhaps cannot be found anywhere else in the city of Lowell—a Mormon Bible. . . .

The most prevailing incentive to labor was to secure the means of education for some *male* member of the family. To make a *gentleman* of a brother or a son, to give him a college education, was the dominant thought in the minds of a great many of the better class of mill-girls. I

have known more than one to give every cent of her wages, month after month, to her brother, that he might get the education necessary to enter some profession. I have known a mother to work years in this way for her boy. I have known women to educate young men by their earnings, who were not sons or relatives. . . .²³

The early mill-girls were religious by nature and by Puritan inheritance. On entering the mill, each one was obliged to sign a "regulation paper," which required her to attend regularly some place of public worship. They were of many creeds and beliefs. In one boarding-house, that I knew, there were girls belonging to eight different religious sects. . . .

It is refreshing to remember their simplicity of dress; they wore no ruffles and very few ornaments. Though their dress was so simple and so plain, yet it was so fitting that they were often accused of looking like ladies. And the complaint was sometimes made that no one could tell the difference in *church*, between the factory girls and the daughters of some of the first families in the city. The morals of the early mill-girls were uniformly good. Their standard of behavior was high. They had perhaps less temptation than the working-girls of to-day.

The health of the early mill-girls was good. The regularity and simplicity of their lives and the plain and substantial food provided for them kept them free from illness. From their Puritan ancestry they had inherited sound bodies and a fair share of endurance. Fevers and similar diseases were rare among them, and they had no time to pet small ailments. . . . There was, at that time, but one *pathy* to be supported by the many diseases "that flesh is heir to. . . ."

One of the first strikes that ever took place in this country was in Lowell in 1836.²⁴ When it was announced that the wages were to be cut down, great indignation was felt, and it was decided to strike or "turn out" *en masse*. This was done. The mills were shut down, and the girls went from their several corporations in procession to the grove on Chapel Hill, and listened to incendiary speeches from some early labor reformers.

One of the girls stood on a pump and gave vent to the feelings of her companions in a neat speech, declaring that it was their duty to resist all attempts at cutting down the wages. This was the first time a woman had spoken in public in Lowell,²⁵ and the event caused surprise and consternation among her audience. One of the number, a little girl eleven years old, had led the turn-out from the room in which she worked. She was a "little doffer," and they called her a ring-leader. . . .

The corporations would not come to terms. The girls were soon tired of holding out, and they went back to their work at the reduced rate of wages. The ill-success of this early attempt at resistance on the part of

the wage element seems to have made a precedent for the issue of many succeeding strikes. . . .

This is but the brief story of the life of a class of common every-day work people; such as it was then, such as it might be to-day. The Lowell mill-girls were but a simple folk, living in Arcadian simplicity as was the fashion of the times. They earned their own bread, and often that of others. They eked out their scant education by their own efforts, and read such books as were found in the circulating libraries of the day. They sought to help one another. They tried to be good, and to improve their minds. They were wholly untroubled by conventionalities or thoughts of class distinctions, dressing simply, since they had no time to waste on the entanglements of dress. Such were their lives. Undoubtedly there must have been another side of this picture, but I give the side I knew best—the bright side!

The many blatantly noticeable differences between the facts she mentions and her own interspersed opinions can easily be seen by the attentive reader, and to comment on them is unnecessary. In a description of a later period we will quote an excerpt from the same essay wherein the author describes how she found Lowell after forty years and makes comparisons.

The quotations above from R. T. Ely's book stem from a contemporary, Seth Luther, who published a pamphlet about factory and labor conditions in 1832, which went into three printings.²⁶ Ely says himself: "The expansion of child labor in certain districts must have been relatively as great as today."

The independent Americans, led by the New Englanders, have proven again that the bourgeoisie sees in economic despotism the fulfillment of political freedom.

chapter 3

THE LABOR MOVEMENT, 1840-1850

UTOPIAN REFORMERS AND SHORTER-HOURS ADVOCATES

The development of the industrial proletariat is conditioned by the development of the industrial bourgeoisie; the development of class contradiction keeps step with the development of the industry. To understand economic and political phenomena one has to look from time to time at the general industrial development of the country, and for this purpose today we turn to a great man: Karl Marx wrote about the United States of America in 1850 in the last issue of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, p. 145:

The crisis of 1836, which first broke out and raged the strongest here, continued almost uninterruptedly until 1842 and caused a complete change of the American credit system. The commerce of the United States recuperated on this more solid basis, although rather slowly in the beginning, and prosperity grew considerably between 1844 and 1845. Both the rise in the cost of living and the revolution in Europe were for America only sources of profit. From 1845-47 on, it profited through enormous grain exports and through the higher cotton prices of 1846. The crisis in 1847 barely touched it. In 1849 the U.S.A. had the largest cotton harvest ever and in 1850 the cotton harvest brought \$20 million at the same time that Europe experienced a boom in the cotton industry. The revolution caused a great immigration of European capital to the United States, which partly arrived with the immigrants themselves, partly through the purchase of American bonds by Europeans. This increased demand for American bonds had pushed the prices up so high that the speculators in New York began to move heavily into bonds. We still insist, despite all the protestations of the reactionary bourgeois press, that the only form of state our European capitalists trust is the

bourgeois republic. There is only one expression of bourgeois trust in any state form: *a listing on the stock exchange!*¹ However, the prosperity of the United States grew more through other causes. The inhabited area, the market of the North American Union, expanded on two sides with surprising speed. The growth of the population, through natural reproduction as well as through the continually increased immigrant quotas, led to the cultivation of whole states and territories. Within a few years Wisconsin and Iowa became well populated, and all the states in the area of the upper Mississippi swelled with new immigrants. The exploitation of mines on the northern lakes and the increased corn production in the territories around the lakes gave commerce and shipping in this area a new boost, which will become larger still through an act of the last Congress which makes commerce with Canada and New Scotland (Nova Scotia) easier. While the northwestern states thus received a whole new significance, Oregon was colonized within a few years, Texas and New Mexico annexed, California conquered.

The discovery of the California gold mines put the crown on American prosperity. In the second issue of this *Revue*, earlier than any other European newspaper, we pointed to the importance of this discovery and the resulting necessary changes for the whole world market. The importance lies not in the increase of gold through the newly discovered mines, although this increase of means of exchange by no means could remain without favorable influence on the general market. It lies in the stimulus which the mineral wealth of California gave capital on the entire world market, in the activity into which the whole American West Coast and the Asiatic East Coast were thrown, in the new outlets for export goods which were created in California and all countries under the influence of California.

Our concern about the labor movement up to this point has been limited almost exclusively to the east, the New England states and the old Middle states, because only they had a dense population and a developing industry. Now, in the time span 1840 to 1850, the West of those days, which includes Ohio, Kentucky, Missouri, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, Indiana, and Illinois, has to be taken into consideration. Missouri and Kentucky excluded, these states were founded and taken away from the Indians by the active Yankees, the pioneers of the West, and into this huge area of fertile land and magnificent forests now poured a wide stream of European immigrants. Populous cities grew up, especially on the banks of larger rivers and lakes: Buffalo, Cleveland, and Toledo on Lake Erie; Detroit where the Huron empties into Lake Erie; Milwaukee and Chicago on Lake Michigan; Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, and Louisville on the Ohio; St. Louis on the Mississippi.

Railroads led to all these places, canals were built, steamships livened the waterways, because the growing population not only produced raw materials

in huge quantities but also had a heavy need for industrial products. To satisfy this need, industrial establishments with numerous workers soon grew up in the West, workers whose voices could be heard along with their class comrades from the East in the ever more numerous workers' conventions and congresses. They took an active part in the labor movement in general and also won some small skirmishes with their exploiters, the bourgeois employers in Pittsburgh, Louisville, and other places.

As already noted European immigration grew considerably in this decade. It peopled the West and contributed to the development of agriculture and industry there, especially the former, but for the most part it filled the factories in the East. The immigrants formed an ever-growing percentage of this land's working class; immigration became an important factor in the labor movement of the United States, and, as the enormous development of the country at large occurred, thanks to the immigration, so the labor movement had to count strongly on the immigrants from now on.

The sources of this immigrant stream in the 1840s were almost exclusively Ireland and Germany, and these two countries retained their lead in immigration until the present. While the Irish preferred the East, the New England and Middle states, the Germans wandered in greater numbers to the West, but nonetheless gained a strong foothold in the Middle states: New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. The Middle states consisted of a rather equally mixed class of immigrants; in the New England states the Irish predominated, as did the Germans in the West.

The most important result of this heavy immigration was the proletarianization of the workers, beginning in the East. From the beginning the bourgeois employers, factory owners, and companies had recruited numerous workers even if not always by "clean" methods. Nonetheless these workers were not "free" enough, that is, free "of all things necessary for realization of their labor," because they were sons and daughters of the neighboring burghers and farmers; not only did they have a family, but also a country, a homestead and therefore a certain independence, which was unpleasant and irksome to the owners and overseers of the factories.

It was reported in the last article that an overseer complained that he could not treat the workers like sailors because they were mostly women. It can be said here that this good man erred, surely unintentionally: it was not the sex of the workers that hindered him from following his brutal instincts but the fact that these workers still retained an integrity, restraint, and independence. And the cheerful, rosy, and optimistic author of the excerpts we recently discussed says: "The working force was too valuable to be treated badly," that is, to let themselves be treated badly. Nonetheless, she could also tell a tale of bad treatment, as we have seen.

Gradually everything began to change. The newcomers from Ireland (and England) gradually took over all the places left by the natives, the unfree laborers were pushed aside, and in their places stepped the truly "free" pro-

letarians. The heart's desire of the bourgeois factory owners and stock companies was fulfilled and their enrichment continued undisturbed until they became entangled with their hostile brothers, the slaveholders, who burdened them with free trade.

Still it is to the native workers' discredit that they, foolishly deceiving themselves, remained apart from the labor movement, had little contact with the immigrants, and even preferred the crumbs from the tables of the rich. They were contented and attempted to compensate themselves by serving the ruling class and exploiters as penmen, officials, clerks, and the like, insofar as they did not wander out west.

The bourgeoisie has no sentimental sulky moods, and the idylls of Puritan New England disappeared like all the others before the touch of the capitalist type of production that took over Yankeeland and spread all over the country and progressed as in other capitalist countries by tumbling the workers, the natives, as well as the immigrants, down into the proletariat.

The process of proletarianization was by no means of short duration. It is still in progress and only in the original factory states of New England did it proceed rather quickly in the 1840s and 1850s. The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics writes in its first report, 1870, p. 91:

About the year 1836 to 1840, very material changes took place among the operatives, as well as among the farm laborers, and the general laboring help in all departments of industry. The profuse immigrations from Ireland, thousands forsaking their homes to find new ones in a more favored country, crowded into all the fields of labor, and crowded out the former occupants. Under the prejudice of nationality, and the decrease of native help, the American element, the daughters of independent farmers, educated in our common schools (for years they supplied a periodical with articles written wholly by themselves)² and who could think and act for themselves, who knew right from wrong, fair treatment from oppression, and who would be grateful for the one, and would not submit to the other—these retired from mill and factory, and all the older establishments, and can no longer be found therein. Their places were taken up in the old, and all the new were filled by the new immigrants.

But the report adds immediately:

In fact, without doubt, but for this supply, the new and larger establishments could not have been operated, the American element being by no means adequate to supply the great numbers required. The opening out of other branches of industry, especially of the shoe and leather trades, also made heavy demands on the new laborers, while thousands of them found employment in the construction of canals and railroads.

On page 119 of the same report is the following testimony of a native factory girl from the year 1869:

Twenty years ago her overseer had all American girls, but now has almost none; he prefers foreigners, because, not coming from country homes, but living, as the Irish do, in the town, they take no vacations, and can be relied on to be at mill all the year around; and can reduce wages upon them more easily, and with less complaint. . . . During the last twenty years the nationality of the help has totally changed.

In a booklet "Arguments on the Hours of Labor," a speech before the labor committee of the Massachusetts Senate, McNeill says: "The native population left the factories because of long hours and poor pay—two things which always go together—and because opposition to this meant discharge."

The changing of the factory population in the New England and Middle states from natives to immigrants was taken badly by the people concerned, those who were forced out. Instead of uniting with their fellow sufferers of exploitation, the immigrants, explaining to them the circumstances, and together working against the originators of the situation, the exploiters, the natives retreated and poured the full chalice of their rage over the immigrants, the victims of the capitalist development who were exploited and treated far worse than their predecessors, a proceeding that unfortunately found much imitation especially in later years.

McNeill writes about this in his work, *The Labor Movement*, on page 112:

A large foreign emigration had already set in (1847) competing with American labor, thus antagonizing race against race [*sic*], and finally resulting in the establishment of a strong native American sentiment, and in the organization of a native American party. This movement received a severe protest from the workingmen's organizations. But finally the foreigner was looked upon as an enemy, because his presence gave the manufacturer power to reduce wages more and more to the European level.

For a time this nativistic (Know Nothing) party³ had much success in elections and led to disgraceful bloody and violent scenes in several parts of the country, especially Philadelphia, Louisville, Williamsburg, and so on, until they were buried under the ever-rising waves of the antislavery movement.

However much these narrow-minded, nativistic phenomena deserve censure, one should not forget that the motivating circumstances were of a most provocative kind. One could transpose these circumstances to England, France, or Germany and the results would probably be the same, even though these countries have a progressive, unionized, that is, a political and theoretic-

cal, working class that takes part in public life. These phenomena are not to be excused in this way, but one must prevent hasty judgment. Indeed, the working class of the United States had to fulfill a great, truly liberating task and had to acquire the necessary characteristics through struggle and battle, a struggle made difficult enough for the American worker by certain character traits of his exploiting fellow citizens. Professor R. L. Ely wrote on this subject in his book already cited:

When our ancestors came to this country, their poverty and the abundant opportunity for the acquisition of wealth spurred them to over-exertion, often short-sighted; for while it brought the eagerly coveted riches, it ruined health, dwarfed the mind, and stunted the development of all higher faculties. When the means of enjoyment were acquired, all power of enjoyment was gone. In gaining life, they had lost those things which made life worth living; or, as the Bible has it, they had lost their souls, their true selves. This is familiar, but the fact has not received equal attention that they were likewise hard task-masters. Not content with overworking themselves, they drove wife, children, and employees from sunrise to sunset, for the "sun to sun" system prevailed generally in our early history. This involved at times a normal working day of sixteen hours. The laborers early protested against this, and the agitation for ten hours is as old as the labor movement in this country, and it is still continued in some parts of the United States, though in most places it ceased long ago, because it had accomplished its purpose.

The petty bourgeois reformers and utopians of every kind pursued their goals, as irrelevant and distorted as they were, more fanatically in the 1840s than before. Fourier's teachings found many followers among the "educated" and petty bourgeoisie who founded several phalanxes.⁴ One of these, Brook Farm, became famous through the names of its participants among whom was Charles A. Dana,⁵ who is now the publisher of one of the most malicious bourgeois newspapers, the *New York Sun*. Horace Greeley⁶ stood at the head of the Fourierist movement and association but also stood for the rights of workers and for their organizations, which were often attacked.

Communist colonies were founded in many states, mostly on a religious basis, as well as those of the Harmonists in Pennsylvania and the Separatists in Ohio and Iowa,⁷ both founded by Germans and still existing today. The Shakers, made up mostly of Americans, had their headquarters in New York. Another communist sect of Americans, the so-called Perfectionists, for many years had a colony in Oneida, New York, but had to close it down because of the disgust of their prudish neighbors regarding their peculiar marriage forms.⁸ Cabet brought his apostles in 1848 over from France to found Icaria.⁹ The German petty bourgeoisie and workers made several attempts to found

colonies with the characteristic names Teutonia, Halvetia, and Germania. The number of these undertakings is so large that I refrain here from enumerating them further.

The result of all this is, however, that only the communities based on religious and capitalist (the exploitation of foreign labor) foundations were more or less successful, while all the others perished. It should be clear even to an idiot that in modern bourgeois society a community could not exist, or gain ground, that did not fit in one way or another into the society's framework, which was based upon exploitation. But the old saying *mundus vult decipi* (the world desires deception) still retains its meaning. The Owenists also remained active and even called an all-world congress to New York in October 1845. But the whole world stayed away, and the congress dispersed without result and left the field and the hall to the Industrial Congress to be discussed later.

In March 1845 in Boston the "New England Workingmen's Association" was founded, and the first annual congress was held on May 28 of the same year in that city. Fourierists and petty bourgeois reformers made long speeches and passed numerous resolutions. Abolitionists were also represented in large numbers. It was decided to interrogate all candidates for public office about their disposition toward the endeavors of the NEWA, and a number of delegates to the convention of the New York National Reform Association were elected, including Wendell Phillips,¹⁰ Wm. Lloyd Garrison,¹¹ Charles A. Dana, and Theodore Parker.¹² The NEWA also furthered cooperative firms (of distributive kind), strongly attacked slavery, and held mass meetings during the following years in the most important places, for example, Lowell, Lynn, Manchester, and Fall River. It did not attain practical influence, but it kept the public interest in several important questions alive and tried to broaden the outlook of those interested through creating reading rooms and libraries. The name of the association disappears at the beginning of the 1850s.

In New York on July 16, 1845, a workers' meeting was held in Croton Hall. The proclamation declared that there were in New York alone 65,000 paupers, that is a sixth of the population, that wages always sink to the level of starvation wages, and that the white workers of the North live in worse condition than the Negro slaves of the South. With the exception of a doctor, the proclamation was signed by mechanics. Without a doubt this agitation and meeting had an influence on and a connection with the already mentioned first Industrial Congress, which opened on October 12, 1845, in New York and was well attended by delegates from all parts of the country as the official list proves. W. S. Wait of Illinois served as president, Charles Douglas from Connecticut, E. N. Kellogg from New Jersey, and John Ferral from Pennsylvania as vice-presidents. Mrs. Sarah G. Bagley represented the Female Labor Reform Association of Lowell, Massachusetts,¹³ a result of the rather lively movement among the female factory workers in New England at the time.

who were later thrown out of their "El Dorado," out of their "Mecca" by the immigrants.

The congress seemed to be the product of a collection of the country's various reform associations together with a secret organization called "Young America"¹⁴ made up of dreamy petty bourgeoisie and workers. Emphasis on mystery and secrecy, a national vice of the natives, like the sect phenomenon, was a weakness of character in the organization and plays an early role here. This first Industrial Congress drew up its statutes and called up the following congresses on the basis of a secret organization. Of the statutes, besides the regular clauses on freedom, equality, and the like, and the emphasis on free land, that is, a homestead for everyone, only one is worth mentioning: equal rights for women and that no employer, overseer, or superintendent could become a member of the "brotherhood." Their "basis of a new moralist government" they then recommended to the "farmers, mechanics, and workers" of the United States.

The name "National Reform Association" was used on the outside, and an election campaign in the spring of 1846 brought only a few direct votes (715 in New York City). However, through arrangements or combining with other bourgeois parties, the NRA brought a few of its members into the state convention, among whom—mentioned for curiosity's sake—was Samuel J. Tilden, later for many years the standard-bearer of the Democratic Party of the United States.¹⁵

In June, 1847, the second Industrial Congress was held in New York. This congress asked for a limitation on property owning, securing homesteads from confiscation, a stop to selling of public lands and—the ten-hour workday for all public work. It also dealt with the union question and wrote up sharp resolutions against the Mexican War over Texas and against the impending war with England over Oregon.¹⁶ The latter was particularly motivated by an address of the Fraternal Democrats (Chartists) of London and signed by the old Chartist leader, George Julian Harney.¹⁷ A memorial against the sale of public land and against the war was sent to Congress. It further demanded the abolition of the existing army and also—interestingly enough—that the members of Congress and all other state officials should not receive a higher salary than the workers.

Hardly anything else is reported about later meetings of this National Reform Association, except for a small notice that an Industrial Congress was held in Chicago in 1850. The majority of the petty bourgeois followers undoubtedly went over to the Free-Soil Party, a political land reform party that existed about 1845 to 1855.¹⁸ But the workers had to think about their own closest interests and had to struggle hard for the reduction of working hours, as well as maintaining and increasing their wages by strengthening and completing their organization and pressure on the legislatures.

There was no progress during the 1840s in combining several local unions into larger associations or spreading the organizations in other areas because

of heavy immigration and also because the surge to the west was too strong. The only exception to this was the carpet weavers who held a union congress in 1846 in New York to defend themselves against impending wage reductions. They tried to negotiate with the employers, but the latter did not respond and only two appeared for the discussions. But numerous local organizations of various trades were founded during this period; for example, besides those mentioned in the last chapter, these included glassblowers, iron founders, moulders, machinists, cigarmakers, cabinetmakers, braziers, wood-carvers, the cart- and wheelwrights, tinsmiths, and weavers.

The European revolutions of 1848 and the almost concurrent seizure of California and its gold mines both stimulated and influenced the labor movement in the United States. Thus at the end of the 1840s the labor unions received a good boost, the results of which became clear only in the next decade. Attacks on these organizations by bourgeois employers occurred rather often but were for the most part successfully opposed. The workers of Massachusetts won a special victory in 1842 when the state supreme court, after a long court process, finally declared the old conspiracy laws not applicable to the unions.¹⁹

Although the agitation of the construction workers during the 1830s and the decree of President Van Buren made a dent in the thirteen- and fourteen-hour work load, it took a great effort to maintain that benefit and even more effort to expand it to other unions. Even the state government tried to abandon the ten-hour rule or to evade it (1845) and had to be forced by a strike to keep its promise to the workers. In June 1845, about 4,000 workers struck in Pittsburgh to get the ten-hour workday, but were forced to return to work under the old conditions after a five-week struggle. A white raven—a fantastic exception—among the employers, the firm of Knapp and Totten, also in Pittsburgh, a year or two later gave its workers the ten-hour day without being forced to, and during a celebration ceremony Mr. Totten declared that this was not enough and that he hoped to soon see the introduction of the eight-hour workday. This reasonable man was at least able to see a small glimmer of this hope realized when in 1849 the ships' carpenters and caulkers in New York won for themselves the eight-hour day for all repair work. In 1847, the machinists in Boston demanded the ten-hour day and threatened to found a cooperative if they were refused.

In the beginning of the 1840s numerous petitions for a ten-hour law were given to the Massachusetts legislature, but were simply ignored or tabled, and the representatives and leaders of the workers and petitioners were threatened, bullied, dismissed, and put on the blacklist. The legislature's petition committee of 1846 expressed the opinion that if a human being had the strength and constitution to work fourteen hours, the legislature should not interfere. The abstract right of the legislature itself was not contested. In the spring of 1848 the Massachusetts lower house accepted a ten-hour law, but the Senate threw

it out. On July 3, 1847, the legislature of New Hampshire issued the first ten-hour law in the United States, but with the help of lawyers it was drawn up and stipulated in such a way that it was useless and declared by the workers to be a cheat and a sham.²⁰ In the legislature of New York, in January 1847, an investigation into working hours and related matters was proposed.

The acceptance of the ten-hour law in England (1847) was hailed by the workers in the United States who congratulated the English workers in many large meetings. Among others, a mass meeting of mechanics and workers in Albany, New York, on July 2, 1847, hailed the ten-hour law as the messenger and harbinger of a great industrial reform in the Old and New Worlds. The meeting resolved to continue the energetic agitation for a ten-hour day, for the reestablishment of the right for all *to land and property, to the machinery and moving forces and so on*.

The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics reports of this period (the 1840s):

The order [Van Buren's] had the effect of causing outside shipyards and workshops to adopt the same time until it became a general rule, excepting in manufacturing establishments, where tender women, growing youths, and young children, were employed during long hours; and it seemed to be thought then, and is now thought that these [women, girls, and children] are capable of enduring an amount of confinement at monotonous work that stalwart men ought not to encounter.

Several labor newspapers were published in these years, among them the *Voice of Industry*, *The American Factory Girls' Friend*, *Young America*, *Mechanics Mirror*, *Equal Rights Advocate*, etc. From the *Voice of Industry* (1845) we take the following statement of a girl not more than nine years old:

"I go to work early, before daylight, and don't leave before it is dark, and cannot make enough money to support mother and the little one."

It is also reported here that in 1844 the wages (for women and girls) in Lowell were \$2.00 and in 1845 \$1.75 per week. Referring to the growth of dividends by 200 percent and to the reduction of wages by 12½ percent the newspaper writes:

"This is the natural result of the conditions in New England—the more wealth is concentrated in fewer hands, the poorer the large mass becomes!"

GERMAN IMMIGRANTS

Let us look at German immigration, which as we have seen was very heavy in the 1840s. The largest share went to the West, especially Wisconsin, Illinois, Ohio, Missouri, Indiana, and Michigan. Like their Anglo-Saxon Yan-

kee predecessors, they broke through the primeval forest, cultivated the fields, and rendered this country great service especially since they, contrary to the Yankee, did not use careless farming practices but rational methods, and cultivated fruits and wine. The German workers settled mostly in the cities. Milwaukee, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Chicago, Cleveland, and Buffalo are cities that owe their growth and importance for the most part to the German workers who settled there and generally occupied whole sections of the city.

Of course, they also founded numerous settlements, as can be easily recognized in the towns' names, and even in the South, in New Orleans, Charleston, Savannah, Richmond, and in Texas, German workers and commercial clerks early settled there. Besides the West they preferably settled in the Middle states, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland. At that time they stayed away from the New England states, except small sections of Connecticut. A large number of newcomers joined the native Germans in Philadelphia²¹ and participated in the labor movement of the 1840s. For a short time they published their own newspaper *Der Adoptivbürger* [*The Adopted Citizen*].

In Baltimore the numerically strong Germans already participated in the labor movement at the end of the 1840s, according to reports of older workers made in the 1860s. In the 1840s in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Newark, New Jersey, reports of Germans often appeared, but their most active life developed in the main port and commercial center of the country, New York. Here was a strong contingent of immigrant Germans, mostly workers, who in the early 1840s already numbered in the thousands. Most had difficulties in learning the country's language, and for this reason they gathered in social and self-help clubs and frequented halls and places for entertainment run by fellow Germans.

It is well known that in the 1830s and 1840s the numerous German workers in Germany's neighboring countries (Switzerland, France, Belgium, and England) led energetic lives; this extraordinary activity and much else besides gave evidence of the historically important organizations: the League of the Just,²² Young Germany,²³ the Workers Education League in London, the Communist League.²⁴ Members of these organizations, like many other "well-traveled men," came to America. Many had to remain in New York because they were short of cash, and they brought new stimulus to their compatriots, whom they often infected with their own enthusiasm. Thus as early as 1844 or the beginning of 1845 a secret communist organization called Young America was founded. It formed a kind of subsidiary of the European League of the Just. At the beginning of October 1845 a public German organization was formed called the Social Reform Association, in whose second meeting over 500 men and women participated. Branch organizations soon sprang up in many places in the country, such as Philadelphia, Newark, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Milwaukee, and other cities.

The National Reform Association mentioned above sent delegates to the first German social reformers' meeting, and Germans joined the American organization. The Social Reform Association founded its own weekly called *Der Volkstribun*. Its editor was H. Kriege, whose bombastic and wild speeches and actions were the main reasons for the speedy collapse of the paper, and the desertion from and the downfall of the association.²⁵ One has only to read the first sentence of his first article (January 5, 1846):

Before I step over the threshold of this fateful year, before I throw myself into the endless turmoil of battle which from now on will characterize my path, before I lose myself completely in love of the living, I turn once more to a great dead man, whose flaming spirit fills me with light, whose hot heart's blood pulses through my veins and whose unending devotion to mankind banned the last shackles of selfishness from my heart.²⁶ *Sapienti sat!*

Kriege received a well-deserved stiff rebuke from the Brussels German Workers Association (Engels, Marx, Wolff,²⁷ V. Westphalen,²⁸ and many others), which Weitling²⁹ characteristically rejected. Kriege, however, continued in the same manner and landed safely at the end of the year in the harbor of the Democratic Party. While the National Reform Association during its convention in Boston spoke sharply against the war with Mexico (over Texas in favor of the slaveholding South) and against war in general, our German social reformers, under Kriege's leadership, became "patriots" and chauvinists, blew into the war trumpet of the Democratic (slaveholders') Party, and sent several companies of volunteers to the war against Mexico. Indeed, they even defended an eventual war with England over Oregon in a pompously affected answer to a resolution against the possibility of such a war drawn up by workers of various nationalities in London, which was signed by two Englishmen, a German, a Frenchman, and a Scandinavian.

At the end of this decade numerous Forty-Eighters came to the United States, whom we shall meet again in a later chapter. Weitling was also among them; we shall talk further of him later.

As the foregoing discussed German workers and the petty bourgeoisie, so let us now discuss, as an exception, the German bourgeoisie of this period (in the United States). One item, rescued from obscurity, will suffice.

In the city of New York the so-called German Society had existed since 1784 when it was founded for the protection and support of German immigrants, and chartered by the legislature with certain privileges. The most distinguished German citizens, particularly merchants and doctors, belonged to this society from its beginning. In the middle of April 1846 a great number of Irish workers on the Atlantic docks in South Brooklyn were striking for higher wages (eighty-five cents instead of sixty-five cents) and the ten-hour day (in-

stead of thirteen hours). The employers were almost ready to grant the demands completely or partially, when the "German Society" appeared and delivered to the employers 400 German immigrants under the old conditions, whereupon the Irish attacked the Germans, killed one, and rendered many unable to work, before the national guard appeared. To whom did the "German Society" give "protection and support"?

chapter 4

THE LABOR MOVEMENT, 1850-1860

AGITATION OVER THE SLAVERY QUESTION

Marx writes somewhere that our age should be called the Age of Cotton to differentiate it from other ages. If this name is well founded in the industrial conditions of our time, as it is without a doubt, it belongs originally to the decade 1850 to 1860, in which the complete public life of the United States, industry and politics, literature and religion (i.e., church), press and post office, offices, elections and commerce, all were intimately connected to the production and manufacture of cotton. "King Cotton" was the slogan of the time. The reign of cotton was absolute and was exercised by the slaveholders, because cotton, so sought after on the markets, was grown by Negro slaves in the southern states of this country.

The stronger the demand for cotton grew, the more the cotton-growing areas had to expand. The more profitable the cotton field became, the more slaves were needed. The slaveholders in Congress arranged the expansion of cotton-growing areas and were supported by the northern "dough faces," that is, by the Senators and Congressmen of several northern states who were worried about maintenance of their own commercial interests; the increase of the slaves was arranged by the pirate slave trade with captured African Negroes. The slave trade was flourishing at the start of the 1860s with ships that were equipped for this purpose in New York and the New England ports.¹ The increase in numbers of Negroes was furthered even more by the slave breeding in Virginia, Missouri, and other border states that we have already mentioned, an industry apparently peculiar to the inhabitants of this area, an original, scientific, or at least rationalized industry, of which a contemporary writer said:

"The Virginians are breeding Negroes like the inhabitants of Vermont breed horses." It is reported that the northern slave states delivered 40,000 slaves annually to the cotton states during this decade.

The growing of cotton was very profitable—for the slaveholders, as is well known; the manufacture of cotton also brought a sizable profit—to the factory owners, which should be known as well. Both the slaveholder and the manufacturer belonged to one family, the family of bourgeois exploiters, and this family was of one mind as long as it only dealt with exploitation itself and the skin of others, but got into each other's hair as soon as it had to share the booty, just as with the bourgeois inheritance situation. The slaveholders demanded free trade, that is, cheap English and other imported goods, to allow themselves the full enjoyment of the fruits of black labor; the manufacturers in New England and some Middle states demanded protective tariffs to appropriate the profit of white labor and—to capture part of the slaveholder's booty. The war between the enemy brothers was fought in Congress, that is the Senate and House of Representatives; and the admittance of new states to strengthen one or the other interest group in Congress increasingly became the overriding objective of domestic politics in this country from 1850 to 1860.

The influence of this political unrest on the working class, on the labor movement of that time, is unmistakable because the worker also had interests to be represented, and he expressed opinions on current events. The working class' attitude toward slavery was always unambiguous;² the working class everywhere had recognized and practiced the right of the human over his personality, whereas the bourgeoisie proclaimed this with high-sounding phrases and disregarded it in practice. In earlier reports proclamations against slavery were often mentioned and could be cited here again in large numbers. We will not go into this now, but must point out how this pure human aversion of the workers against slavery was particularly nurtured and intensified by cynical writings in the press and the spokesmen of the slaveholders, a few of whose utterances we rescue from oblivion by printing them here.

The Virginian John Randolph³ called out to his opponents in Congress:

"Northern gentlemen think to govern us by our *black* slaves, but let me tell them we intend to govern them by their *white* slaves."

John C. Calhoun of South Carolina, a former Vice-President and for a longer period Secretary of State, declared publicly in the Senate that the principle of the Declaration of Independence "that all men are born equal" was not true.⁴

Indeed, the southern press and that of northern sympathizers at this time characterized all of these fundamental principles as "glittering generalities." Senator Toombs from Georgia expressed the hope that he would be able to call the role of his slaves on Bunker Hill.⁵ Senator Hammond called the workers of the North "the mudsills of civilization."⁶ However, the poor white population of the South was not kindly regarded by the slaveholders

either; they were called "white trash" and "white niggers" and treated contemptuously.

The *Charleston (South Carolina) Standard* wrote: "Slavery is the natural and normal condition of the working man, be he black or white. . . ."

Another newspaper said: "The 'free' society is a mixture of greasy craftsmen, dirty workers, weak farmers and moonstruck babblers. . . ."

A Virginia paper supplied the following: "We hate everything that has the surname 'free,' free Negroes, free work, free farms, free will, free thinking, free children, free schools. . . . The worst of all is the modern system of free schools. . . ."⁷

Such language, reminiscent of the whole mode of expression of the famous Professor Leo in Halle,⁸ could not fail to make a deep impression on the workers in the North, and the conditions in the South sharpened this impression.

In the last ten years (the 1880s) much has been talked, written, and reported about the infringements of the workers' normal civil rights (in Chicago, St. Louis, New York, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, and other places). The model of this infringement of rights was already present a long time before in the conditions that existed in the southern states of the Union from 1830 to 1860: freedom of speech and press, the right of assembly, even personal domestic rights simply did not exist there. The transportation companies were not permitted to transport things not liked by the slaveholders, northern anti-slave journals were not permitted to circulate, and each postmaster in the South had a "black cabinet" in which he locked up offensive writings and correspondence to prevent their distribution. Those who educated Negroes were punished with penitentiary sentences, and some organizations, and even legislatures, in the slave states put bounties of \$5,000 to \$50,000 on the heads of prominent abolitionists, that is the enemies of slavery!⁹

Conditions of this kind, which could hardly have been worse, created intense agitation and growing resentment in the northern states, but the war against this, the removal of this screaming evil, came only *when the economic interests of the ruling class in New England and the Middle States were threatened*, an unpleasant fact to the dreamers and ideologists in all circles. The glowing oratory of Wendell Phillips, the sacrifice and actions of William Lloyd Garrison and many other really magnanimous men and women, even the heroic deed of the noble-minded John Brown¹⁰—they would have been forgotten and died away if the situation had not threatened the bank accounts and purses of the northern bourgeoisie, the most sensitive aspect of their existence.

The leaders of the abolitionists, especially Phillips and Garrison, were in danger of being lynched several times in their own Boston.¹¹ When the manufacturers, the bourgeois employers, were threatened with the loss of their profits, their surplus value, then Free-State-Societies were founded, then there

was money for Springfield rifles and transportation of immigrants to Kansas and Nebraska, then the struggle began that was fought out in the great War of Secession.

Finally, regarding the subject of the agitation over the slave question, it must be said that the majority of the Irish and German immigrants before 1848 were either indifferent to the slave question or indeed even supported the maintenance and the extension of slavery.

GROWTH OF TRADE UNIONS

Let us return to the actual labor movement.

The heavy growth of the circulating means of exchange through the profits of the gold mines and goldfields in California and Australia, of course, devalued the customary local wages of the American workers in the 1850s, and the main consideration of these workers was the effort to gain a nominal increase in wages, that is the maintenance of their standard of living. In general these efforts were successful until the crisis of 1857 put an end to this and brought about reductions in wages until the end of the decade.

The movement for better wages was especially active in the year 1853 and numerous, usually successful, strikes by various unions took place in New York, Philadelphia, Boston, and other places. Naturally, a wage increase was not gained without struggles in which, as usual, the shipbuilding trade and carpenters were in the forefront. How the factory owners, the prominent "citizens," viewed this, is shown in the following certified incident:

The weavers of Fall River, Massachusetts, had organized and in 1850 asked the treasurer of the Metacomet Mill, Colonel Borden, to make certain changes in the wage scale. Colonel Borden refused and, pointing to the granite walls of the factory, spoke the following words: "I have watched this factory being built stone for stone; I saw the weaving chairs, the spindles, the setting up of the machines one after the other and I would rather see every machine and every stone broken, before I give in to your demands. . . ." A strike followed that lasted ten months, and when the factory was opened again, few able workers could be found because a great number of them had wandered out of the area. The organization was scattered.

Most important, the workmen's organization, namely the union, made important progress despite unfavorable political conditions in this decade. Based on the experiences of the prior decade the workers began to pay higher dues and already had set up funds to support colleagues who were out of work as a result of their agitation activity. There was hardly a trade whose members did not gather to fight for better wage conditions, to raise wages, to reduce working hours, for better conditions generally, and we cannot give a detailed description of these activities except in special cases. It must be emphasized here that in many cases the unions were no longer limited to isolated areas but

had expanded into organizations that spread across the whole country, and had formed so-called national unions. One of the first of this kind was the National Typographical Union founded in 1850. At the same time the glassblowers organized themselves, and in 1851 and 1854 the cigarmakers undertook their first organizing efforts.

In 1854 the hatmakers, who were also in active contact with their European, especially their English, colleagues unionized. The same was true of the calico printers. In 1855 the railroad employees, the locomotive engineers, and so on organized themselves; in 1856 the shipbuilding trade, which had strong branches in California, followed; in 1850 and 1858 the weavers; 1856 the painters; 1858 the furnace workers (Sons of Vulcan); 1857 the coal miners; 1859 the machinists and smiths who received their license from Congress; and in the same year (1859) the iron moulders who also formed production associations in various parts of the country where for the first time we meet William H. Sylvius, the energetic pioneer of this country's working class who unfortunately died too early.¹² Professor Ely reports that in 1860 twenty-six large national unions already existed in the United States. Even though not yet nationally organized at that time, the "United Cabinetmakers of New York" must be mentioned here because of the organization's continually expanding activity. It was founded in 1859 consisting mostly of Germans and flourishes now under the name "Union No. 7 of the International Furniture Workers Union."

Unfortunately, the propensity toward secret organizations, apparently rooted in the characteristics of the natives of Anglo-Saxon origins which we have previously noted, once again came to the fore, a propensity that was favored by the infamous disciplinary punishments by the factory owners and their bourgeois class partners. McNeill writes in this connection (p. 116):

"The social, economic and religious ostracism or boycotting of the leaders forced the organization of secret societies."

Natives and the Irish particularly used these only under special conditions as vindicating forms of organization while the German workers participated for the most part reluctantly and under certain pressure. The evil against which the secret organizations fought was the blacklist, which existed here early as numerous entries in the statistical reports of Massachusetts, in McNeill's and Ely's works and in newspapers prove. From Fall River, the Manchester of the United States, Robert Howard, an old weaver, secretary of the existing weavers' union, and now a member of the Massachusetts Senate, reports the following about this:

In 1858 the spinners reorganized their union. . . . Meetings were held in the fields or behind the mills where the men thought they would be secure from observation. Finally, it was agreed that a petition should be sent to the mill treasurers, asking for an advance in wages. James Cordinley, one of the members of the organization, invited them to his

house to draw up the petition. When the petition was drawn, another obstacle appeared in the way, as no member of the organization dared to place his name first, fearing that he might be singled out as a ring-leader, and that his name would be put on the blacklist, which would prevent him from getting work again in the city. Several of their members had been selected as victims after the strike of 1850, and were kept out of employment for years after in the mills of Fall River. [See the case of Colonel Borden above.] However, a woman's ingenuity overcame the obstacle, and Mrs. Cordinley suggested that rings be drawn at the foot of the petition, and she furnished a bowl for the purpose, so that all the rings should be of equal size, and inside of these rings the spinners signed the petition, requesting an advance of wages.

In New York City a union council was formed anew from delegates of the various workers' organizations, which later achieved great importance as the Workingmen's Union,¹³ in which besides the older building trades the saddlers, silversmiths, iron and metal workers, steam kettle smiths, milliners, leather dressers, bookbinders, women shoemakers, ropemakers, sailmakers, clock makers, coach-painters, wood-carvers, gilders, bakers, day laborers, retail-trade workers, and the like were also represented. The unions also gained a foothold in the southern states, especially in the so-called border states, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, with large cities such as Baltimore, Louisville and St. Louis, as well as New Orleans and, on the Pacific, San Francisco.

The immigration of this decade contributed much to the education and strengthening of the worker unions, because the workers forced to immigrate by the 1848 revolution and those in the following generation without any doubt had a relatively high level of education and an active political sense. This valuable contribution to labor organization is easily proven by the numerically high percentage of immigrants in the unions and especially by certain unions founded almost exclusively by immigrants, for example, the joiners, the bakers, the wood-carvers, the clock makers, the upholsterers, bookbinders, gilders, and piano makers. That the German workers of this decade's immigration along with their organizing efforts also directed their attention to social institutions in general and were carriers of progressive ideas is well known and will be discussed later. But their influence should not be overestimated; even the surging waves of the movement founded by Weitling in the early 1850s among the German workers, then called the Workers League (*Arbeiterbund*) of New York and many other places, and the agitation of the so-called Social Reform Unions—all movements of thousands of German workers created in the 1850s—all came and went without leaving deeper traces.¹⁴

Since we are talking about immigration, it should be mentioned here in passing that the immigration of Chinese, the Chinese question, already ap-

peared in the early 1850s and that the California legislature as early as 1852 tried to resolve this through a high tax on "foreign" workers.

The task of organization previously described did not happen peacefully. Numerous struggles broke out in many places. Besides the one in Fall River (see above), the strike of the ironworkers in Pittsburgh, which started in January 1850 against a reduction of wages, is noteworthy. The manufacturers called immigrants from the east and the strikers, inspired by their women marching in the first rows, partially took over the factories, but were overcome and sentenced to fines or jail. In 1851 a huge strike of male and female factory workers erupted in Amesbury and Salisbury (Massachusetts) protesting numerous repressions and prejudices by factory owners and overseers. The strike went on for six months and was lost, even though the whole population sympathized with the strikers, because the manufacturers called in Irish immigrants and with that the strike came to an end. In 1853 Philadelphia experienced much active worker agitation; in 1854 the locomotive engineers of the Baltimore-Ohio Railroad went on strike; and in 1855 the large strike of the cigarmakers in Suffield, Connecticut, ended in a compromise.

Besides the organizational struggles and the fight to maintain the standard of living, the movement to reduce the working day continued undisturbed even if the results did not correspond to the expanding industrial development of the country. The ten-hour workday was by no means a general rule (it is still not now in 1891); it existed only in the construction trades and for the majority of the metal workers, that is, in those trades whose members enjoyed a strong constitution and a relatively good mode of living. The textile industry with its hundred of thousands of male and female workers, the uncountable workers in the garment industry, in the transportation companies, the coal workers and miners—just to name the most important industries—and most of all, women and children, had gained nothing, had no relief in their depressing labor.

Of course, there were calls to remedy the abuses; of course, pleadings, laments, and complaints from the factory districts reached the press, but into the legislatures—never! But when the complaints became too loud, their tone even threatening, then the clever bourgeoisie (1852-1853) reduced working hours to sixty-eight and sixty-six hours per week and thus gave the legislatures, especially in the New England states, a welcome excuse to ignore or to procrastinate on the demand for the ten-hour day. Still, in some districts, the old working hours (5 A.M. to 7 P.M.) prevailed into the mid-1860s and were only then eliminated through strikes and reduced to eleven hours. The workers in Baltimore forced their legislature as early as 1850 to decree the ten-hour day but were robbed of the fruit of their efforts by a lawyer's trick (like the one in New Hampshire): a clause permitting special contracts to prolong working hours was added to the law. Thereupon the workers took a defiant attitude and forced an almost general observance of the ten-hour day.

In 1849 the shipbuilding trade in New York had pushed through a reduction of working time to eight hours, but only for repair work, and all building trades repeatedly tried to achieve this in vain. Only the stonemasons in 1850 succeeded in gaining and maintaining the ten-hour day. When the news from Australia of the institution of the eight-hour day arrived here, the California shipbuilders tried very hard to gain the same end but were unsuccessful. At the same time (1856) the Boston building trades started similar agitation but with no better results, despite help of the mayor and several professors.

It is remarkable that a steady reduction of working hours was reached by trades that were made up almost exclusively of immigrants (mostly of English descent) and their direct successors, for example, the shipbuilding trade where the majority were Englishmen and the stonemasons who had been recruited from Scotland.

That women and children gained almost nothing from their agitation for shorter working hours has already been mentioned. To substantiate this there follows an excerpt from Professor Ely's work (p. 108 and 109). First he complains that the hopes of Adam Smith and his followers have not been realized, that "not many, only a few, have become independent producers" describes the abuse of the apprentices and then continues:

When machinery became more perfect, women and children replaced men; and it has happened in Massachusetts, as well as in England, that the father has remained at home and cared for the house and the babies while his wife and children have worked in the factory for the support of the family. Unnatural competitors! Unnatural relation! And as machinery became more general and more costly, the working day was lengthened until it became, even for women and children, sixteen and eighteen hours in cases not rare. Indeed, it has been generally longer where women and children have been the predominating labor force, *because they are less powerful to resist oppression.*¹⁵

Child and women's labor are profitable objects of exploitation, and the American bourgeoisie understands this as well as, and better than, their European colleagues. When the New Englanders, the free and independent citizens, undertake something, then they do it thoroughly, as long as it is to their advantage.

The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, directed by true Americans in the American spirit, did not blush to write the following in their first report (p. 99) about the decade 1850-1860, after discussing the arrogance of the slaveholders, which reached its climax in the War of Secession:

Meanwhile labor in all its thoughtful element bided its time, and gave itself with earnest purpose to the preservation of national unity, conscious that all its hope of future progress depended upon the defeat of

artistocracy, in the destruction of slavery. How complete this self-abnegation was, may be best shown by a paragraph from "The Travels of Anthony Trollope," 1861:—

"There is, I think, no taskmaster over free labor so exacting as an American. He knows nothing of hours, and seems to have that idea of a man which a lady always has of a horse. He thinks that he will go forever. And, moreover,—which astonished me,—I have seen men driven and hurried,—as it were forced forward at their work in a manner which to an English workman would be intolerable. This surprised me much, as it was at variance with our—or perhaps I should say with my—preconceived ideas as to American freedom. I had fancied that American citizens would not submit to being driven; that the spirit of the country, if not the spirit of the individual, would have made it impossible. I thought that the shoe would have pinched on the other foot. But I found that such driving did exist; and American masters with whom I had an opportunity of discussing the subject all admitted it."

And this is what the Massachusetts report calls *self-denial*!

That the American workers did not all pay homage to this castrating idea of self-denial is shown in the reports of the strikes in Pittsburgh, Amesbury, and so on mentioned above. Also the workers of New York did not show the least inclination toward self-castigation when the crisis of 1857 broke loose. Those workers who were thrown into the streets gathered in the autumn of 1857 in Washington Park in New York (as a sign of progress let it be noted that this is forbidden to them today), and passed resolutions to remedy their distressed condition. When these were not taken into consideration many thousands gathered again and marched before City Hall and energetically demanded that the city officials take steps to alleviate their condition.¹⁶ Fear and fright fell upon the bourgeois minds and the state's legislature put troops into the treasury office and custom house.

But the unemployed had wasted too much time with their park meetings, which the clever politicians who sat on the city council and in city offices had used against the workers. They had secretly secured the leaders of the unemployed—not by force, they were not that advanced yet, but through bribery with money and sinecures. The unemployed were for the moment calmed with friendly phrases and sent home with half promises. And when they gathered again in the next days to prepare further steps, their leaders were missing. Unorganized as they were they were easily dispersed. The bribery of excellent labor leaders with oratorical talent with profitable small offices, the corruption of whole layers of the working class by professional politicians in the service of the bourgeoisie celebrated its first great triumph and from this point on forms a latent evil, an almost continuous chapter in the labor movement of the United States!

When in the description of the decade 1840-1850 we discussed the pro-

letarianization of the workers, only one fact was observed: the economic condition described had entered some parts of the country and then spread. It was a diagnosis. To conclude from it that this condition and its origins were consciously known to the concerned proletariat would be foolish.

The man whose keen observance pierced the complicated conditions of the old European social classes, who for the first time exposed the economic structure of the modern society, Karl Marx, also judged the circumstances in the United States during this decade (1850-1860) correctly. In *The 18th Brumaire*¹⁷ he describes the effects of the June insurrection¹⁸ on the bourgeois classes and on the bourgeois republic, which "here (in Europe) means the unlimited despotism of one class over the other . . . and only a form of political upheaval of bourgeois society." But then, sharply on the mark, he calls the republic "the conservative form of life" of bourgeois society—"in the United States of North America where classes already exist but are not yet fixed, rather they are in constant flux, they change and exchange their essential parts, where the modern means of production, instead of collapsing because of stagnant overpopulation, take the place of the relative scarcity of heads and hands, and where, finally, the feverish youthful movement of material production, which had to assimilate a new world, allowed neither time nor opportunity to abolish the old world spirit."

To banish this Old World spirit, to root out the traditional conceptions and ideas of earlier generations—for this there was hardly time in the 1850s. Certainly there were classes, but constantly changing their essential parts and the continuous mixing prevented the creation of a pure product, chemically speaking. Alchemy reigned, so to speak. The American workers, in recognizing their own condition and things in general, are by no means superior to their European class comrades in the progressive countries and must experience their testing period like the latter, the only difference being that the rapid industrial development of their country—probably—will also enforce a faster tempo on the development of the labor movement.

GERMAN WORKERS' MOVEMENT

In the decade 1850 to 1860 the importance of the German workers' movement in this country is connected for the most part with the name Weitling. The influence that Weitling had on contemporary German workers and the respect they paid and still pay to his work necessitates a few biographical remarks.¹⁹ Wilhelm Weitling, a tailor born in Prussian Silesia, roamed as an artisan through Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, and Switzerland from the end of the 1820s until the middle of the 1840s. In Paris in 1835 he joined the League of the Outlaws [*Bund der Geächteten*], a secret political revolutionary society, and in 1838 joined the League of the Just, which paid homage to the principles of the Babeufian doctrine, even though Weitling praises himself as

having been the first in the society to unroll the communist flag, to have converted the society to the communist view. Around the same time Weitling's first publication appeared: *Mankind As It Is and As It Should Be*. In the early 1840s Weitling went to Switzerland and gained followers among the German workers living there and among the remainder of the followers of "Young Germany," with whom he would often come into conflict. There he published a monthly, *German Youth's Cry for Help* [*Der Hilferuf der deutschen Jugend*], and founded zealous workers' clubs in Lausanne, Locle, Lachaurdefond, and so on, which also created restaurants on a cooperative basis.

In December 1842 Weitling's major work appeared: *Guarantees of Harmony and Freedom*, which caused a stir and circulated widely among the German workers, especially in foreign countries, and was also translated into French and English. In 1843 Weitling was arrested in Zurich for blasphemy and communist agitation and sentenced to ten months in prison. In 1844 the Swiss extradited him to Prussia, but the Prussians soon released him, whereupon he moved to Hamburg and later to London. In 1846 he published his *Evangelium of the Poor Sinner*, and in the same year we find him in Brussels in the company of Marx, Engels, Wolff, Weydemeyer,²⁰ and others, although not in agreement with them.

At the end of 1846 he moved to New York to take over the management of the *Volkstribun*, but this newspaper folded shortly before his arrival. Weitling founded several workers' societies in the United States, among them the so-called Liberation League. In 1848 he went back to Germany and he remained for a lengthy period in Berlin where he published *Urwähler*, of which only a few numbers appeared because in November Berlin authorities deported him. He then engaged in active propaganda work in Hamburg but had to leave when the police began to close in on him in the autumn of 1849. He traveled then via London to America for the second time. After a few years of strenuous propaganda work among the German workers, he retired, grumbling at the mistrust toward him and the bitter disappointment of his expectations. He was given a small office in Castle Garden, the immigration depot of the port of New York, and in his spare time he occupied himself with inventions in his old trade and with new developments in astronomy. He died in 1871.

Weitling was an untiring, serious, talkative, but also argumentative and willful agitator. He had hardly arrived in New York for the second time when he collected his old supporters and founded with them the Workers' League [*Arbeiterbund*] and the monthly *Workers' Republic* (*Republik der Arbeiter*) which later (1851) became a weekly. His strength, abilities, and views are more clearly indicated in this paper than in all of his other numerous writings.

As is evident from the previous biographical sketch, Weitling was self-taught [*Autodidakt*], in the good sense a "self-made man." He was very conscious of this, that is, of his own accomplishments in having accrued a great deal of knowledge and skills and did not hesitate in expressing it. On the other hand, deep inside he recognized the inadequacy of his education in deal-

ings and contact with the classically and philosophically educated representatives of the modern proletariat, with the leaders of scientific socialism. He did not openly confess these inadequacies but hid them behind the richness of his imagination, the extraordinary characteristics of his mind and heart, his "emotional direction," and "therefore came into conflict with men of the critical direction," namely Marx, Engels, Wolff, and others.²¹

Weitling went about his tasks with great earnestness, and a kind of holy fire glowed in him when he developed his ideas, a fire that allowed him to appear as an illuminated apostle, even as a Messiah, and elicited enthusiasm and devotion among thousands of workers. A fanatic in his convictions, which he was ready to defend any where and any time, he was a nice man in personal relations who liked to partake in enjoyments of many kinds. His honesty was above suspicion despite all the insinuations and slander thrown at him after the collapse of his enterprises.

The following sentences from his proclamation in the first number of the *Workers' Republic* testify to Weitling's extraordinary self-consciousness: "Has anyone been able to do more for the workers' cause than I? Has anyone fought longer and with more success for this cause? Has anyone worked for it longer, more unselfishly and more honestly?"

No matter how much one can criticize Weitling's schemes, no matter how many mistakes and weaknesses one can discover in him, he retains several things which secure him an honorable memory: his proletarian bearing and consciousness, his belonging to the working class for which he fought, his worker's pride, which prevented him from ever making pacts with other parties.

As the first step in the emancipation of the workers, Weitling proposed the founding of a "Trade Exchange Bank," which he described as follows: "The founding of a Trade Exchange Bank, if it is to serve its purpose, involves the necessity of issuing new workers' currency and the opening of warehouses and stores. In these warehouses, or through their agents, workers, employers and farmers can sell their products for the workers' currency at any time and purchase with this currency what they need so that with the founding of the exchange bank each member has work all the time and can at any time sell his products and can buy without appealing to the capitalists and intermediaries and being cheated by them. Everybody will *always receive the full value of his expenses and his work* by the exchange rules of this Trade Exchange Bank." The phrase, later often misused, that the worker owns the whole fruit of his labor, is realized here, at least in Weitling's sense.

He continues: "The profit that the merchants, agents, speculators, and usurers now draw from labor would therefore go to the workers and employers. When, after being thoroughly organized, the Trade Exchange Bank starts functioning, the profit will be at least 100 percent. The savings of ex-

penses and losses in time and materials which are caused by the splintering and disorder of business will bring another profit which one can . . . not quite exactly calculate, but . . . which one can also fix at 100 percent."

Despite this 100 and even another 100 percent the Trade Exchange Bank did not get off the ground. Weitling demanded that the number of original investors in each area be at least 1,000 workers, employers, and farmers who would pay a third or half of their salary (in cash) weekly and receive for this "the equal amount of our paper money" so that the Trade Exchange Bank would receive \$2,000 or \$3,000 in cash weekly. His followers numbered in the thousands in New York, of which approximately 2,000 were organized, and he could have brought the thing off. But the paper money did not lure their dollars out of their pockets. They founded consumer clubs and associations, that is, productive unions, against the advice of Weitling who notes expressly in the article from which these extracts are cited: "Based on methods and results of the Trade Exchange Bank and according to the needs of the members, the founding and enlargement of association workshops must be directed." And later he complains that his advice was not followed, but associations were founded and their failures blamed on him.

At the same time Weitling made his paper money proposal, Kellogg, against whom Weitling polemicized, appeared with his "new monetary system."²² He also decisively secured his Trade Exchange Bank against any confusion with Proudhon's project by pointing out that his bank was founded on the basis of true value and work while Proudhon's was based on credit.²³

In early April 1850 a "Central Commission of United Trades" was founded in New York. It was an assembly of delegates from workers' associations with approximately 2,000 members including bakers, shoemakers, carpenters, tailors, upholsterers, turners, wood-carvers, mechanics and hat makers, and the followers of the *Workers' Republic* and the Trade Exchange Bank. The latter group was credited with 1,800 men and a cash fund of \$2,310. This cash did not flow into the bank; rather it was decided that "first in all trade meetings the question of the necessity of an exchange bank should be raised." Early in July of the same year Weitling reported that 2,500 workers united in New York and had \$4,500 in their coffers, that they would have \$15,000 within a short time, and "the forces entering our operation will have a starting capital of at least \$20,000."

This organization of German workers was by no means limited to New York; it became, relatively, as strong in most of the larger and smaller cities of the country, e.g., in Baltimore, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, Louisville, Pittsburgh, Newark, Detroit, Buffalo, Cleveland, and New Orleans and also led to the founding of newspapers by German workers who, after a shorter or longer period, changed professions and returned to the fleshpots of Egypt by throwing themselves into the arms of the bourgeois par-

ties. An excellent example of this kind was the *New Yorker Abend-Zeitung*, founded by eight book printers to whom Weitling devoted particular expressions of indignation.

These German workers' associations were not unions in the modern sense, that is, for the protection and furthering of the general interests of those concerned; rather they were almost always founded as the creation of a productive society [*Produktivgenossenschaft*] or a consumer organization for the support of the Exchange Bank, and the like. Among the German workers the actual trade unions appear a few years later, and there was a certain confusion in the names of these because they were called business organizations [*Geschäftsvereine*] or trade regulations [*Gewerbeordnungen*] while the productive societies [*Produktivgenossenschaften*] were simply called associations.

The well-attended, truly mass meetings of the German workers all over the country, coupled with their energetic agitation, naturally aroused the interests of the daily press, especially in the English-language press. Some papers, like the *New York Tribune* and the *New York Times* reported on these events with sympathy and approval; others, like the *New York Herald*, in a very hateful manner. The latter published truly incendiary articles under the headline "Socialism in New York," which pointed out to the government the imminent danger to the fatherland and prophesied that before the next presidential election, armed bandits would move into Wall Street and plunder the banks, and so on. Today, if one takes the opportunity to read the "amiable" articles devoted to the working class in the bourgeois press of Germany, England, France (and naturally the United States), particularly since 1871, one can indeed say: We have been through all this before!

The movement did not have much interest for the English-speaking workers. Only in the agitation of the tailors and bakers can one find a rather large number of English-speaking workers participating. The largest part of blame for this damaging isolation falls on the shoulders of the German workers themselves because they hardly bothered with the English-speaking workers, even less with the country's language and in some cases refused a welcoming hand. The attempt of the Workers League [*Arbeiterbund*] to cooperate with the Industrial Congress in New York, to engage in propaganda work there, failed because it did not have any representatives fluent in the English language.

The "First German Workers' Congress" was held from October 22 to 28, 1850, in Philadelphia. It was a congress of the German workers' organizations founded through Weitling's agitation and his supporters. Forty-four hundred members of workers' organizations with a cash fund of \$19,071 were represented, among them, St. Louis with 453 members, Louisville with 150, Baltimore with 231, Cincinnati with 65, Pittsburgh with 240, Newark with 38, Williamsburg with 60, Philadelphia with 598, Buffalo with 756, and New York with 1,970 members.

Organized in the same manner, but without representation at the Congress,

German workers' organizations registered from Maysville, Detroit, Rochester, Dubuque, and Trenton. On the other hand, Chicago at that time remained quite silent. The Congress resolved to raise a loan from its members—against bonds—in order to start the operation of the Exchange Bank as soon as possible. They passed numerous long resolutions about the bank, associations, political party organizations, teaching and education centers, propaganda, colonization, and the calling of congresses. The "basic principles for political reform efforts" were:

1. The release of land to real farmers.
2. Securing homesteads against forced sales.
3. Limitation of land ownership.
4. High taxation of all sold but uncultivated lands.
5. Protection of the immigrants against cheating by speculators and real estate agents.
6. No time limitation on the achievement of civil rights.
7. The handing over of government work to the members of trade or exchange associations.
8. The direct election of all officials by the people.
9. The appointment of all officials by the state or the corporations.
10. The right to impeach representatives who do not follow instructions.
11. Abolition of all laws that give the legislatures the right to pass laws regarding personal or corporate relations.
12. Abolition of all laws that hinder the free use of Sundays.

These were also the principles of the party organization.

No word, no hint about the then-burning question of slavery, about the infamous Fugitive Slave Act that was legislated in the same year. Not the least word about reducing working hours; about raising wages; nothing against the general custom of cheating the workers through the use of paper and silver money; and, excluding no. 7, not one real workers' demand!

The deliberations of the Congress had no influence. The opposition against Weitling's all too self-conscious behavior, already aroused in the spring of 1850, grew stronger and stronger. In October Weitling submitted his resignation to the Central Commission mentioned above with the concluding sentence: "Under the existing circumstances it would be more damaging than useful to the movement which I lead in spirit, should I continue to let my feelings be abused in your meetings." Whereupon the Central Commission released a counter-declaration with the conclusion: "We reply to Weitling's conclusion that we feel strong enough to guide the movement of our brothers and that we need no spiritual leader which Weitling pretends to be."

Weitling made the greatest of efforts to maintain his position and to realize his plans; he devised a grandiose plan to build a railroad to the Pacific Ocean

through a workers' association; he polemicized vehemently against the rather strong free-religious-atheistic movement of the time; against "today's philosophy of vice"; against the "preachers of reasons"; he fought against the "voting game"; against the "misused majority principle"; he tried to come to an understanding with Heinzen;²⁴ a comfortable home was erected for the Workers' League at 20 Beekman Street—all in vain! Payments against bonds of the Exchange Bank were made but in thoroughly unsatisfying amounts, and finally everything was put into the Kommunia colony in Iowa, which had been founded in 1849. Ugly bickering about the ownership title, necessary for the bourgeois officials, developed over this capital, but Weitling stayed out of it by resigning.

After Weitling and his followers withdrew, his opponents, who were from 1851 the greater majority in the Workers' League, continued the organization without achieving any notable results. The Workers' League, as it was called, could not find the strength for action because it was a mixture of workers' and political associations in which for a long period the latter, the so-called ward associations, dominated. The League supported the newspaper *Reform*, founded at the end of 1852 by a radical German refugee group and edited by G. Kellner²⁵ (from the *Hornisse* [Hornet] in Kassel), but the League was soon pushed aside and its members began in the spring of 1853 to talk about the publication of a new paper.

In May 1853 the League called a "congress" of all trades in New York, but only the book printers appeared, and in June of 1854 they wanted to celebrate the June battle with—an excursion.²⁶ The following event is of interest: In autumn of 1854 a pamphlet was to be published. The manuscript was read and discussed in the various associations. In the next meeting of the Central League (the delegates' meeting), a delegate from the Tenth Ward reported that his group had found the manuscript unsuitable and unfit, "but they had read a manuscript written by a worker named Marx [sic] which contained everything which was useful for the worker and also a great propaganda vehicle for the Workers' League." (He meant the *Communist Manifesto*.)

The German Sport Clubs, called almost everywhere at that time "Social Sport Clubs," to which Professor Ely unjustifiably attributes a rather strong influence on the movement, hardly exceeded the usual phraseology and could not be moved to work together with the Workers' League while they (the Sport Clubs) on the other hand—with a majority—had a definite stand on the slavery question.

To allow an easier understanding of the various directions in the German part of the movement in this decade, we should point out that at the time a rather sharp separation between the older and younger German immigrants was noticeable—they had split into gray (the older immigrants) and green (the Forty-Eighters).²⁷ Publicly this split appeared in their positions on the slavery question; when the Kansas-Nebraska bill regarding the limitation of expansion

of slavery was being debated in Congress and the *New Yorker Staatszeitung* wrote in a friendly pro-slavery tone, the Greens on this newspaper broke out in solemn yowling—to the great distress of the Grays—and in 1856 they actively agitated for the first “Republican” presidential candidate, John C. Frémont.

In the beginning of the 1850s we discover the name of another man who through his great intelligence and restless activities had a beneficial influence on the development of the German workers' movement in the United States. This was Joseph Weydemeyer, a friend and follower of Karl Marx. In the 1840s, Weydemeyer was a publicist and agitator in Western Germany, and we also find his name in 1846 in the Brussels' German Workers' Association. After the 1848 revolution he sailed to America, at first to New York where he tried to found a monthly, *Die Revolution*, which published only two issues, but in these two there was much of permanent value and excellence. Marx's famous work *The 18th Brumaire* first appeared in this journal.

Weydemeyer participated in the Workers' League, making solid speeches before workers' meetings in which he always stressed class differences and the class struggle, especially in his speeches about the Chartist movement in England. He was often a delegate from the Workers' League to the simultaneous meetings of English-speaking workers' associations, which at that time were mostly concerned with the land and homestead question. The minutes of a League meeting at the end of 1854 report: “Weydemeyer did not think the resolutions (of the English-speaking workers) suitable for the purpose because a large part of these small landowners would soon fall into the hands of capitalists and then the old land farce would begin anew; he thinks it more suitable that these lands be managed together in Associations with the support and under the supervision of the state in the interest of the workers.”

When the question of ward or trade organizations was raised, again Weydemeyer decisively supported the trade organizations and in general helped prevent the Workers' League from taking the path of the petty bourgeoisie at that time. Later he went out West and at the end of the decade published several excellent articles about the economic aspect of the slavery question in an Illinois newspaper, which F. Knapp, “the citizen of two worlds,” heavily exploited in his history of slavery.²⁸ With the outbreak of the Civil War Weydemeyer entered the army, was later elected by the anti-slavery population of the city of St. Louis to a responsible position on the city council, and died soon after. Honor to his memory!

The Workers' League also found support in many other places like Newark, Cincinnati, Washington, Cleveland, Philadelphia, Buffalo, and New Haven, and they considered holding a general congress. A French radical society, the Société de la Montagne, had close connections with the League. The German workers of Cleveland wanted to found a workers' newspaper in English, and the Philadelphians also pressed for one. Nonetheless the loose relations with

the English-speaking workers were broken off in New York, and the Social Reform Association refused to cooperate with a similar English-language group.

In 1855 proposals for militaristic and secret organizations were put forward. At that point the shoemakers, lead polishers, carpenters, tailors, cigarmakers, book printers, varnishers, machinists, and surgical instrument makers were represented in the Central League.²⁹ The crisis of 1857 paralyzed the movement, and Weydemeyer's departure had robbed the Workers' League of its spiritual leader. Thus the League became a playground of petty bourgeois reformers and babblers under whose aegis in 1858 the *Soziale Republik*, edited by Gustav Struve, began to appear following the collapse of the newspaper *Der Arbeiter* [*The Worker*], which published only a few issues. The mentality of the editorial staff of the *Soziale Republik* was indicated by Struve in the phrase: "Welfare, Education, Freedom for All!" The mentality of the reorganized Workers' League was characterized, after many long-winded deliberations and resolutions, in the following:

Resolved: that each candidate for any office had to answer the following questions in the presence of the Ward or Executive Councils:

1. Are you prepared, to the point of life and death [sic!] to break the chains which enslave labor to capital, to give everything for the interest of the workers, to fight for the rights of the poor in general, no matter in which form they appear?
2. Are you ready, to the point of life and death to stand up for equal rights for the worker and to fight against every detriment to the immigrants by the nativist effort?

and so on, and so on, and at the end it reads:

"Resolved, to hand over every candidate who breaks his vows by working against the principles stated above to the people's justice."

In the first lead article Struve had the presumption to maintain: "It is a fact that the principles of the *Soziale Republik* have been acknowledged in America since 1776." He only forgot to add: "Struve's" Social Republic. He ends the article with: "To spread and further education is thus the real task of this paper." But the members of the executive "give their hand to all friends of mankind, a brother's hand, and count on their energetic help."

There is very little in this paper about the position, the needs and efforts of the workers, but much about phrenology, the papacy, jurisprudence, preachers' tricks, Germandom, Alpine pictures, and the like, and in October 1858 there was again a call for founding an "independent party for freedom and rights." The mutual greeting was, of course, always "citizen!"

In mid-January 1859 a so-called Congress of the Workers' League took place in New York, to which Chicago, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Boston, Louisville, and Williamsburg also sent delegates. The Congress passed resolu-

tions supporting equal rights for all peoples, against slavery (finally), the abolition of the Fugitive Slave Act, against all temperance and Sunday laws (blue laws), for complete freedom of employment, for good confession-free schools, and partial feeding of schoolchildren, against nontaxation of church property, for simplification of the laws, for a (moderate) protective tariff, for a homestead act, for a labor court system, against nativism, and so on.

Struve left the editorial staff in the spring of 1859 and was replaced by W. Kopp, under whose direction the paper sank even lower. In the second edition he edited, he wrote: "The workers should not appear as a special class; not their rights as workers, but their human rights demand that they do not appear before oppressing capital as workers but as human beings. . . ." The gentleman was also simultaneously editor of a bourgeois political newspaper in New York,³⁰ which led to conflicts with the executives of the Workers' League and finally to the resignation of Mr. Kopp. Now, from September 1859 on, the paper improved, but it was too late. It continued for about nine months longer with great sacrifices until the executive moved to Chicago in April 1860 and the paper ceased to exist.

In September 1857, the Communist Club of New York was founded. Its accomplishment was an imposing celebration of the June battle, which was held on June 23, 1858, with a large participation by the radical immigrant elements of German, French and English tongue.³¹

In 1858, the German workers began to shake off the effects of the 1857 crisis and organized in real trade unions, demanded higher wages, and organized strikes. In the lead marched the cabinetmakers of New York, who had been represented in Weitling's Workers' League with 946 members in the autumn of 1850. In February 1859 they held a large mass meeting, enforced salary raises, and founded the union mentioned earlier, the "United Cabinet Makers of New York." The cigarmakers had made similar efforts in June 1858 but did not achieve the same success. The piano makers of Steinway and Sons organized a large and successful strike in March 1859 and decided in July of the same year to found a national organization. The tailors of Williamsburg organized themselves, too, as did the turners and book printers in New York, and in March 1859, a sort of union council was formed by cabinetmakers, tailors, turners, cap makers, piano makers, and the Social Reform Association.

It has been mentioned several times that the German workers also participated in the movement in other cities of the country. The busiest were the workers of Cincinnati in 1858 and 1859 among whom, again, it was the cabinetmakers or carpenters who struggled hard and successfully with the employers in March 1858. In autumn of 1858, the German workers of Cincinnati took over a newspaper, the *Cincinnati Republican*, and appointed A. Willich as editor.³² Willich had been working in Washington as a coast surveyor, but left this job immediately and moved to Cincinnati. He sharply attacked the *Soziale Republik* under Kopp's management, achieved great influence among

the German workers of Cincinnati, entered the army immediately after the outbreak of the slave owners' rebellion, served honorably and manly, lived after the end of the war for several years in the West, and died in the mid-1870s.³³

chapter 5

THE LABOR MOVEMENT, 1860-1866

IRA STEWARD AND WILLIAM H. SYLVIS

The agitation over the slavery question described in the last article led in 1854 to the founding of the Republican Party, which gained strong influence in the following years, even though it was defeated in the presidential election of 1856.¹ Without a decisive program, without directly attacking the institution of slavery, the party wanted only to prevent the slaveholding South from gaining new territory, to prevent the inclusion of new slave states.² Nevertheless, even this milk and water politics seemed to the broad masses to be progress and, thus, after a lively electoral contest, the Republicans received a majority throughout the North and elected their candidate, Abraham Lincoln, as President.³ This led to the crisis. The southern states declared their secession from the Union,⁴ as far as they were not prevented from doing so, and in April 1861 the great War of Secession began, which, after four years, ended in April 1865 with the defeat of the slaveholders, with the emancipation of the Negro, and the assassination of Lincoln. At the same time the protective tariff was introduced.⁵

The influence of these struggles on the labor movement of the country is seen in two opposing directions, that is, as a disadvantage as well as an advantage to the movement. These struggles and the war were detrimental to the labor movement because the interests of the people, in a narrow sense, were diverted from the purely economic questions and gave the politicians who fished in troubled waters a welcome opportunity to counter the workers' demands with the reference to "higher interests." Also detrimental were the various components of the working population, i.e., their mixture, which again suffered a great change when the large number of American workers

who went, voluntarily or not, into the war were replaced by ever more immigrants who naturally needed more time to recognize the circumstances of their situation and to begin to make demands. The economic situation of the workers was also disadvantaged by the sharp devaluation of the current paper money, devaluation that was by no means balanced by the wage increases forced through by the workers. On the other hand, there was no talk about unemployment during the war years.

But these struggles were advantageous to the labor movement in that the large growing demand for war material, clothing material, and foodstuffs made labor a much sought after commodity. Thus the workers could force better working conditions from the employers with relative ease. More importantly the war solved the slavery question and cleared the way for the labor question. The "irrepressible conflict" between slavery and free labor announced by W. H. Seward⁶ was settled and replaced by the "irrepressible conflict" between labor and capital.

Even Republican politicians like Lincoln,⁷ Benjamin Wade,⁸ and others recognized this view of the situation. It is clearly indicated by the pleasant fact that now the native labor elements also entered the movement, for the most part agitating for reduced working hours.

Of extraordinary importance in this respect was the appearance of Ira Steward,⁹ a simple worker in Boston, a machinist, at the beginning of the 1860s. He was a sharp thinker—and what was in this country a rarity—a rather apt dialectician, an untiring serious agitator, a selfless honest proletarian whose concern for the well-being of his class, the wage-earning class, and the future of society defined his existence. He achieved great influence in the New England states, especially in Massachusetts, through these characteristics.

Unfortunately, being purely self-educated, he did not possess the historical viewpoint, the materialistic concept of history, the knowledge that the thought and action, the feeling and the desires of human beings are grounded in the economic situation, influenced by and dependent on material conditions, and therefore he attempted to realize his goal of improving the conditions of the working class not alone through the organization of the wage earners but, with the same zest, attempted to influence the politicians and better situated classes. In this connection it was practically through his efforts alone that the councils of the nation, the representatives of Massachusetts in Congress, like Charles Sumner,¹⁰ Wilson, Banks,¹¹ and others, over a period of years continually supported the demands of the workers.

That he did not dip deeply enough into the study of capitalist production methods is shown in his essays and publications wherein he constantly speaks about means of abolishing "poverty";¹² but this defect should not be emphasized at the expense of the other valuable characteristics and achievements of this talented man. One of the greatest of Ira Steward's accomplishments is the well-deserved respect for the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, the first in the United States,¹³ which it earned because of his efforts. Ira Stew-

ard, his brave wife,¹⁴ and some of his followers and pupils are responsible for the best work of this office during the early years of its existence. He also founded the Eight Hour League, which for a long period produced fine work and almost all of whose resolutions, which we will discuss later, stemmed from his pen.

While during the earlier decades the utopian, gushing, petty-bourgeois element ruled the public mind and sometimes damaged the workers' cause, during and after the war the deceitful quackery element gained the upper hand, contributing numerous quack prescriptions, particularly the paper money plan,¹⁵ which created great misfortune among the workers. Ira Steward fought vigorously with all his strength against this adulteration of the movement.

Raised in the old puritanical tradition of abstinence from all drinks and stimulants, he continued the practice while at the same time he fought decisively against the sanctimonious and charlatan efforts of the temperance supporters; he denied the widespread concept that abstinence uplifted and alleviated the conditions of the working class, and declared himself ready to give lectures proving that drunkenness is not the result of poverty, but poverty the reason for drunkenness,¹⁶ a position that demanded great moral courage and true conviction in the New England states at that time. Ira Steward set for the movement the express goal of the abolition of wage labor through introduction of cooperative labor and substantiated this goal in such an ingenious manner that the efforts of his followers paled in comparison.

At the end of the 1850s, Ira Steward was already active in the International Machinists and Blacksmiths Union and represented it in the summer of 1863 at its convention in Boston where he introduced the following resolutions, which were unanimously accepted:

We, the members of the I. U. of Machinists and Blacksmiths of N. A., conscious that our attempts to adjust the false relations still existing between labor and capital have failed thus far in consequence of a want of means adequate to the accomplishment of our ends; therefore

RESOLVED, that from east to west, from north to south, the most important change to us as working men, to which all else is subordinate, is a permanent reduction to *eight* of the hours exacted for each day's work.

RESOLVED, that since this cannot be accomplished until a public sentiment has been educated, both among employers and employees, we will use all the machinery of agitation, whether it be among those of the religious, political, reformatory or moneyed enterprises of the day; and to secure such reduction we pledge our money and our courage.

RESOLVED, that such reduction will never be made until over-work, as a system, is prohibited, nor until it is universally recognized that *an increase of hours is a reduction of wages*,¹⁷ even if the over hours are paid for by extra compensation, unless in those very rare cases where an

uncommon and an unexpected press of work renders any other arrangement impossible; and we do not rank among such exceptions the case of capitalists anxious to avoid further investment of capital, and hence seeking through extra hours to benefit themselves by throwing undue burdens on the laborer.

RESOLVED, that a *Reduction of Hours is an Increase of Wages*.¹⁸

RESOLVED, that it is the duty of this association to select some person competent to urge these views on public attention through the press, and lecture-room, and to secure him fair remuneration.

Four hundred dollars were allowed and devoted to this agitation, which was to begin on January 1, 1864. On November 17, 1863, the committee entrusted with its execution asked the Boston Trades Assembly for cooperation, which was promised along with a further amount of \$400.¹⁹

This same convention of machinists and blacksmiths also made a remarkable proposal to unite all the unions of the country into one great national trade union. This proposal was accepted by other conventions and later led to the huge labor congresses at the end of the 1860s.

About Ira Steward's work we will have more to report later and shall only mention here that Ira Steward and his followers maintained active contracts with the German followers of the International Workingmen's Association in this country.²⁰ At the end of the 1870s he lost his loyal co-worker and life's companion, had bitter experiences with some of his most intimate comrades-in-arms, and in 1881 retreated to the interior of Illinois to complete his work which he called "the philosophy of the eight hour day." He died at fifty-one, on March 13, 1883, one day before Karl Marx,²¹ mourned by all who knew him and his work. In Massachusetts he served the cause well, and there are still a number of his followers alive there, especially in Boston, whose work is for the most part worthy of appreciation. He did not finish his writing and left his manuscript to one of his pupils to finish. This misguided pupil, remarking on the fragmentary condition of the notes, mocked the work and published it some years ago under the title *Wealth and Progress*.²²

William H. Sylvis,²³ an iron moulder in Pennsylvania, had as much influence as Ira Steward. He successfully completed the organization of his own union, led its wage and other struggles from victory to victory, and founded with it several production cooperatives that prospered for a short time. He well recognized the conflict of interest between labor and capital, saw the latter grow immensely during wartime, and therefore he pushed relentlessly for the unification of all unions in a national association. Unlike the majority of his Anglo-American countrymen, he understood the interrelationship of the labor movement in all industrially developed countries and until his death maintained active contacts with labor leaders in Europe, as well as with members of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association in London. Sylvis engaged in vigorous propaganda for the reduction of working

hours, and the demand for the eight-hour day won as many followers in the western and middle states as Ira Steward had in the New England states.

In 1858, Sylvis became secretary of his union in Philadelphia and was president of the Iron Moulders' International Union from 1863 until his death, for whom he published the *Iron Moulders' Journal*, one of the first and best edited specialized journals. Familiar with the manner and practices of the bourgeois political parties he did not look to them for lasting improvement of the workers' situation, and he zealously worked for the founding of an independent labor party with which he planned to bring a labor candidate into the President's seat in 1872. Even if this latter expectation was too ambitious, some successes in this direction could have been gained if Sylvis and a large number of his followers had not allowed themselves to be captured in the nets of the petty bourgeois and small farmer quacks, the money reformers: the so-called greenbackers.²⁴ With this Sylvis proved that his knowledge of economics was narrow, but he made good this lack through worthy moral characteristics, through courage, a lack of prejudices, and decisiveness. As opposed to the general evasive tone and the pathetic expressions of the majority of American labor leaders Sylvis's language is a pleasure, particularly when he writes in one of his last letters to Europe: "Our goal is the same. . . . We want, if possible, to reach our goal through elections, but if this is not possible, we will reach for different methods. In difficult cases a little bleeding is sometimes necessary." Sylvis died in the middle of his best work, hardly forty-one years old, in the summer of 1869.²⁵

The changing "luck of war" during the four years of the Secession War is well known as is the barely hidden sympathy of the European sea powers for the slaveholders' rebellion. Napoleon III used the opportunity for his filibustering expedition in Mexico where he set up the Austrian Archduke Maximilian as emperor, but left him stranded after the defeat of the slaveholders. England, whose Parliament for decades passed the sharpest resolutions against slavery and the slave trade and made uncountable beautiful speeches against the phenomenon; England, which had abolished slavery in its territories years ago; England, which bragged that no slave walked on its land; official and unofficial, liberal and conservative, religious and literary England, with Gladstone²⁶ and Carlyle²⁷ and the *London Times* in the lead; the England of the factory system and world commerce stood at the side of the slaveholders, partly openly, partly secretly, and the English government embarrassed the United States whenever it could—one only has to remember the arming of and permission to sail given to the southern pirate ship *Alabama*.²⁸

England supplied weapons, munitions, and all kinds of war material to the southerners; it recognized the secessionists immediately as a belligerent power and would have liked to enter the war on the side of the slaveholders if—*working England*, the English workers had not raised their voices in favor of the North of the United States, in favor of abolishing slavery.²⁹

After almost two years of bloodshed without noticeable results, President

Lincoln issued his proclamation, called by Lincoln himself a wartime measure, on January 1, 1863, abolishing slavery in every insurgent state and district of the United States.³⁰ The proletarians of Lancashire, the weavers and spinners of the cotton factories in England who were put on half-time because of lack of cotton and overburdened by hunger and deprivation³¹ came together in great mass meetings to wish Lincoln luck with this Emancipation Proclamation and openly express their inner sympathy with the cause of the northern states of the Union.³² This had more effect than the beautiful speeches of Mr. Beecher³³ and lobbying efforts of the Catholic Archbishop³⁴ of New York: both gentlemen had been sent on a secret mission to England to influence the leading circles of the English society in favor of the United States. The two gentlemen were coolly received and politely ignored. But the grumbling of the proletarians, on the other hand, was understood and respected by the clever gentlemen of the official world—the cause of the union was saved in England. *Honor to the English worker for that!* Lincoln answered them on January 19, 1863: "Under these circumstances, I cannot but regard your decisive utterance upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country."³⁵

LABOR LEGISLATION

The legislation for the protection of workers, children, and so on before the war was rather scanty; during the war nothing further was accomplished in this direction, and after the defeat of the South it took some time and strong pressure from the outside to move the gentleman lawmakers to attend to the most crying needs and damage. How slowly and reluctantly the "Honorables" (the title for those citizens who serve in the legislatures) treated the most important questions of workers' protection is shown in the example of the legislature of Massachusetts, which stands at the head of those states (and brags about it) that created guidelines for the protection of workers, women, and children.

On March 8, 1865, a member of the legislature (Mahan of Boston) made the proposal that the justice committee be ordered to report the need and expediency of regulating and limiting working hours and for punishment for breaking these laws.³⁶ On March 13, this proposal, along with its supporting petitions, was handed over to a special committee that was appointed on March 15, and on April 29 this committee resolved to give the whole matter over to an *unpaid* committee of five to investigate working hours. A report of the research done was added to the resolution, excerpts of which follow:

In the hearings before our Committee, the testimony and the demand was unanimous for a still further decrease of the hours of labor; praying for a limitation, by law, of eight hours, as a legal day's labor. It will

thus be seen that this movement is progressive, or, as some may think, aggressive. . . . Will the industry of the land bear this? The testimony of those who appeared before us, and who represented and spoke the sentiments of thousands of their fellow craftsmen, demonstrated, to our satisfaction, that not only could the productive industry of the country bear this, but even more than this. . . . The unanimous testimony of every person who appeared before the Committee, some thirty or forty witnesses, some of whom were representatives of classes of industry, was, that instead of this change of time being a loss or injury to industry or wealth, it would be a certain and speedy gain to both. From a careful consideration of the subject, your Committee have arrived at the same conclusion.

But there is another view of the subject, which is even more important to us as a people, than the mere increase of wealth, or the perfection of the mechanic arts,—the protection, preservation and advancement of man. In this view, we feel that there is a solemn duty and responsibility resting upon us, and that we are called upon to atone for our apathy of the past by early and earnest action in the future. We have been surprised at the developments which the investigation has produced. No subject which has been before a committee of this legislature has elicited more important facts, or awakened a more lively or general interest,—an interest of the most numerous class in the community, and one which has but too seldom, in our opinion, engaged the attention of our legislation,—the condition of our producing classes. In common with the great majority of the community, we have approached this subject with an entire ignorance of it; and in the belief that there was not, nor could be, any need of investigation, much less of improvement or melioration in the condition of those whose labors have enriched us, and whose skill and genius in the arts have placed us in the vanguard of the nation. Investigation has dispelled this ignorance; and your Committee must bear testimony to the urgent necessity of action and reform in the matter. The evidence presented almost challenged belief. Certainly the Committee were astonished that, in the midst of progress and prosperity unparalleled; advancement in the arts and sciences; development in machinery for the saving of labor; progress in invention, and in the increase of wealth and material prosperity; yet MAN, the producer of all these—"the first great cause of all," *was the least of all, and least understood.*³⁷ The result of this prosperity of which we boast,—and which should be a blessing to us,—has a tendency to make the condition of the workingman little else than a machine, with no thought or aspiration higher, in the language of one of the witnesses, "than a slave; for," he added, "we are slaves; overworked, worn out and enfeebled by toil; with no time left us for improvement of mind or soul. Is it surprising that we are degraded and ignorant?" Said another, "I have a son; and sooner than see him a mechanic, to suffer as I have; to toil worse than a

slave, and with a low and degraded social standard, I would see him in his grave." This is the spirit and language of all who have appeared before us. It was painful to listen to the unanimous evidence, showing a steady demoralization of the men who are the bulwarks of our national life. . . . Instead of that manly and sturdy independence which once distinguished the mechanic and the workingman, we have cringing servility and supineness. Instead of self-respect and intelligence, we have want of confidence and growing ignorance. . . . Instead of *labor*³⁸ being the patent of nobility, it is the badge of servitude. . . . The subject is one of vast importance to the people of our Commonwealth. . . . Important in every aspect in which it may be viewed; it is paramount, in our opinion, to any other subject which can claim the attention of thinking men. . . . The first duty of the state is to protect itself; to guard the interest of society, by suppressing that which is evil and detrimental; and protecting and fostering whatever will conduce to its prosperity. The state is composed of *men*, and the interest, progress and advancement of man is the foundation upon which the state rests. If the foundation is firm and solid, the structure is strong and enduring. Hence the first duty of the state is to recognize this great principle of manhood.³⁹

What beautiful, manly, human words!

What small, wretched actions!

The appointment of the unpaid Committee of Five took place on April 29, 1865, and this committee made its report on February 7, 1866. On May 28, 1866, it was decided that again a Committee of Three—this time appointed by the governor—be formed to examine the subject of working hours especially in relation to "the social, educational and sanitary situation of the laboring classes, and to the *permanent prosperity of the productive industry of commonwealth*." But concurrently, to silence agitation, a law limiting child labor was passed.⁴⁰

We reported earlier, in the cases of New Hampshire and Maryland, the lawyers' tricks and the forked tongues of the lawmakers and the intentional ambiguity of the labor protection laws in this country.⁴¹ Since the case at hand is typical, since Massachusetts became the model for all other states, a few of these laws, and by no means the worst, are cited here with all their back doors of escape and classifications.

The law of May 28, 1866, mentioned above reads:

An Act in relation to the employment of children in manufacturing establishments.

SECT. 1. No child under the age of ten years shall be employed in any manufacturing establishment within this Commonwealth, and no child between the age of ten and fourteen years shall be so employed,

unless he has attended some public or private school under teachers approved by the school committee of the place in which such school is kept, at least six months during the year next preceding such employment; nor shall such employment continue unless such child shall attend school at least six months in each and every year.

SECT. 2. The owner, agent or superintendent of any manufacturing establishment, who *knowingly* employs a child in violation of the preceding section, shall forfeit a sum not exceeding fifty dollars for each cash offense.

SECT. 3. No child under the age of fourteen years shall be employed in any manufacturing establishment within this Commonwealth, more than eight hours in any one day.

SECT. 4. Any parent or guardian who allows or consents to the employment of a child, in violation of the first section of this act, shall forfeit a sum not exceeding fifty dollars for each offense.

SECT. 5. The governor, with the advice and consent of the council, may, *at his discretion*, instruct the constable of the Commonwealth and his deputies to enforce the provisions of chapter forty-two of the General Statutes, and all other laws regulating the employment of children in manufacturing establishments, and to prosecute all violations of the same.

The law could have been viewed as progress against the existing practices, especially section 3, if section 5 did not counteract its intention. In any event, however, it was not enforced at all and on May 29, 1867, it was revoked by the passage of the following law:

An Act in relation to the schooling and hours of labor of children employed in manufacturing and mechanical establishments.

SECT. 1. No child under the age of ten years shall be employed in any manufacturing or mechanical establishment within this Commonwealth, and no child between the age of ten and fifteen years shall be so employed, unless he has attended some public or private day school under teachers approved by the school committee of the place in which such school is kept, at least *three months* during the year next preceding such employment: *provided*, said child shall have lived within the Commonwealth during the preceding six months; nor shall such employment continue unless such child shall attend school at least three months in each and every year; and *provided*, that tuition of *three hours per day* in a public or private day school approved by the school committee of the place in which such school is kept, during a term of six months, shall be deemed the equivalent of three months' attendance at a school kept in accordance with the customary hours of tuition; and no

time less than *sixty days* of actual schooling shall be accounted as *three months*, and no time less than *one hundred and twenty half-days* of actual schooling shall be deemed an equivalent of three months.

SECT. 2. No child under the age of fifteen years shall be employed in any manufacturing or mechanical establishment more than *sixty hours in one week*.

SECT. 3. Any owner, agent, superintendent or overseer of any manufacturing or mechanical establishment, who shall *knowingly* employ or permit to be employed, any child, in violation of the preceding sections, and any parent or guardian who allows or consents to such employment, shall for such offense forfeit the sum of fifty dollars.

SECT. 4. It shall be the duty of the constable of the Commonwealth to specially detail one of his deputies to see that the provisions of this act and all other laws regulating the employment of children or minors in manufacturing or mechanical establishments, are complied with, and to prosecute offenses against the same; and he shall report annually to the governor all proceedings under this act; and nothing in this section shall be construed as to prohibit any person from prosecuting such offenses.

SECT. 5. Revokes the preceding law of 1866.

SECT. 6. This act shall take effect sixty days from its passage.⁴²

The degeneration springs to the eye and is indicated with italics. Eight hours became ten (sixty hours per week), six months' school attendance became *three*, and back doors and escape hatches for the transgressor permeated the law.⁴³ Protection and promotion of national industry was the war cry of the bourgeois lawmakers. With the high development of machine technology in industry, child labor is a much sought after and valuable commodity; therefore child labor has to be protected. This the bourgeoisie were well aware of, and after some years the small legal minimum of school instruction and age was reduced even further. In the next chapter we will discuss the enforcement, or rather non-enforcement of this law, based on the report of the official in charge of enforcement.⁴⁴

The workers' demands and agitation made the bourgeois classes rather uncomfortable. With open reluctance they made some minor concessions, and in 1864 the legislatures of New York and Massachusetts even attempted to pass laws against organization and collective action by the workers. But the truly professional politicians recognized the trend of times and tried to gain the workers' votes through euphoric, but not seriously meant, proposals to the legislatures where naturally they were supported by some well-meaning, decent, good-hearted but misguided [*schlecht-blickenden*] reformers of the petty-bourgeois type.

In the spring of 1866 no fewer than five eight-hour-day bills were proposed

in the Congress of the United States, but they did not pass because a quorum was never present when the vote was taken. The gentlemen did not want to commit themselves. Similar events occurred in the legislatures of several states, and a few scanty laws regarding compulsory schooling for factory youth and the lien of workers on the product of their labor to secure their wages, and the like, were at this time the only crumbs that fell from the table of the propertied class. Furthermore, even this small progress occurred almost exclusively in New England and the Middle states; the so-called agrarian states in the West did nothing; and on the Pacific Ocean, labor legislation in California was limited to stupid laws against the Chinese and their immigration.⁴⁵

NATIONAL UNIONS AND THE BEGINNINGS OF THE NATIONAL LABOR UNION

The organization of workers' unions, which made great progress during the 1850s, suffered a setback during the war years but recovered soon after and experienced a great upswing after 1864. This upswing also changed the form of the unions somewhat in that most organizations from that time on expanded their field and called themselves *international* unions. This name really meant only that these unions penetrated into the British areas of North America, Canada, and also into Mexico in some exceptional cases.

Also the German workers strengthened their unions or founded new ones, the carpenters or cabinetmakers in the forefront as always, in most of the large cities of the country like New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Cincinnati, Louisville, St. Louis, Milwaukee, Buffalo, Cleveland, Detroit, Rochester, and so on. In New York the German-speaking unions participated in the reorganized Workingmen's Union and when the English language (in which union business was conducted) became uncomfortable for them, they founded the *Arbeiter-Union*, a union council of German unions, which nonetheless remained in close contact with the Workingmen's Union by having delegates of both unions in their meetings and participating in the discussion. Most numerous represented in the *Arbeiter-Union* were the carpenters, wood-carvers, tailors, upholsterers, painters, shoemakers, printers, piano makers, and others.

In the mid-1860s a number of Lassalle's⁴⁶ followers were driven to the United States where they quickly gathered together in small groups in Chicago and New York. Members of the Communist Club of New York, which had become inactive, contacted the Lassalleans and convinced most of them to join the Communist Club, with no particular results. The Lassalleans' views and propaganda methods found neither friends nor a base in the United States. The "iron wage law" was continually disproved, and the general right to vote, this famous weapon of the working class, had, in the United States, be-

come the strongest means of corruption and the basis of the bourgeoisie's power tactics. Thus, there was nothing left of Lassalleanism other than its truly strange cult of personality.

The healthy elements of this German immigration, these immigrant Lassalleans, quickly came to understand this totally altered situation, threw the cult of personality overboard, and participated in the struggles of the workers in this country. A strong clan of such German workers had gone to Chicago and settled in this area where Joseph Weydemeyer and his friend and partisan, Hermann Meyer, had been involved in an active and lively propaganda effort among the German workers. These two elements combined and founded workers' organizations, which participated as much in local politics as in the general labor movement. They sent a delegate to the first labor congress in Baltimore in 1866 where he exerted a valuable influence on the discussion.

The prejudice against union organizations, based on the vacillation of Lassalle and von Schweitzer,⁴⁷ hung on ghostlike in the heads of the Lassalleans in Chicago and New York. In the next ten years, however, it made no progress against the fruitful and hard-driving propaganda of the German immigrant members and followers (both recent and older immigrant generations) of the International Workingmen's Association founded in 1864 in London.⁴⁸ Of the German workers from the older immigrant generation we should mention particularly the tailor Konrad Carl and the cigar sorters Friedrich Bolte and F. G. Bertand, and the followers of the International Workingmen's Association, foremost among them the construction technician Siegfried Meyer and the shoemaker August Vogt.⁴⁹ Under the leadership of these men, none of whom is now living, an active and vigorous agitation was begun, especially in New York, with the aim of spreading modern socialist principles and education in and knowledge of economics among the workers; agitation that soon spread to the most important cities of the country and of which more will be reported later since, from the beginning, it maintained contact with English-speaking workers, penetrated into their circles, took lively interest in the general workers' movement, and exercised noticeable influence on it.

Let us see how the organizing situation in general appeared during this period.

The shoemakers were very busy and in the spring of 1860 in the "shoe town," Lynn, Massachusetts, initiated a large strike that lasted eight weeks. The strike ended in a compromise regarding wages and—the founding of a strong union. The basis for the later very powerful and secret order of the Knights of Crispin was laid in Massachusetts in 1864.⁵⁰ The first organization of the horse-drawn streetcar drivers was founded in New York in 1861. Handymen and horse-taxi drivers organized in Boston in 1863, as did the cutters of Philadelphia. Out of the latter organization the Knights of Labor later developed. The masons and bricklayers founded an international union in 1865, and in San Francisco a union council was established. Secret societies sprang up in various places and often exercised political influence, among

them the Grand Eight Hour League. In 1864 in New York the Cigarmakers' National Union was founded at a convention; in 1867 it developed into the Cigarmakers' International Union, which still exists. In 1865 the tailors of Philadelphia founded the National Union. In the mid-1860s the New York State Workingmen's Assembly was founded, an assembly of all the unions in New York, which held an annual delegates' convention in January and for a long period functioned admirably, especially in influencing the state's legislature.

During the war years the piano makers were very active, as were the painters, hat makers, glassblowers, metal workers, smiths, carpenters, cask makers, and longshoremen. In 1866 the spinners' union was reorganized in Fall River. The Sons of Vulcan, the workers in blast furnaces and metal factories, reorganized in August 1861 and achieved a large membership during the war. The organization of the railroad employees founded in 1854 had fallen apart, but in 1863 in Detroit a very influential International Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers was founded (famous for its conservative tendencies), which also published its own journal. Besides the various special union journals a remarkable workers' press developed during these years with newspapers in almost every large city of the country:⁵¹ *Labor Tribune*, which still exists in Pittsburgh, the *Workingmen's Advocate* in Chicago,⁵² the *American Workman* in Boston, and many others. From time to time workers' newspapers also appeared in New York but up to the present (1891) no workers' newspaper in English has enjoyed a long existence.

Of more than usual importance to the labor movement in the United States is the organization of miners on a national basis. As early as 1857 some districts had organized but without achieving any further expansion. In the winter of 1860-1861 some miners of Belleville, Illinois, came together and read a call to organize in which the following remarkable passage appears: "The insatiable maw of capital wants to devour every trace of the rights of labor; we must demand protection from the legislature and to succeed we must organize. . . ." As a result of this proclamation, miners from Illinois and Missouri held a convention on January 28, 1861, and founded the American Miners' Association. Daniel Weaver, an old Chartist, served as the first president; Thomas Lloyd, a Welshman, became secretary, and the most eager agitators in the association were Martin Burke, an Irishman, and Roeser, a German. "Foreigners," wrote McNeill, "were the first organizers and officials of the first American miners' association," which quickly published its own organ, *The Weekly Miner*.

The shipbuilding trades, always in the avant-garde, demanded the eight-hour day ever more urgently, and finally at the beginning of April 1866 went on strike in New York and the surrounding area. Some related trades followed suit and on April 5, 1866, a huge mass meeting was held in Union Square, New York, in support of the strike and the eight-hour day in particular. The workers of New York and the neighboring areas streamed into New York for

the meeting. Old, honest Horace Greeley was one of the speakers and said among other things the following: "The mistake of this age is that the workers, both hand and head workers, work too hard and too long. We have too many loafers and too many who do more than one man's work. This city alone employs more than 100,000 persons who do nothing for the welfare of the world."

The strike was lost after more than six weeks despite all the sympathies it evoked, even from the outside. For example, the caulkers of Boston refused to work on ships that were sent from New York because of the strike. Therefore the caulkers were locked out, but publicly declared: "We have a duty to support our fellow workers. We have for years worked with the eight-hour system and do not want to keep it for ourselves but also help others to gain it." This was just about the last major sign of life from the shipbuilding organizations. Under the protective tariffs the shipbuilding industry in the United States was almost completely destroyed, and since that time one hardly hears anything about the ship construction workers, those brave pioneers of the labor movement.

As mentioned above, as early as 1863 the International Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union had advocated a National Trade Union. They were followed in January 1864 by the Iron Moulders' International Union with the same proposal, which now became the subject of the debates in all larger conventions. In February 1866, William H. Sylvis discussed the topic with William Harding of New York, the president of the Carriage-Makers' International Union, and on March 26, 1866, officials of several unions from New York, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey met to discuss the issue. They issued a proclamation calling for the convocation of a National Labor Congress on August 20, 1866, in Baltimore because "agitation on the eight-hour day question has become so important that unified and harmonious action is necessary in all matters related to the introduction of labor reform."

The congress met on August 20 in Baltimore with more than 100 delegates from fifty-two often very strong unions (among them nine from southern states). The untiring Sylvis was ill and could not appear. The main item in the negotiations was the reduction of working hours. The Congress energetically demanded the eight-hour day; passed sharp resolutions regarding it; and, through a committee, sent them to the President of the United States, Andrew Johnson, who answered these demands evasively.⁵³ There was much talk about independent political action, that is, mainly about the emancipation of the working class from the bourgeois political parties of the country. A German from Chicago, Schlegel, pursued this demand with particular energy.⁵⁴ The result of this discussion was the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the history and legislation of the past has demonstrated that no dependence whatever can be placed upon the pledges and professions

of representatives of existing political parties, so far as the interests of the industrial classes are concerned; therefore, be it

Resolved, That the time has come when the workingmen of the United States should cut themselves loose from all party ties and organize themselves into the National Labor Party, the object of which shall be to secure the enactment of a law making eight hours a day's work.⁵⁵

Furthermore, the Congress resolved to create a National Labor Union, a somewhat loose association of the unions, and decided that the next congress would be held in August 1867 in Chicago.

Approximately fourteen days later in Geneva the first congress of the International Workingmen's Association (September 1866) made the same demands for the eight-hour day, which must be noted since it was not only based on natural agreement of opinions but also on a kind of arrangement or agreement more or less brought about through a lively correspondence between some members of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association in London and several influential American workers.⁵⁶ The General Council in London had an American as its member from the beginning and later always appointed one or more of its members as secretaries for the United States.

In concluding this chapter, we will cite Karl Marx:⁵³

In the United States of North America every independent labor movement was paralyzed as long as slavery defaced a part of the Republic. White labor cannot emancipate itself where black labor is stigmatized. But a new youthful life sprang from the death of slavery. The first fruit of the Civil War was the agitation for the eight-hour day with the seven-league boots of the locomotive striding out from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from New England to California. The General Workers' Congress in Baltimore (August 1866) declared: "The first great goal of the present, in order to free labor in this country from capitalist slavery, is the passage of a law by which eight-hours form the normal working day in every state of the American Union. We are determined to use all our power so that this glorious aim will be achieved." Concurrently (early September 1866) the International Workers' Congress in Geneva passed a proposal by the General Council in London: "We declare the reduction of the working day a preliminary condition without which all other efforts for emancipation will be unsuccessful. We propose the eight working hours as the legal limit to the work day."

Thus the labor movement on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean, instinctively developed out of the relationships of production themselves, put the seal of approval on the words of the English factory inspector R. S.

Saunders: "Without the enforced prior limitation of the working day further steps toward reform of society have no chance of success."

chapter 6

THE LABOR MOVEMENT, 1866-1876

DEVELOPMENT AND CHARACTER OF THE AMERICAN BOURGEOISIE AND ITS RELATIONS WITH THE LABOR MOVEMENT

War is a gold mine—for the bourgeois class. How the bourgeois classes of England enriched themselves during the commercial wars of the eighteenth century and the wars with Napoleon, which actually were indeed only commercial wars, is well known. The French bourgeoisie of the 1790s under the Directorate and even under Napoleon were not all inferior to their English class comrades, and further examples of this kind could easily be shown, especially in German lands. *Pecunia non olet* [money doesn't smell] is the motto of the bourgeoisie in every country, and the American bourgeoisie stands in first place among the admirers of this nice slogan. During the war against the slaveholders, indeed because of it, the bourgeoisie expanded to gigantic proportions, conscious of its strengths and constantly working to multiply and secure these strengths by any means available. Professor R. T. Ely writes in his often-cited work (p. 61) about the "sudden and marvellous accumulation of wealth in the hands of successful business men and lucky adventurers. Never before were there such sharp contrasts in the country between riches and poverty. If this was a misfortune in itself, a still greater evil was found in the fact that no inconsiderable part of this wealth was acquired by devices which could not be made to square with the morality of the decalogue, to say nothing about the higher ethical code which Christianity has brought us."

One of the most favored means for enrichment was the delivery of inferior

clothing to the great armies of the country by the bourgeois entrepreneurs and manufacturers, which, of course, could not be done without the consent of the government officials concerned. This fact was generally known through the complaints of the soldiers, but this did not disturb the manufacturers. People who came to riches during the war by this or similar means were called in the vernacular "shoddy"—the name for clothes made with inferior materials.¹ Huge fortunes were made by such methods, and public morale suffered terribly. But—who cares about morale when it comes to making millions, when millionaires are bred? Although millionaires were hardly known in this country prior to the war, they quickly flourished to the delight and envy of the "great German statesman," who, as Fama reported, successfully engaged in such pursuits himself a decade later.²

Besides the suppliers, particularly the money brokers, the financial institutions amassed huge profits during the war years through large loans and the issuing of paper money, because the administration was too weak or too shortsighted to control the money and banking system during this favorable period. The government not only left the floating of loans to private banks but to a large degree the issuing of paper money as well and also gave these private banks the special appearance of respectability by bestowing upon them the deceptive title of "National" banks. Thus the system of high finance was created, and, so far, the process of its development has great similarities with the well-known examples of European countries.

Furthermore, certain characteristics of the bourgeois possessing classes, and not always the praiseworthy ones, are found on both sides of the great ocean, but one thing is missing in the American bourgeoisie and remains monopolized by the old world to this day: *the fig-leaf*. Sentimental scruples are a priori excluded from the procedure of acquiring the product of foreign labor, but respect for public decencies is foreign to the real American bourgeoisie. There are numerous examples of this, but one will suffice for the moment: In all countries with standing armies the bourgeoisie, for whom "advantage [is] the better part of valor," attempts to evade the draft or at least to arrange for special consideration in which it has more or less succeeded everywhere and toward this end it took advantage of periods of peace. Not the American bourgeoisie, however, which passed a conscription law through their delegates to Congress, which permitted each "citizen" to buy himself out of military service for \$300 in the third year of the war during the time of greatest need and emergency.³ This law created bad blood and considerable unrest in New York in the beginning of July 1863.⁴

As a result of this, Congress repealed the \$300 clause but replaced it with a clause allowing "citizens" to send substitutes. A rather lucrative business with bizarre practices grew out of this substitution possibility. Later we may have time and space to report on this in more depth.⁵ The gentlemen "citizens," the possessing class, were saved; they could remain at home and continue to devote themselves to the pleasurable business of amassing wealth

and—to display it. Luxury and display grew so enormously that the first statistical report from Massachusetts complained: "Discontent was created by the waste and luxury of the men of finance and commerce."

Those who took advantage of the terrible distress of their country for their own gain and who even discovered a gold mine during the Civil War were, of course, not without means to stifle the efforts of the working class. The growth of the labor movement and the striving of the labor unions were obstructed in every way possible. First, beautiful words, if possible with double meanings, were used everywhere. "Freedom, independence," and the like, are the most misused words in every language and should bring anybody who still uses them today under suspicion. "Patriotism" and "universal right to vote" are the next on the list and have served the ruling class of this country well.

When these expressions were exhausted and the workers recognized the emptiness of these hypocritical phrases, the bourgeoisie took to political and economic bribery in all forms. We have already reported on the first striking instance in 1857. If rendering the workers' leaders harmless with sinecures or money or by making them betray their comrades proved insufficient, then agents were sent to the voting polls to bribe or frighten the voters and, if necessary, to steal or destroy the ballots, or to falsify the election results. All these practices, and also the rather peculiar institution of professional politicians in this country, which in itself really needs an in-depth description, made universal suffrage in the United States into the bastion of the bourgeoisie, "the worst means of corruption and power in the ruling class."⁶

The leaders of the workers' economic organizations were bribed with higher-paid positions. R. T. Ely writes: "Many of the best union men were lost in this way." John McBride,⁷ one of the most capable miners, writes about this: "It is the continuing policy of the corporations to lure the leaders of the miners out of the rank and file to positions as superintendents with good salaries." If these means did not work, the dog whip was used, the workers' spokesmen were blacklisted, and the manufacturers boycotted them. R. T. Ely reports the following (p. 110):

In this country we have added two refinements of cruelty, called the black list and the iron-clad oath, which are found in all parts of our land, although strongly condemned by the best public sentiment. The black list is a "boycott" against labor. A man who for any reason, be it even whim, caprice, or personal spite, falls into disfavor with one employer, is placed on the black list, and his name, at times accompanied by a personal description, is sent to allied employers all over the country. Thirty-three men were black-listed in Fall River a few years ago because they had asked for an increase of wages, and they were compelled to seek work under assumed names. It is reported, on apparently good authority, that one railway corporation has a book containing

names of a thousand black-listed persons, with a full description of each. The black list will pursue a man for years, will drive him out of an honest trade to rum-selling, and will follow him across the continent, and everywhere defeat his efforts to gain a livelihood.

Ely then cites another writer, Fred Woodrow:

Black-listing . . . has the merit of being very effective; its edict is final; it troubles no jury and sends for no sheriff; . . . it has its watchdog by every door, and woe to the man who, with its brand on his brow, seeks for work. . . . He is proclaimed by a corporation Czar. . . . I will remember a workmate of my own being put under this ban of ostracism. He was discharged without notice, and the reason refused him. I did my best for his re-engagement; previous successes made me confident, but this case baffled me. I suggested application to another department, under the management of a humane and kindly man. He refused. Another was tried—the same result. I completed the circle, and in every case blank but unwilling refusal—my unfortunate comrade sent adrift, with the onus of some unknown disgrace staining his name, for more than six hundred miles. It came to my knowledge subsequently that he was blacklisted at the request of *one man*, whose personal ill-will was gratified in his discharge. Such cases are not few, . . . as many a hungry man and shoeless child can testify.

The following citation comes from the *Cleveland Workman*:

There are men in this region who are now being compelled to leave their homes, families, and their friends, and seek employment elsewhere—men who have given their time and influence for the benefit of the community in which they reside. . . . They have been exiled from their pleasant associations here by the infamous black list.

This same newspaper reports a particularly cruel case:

A man of seventy had left his old wife in Sedalia, Mo. (where he had been working for many years), because he was discharged, and walked five hundred miles to a place in Illinois where a new railway was building, but the black list followed him and at last accounts he was penniless and without work.

The ironclad oath that Professor Ely mentioned is an oath that workers have to swear in order to receive employment. They are obliged by oath not to organize. Ely gives the wording of such an oath: "I, . . . , hereby agree to

work for . . . at the regular established prices, . . . withdrawing from the Knights of Labor, and ignoring all outside parties, committees, and trade or labor associations, and also agree not to connect myself with the Knights of Labor or any similar organizations, or to join in any meetings or procession of any such organizations while in the employ of. . . ."

The ironclad oath⁸ was common during the 1870s, and Professor Ely is correct when he calls this oath and the blacklist two refinements of cruelty. In the hands of the manufacturers they were strong weapons against the labor movement and workers' organizations, which they thought threatened them. And in the light of these certified cases, in the face of such "vile behavior," the bourgeoisie dares to complain about the few boycotts used here and there by the workers, dares to speak about injustice, about the tyranny of the trade unions. What wonderful results have been brought about by the "higher ethics of Christendom!"

Professor Ely is a reliable, educated man and the readers of *Die Neue Zeit* shall not be kept ignorant of knowing where this "higher ethics of Christendom" leads him. After describing many examples of cruelty and injustice, he writes on p. 166 of his book:

"Is the conclusion of all this that injustice must be met by injustice? That the laborer should retaliate upon others the wrong he suffered?—No! thousand times no! It would be madness! Love, not vengeance is the law of the highest civilization for which we must strive, and in which alone it can ever be well with men."

It is the Tolstoy phrase "Do not oppose evil!" that luckily has no place in the catechism of the workers.

The American bourgeoisie is never without means to suppress the labor movement. In times of political struggles and election campaigns, the ironclad oath cannot be easily used, and the blacklist is not of much help. If the workers become restless and move into the political arena either because of special circumstances or as a result of mature thinking, then even the above-mentioned, well-known methods of the American bourgeoisie sometimes fail, *pour corriger la fortune*, such as vote buying, election corruption, and the like, and then different obstacles are thrown into the workers' path through the manipulation of certain side issues to distract them from the main issues and to damage and falsify the movement.

The worst case of this kind was the so-called greenback movement, that is, the demand for issuing unredeemable paper money in large quantities. In the attempt to win over the workers in this country, the ruling class expended enormous amounts of hypocritical phrases and sophistries. Even though the organized workers never warmed up to it, the greenbackers were able to paralyze the labor movement for years and massively injure the labor organizations, indeed to partially destroy them. This was done in the interest of the hard-pressed bourgeoisie; the fact that the greenback affair was a petty-

bourgeois movement does not alter this, and even less so as excellent leaders of both bourgeois parties strongly flirted with the greenbackers and whistled their tune (Sherman,⁹ W. D. Kelley,¹⁰ Thurman,¹¹ and many others).

A similar case, strongly mixed with deceitful practices, is the silver issue; that is, the demand that the value of the minted silver be decided arbitrarily, known in Europe as bimetallism.¹² A third such problem in the United States is the temperance issue: the demand for complete abstinence from alcoholic beverages or rather the demand that the sale and distribution of alcoholic beverages be made illegal or suppressed. Another question well suited as a diversion is the so-called woman question, that is, the demand for the right to vote for women, a demand with which the organized workers strongly sympathized and which they often supported.¹³ Also the question of cooperatives and the so-called court of arbitration and boards of conciliation are used for the same purpose and, if everything else fails, protective tariffs and free trade remain an inexhaustible theme to catch workers' votes.

This is, of course, a large assortment of bait, which was used as required, but it does not claim to be a complete list.

A favorite and well-tried method to enslave the workers, to completely castrate them, is the building and loan associations, which set themselves the task of procuring homesteads and houses for the workers against weekly or monthly payments. How the workers are disarmed against the onslaught of capital by these institutions does not need to be explained more fully in *Die Neue Zeit* because the results are undisputed. These arrangements are also known in Europe, but not the skillfulness with which the American bourgeoisie manipulates them.

Behind these apparently innocuous institutions, working behind the mask of cooperation, stand the bourgeois land speculators or usurers and lawyers who rub their hands at the good business they conduct—because the ignorant will always be with us. Such a poor devil drudges eight or fifteen years, sacrificing himself and his family to pay for a piece of land and a little house. By then he is physically and spiritually exhausted and is forced to accept anything that is offered to him. And this is yet the most favorable case. Often he is not able to make the long journey to his place of work and has to accept worse working conditions in the near vicinity.

The harmful influence this system has on the labor movement is sharply outlined in the overcrowded and industrious city of Philadelphia where these building syndicates have been highly successful (there were reportedly 600 such syndicates during this period). Philadelphia, with almost a million inhabitants and many important industries of all kinds, is ranked very low in the organization and labor movement of this country because of the heavy influence of these building syndicates.

Often enough, the members of these syndicates are cheated with faulty titles of ownership and through disputes with the original owners. When set-

tlement does occur, streets, sewers, waterpipes, and the like are installed, but then the poor "owners of a homestead" cannot afford the high taxes, fall into debt, and often are forced to leave their huts, which they bought with so much sweat and blood. The better-situated and more valuable homes are bought dirt cheap by bourgeois land speculators, and the less valuable huts stand rotting and empty.

While naturally the building and loan associations flourish and perform the work of the bourgeoisie in the big cities and surrounding vicinity, the unlimited right of ownership [*Eigentumsrecht*] of the factory owner reigns in the rural and smaller industrial areas. The stock company—often made up of only two or three persons—which built the factory or founded the industrial enterprise owns everything on the surrounding land and builds apartments, churches, schools, stores, and the like for its employees. Everything, literally everything, belongs to the company and is administered to the advantage and for the benefit of the company. No teacher, no policeman, no tax or post office official can be employed without its approval because all the land and buildings belong to the company.

The workers live in company houses and pay the company rent—if they lose their jobs they must pack up and leave. This system—not unknown in Europe—is particularly strong in the districts of the textile industry, the coal mines, and the steel mills of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana and is expanding into the South as well. In these areas the bourgeois factory owner or his agent rules with the same unlimited power as the czar of Russia. Absolutely nothing can take place against or without the will of these bourgeois factory owners. The American bourgeoisie understands how to rule!!

The notorious truck system served and serves equally well to maintain the worker in a position of dependence and to channel a portion of his salary back into the pocket of the employer.¹⁴ This system, as Ely notes (p. 104), is "perhaps more common in this country than anywhere else."

If native or acclimatized workers resisted being pressured beneath a certain standard of living, the American bourgeoisie knew how to handle the situation. It either imported the only duty-free product, human labor, from overseas or it filled the jobs with the freed Negroes from the southern states, that is it "freed" workers with free workers. With this importing and translocating, the American bourgeoisie achieved its purpose in more ways than one. First and most importantly, it received cheap "hands" because the imported worker and the Negro had relatively fewer needs and required a longer apprenticeship and acclimatization period for raising their standard of living, and, second, the American bourgeoisie fertilized and furthered its so profitable and useful national, ethnic, and racial hatred; on occasion it could play off Irish against German, Italian against Swede, Negro against white, and so forth, and continue to rake in its undiminished profit, indeed often increase it. And this

in no way did or does hinder the bourgeoisie from appearing on other occasions as representatives of true and pure Americanism against "low-bred foreigners."

But as much as our Yankees are angered by "un-Americanism" in the labor movement, they—these free and independent citizens—had learned from their "subjects" to call for the police. Wherever the proletariat stepped out of line, this call sounded immediately, and the police answered it with alacrity and vigor. If the methods mentioned above proved insufficient, there followed the appeal to the nightstick, and the nightstick served well—it is an appropriate symbol for bourgeois force and power.

Since 1874 the demand for the police blackjack has remained steady, and naturally its cost increased, although the supply from the recruitment pool, the lumpen proletariat, remains large. With the massive growth of capital and property, the danger appeared to increase for the bourgeoisie so the police forces were rapidly expanded. If the regular police proved insufficient, our bourgeoisie called upon private police forces—the Pinkertons, an institution for which Americans are certainly to be envied. These young fellows—the Pinkertons—gathered together from the most foolhardy and disreputable elements of society are, if well paid, a priceless commodity—they usually do their work most thoroughly and fear neither women nor children. Seriously, however, this institution is a true mark of shame for this country, but as we have seen, it is invaluable to the local bourgeoisie and much more reliable than the militia.

The militia, of course, is also called to protect endangered property, the vested rights and privileges of the capitalist companies and institutions, when the police force is inadequate. The militia, however, was not always reliable and often sympathized with those they were called out against, though more often the unreliability originated in a lack of training and discipline. Consequently, the owners demanded a reorganization of the militia, and this demand was met quietly with a total lack of ostentation, and a purge began to remove unreliable, especially immigrant, elements and to instill a strict discipline.¹⁵

In possession of all this power and means of repression, the American bourgeoisie, a class that had developed through dirty business during the war, could dare to undertake a wild, uproarious race for enrichment after the war. An unexampled corruption spread, particularly in official circles of society during Grant's two administrations, and various heads of departments in this administration fell victims to this corruption.

The Credit Mobilier scandal,¹⁶ connected with the construction of the great Pacific Railroad, involved almost exclusively members of the Senate and the House of Representatives who were in a position to increase the value of the stocks they owned by legislation—the most well-respected members of these institutions participated in the corruption, for example, James A. Garfield,¹⁷ subsequently President of the United States, and Vice-President Schuyler Col-

fax.¹⁸ A true witches' sabbath of corruption reigned in official, business, and financial circles in all bourgeois enterprises.¹⁹

The American bourgeoisie had not only risen and equaled that of the Old World but had placed itself at the head of the exploiting society and resolutely intended to remain in this position. How it proceeded against and dealt with the striving of the workers, the labor protection legislation, and the workers' organizations will be seen below. That, despite all its ill will, it could not and cannot repress the labor organizations, and so the progressive labor movement, is clear from Professor Ely's words (p. 162):

There is no power in America at the disposal of the employing class which can crush labor organizations. Their opponents may double the police, strengthen the militia, secure control of the legislative authority, put the judges under their thumbs, and buy up every paper in the United States, and their efforts will still be in vain.

Kings and emperors and parliaments have been trying just such experiments at intervals for six hundred years, and have not succeeded.

LEGISLATION, CHILD LABOR, AND THE MASSACHUSETTS BUREAU OF LABOR STATISTICS

The activities of the bourgeois legislatures in the matter of the labor protection laws are characteristic and consistent with their attitudes and behavior regarding the demands of the workers. We have already briefly mentioned this matter and will analyze it in more depth here.

Congressman Ingersoll²⁰ of Illinois introduced a bill in March 1867 that would institute the eight-hour day in the District of Columbia, which is administered by the federal government. When it came to a vote only 111 House members were present; that was not enough for a quorum. Somewhat later a motion was introduced to shelve the Ingersoll bill, and now 156 voted for the motion, 92 against it, and 76 abstained. Suddenly 324 members could make it to the chamber.

On March 28, 1867, Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts introduced an eight-hour bill for all federal government employees.²¹ The vote on the question of bringing the bill to the floor for debate was seventy-eight for, twenty-three against, and sixty-three abstaining or absent. Banks whipped the bill through the House. The Senate, however, accepted the Sherman Committee's recommendation not to bring the bill to the floor.²² On June 24, 1868, the Senate finally passed it, and President Johnson signed it into law a few days later. The agitation of the previous four or five years and the resolutions of the workers' congresses had worked to force the gentlemen in Congress to don their friendly mask for a moment. They showed their true faces in the

execution of the law, that is, the evasion of the law, about which we must say a few words.

Most of the officials and officers of government paid no attention to the law and where they could not evade it, they withheld a fifth of the workers' wages.²³ After numerous complaints about this, Congress resolved that the law must be followed—as if to say it approved withholding a part of the workers' wages (1869). The Attorney General of the United States submitted a report in which he stated that the eight-hour day had nothing to do with the question of wages, which was to be resolved according to the old regulations.²⁴ The Secretary of the Navy released a circular to all shipbuilding ports and stations on April 22, 1869, wherein he declared the law of July 16, 1862, as binding. This law stipulated that the wages paid in government workshops had to proportionately equal those paid in private industry. This meant that government workers would now receive only four-fifths of the wages received by the ten-hour day workers in private industry.

President Grant, concerned about his popularity, issued a proclamation on May 21, 1869, forbidding from that date forward any wage reduction because of the eight-hour day.²⁵ Despite this, officials continued to evade the law and the proclamation. On May 11, 1872, the President issued a similar order at which the officials again contemptuously snapped their fingers because they knew well where the hearts of their masters in Congress lay.²⁶

A more undignified game had hardly ever been played with the workers—and it continues to be played today because the eight-hour laws passed by most of the states are viewed with the same contempt and are enforced even less than on the national level. Professor Ely writes on this matter (p. 70):

The eight-hour law is still on our statute books, and a like law exists in several States, but it is a dead letter.²⁷ Can anyone doubt if it were a law in favor of great railway corporations or banking institutions, it would be enforced?

And in another place he notes (p. 326):

The general laws are enforced more severely against the poor; and the laws in favor of the workingmen are, one may almost say, as a rule—not enforced at all.

The experience was repeated in Massachusetts with the enforcement of the law of May 29, 1867, which stipulated three months' school attendance and set the working hours for children between the ages of ten and fifteen at ten hours a day (sixty hours a week).²⁸ Marx wrote on this matter of working hours: "In England it [the ten-hour child working day] was in the middle of

the 17th Century still the normal working day for adult craftsmen, robust farm workers and giant blacksmiths."²⁹

General H. K. Oliver,³⁰ later head of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, an industrious and well-meaning man, had the task of overseeing the enforcement of this law, and he submitted official reports to the governor and the legislature. These reports are highly interesting but too extensive to repeat here.³¹ Oliver said that all attempts at close investigation failed because of the lack of enforcement clauses in the loosely written law. He pointed out the failings of the law, which made it totally meaningless and without effect. He complained that the legislature moved too quickly, uncautiously, and without thorough consideration on a matter wherein positive injustices exist. These consist of allowing fragile children to work twelve to fourteen hours day in and day out, sometimes without a break for learning or rest, crammed together in the narrow space of the factory rooms. He appealed in heated words to the legislature to reorganize the law to give it energy, force, and the power of enforcement. He pointed particularly to the word "knowingly" and noted that one man could not carry out the task of overseeing the law. He also gave examples of the cleverness of the bourgeois owners and the shrewdness of their lawyers in evading the law when it limited the exploitation of child labor.³²

At the end of 1869, the state attorney brought a suit against a certain George W. Reves in Worcester for breaking this law. The accused did not deny breaking the law (which, by the way, he had had no knowledge of), but maintained that he could not be punished because he was neither the owner nor his agent, neither the superintendent nor overseer, neither father nor guardian—rather he was only a simple contractor. Mr. Reves was thereupon found not guilty, although he had employed the young boy in question for *eighteen hours in one day*. The boy was later reported to have gone crazy.

General Oliver expressed the pious wish that children under thirteen years of age should be forbidden to work in factories. He characterized the 1867 law as a dead letter and declared (1870): "*At this moment in spite of all law, children under fifteen years of age and some under ten, are employed in factories all over the state, ELEVEN HOURS A DAY.*"

In the autumn of 1870, General Oliver again made the chief of the state police aware of the fact that factories in Fall River were openly flaunting this law. The deputy constable of that district, W. C. Thomas, was charged with investigating the case and reported on September 26, 1870, that he had visited the factories. The owners did not deny breaking the law. Thomas also reported, "I have, for a long time, known the same state of facts to exist in *all the mills in Fall River*, and I am credibly informed in all, or nearly all, throughout the state. . . . It is a fact that all parts of a manufactory are so closely connected, and so dependent upon each other, that if they release the

children with sixty hours per week, they must also release grown persons. All express a readiness to comply with the law when the thing is made universal, *otherwise they prefer to test the matter.*" Another proof of the law-abiding bourgeois class, respect for the law that reaches only as far as their pocketbooks.

In passing it should be noted that the second annual report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics noted (p. 498): "The corporal chastising of factory children . . . is not unknown in our own mills. During the past eighteen months several such cases have been reported to us. . . . In several cases³³ action for assault was brought against the overseer at the police court, and fines imposed for the offense."

General Oliver achieved little with his reports and publications other than the creation of some "halftime schools" on the English model. He complained that even these minor palliatives had been set up in only a few areas. In 1871, a state police commission was created in Massachusetts that no longer delegated special constables but ordered all policemen, "as far as it appears practicable, to insure that the law is followed." But wisely added to this was: "Investigation of cases involving violations of this law will not be pursued by officers outside the normal course of duty, except as a result of positive and reliable indications of such violations."

The third annual report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics once again published a mass of material on child labor giving exact details of places, factories, and even the names of the children. From this material it can clearly be seen that a great number of children under ten and even seven years of age remained employed up to eleven and twelve hours a day, while the laws on school attendance were evaded everywhere. The agent of a large factory in Pittsfield declared:

We do not ask the ages of children nor make any arrangements for their schooling. It is better for them to work than to go to school, as the teachers are girls of about 16 or 17, and they can learn nothing. They need a man teacher, who can beat them.

He repeated that it was of no use for them to go to school, for they could not learn.

The authors of this report write (p. 33): "The compulsory educational law on the statute books, is as a general thing, wholly neglected and inoperative." In the second annual report (p. 493) regarding the same law the authors note:

Nobody looks after it, neither town authorities, nor school committees, nor local police, and the large cities and many of the towns of the State are swarming with unschooled children, vagabondizing about the streets and growing up in ignorance and to a heritage of sin. The mills all over

the State, the shops in city and town, are full of children deprived of their right to such education as will fit them for the possibilities of their after-life.

In 1873, the legislature of Massachusetts passed a school attendance law stipulating that every child between the ages of eight and twelve had to attend school at least twenty weeks annually. In 1874, when the police commission was dissolved, the state attorney appointed George E. McNeill,³⁴ whom we have often mentioned, as special constable for the laws regarding school attendance and working hours of children.

McNeill submitted a report on January 11, 1875, from which the following is taken: the laws are confusing and contradictory; the legislature should alter and improve them; the number of children employed in factories could not be discovered, but in Fall River 1,051 attended halftime schools while at least 3,000 worked in the factories; in Fall River, the most important industrial city in the state, only 50.4 percent of the school-age children attended school (1872), thus 49.6 percent remained away from school—despite the halftime schools; the United States census of 1870 gives the number of children in Massachusetts who do not attend school at 101,570, that is, fully one-third of the school-age children, and, with all exceptions taken into account, McNeill comes to the conclusion that more than “60,000 children are growing up in ignorance.” He then quotes a statement made by a spinner in Fall River on the life of the factory worker from which one can see that the husband, wife, and child are absent from the home seventy-seven hours and twenty-five minutes per week, that they prepare their lunch for the next day the evening before and enjoy a warm dinner only once a week on Sunday, that in England they would at least have time to go home for lunch, that they are too exhausted and have no time to attend church, and so forth.

The causes of these conditions McNeill naturally finds in child labor and recommends that the school age be expanded to five to eighteen (replacing the current eight to twelve); that an exact annual census be taken of school-age children; that proof of the above points be made obligatory; that no child under twelve be allowed to work in factories; that laws for the protection against accidents be passed; and that a complete system of factory inspection be established. He writes: “Massachusetts stands behind England, France and Germany [?] in humanity and legislation on this question.”

The same report notes that even the limited school period of three months is too much for the owners and consequently in many cases the overseers (foremen) of those factories that break the law are elected to the school boards in order to hide the whole business—a normal practice in these bourgeois circles.

This charming habit of the bourgeois owners, their appetite for child labor, McNeill reveals as follows: “Men with growing families are the standard of demand in many of our factory centers.” It is well known that it is used as an

excuse for discharging those who do not adapt to the factory regimentation and make themselves unpopular by their agitation for the legal ten-hour day, in favor of children and minors and for halftime schools. Mr. Sam Moore, sixty years old, praised by his foreman and superintendent as a clever, capable, and reliable worker, was discharged with the explanation that the owners "preferred to have men with growing families."

McNeill shows the expansion of the evils of child labor in these words: "One must not believe that the owners in the textile industry alone are guilty of walking along this path of injustice. Our cities are filled with these little sufferers from hunger. The number of children employed in various New York factories is estimated at 100,000, of which 10,000 are tobacco strippers, 8,000 makers of envelopes, 8,000 in the gold leaf industry and makers of paper collars and cartons, and 12,000 employed making artificial flowers." Among these children are many in the "fragile ages from five to seven years old."

An article in *Harper's Magazine* in August 1873 reports: "What an incredible population of children in this city (New York) are the little slaves of capital. How intensive and exhausting is their daily labor and how much of their health and education is sacrificed in these early years of premature work. In New York this evil is enormous at present and our future is endangered."

The fifth annual report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics (1874), written by the successors to Oliver and McNeill,³⁵ reports (p. 4) that in answer to official inquiries twenty-one school boards reported 1,330 children under ten years of age were employed in factories; twenty-eight school boards reported that children under ten probably worked in factories but gave no statistics; twenty-eight other school boards admitted that 1,723 children between the ages of ten and fifteen were employed in factories without participating in the schooling demanded by law; twenty-nine other school boards reported that these children probably exist but gave no numbers. The author (C. D. Wright),³⁶ contrary to his predecessors, uses a few liberal phrases and then coolly writes: "... the law in relation to the employment of children neither is, nor can be, enforced."

Nowhere in the world is the description "law-abiding citizen" so frequently used and with such pathos, especially against the workers, as in the United States. One can see from the foregoing how far this "law abiding" is carried.

On June 23, 1869, Governor William Claflin signed the following law passed by the Massachusetts legislature:

Resolved, That the governor, with the advice and consent of the council, is hereby authorized to appoint, as soon after the passage of this resolve as may be, and thereafter biennially in the month of May, some suitable person to act as chief, who shall have power to appoint a deputy, and

said chief with his deputy, shall constitute a bureau of statistics, with head-quarters in the state house.

The duties of such bureau shall be to collect, assort, systematize and present in annual reports to the legislature, on or before the first day of March in each year, statistical details relating to all departments of labor in the Commonwealth, especially in its relations to the commercial, industrial, social, educational and sanitary condition of the laboring classes, and to the permanent prosperity of the productive industry of the Commonwealth.

That said bureau shall have power to send for persons and papers, to examine witnesses under oath, and such witnesses shall be summoned in the same manner, and paid the same fees, as witnesses before the superior courts of the Commonwealth.

Besides the salaries of both officials, the sum of \$5,000 was appropriated for the expenses of the bureau. The first labor bureau was thus created and placed in the hands of two industrious, conscientious, and fearless men: Henry K. Oliver as head and George E. McNeill as his deputy. The great importance and the achievements of this office, particularly during the first years, are so universally recognized and excerpts from its annual reports in most of the modern languages so often made that we will devote space here to its work and influence.

Originally, the constant efforts of Ira Steward and his followers were responsible for the existence of the bureau.³⁷ In the last section we wrote about these men and will do so again below. Our bourgeois legislators do nothing *pour les beaux yeux* of any person, least of all for those of a poor hungry wretch like Ira Steward, "if there is no politics in it"—and this was the case here.

The Knights of St. Crispin, a secret workers' organization in the shoe industry with a high membership from 1866 to 1873 (in 1869 its estimated membership in Massachusetts alone was about 40,000)³⁸ repeatedly requested the right to legally incorporate, and this right was repeatedly denied them for reasons of class interests, the last time on February 25, 1869. Immediately after incorporation was rejected again, both houses of the legislature saw clearly that thousands of workers would take their votes away from the parties in power. The gentlemen legislators thus felt and expressed the need for something to be done for labor. And so, two days before the end of the session, on June 22, 1869, the establishment of the Bureau of Labor Statistics was resolved, without any doubt as an enticement to the votes of the workers, which should not be forgotten.

Oliver and McNeill went to work vigorously and found energetic assistance from the eight-hour day supporters. At the very beginning, the state attorney

general informed them that they could not force anyone to appear or to testify³⁹—a distorted reading of the law. Undeterred, they went on with their work and submitted reports of great value in 1870, 1871, and 1873 on most of the points of interest to the workers and objective observers, reports that are well known to the readers of these pages.

That petty-bourgeois points of view and national conceit appear not infrequently in these reports cannot be denied, and we often censure it, but this cannot be counted very much in the light of the conscientiousness with which both men pursued their work, the beneficial ruthlessness with which they uncovered the existing wrongs and sufferings, the dauntlessness with which they expressed their acquired opinions and convictions. Their reports on child labor, female labor, on schools and education, the treatment of children, the reduction of working hours, factory conditions, on workers' housing conditions, and many other things are of lasting value.⁴⁰

They attacked the officials because of their negligence, the owners because of their law breaking, the legislature because of its sins of omission. They demanded protection and education of children and minors, decent treatment of women, a reduction of working hours, precautions against accidents, and the banning of the truck system. They laid bare the damages and evils of the factory system and wrote against the wage system, against wage labor as such. They attacked capital and thus committed a capital crime. They uncovered the humbug of the savings banks by proving that the largest part of the deposits was derived from the "profit from invested capital"—and that was their undoing.

In their third annual report (1872), based on the official statistics of the state banking committee, they showed that the deposits in the savings banks stemmed less from workers' wages than from profits, which the capitalists pocketed, and with this they destroyed the beautiful legend of the well-paid workers. The Senate thereupon passed a resolution wherein it scolded the bureau and disapproved of and rejected its banking statistics. The lower house did not accept this resolution, but the position of both men was threatened, and the very existence of the bureau was called into question.⁴¹ The bourgeois legislators did not have the courage themselves to remove Oliver and McNeill, but sent a number of so-called labor reformers out to wreck the bureau's administration.

We reported earlier how the fear of the St. Crispin membership led to the establishment of the bureau. Since then the Knights had a certain resentment of the bureau. Furthermore, the latter did not participate in the "labor reformer's" agitation, and the bureau officials were known as being on principle against the so-called finance reform, the solution to the labor problem by the issuing of paper money. For this reason the "reformers," or "balloonists," as Ira Steward called them, sharply attacked the officials and the bureau. The highly respected Wendell Phillips went over to these "reformers," became their spokesman, and added a black spot to his name.⁴²

The bureau was accused of:

1. not hiring the correct or desirable assistants;
2. devoting too much time and space to the eight-hour day question;
3. not requesting outside advice;
4. giving a publisher of an obscure reform newspaper a job; and
5. working against the independent political activity and establishment of labor parties.

The bureau rejected all these accusations at length in its fourth annual report (1873).⁴³ It maintained its opinion of savings bank deposits and at the end of the report (p. 501), the authors say this about normal legislation:

Legislation, at present, is almost wholly devoted to the purposes of aggregated wealth, whether in the form of railroads, of manufactures, or of numerous other great monetary interests.

The time of legislatures, national and state, is occupied almost exclusively with the consideration of questions on how to increase the facilities by which capital may be accumulated, while very little time or thought is given to the question how the laborer can, by lessened work-time and increased means, achieve that education which shall elevate him to a truer manhood. With this added leisure, and these increased means, and this better education, he will be able to think out and to work out the methods by which cooperation may safely take the place of wage-labor. For to this he looks, as the end of the solution of the absorbing questions at issue between capital and labor.

Oliver and McNeill were finished, they were not reappointed at the end of their second term, the bureau was purged of its heretics, and on June 12, 1873, Carroll D. Wright and George J. Lang were appointed to succeed them.⁴⁴ C. D. Wright was then the head of the Department of Labor in Washington, D.C. He had been appointed to that office when the department was established; thus he had been in the job for almost two decades and had developed not badly, had even accomplished some excellent work. However, it must not be forgotten that he was originally appointed to that office as the factotum and servant of the ruling bourgeois classes, of the owners and big capital, and these origins have stuck to him to this day (1891).

This is easily seen even in his recent work. His progressive development cannot be denied, but this comes only from the long years of involvement with the subject of his position, which forces any person of independence and critical judgment to draw conclusions from the observance of facts that contradict the customary vulgar attitudes and ideas. This experience has been repeated—as readers of this journal are well aware—by factory inspectors and statistics experts in England, Austria, Switzerland, and even in Germany—if there is a more limited fashion.

C. D. Wright was a man cut from the English liberal mold, naturally with American coloration, and he did not appear to give much thought to the continued existence of an office set up to uncover the real conditions of the workers. In his second annual report (1875, p. IX), he wrote: "The continuance of this Bureau is a subject upon which a variety of opinion exists. After the completion of the Industrial Statistics, to be taken this year, the legitimate work of the Bureau, under the existing law creating it, would be very limited, and could be conducted without the existence of a special department."

His peculiar attitude toward the goals of his office, which he held at the beginning of his tenure, is evidenced in the fact that his first annual report (1874) contained a large section devoted to an examination of "professional men." This section treated almost exclusively the incomes and education costs of intellectuals of all faiths and reported the facts "relating to the condition of the working class" (see the law establishing the Bureau) that 2,040 intellectuals lived in Massachusetts, whose preparations for their professions cost on the average of \$2,684.15, had incomes between \$162 and \$8,000, who worked on the average of nine and one-half hours per day, and so on.

Wright also felt obliged to reexamine the matter of savings banks, which had brought down his predecessors, but he could not contradict or weaken their conclusions. For European readers, especially those readers of *Die Neue Zeit*, it is sufficient to characterize the tendencies of this man by noting that in his early reports he often refers to the famous Mundella and von Plener, and, though less often, to the statistics expert, Engel.⁴⁵

The example of Massachusetts inspired other states to imitate it by establishing statistical offices. Pennsylvania established one in 1872, Connecticut in 1873, but the latter was dissolved in 1875 for a number of years. The Treasury Department in Washington had long contained a statistical office for trade relationships.

When labor agitation continued to intensify, the cabinet ordered a report written on the working conditions and wage systems in Europe and the United States. An official named G. Young accomplished the task and presented a thick book of approximately 900 pages, written from a vulgar liberal standpoint, parading a mass of foreign data to show off the favorable conditions of the American worker. The book appeared in 1875 and utilized American data from 1870, a year of high prosperity. C. D. Wright often refers to Young.

It is really amusing that Mr. Young devotes so much of his book to the English trade unions and worker protection legislation but has not one word on the same subjects in the United States. Still, the book appeared in 1875 and was distributed as a report of the Congress, a Congress that hardly found time to consider it.

THE "REFORMERS" AND THEIR OPPONENTS;
IRA STEWARD AND THE
BOSTON EIGHT HOUR LEAGUE

During the early and middle 1860s a secret organization called the Grand Eight Hour League⁴⁶ had spread across several parts of the northern and eastern states and often attempted to exert influence on the political elections. But it collapsed during the second half of the decade: because of lack of homogeneous elements it was not able to resist the siege of the "reformers."

Despite the recently concluded War of Secession the country was rather prosperous, and the wounds that the war had made healed fast. The Republican party, which held the rudder of the ship of state, had its hands full with the so-called reconstruction of the South, which was only meant to secure Republican rule over a long period through the newly created "voting cattle,"⁴⁷ as well as booty and influential jobs for its followers, the vast number of demobilized adventurers and loafers. The hundreds of thousands of soldiers of the Grand Army were released to their homes where they looked for and for the most part found work in their old or new jobs. But the loafing corps of deliverymen, the huge number of maintenance and transportation officials, the vultures of all armies, the loafers and the stragglers, these could not be placed so quickly. The "reformers," the carpetbaggers,⁴⁸ were recruited from them as well as the now continuously increasing lumpen proletariat. The latter formed the basis of support for the terrible corruption that developed largely in the big cities; one need only to remember the Tweed regime in New York. What the carpetbaggers achieved in bribery, embezzlement, and misappropriation in the South defies description but is very well known.⁴⁹

The leftovers from the army remnants went into the ranks of "reformers," on the outside a rather decent bourgeois class of people but very dangerous to any healthy popular or labor movement. In the majority they were the declassed, that is the outcasts of the bourgeoisie and parasites, those who have come up from the proletariat. Belonging to no class they try to exploit the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. They demand offices from the bourgeois parties by claiming to have great influence on the working class, and among the workers they try to recruit followers, claiming they have influence on the governing bourgeois party. The ruling class preferably uses the "reformers" *to create disorder among the ranks of the working class*, and this dirty work is done by the "reformers" with great delight and with greater vigor the higher the expected gratuity rises, because they take tips like every other lumpen proletarian, but, if it is possible, they are even more greedy. If necessary the lumpen proletariat is satisfied with a glass of liquor or disposed of, the "reformer" demands paper in addition, be it "greenbacks" or "checks" or free passes. As declassed persons they reject the class struggle and always

have their mouths full of "mankind" and "human rights" and thus, on the whole, they coalesce with the petty bourgeoisie. The latter deny the "justifications" of the classes above and beneath them, but only want their own existence—the so-called lower-middle class [*Mittelstand*], this petty-bourgeois impotence—perpetuated.

That in a country with such colossal spatial dimensions as the United States, in a country where class development was not yet completed, where classes still had not created stagnant components, where these unclear and unreliable elements embraced large groups of the population, it is understandable that, when united with the problematical conditions of existence since the war, this presented a great danger and threat to the labor movement.

The worst of the lot in this regard, as already mentioned in Section I of this chapter, were the so-called greenbackers, called thus because of the green back of the paper currency. These people wanted (and still want) to abolish gold and silver currency and exchange it for paper money in necessary quantity, which would be redeemable only against very low-interest-bearing state bonds; in other words, it would be practically unredeemable. How this idea could find such a wide circulation just after the war during which the working classes, indeed the majority of the population, often suffered heavy losses through the fluctuating rate of exchange⁵⁰ is a riddle to anyone who forgets that it is the well-understood interest of the possessing classes to divert the workers from their own interests;⁵¹ to lead the workers' aspirations in the wrong direction; not to allow the labor organizations to grow strong, but to weaken them.

Indeed the greenback movement won many followers during the decade after the War of Secession and dominated for a long time the whole labor press of the country, including even the German *Arbeiter-Union* under Adolph Douai's editorship from 1868 to 1870.⁵² Against this broad stream of muddy waters, along with a small group of German workers in Chicago and New York, Ira Steward and his followers in Boston fought with all the might of their conviction and great volubility. They carried on the struggle at first with letters to the workers' press, especially the *American Workman* in Boston, but then later mainly through the Boston Eight Hour League, founded in the spring of 1869, and whose spiritual leader was Ira Steward. From the resolutions of the Eight Hour League during its convention in May of that year, as well as from lengthy essays of Ira Steward that appeared in the second annual report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, a few of the most interesting and important parts shall be reported here.

In the article already mentioned called "Poverty," Ira Steward skillfully attacks the vulgar economic arguments used to defend private capital. Against the beloved theory that stipulates the great intellectual accomplishments of the capitalists (thus justifying larger rewards), he proves that so-called intellectual (brain) work does not deserve the higher pay that is demanded for it; that the first-class brains do not reach the highest pay; that not the brain but capital

receives the highest rewards; that capital wealth indeed rests upon the poverty of the masses. Against the law of supply and demand he says that wealth is the master and poverty the slave of this law; against the accusation of agitation he remarks that the public has the same right to work for an equal distribution of the future profits of labor as the employers have to deal with future wage payments, and he proclaims that the equal distribution he recommends means a reduction of the future profits of manufacturers, merchants, bankers, traffic, and mine organizations.

But he supports the existing system, as harshly as he may criticize it, and wants to reach his goal of the cooperative society through reduction of working hours and raising of wages, but mostly through an increase in the consumption capability of the masses. He was strongly opposed to the "land reform," which strove to partition the land by founding small farms; a law that divides the land of the country into small farms and maintains them should be titled: "A law to make cooperation in agriculture impossible"; in the millennium of real agrarian reform there will be no fences; the farmer, like the craftsman and worker of every industrial branch, will be able to work on a cooperative basis; and without cooperation mankind will never reach the highest civilization. In speaking of cooperation, he was not thinking about attempts like the Rochdale Pioneers,⁵³ and the like, as shown in the remark that "the few cooperative successes of the present are feeble, and sickly hothouse exotics foreign to the age that makes extreme wealth and extreme poverty possible."

In a short foreword to this also separately printed essay Ira Steward says:

This is only the beginning of a study of the labor question. If it should ever be finished it should portray the relation between fewer working hours and *less poverty* and THAT is the great idea of the eight hour movement: Less poverty or more welfare for the masses. People who have *time* show more reflexion in their activities than if they have no time. Reflexion furthers thinking. Thinking people become wiser and wise people learn fast what they deserve and how to achieve it. However, this does not mean that eight hours is a panacea, a universal remedy. It is simply the necessary *first step*, like emancipation for the slaves. To give freedom to a slave does not mean that he will immediately be wise and happy, but to keep freedom from him means eternally withholding wisdom and happiness. If working time is not reduced then the workers will never be capable of considering the manifold rules which are necessary to emancipate them completely from slavery, the ignorance and depravity of poverty.

At the annual meeting on May 20, 1872, in Boston the Eight Hour League passed the following resolutions:

Resolved, That poverty is the great fact with which the labor movement deals. That cooperation in labor is the final result to be obtained.

That a reduction in the hours of labor is the first step in labor reform; and that the emancipation of labor from the slavery and ignorance of poverty solves all the problems which now most disturb and perplex mankind.

The Eight Hour League then demanded that no corporate charter be given without including the eight-hour clause; that all public state, city, and community labor be hired only under the eight-hour plan; that all incorporated companies must introduce the eight-hour plan or lose their charters; that no person under twenty-one years of age be allowed to work more than eight hours, and so on. A piece of legislation of this kind would establish the following important facts:

That eight hours do not mean less wages;

That men are never paid as a rule according to what they earn, but according to the average cost of living;

That in the long run—within certain limits—*less* hours means *more* pay, whether they work by the day or work by the piece;

That reducing the hours increases the purchasing power of wages as well as the amount of wealth produced;

That dear men mean cheap productions, and cheap men mean dear productions;

That six cents a day in China is dearest, and three dollars a day in America is cheapest;

That the moral causes that have made three dollars a day cheaper than six cents a day, will make higher wages still cheaper;

That less hours mean reducing the profits and fortunes that are made on labor or its results;

More knowledge and more capital for the labor: The wage system gradually disappearing through *higher* wages;

Less *poor* people to borrow money, and less wealthy ones to lend it, and a natural decline in the rates of interest on money;

More idlers working, and more workers thinking; the motives to fraud reduced, and fewer calls for special legislation;

Woman's wages increased, her household labor reduced, better opportunities for thought and action, and creation of motives strong enough to demand and secure the ballot;

Reaching the great causes of intemperance—extreme wealth and extreme poverty;

And the salvation of republican institutions.

It was further resolved:

That whether National Banks are abolished or bonds are taxed, or whether taxes or tariffs are high or low, or whether greenbacks or gold, or any system of finance proposed is adopted, or civil service,⁵⁴ or one term for President shall prevail, are not *laborers'* questions, because they have no appreciable relation to the *wage system* through which the wage classes secure all that they can ever obtain of the world's wealth, until they become sufficiently wealthy and intelligent to co-operate in its production; and whether the masses have anything to choose between President Grant and Horace Greeley,⁵⁵ turns entirely on the question which one of the two will be most likely to secure the legislation we demand, as well as the enforcement, upon all government works, of the law already enacted.

Further, the congress passed strong resolutions against the effects of the factory system with the long working hours, compared the spindle and spinner lords to the slave (whip) lords, warmly praised the work of the Bureau of Labor Statistics and protested attacks on it. The delegates expressed sympathy and recognition for the nine-hour machinists of England, for all workers with the same goal on the continent (Europe), and for the New York trade unions, which were struggling at the time and had sent delegates to this May meeting.

A fresh masculine tone swept through these resolutions, even if some of them are of doubtful value; thus the candid form of expression, the undeniable originality of conception, and the struggle announced against the gentlemen "reformers" make a very good impression.

The Eight Hour League, that is Ira Steward and his comrades, moved even more sharply and directly against the greenbackers in resolutions of May 1874, which noted:

That the Boston Eight Hour League records its most emphatic protest against the discussion or the consideration of financial theories, in the name of Labor Reform.

That financial reform, so called, is interesting and important, chiefly to that small per cent of our fellow citizens who belong to the capitalist classes; who regard themselves as a permanent class in society, and believe that upon their financial successes must depend all who work with their hands. Who read Labor's advantages in the light of their own, but none of their own interests with the eyes of Labor: who make no distinction between capitalists and capital, between the curse of a class, known only for its wealth and the blessings of wealth itself; and are able through their wealth to fix public attention upon questions of taxation, railroad and banking management, currency and interest, protection and free-trade, franking, mileage, salary, civil service, and economical humbugs, the settlement of which the best way, still leaves the laborer a laborer, and the capitalist a capitalist, between whom there is an irre-

pressible conflict which must continue until all are laborers and all are capitalists.

Then the workers were urged to concern themselves not with past but future production and a more equal sharing of the profits of labor, the questions of labor and not of financial theories under the sign of labor reform.⁵⁶

And the so-called "Labor Reform" conventions that assemble and discuss almost everything else but labor, and confuse and disgust those who stop to listen, by the impracticable nature of their claim; that furnish a theatre or a platform for a crowd of adventurers who are without a purpose, and without a constituency among those who labor or those who think; that minister to the most superficial and sensational thought or feeling of the movement; that flippantly denounce as narrow and unimportant, or worse, the uprising of labor everywhere for less hours; that present no theory even of the labor and poverty problem, and no measures that could be enacted or repealed with profit to labor, may be regarded as not important to the laborers' movement; and our interest in them begins and ends with the wish, that as often as they call the public to discuss financial theories, they will call in the name of capital and not in the precious name of labor.

In further resolutions the Eight Hour League urgently demanded the concentration of all the forces in the labor movement on the one and simple demand for the necessary legislation for the introduction of the eight-hour system; it denounced public statements of the senators of Massachusetts who stood against legislation on working hours, as well as the officials of the Treasury, War, Navy and Post Office departments who betrayed the workers of the fruits of the national eight-hour law—and in connection with the infamous behavior of the New York police on January 13, 1874, the League resolved:

The behavior of the New York police commissioners in Tompkins Square⁵⁷ was a disgraceful outrage on the whole world of workers and the trade unions and workers of the great metropolis should insist on an official investigation through the New York legislature and on the punishment of the guilty.

In 1875 the Boston Eight Hour League protested against the continuous attacks on the political and industrial rights of the general population, against the poll tax, the prolongation of the legislative periods and terms of office, against increase of patronage through appointments, against the undemocratic display of splendor and pomp by high officials, and so forth. The League pointed out that a direct conflict existed between freedom in political ad-

ministration and bondage in industrial administration; it cautioned against the dangerous methods of intimidation through the armed power that clearly and openly marks the government as the executive committee of capital. Vulgar political economy was attacked because it changes with geographical breadth and conforms to the commandments of its capitalist followers demanding protective tariffs in time of need and free trade in time of surplus, treating money as a producer and distributor of wealth and, grasping an overflowing cup, it gives the workers lectures on thrift, frugality, and perseverance. But poverty, excess, prostitution, and war are really the results of the unequal distribution of all material and spiritual goods (of the social institutions). The League blamed the legislatures for their refusal to make laws for the protection of workers against accidents, for decent schooling, and for the appointment of factory inspectors, and it recommended the forming of political clubs in all working centers to send experienced and trusted men of labor to the legislature.

In 1876 the Eight Hour League stated that the difference between worker and capitalist is that the capitalist sells the fruit of labor of other people as goods so that it remains for the worker to sell only his labor, his personality, his own person. The capitalist class has amassed and monopolized industry, machinery, and raw material so that it is impossible for the worker to employ himself, and without employment he faces death by starvation. Those who are responsible for the privation and famine hold not *one right* that human beings have to respect. The League dismissed the accusation of greediness on the part of the workers with the remark that nothing on earth is too good for the people, that lavish wastefulness is that which wastes human beings to save *material things*, that one should force privation on one's stomach to save food, that a world full of palaces is cheaper than a world full of huts and tenement houses.

The League repeated that the wage system had to be replaced through general cooperation but that some cooperatives were only hothouse plants. The League condemned the shameless offenses of the ten-hour law passed in 1874 in Massachusetts, as well as the call for the militia by the factory owners in Fall River, which showed that government and the capitalist class are one in all that concerns labor. The League also pointed to the horrors of the cheap Chinese labor and pointed out that New England was spared this plague only through "the complete depression of their industries in recent years" (since 1873).

We have devoted so much space to the work of Ira Steward and the Eight Hour League of Boston because at that time they constituted a real oasis in the desert of reform humbug and because they give a refreshing example of the manly bearing of American (not immigrant) workers and show progress in the conception of real conditions.

A very remarkable success of the agitation by Ira Steward and his comrades lies in the fact that the "reform" humbug in the New England states, with the

exception of industrially underdeveloped Maine, could not find a firm footing even when the waves of the greenback movement were at their highest.⁵⁸

THE NATIONAL LABOR UNION; THE
POLITICAL MOVEMENT; TOMPKINS
SQUARE; TRADE UNION ORGANIZATIONS;
THE EIGHT-HOUR DAY MOVEMENT;
AND OTHER THINGS

On August 19, 1867, the second Congress of the National Labor Union (NLU) met in Chicago, attended by approximately 200 mostly union delegates.⁵⁹ The previous Congress had specifically recommended that all skilled "mechanics" form trade unions and all other workers form simple labor unions. Despite this favorable attitude on the part of the NLU, the older national unions remained reserved. William H. Sylvis, whom we have often mentioned, complained of this attitude without recognizing that his own efforts to push the paper money question to the fore had awakened distrust and annoyance in the trade unionists.⁶⁰ Sylvis had allowed himself to be won over by the greenbackers, as we have seen. He became their most energetic supporter and saw to it that the greenback plank was put into the program of the NLU. On the other hand, the opposition was strong enough to stop his being elected president.⁶¹

The organization of the NLU was not improved by the fact that its treasury was empty and remained so.⁶² On the basis of a Sylvis resolution, the NLU recommended that the federal government establish a national ministry of labor as well as a statistical office,⁶³ a demand that the government only partially fulfilled almost twenty years later.⁶⁴

The delegates talked a great deal about an independent, self-supporting labor party but took no serious steps in this direction. The emancipated Negroes from the former slave states had begun to compete with white workers and, as a solution, the Congress recommended the creation of Negro trade unions but took no steps to further the organization of the blacks or to bring them into the movement.⁶⁵

The delegates loudly complained about the immigration and importation of cheap, less demanding labor. They resolved to send a delegate to Europe to study emigration conditions and to make appropriate contacts. They elected the delegate, but he could not undertake the trip because of the lack of money in the treasury.⁶⁶

The third NLU Congress met in New York on September 21, 1868. Some delegates mounted a heavy attack on the greenback plank in the program, but its glib-tongued supporters were able to beat them down. A lengthy struggle broke out over the seating of Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, the representative

of the women's suffrage movement, which ended with Mrs. Stanton's being seated by a small majority.⁶⁷

The following incident indicates the loose organization and unreliability of real representation. A member of German labor organizations attended the Congress as an observer. As he was leaving the hall, one of the NLU vice-presidents stopped him and requested he remain—he would immediately be given a mandate as a delegate with a seat and vote.

The Congress elected Sylvis President and accepted a lengthy program statement on "money reform." It also passed resolutions in favor of cooperative stores and workshops, the establishment of educational organizations and halls, and the construction of improved workers' housing (which was warmly recommended to the capitalists), and against competition from prison labor. The Congress recommended that the unemployed settle in the West, and the following was said about women's labor: "... adaptation, by the national government, of the financial policy set forth in this platform will put an end to the oppression of workingwomen [*sic!*] and is the only means of securing to them, as well as to workingmen, the just reward of their labor."

Such words found no echo among the organized wage earners and trade union members—much to their honor; rather they awakened distrust that even the untiring activities of President Sylvis could not chase away. In a letter to the New York State Workingmen's Assembly he wrote: "The very greatest drawback to the labor reform movement is the fact that the trades-unions hold themselves aloof from the movement. This is not only a singular but a very unfortunate fact."

The Congress had resolved to organize a labor reform party on the basis of its financial reform plans, and Sylvis sent circular after circular around the country on the subject. In the first (October 1868), he expressed the hope—even the resolve—to see the President of the United States, the majority in Congress, and the state legislatures elected by this reform party by 1872. In his second circular (November 1868), he wrote: "There are about 3,000 trades-unions in the United States. . . . These 3,000 well-organized unions see and *feel* that, by the adoption of our platform . . . more will be done to establish an equitable standard of a fair division of profits, reasonable hours and a universal emancipation from the power of capital, than can ever be accomplished by the trades-unions as now organized. . . ."

As one can clearly see, this otherwise so industrious man had become a victim of his own slogans, even to the point of losing his capability for judgment. Immediately after the above he said: "*We must show them* [the trade unions] *that when a just money system has been established, there will no longer exist a necessity for trades-unions.*" And the man pursued this propaganda out of his own sparse means because, as his brother wrote: "The National Labor Union had almost no income at this time!"

Sylvis died a few weeks before the fourth Congress of the NLU, which met

in Philadelphia in August 1869.⁶⁸ The resolutions of mourning at Sylvius's death and a three-day debate over the seating of representatives of the women's rights movement—not over women workers, of course⁶⁹—took up the greatest part of the Congress. The group elected R. H. Trevellick to succeed Sylvius—a man whose sloganeering went far beyond that of his predecessor but whose energy and capacity for work did not nearly equal that of Sylvius! The delegates also elected A. C. Cameron, whom we have met before, as their delegate to the Congress of the International Workingmen's Association in Basel. A wealthy New York "reformer," H. Day, donated a few hundred dollars so that Cameron could make the trip. The large organization of 800,000 workers, which Cameron was to represent in Basel, had no means of its own.

In 1870, the fifth NLU Congress met in Cincinnati where the greenbackers completely dominated the meeting and drove the remaining trade union members of the NLU completely out of the organization. So-called NLU congresses met in St. Louis, Cleveland and, the last in 1874, in Rochester, New York, as their right to the title "workers' convention" became smaller and smaller.⁷⁰ The trade unions had long since turned their backs on the "reformer" clique or had died in its embrace. The purpose of this so-called reform movement had been achieved: the workers lost their taste for politics for many years—the two large bourgeois parties, the Republicans and the Democrats, sniggered behind their hands and filled their pockets as never before.

The leaders of the greenbackers, however, retired to the West and for a period infatuated the numerous small farmers of Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, and other western states. They added insult to injury of the workers' cause by calling themselves the Greenback Labor Party.⁷¹ Under these circumstances and the catastrophic effect of the crisis of 1873, the labor movement suffered great damage, and it was many years before it returned to its task of centralizing its forces.

In 1867, a group consisting mostly of Germans founded the Social Labor Party in New York, but it enjoyed a very short life. After 1868 nothing further was heard of it, although an election campaign was held with its support for which a coal dealer donated the finances. A labor reform party came into existence in Massachusetts in 1869, also short-lived, which put up candidates for election on the state level, including Wendell Phillips for governor, and received 15,000 votes.⁷² Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and other areas saw attempts similar to those in New York but with the same or worse lack of success.

The Chinese question burned brightly in California and neighboring states. Shipload upon shipload of coolies landed in San Francisco and soon monopolized various industries in the area such as laundries, cigarette manufacturing, and shoemaking. In California, as in Nevada and Oregon, Chinese were early used as personal servants, in road and railroad construction, agriculture and fruit- and winegrowing. This alarmed not only the white workers

who suffered from the crushing competition and were unemployed, but also a section of the bourgeois traders who worried about their business in the face of the famous Chinese frugality. These fears were reinforced in the East through the attempt made in 1870 by a shoe manufacturer in North Adams, Massachusetts, to replace his Caucasian workers with Mongols he transported from San Francisco. The attempt did not actually fail, but found no imitators and served in a large measure to shock the New Englanders and the population of the Middle states, and thus expanded the support for legislation stopping Chinese immigration.

In St. Clair, Pennsylvania, an important strike over the eight-hour day by the coal miners broke out and led to much sharp unrest, but it ended after two months with the defeat of the workers. Further strikes followed in protest against the punishments given the workers' spokesmen. The small mine owners fell into financial difficulties, and the railroad companies used this to grab up the best mines. In this way the economic dependence of the workers was strongly reinforced and their condition worsened. Of the big companies, which rounded off their territory in such a fashion and who expanded their exploitation areas by cleverly inspiring these strikes, the following, whose greatest period was 1868-1872, are the most important: the Reading Railroad led by the infamous Gowan,⁷³ the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, the Delaware and Lackawanna Railroad Company, and the Pennsylvania Coal Company.

In New York the eight-hour day agitation made great progress after 1870. Various skirmishes occurred in 1871, and at the end of March 1872 most of the construction workers and those in related trades were struggling to achieve the eight-hour day. Some nice successes were achieved, but the strikes continued into the summer, and on June 10 a huge demonstration in the form of a labor parade was held in which various sections of the International Workingmen's Association, then heavily represented in New York, participated.⁷⁴

The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics estimates the number of workers who had—temporarily—achieved the eight-hour day at approximately 100,000—a figure that is much too high.⁷⁵ Among those included were: carpenters, stonemasons, plasterers, bricklayers, whitewashers and painters, pipelayers, wallpaperers, upholsterers, construction handymen, and the like. Unfortunately, this success did not last, and within eighteen months every trace of it had been wiped out.

Signs of trouble and defeat appeared during the winter of 1872-1873 in the major industries of the country. The speculation craze had reached its peak. It had achieved too much, specifically in the building of large railroads whose profits could only be severely limited for years to come. Despite this, stock was sold to a gullible public and the dance could begin—the music for which this same gullible public and the workers had to pay.

Jay Cooke and Company, one of the largest banking houses of that time and the main agent of the big Northern Pacific Railroad, failed; almost all the

banks closed their doors, and the owners their factories. In the autumn of 1873 an unprecedented panic reigned while a misery that defies description developed for the workers. At this point Section 1 of New York, the mother section of the International Workingmen's Association in the United States, resolved to organize the unemployed.

The membership of the section, supported by the others, went to work: from door to door in their neighborhoods, and within a few days about twenty organizations of unemployed had been set up in various parts of the city. The movement grew and established a central body called the Committee of Safety and discussed steps that would force the city officials to alleviate the misery.⁷⁶

In the meantime, vague and suspicious elements had also joined the movement⁷⁷ (for example, followers and confidants of the notorious Tweed) who soon moved away from a sober view of things and prudent action. They turned to screaming and loudness, some unconsciously, but some deliberately. The city officials used this to set a miserable, mean surprise attack in motion.⁷⁸ The police and park commissioners of the city of New York had given permission for a meeting to be held in Tompkins Square to be followed by a parade through various streets on January 13, 1874. On the evening of January 12, they cancelled this permission. The Committee of Safety was not at its post and could not warn its constituents who gathered in masses at Tompkins Square.⁷⁹ The police, who had been quietly placed around the square, attacked, beat the workers down with nightsticks, and scattered them with blows: disgraceful scenes of cruelty and brutality!⁸⁰

Along with hunger, the workers had the disdain to add bloody heads to their privation! A German worker who defended himself bravely against the nightstick heroes was beaten into submission, jailed, brought before the courts, and sentenced to many months in prison for resisting the armed state power of order.⁸¹

A cry of indignation tore through the country, that is, through the ranks of the workers. A committee of freethinkers, radical citizens, and workers who wanted to hold a protest meeting against this event were driven from the hall. A committee led by the old journalist, John Swinton, went before the legislature of Albany to register their complaints and demand the punishment of the guilty (the police and the park commissioners).⁸² But the investigation bogged down in the sands and swamps of bourgeois party politics. The nightsticks had won, to the joy of the bourgeoisie, and along with the nightsticks the bullets of the military were soon used against renewed struggles of the workers: the reorganization of the militia to purge it of unreliable elements was undertaken.

Misery and distress reigned over the workers throughout the country, and the freedoms of speech and assembly were hardly observed. McNeill notes that this was especially true "in those smaller towns and manufacturing cen-

ers where the owner of the principle industry was practically the owner of the community—of the halls, churches, schoolrooms and the press, but up to this time no great outrage upon the freedom of speech had attracted public attention."

In Fall River, Massachusetts, the militia was called out against the striking workers in the fall of 1875, against the coal miners at various times in Pennsylvania; and in Chicago the police protected the fearful city fathers against the demands of the unemployed, and the "gentlemen" owners naturally took advantage of the oppressive situation of the workers to lower wages.

It was not unusual in these years for the big companies and owners (particularly of mines and the builders of railroads and canals), not satisfied with the normal immigration, to move into the direct importation of European proletarians so that they could increase working hours and decrease wages. The emancipated Negroes of the South also served well for this purpose.

Thus, in 1863, Belgians were imported to break a miners' strike in southern Illinois; great numbers of Bohemians and Italians were brought into the coal districts in 1867 and 1868. Because of this a strike broke out in 1875 in Westmoreland, Pennsylvania, during which the Italians, who had been armed for this purpose, killed two strikers and wounded many others. At the trial that followed, the misguided Italians received long sentences in prison, but the owner of the mines, the originator and planner of the disaster, a Mr. Armstrong, was only fined five dollars and had to pay the court costs.

In Indiana, Illinois, and Iowa the militia was called out against the miners during the winter of 1875-1876, but the workers did not allow themselves to fall into the trap; rather, they maintained their peacefulness. In April 1876, a disturbance broke out in Tuscarawasthale, Ohio, during which a man was killed, whereupon many miners were arrested and a number of them sentenced to three-year prison terms. Various labor leaders and functionaries in Pennsylvania were punished with long prison sentences in 1875 for intimidation of imported workers (scabs). These are only a few examples of the class justice practiced in the United States reported here for the use and benefit of certain sorts of speechifiers and daydreamers who ply their trade too often in German labor newspapers and who create almost as much damage as the "reformers" in the United States.

"The greater the social wealth, the functioning capital, the volume and energy of its growth, and also the absolute size of the proletariat and the productive force of its labor, the greater is the industrial reserve army."⁸³

During and after the War of Secession, the United States joined the ranks of industrial countries with capitalistic methods of production and enjoyed proportionately a respectable reserve army equal to that of its European rivals. Unlike the conditions in the Old World, however, growth of this reserve army was unstoppable through the never-ending source of immigration. A particular difference was the characteristic peculiar to this country: the appearance of

this reserve army, massively expanded by the crisis of 1873, which set itself in motion the following year—skirmishing in small groups or as individuals in all the streets, wandering to all the cities searching for work and housing.

They were called "tramps."⁸⁴ The number of these jobless and homeless reached at times over one million, and the gentlemen citizens feared and trembled before these living witnesses to their sins, before these poorest of the proletariat, who, however, never sank to the complete desolation of the lumpen proletariat. Instead of giving assistance through public works and the like, the "citizens" in these sad years of misery created truly inhuman legislation against the tramps in most states, especially in the West; and in the East, Connecticut and New Jersey led the field in this regard. The tramps, these victims of the capitalist means of production, were declared veritable outlaws and harshly punished because they had no work and could find none.

Conditions had become almost intolerable when the American bourgeoisie paraded its treasures and wealth, the successes and products of American labor, before an astounded world (World Fair of 1876).⁸⁵ At the same time the open and virile labor organizations and trade unions suffered a great loss through deserters to other groups, mostly to the secret organizations, as a look at the names of the big trade unions on the list from Jessup printed below will show.

A few further words about the large organizations before we move on. One of the largest organizations in this country, if not in the whole industrial world, was the Knights of St. Crispin in the early 1870s, made up of the workers in the shoe industry. Founded in 1866 in Milwaukee, it quickly expanded to cover the entire country, and by the early 1870s numbered approximately 100,000 members who exerted an important influence on public affairs, as we have seen.

The female members were organized as the Daughters of St. Crispin and were represented fully and independently at the various labor congresses. Internal disputes and the economic crisis of 1873 began the collapse of the Knights.⁸⁶ Later attempts at reorganization failed and led to most of the members joining the Knights of Labor, which had been founded in 1869 in Philadelphia.⁸⁷ This important organization remained in the underground for about ten years and first appeared publicly in 1878 while still retaining its secret organization. We will discuss this organization in detail below.

The iron and steelworkers, the various sections of the metal workers, had already in 1858 founded individual organizations in which the desire for a unification of the branches often arose. The conceit of the leadership level, the better paid and employed workers, hindered this unification for many years but finally had to give way to bad times and those who knew better. At the beginning of 1870 negotiations were opened toward unification. By the end of 1875, the proposals had been worked out, and on August 3, 1876, the powerful Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers was founded. This

group achieved the reputation as an energetic fighter for the protective tariff, especially in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Maryland.

The American Miners' Association, mentioned in the chapter on the 1860-1866 period, made good progress in the early years of its existence in that it expanded into Ohio, Indiana, and Iowa. Unsuccessful strikes in 1867 and 1868 destroyed this organization, but at the same time the incredible coal-fields of Pennsylvania and Maryland were drawn into the movement: the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association was founded and achieved great power and influence under the intelligent and vigorous leadership of John Siney.⁸⁸ The association spread to Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, West Virginia, and Kentucky; the states in the West had their own organizations. The Pennsylvania coal miners had to go through particularly harsh struggles with the rising large coal and railroad company combinations during the years 1869 to 1872.

The crisis of 1873 had a heavily depressing effect on the miners, and they looked for protection and assistance in the unification of their forces. In October 1873 at a convention in Youngstown, Ohio, they founded the Miners' National Association which expanded rapidly in the next few years until bad times, precipitous strikes, and the infamous persecution by bourgeois officials brought the organization almost to the brink of collapse and drove a great part of its membership into the arms of the Knights of Labor (1875 and 1876).

We have mentioned the early effort to organize the textile workers a number of times. New efforts were made from 1866 to 1876 with some success. Textile workers held a well-attended convention in 1868 in Biddeford, Maine, to press for the ten-hour day. The manufacturers in Fall River and some other towns introduced the ten-hour day, but a strike failed in 1870 and the workers were thrown back into the eleven-hour working day.

The lack of such an all-inclusive organization—only the spinners maintained an organization of this kind—explains only too clearly how the owners could dare to deduct more than 40 percent of the wages of the workers in this industry in the years 1872-1873. In 1874, the workers finally got themselves together and temporarily forced a ten-hour day decree from the legislature. This, however, was observed as little as the child labor and school attendance laws.

The spinners contacted their fellow workers in other areas; the carders, almost exclusively women, organized themselves; and the weavers banded together in the thousands. All three branches went on to achieve a small wage increase in the spring of 1875. In July of that year, the manufacturers announced to the workers that as of August 1 wages would be again reduced by 10 percent. Thus on August 1, the great strike called "the great vacation" began in Fall River, which had been chosen as the field of battle. All the factories were closed down—but the weaver and carder organizations proved to be too young and lacking a sufficient war chest. The manufacturers knew

this and decided to destroy the organization by refusing work to anyone who would not take the ironclad oath. The "great vacation" ended after almost fourteen weeks,⁸⁹ the organization of the weavers and the carders destroyed, the workers humiliated. Only the spinners maintained a weakened organization. They, too, had to swear the oath, but under a *reservatio mentalis*, and they openly informed the foremen that they did not consider it binding because they had been forced to swear it.

The Typographical Union, which step by step gathered together the various divisions of the book printing trade, made great progress and achieved much political influence through the establishment of a government printing office in Washington in which only members of the trade union worked.

The railroad employees remained very active during this period in completing existing and founding new organizations. The already-mentioned Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, which to this point had flourished only in the West, expanded its field to the East. In 1872 the firemen founded a group whose membership rapidly grew, and the conductors had already established a society in 1868.⁹⁰ According to the amount of danger involved in their jobs, the railroad workers' organizations concerned themselves primarily with the support of their members in cases of death, sickness, and injuries. They are called "benevolent societies."

In 1872, the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics turned to W. J. Jessup,⁹¹ the long-time president of the New York State Workingmen's Assembly, requesting information on the trade unions, and Jessup answered in a long letter on October 31, 1872. From the letter of this industrious and respected New York trade union official, the following excerpts are printed. They give reliable information on the trade union movement and the agitation for the eight-hour day.

In consequence of want of information, and of the secret character of some of our Trade organizations, from whom no information whatever can be obtained as to their relative strength or numbers, I cannot fully comply with the questions propounded in your letter, but will willingly answer the same as far as is in my power.

1. As to the "known number of Trades Unions in the country."

This question cannot be answered with precision. Two years ago I spent nearly an entire winter in an effort to make up as complete a directory as possible of the Unions existing at that time, and I secured the address of about one thousand Unions in the various trades. Still there were others not ascertained. Since that time several new National or International Unions have been organized, and consequently a considerable increase in subordinate Unions. I have no doubt but that there are fully 1,500 Trades Unions existing in the United States at the present time.

2. *The names of those Unions that have a National organization, are these:—*

1. The Bricklayers' National Union.
2. The Carpenters and Joiners' National Union.
3. National Forge, or United Sons of Vulcan (Iron puddlers, and Boiler-makers).
4. National Grand Lodge of United "Sons of Adam" (Clothing Cutters).
5. National Grand Lodge of Painters.
6. National Association of Hat-finishers.
7. National Grand Lodge, United Order of Morocco dressers.
8. National Grand Lodge, United Order Stationary Engineers.
9. National Grand Lodge, United Order American Bricklayers.
10. National Union of Wood-working Mechanics.
11. National Grand Lodge of Daughters of St. Crispin.

3d. *The following have an International Organization:—*⁹²

1. International Grand Lodge of Knights of St. Crispin.
2. International Typographical Union.
3. International Grand Lodge, United Order of American Plasterers.
4. International Union of Cigar Makers.
5. International Union Iron Moulders.
6. International Union Tailors.
7. International Union Coopers.
8. International Union Machinists and Blacksmiths.
9. International Union Locomotive Engineers.
10. International Union Locomotive Firemen.

These are all the National or International Unions known to me on this Continent representing distinct occupations. There is no doubt but that in time, all our National Trade Unions will become international so far as this continent is concerned, but no farther. Such changes are being made yearly, as it is found to be a necessity to organize the men of the various trades in the British Provinces, and enroll them under our jurisdiction. Thus you see that our Trades Unions are helping to gradually bring about that annexation that will some day surely take place.

4th. *The names of the Trades Unions last organized.*

Jessup reports here that in New York State alone from February 2 to October 31, 1872, the following 46 trade unions were formed:

Wood working Mechanics,	3	Plumbers,	1
Machinists and Blacksmiths,	6	Workingmen,	2
Plasterers,	1	Wheelwrights,	1
Iron Moulders,	1	Varnishers,	1
Carpenters and Joiners,	2	Coopers,	1

Typographical,	1	Tailors,	1
Sons of Vulcan,	2	Clothing Cutters,	5
Dry Goods Clerks,	1	Locomotive Engineers,	2
Knights of St. Crispin,	2	Painters,	5
Laborers,	3		

Ohio and Pennsylvania followed.

5th. *The Condition of the Eight Hour Movement.*

The agitation of the Eight Hour Movement is gradually increasing, principally among the operatives in the building trades at St. Louis, Chicago, and other places. Building Trade Leagues are being organized, composed of the operatives in all the various building trades leagued together in one body, independent of the various Trade Unions, but acting in unison therewith. . . . Here in New York, the question has lost none of its interest to our workmen, although several of the trades were sorely defeated in their demand for eight hours, the past spring and summer. A lesson has been taught them by which they will profit, and I am satisfied that in future they will act more systematically when asking for a reduction of the hours of labor.

6th. *Trades now working on the Eight Hours time.*

Here Jessup lists the trades mentioned above and adds:

I have no knowledge of any trades outside of New York State, except those in Government employ, working eight hours. In some of the above mentioned trades there are to be found non-union men working ten hours in this city, but they are in the minority; with others eight hours and nothing more is the rule. . . .

7th. *The Trades working at Piece work and those working at Day work.*

A most difficult question to answer. I can scarcely call to mind a trade in which piece, lump (the same thing), or work by the job, is not carried on to a greater or less extent . . . nearly all new work is done by the piece. Repairing is by the day.

8th. *Trade Unions with the Largest Number of Members.*

Jessup names here the trade union organizations: Knights of St. Crispin, Coopers, Typographers, Machinists, Blacksmiths, Iron Moulders, and the Locomotive Engineers, then concludes:

In this city we have some powerful and effective Trades Unions, as for instances:

Brown Stone Cutters, 2,000 Members
Longshoremen, 2,000 Members

Printers (Typo. Union, No. 6),	1,800 Members
Operative Plasterers,	1,800 Members
Carpenters and Joiners,	1,500 Members
Jour. Tailors,	1,400 Members

There are quite a number of the Unions having from 1,000 to 500 members.

He regretted that he possessed only *one* copy of most of the trade union reports so that he could send very few to the bureau and gave the assurance that he had answered the questions as fully as possible.

Jessup's report presents a pleasing picture of the trade unions and the activities of the American workers. But—the date of the report is 1872, and that year was one of high prosperity. Three or four years later many of the organizations mentioned lay in ruins,⁹³ partially destroyed by the 1873 crisis, partially crippled by the poisonous touch of the "reformers," and a half decade passed before the working class in the United States again gathered enough strength to go over to the offensive in their struggle. The secret organizations took advantage of the depression; the Knights of Labor grew tremendously in this period.

The labor press in this period experienced a broad expansion. Newspapers that served the cause of the workers came into existence in all the big cities of the East, North, and West, as well as some that only appeared to do so. To list them here is unnecessary, if for no other reason than that not one of them, with the exception of the *National Labor Tribune* of Pittsburgh,⁹⁴ continues to exist today. Along with these general labor papers, almost all of the larger organizations published their own special organs, sometimes more than one, a number of which were very well edited. The stonemasons, carpenters, the machinists and blacksmiths, the barrel makers, the miners (more than one), hat makers, shoemakers (more than one), the typographers, the moulders, the iron- and steelworkers, and the locomotive engineers all published such organs. The German workers also established numerous newspapers in New York, Chicago, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Detroit, Buffalo, Cincinnati, Milwaukee, San Francisco, Newark, and elsewhere. Most of these, however, existed only a short time. Bohemian, Scandinavian, French, and Italian workers followed this example in various parts of the country.

THE GERMAN WORKERS IN THE MOVEMENT; THE INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION, SECTION I; THE NEW YORK *ARBEITER-ZEITUNG*

In our report on the war years (1860-1866) we mentioned that from 1865 on the German workers in the larger cities of the country, particularly in the

Middle and western states, played a vigorous role in the movement and had energetically organized themselves for this purpose. Chicago and New York took the lead as areas in which the German (actually German-speaking) workers from numerous branches of industry and cities organized as far as their strength would allow. The following are the most important aspects of this struggle.

In Chicago, German workers' associations existed as early as the beginning of the 1860s. They developed in a progressive sense under the influence of Joseph Weydemeyer and his friend and colleague Hermann Meyer.⁹⁵ (We should add in passing that the influence of these two men also extended to Milwaukee, Pittsburgh, and especially St. Louis.)

The German workers' associations of Chicago were represented at the convention of German radicals in Cleveland in 1863. Immigrants during the Lassalle years of agitation in Germany (1863 and 1864) strengthened these groups and increased their activities. A noteworthy result of this activity was the appearance of the German, Schlegel, at the first National Labor Congress at Baltimore in August 1866, which we have already described.

In proportion to the growth of the big city (Chicago), branch associations were founded in various sections of the city, which maintained tight contact with one another and after 1868 began a lively correspondence with other important areas of the nation, especially with New York. The cities of Chicago and New York acted from this period on for a number of years in close coordination, and this won a great respect for the German workers' movement in the United States. Consequently, we can shorten our notes on Chicago and pay closer attention to the development of the agitation in New York, which reflects that of Chicago.⁹⁶

In the course of the next ten years and in accord with a certain feverishness of movement peculiar to Chicago—the German workers there like to call Chicago "Little Paris"—our Germans appeared under various names: as social-political labor associations, as a section of the International Workingmen's Association (IWA), as the Workingmen's Party of Illinois. Besides these principle worker associations, various trade unions made up of German workers existed also. In 1869, following the example of New York they founded their own newspaper, *Der Deutsche Arbeiter*,⁹⁷ which, however, ceased to appear with the outbreak of the Franco-German War (1870).

In 1871, numerous sections of the IWA existed in Chicago and even the terrible fire of October 1871, which has been laid at the door of the International, could not curtail their vigor, which expressed itself in many ways,⁹⁸ including the fact that they always maintained good relations with the Czech, Scandinavian, and French workers in the city. In the fall of 1872, controversy and arguments broke out among the sections, which did some damage. The Workingmen's Party of Illinois founded the weekly newspaper, *Der Vorbote*, in early 1874.⁹⁹ This is the only German labor paper from the period which still exists (1891)—as the weekly edition of the *Chicago Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

The demonstration of the unemployed set in motion by the International in the autumn of 1873 was imposing but was unceremoniously dispatched by the "beautiful" phrases of the city officials which were dictated by fear.¹⁰⁰ However, at least the demonstrators did not go home with bloody heads like their comrades in New York.

The arguments that had come up in the autumn of 1872, often brought about by freshly immigrated German workers of both current directions (Lassalleans and Eisenachers),¹⁰¹ were put aside in 1875 and 1876 under the pressure of events, and the executive of the newly founded Workingmen's Party of the United States (Philadelphia, July 1876) was transferred to Chicago.¹⁰²

The German trade unions had always been active in Milwaukee and exerted some influence during this period. Sections of the International were founded there in 1872. In 1875 an adventurer appeared in their midst and convinced the membership to publish a weekly, later daily, newspaper called *Der Sozialist*. After a short time he gave this up, moved into land speculation in Wisconsin, and finally landed with the bourgeois press where still today, following the style of the renegade, he ridicules his former views and libels his former comrades.¹⁰³

German workers founded strong sections of the IWA during the years 1871 to 1873 in St. Louis, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Newark, Buffalo, and Detroit. In many of these places they made preparations to publish workers' newspapers in the German language. Philadelphia, for instance, made an unsuccessful attempt in this direction.

Czech and Scandinavian sections were founded in New York and Chicago; the French founded sections in these two cities as well as in Paterson, Boston, Philadelphia, New Orleans, St. Louis, and San Francisco; Irish sections existed in New York and St. Louis; and in Washington a section developed made up almost exclusively of federal, albeit subordinate, officials. On the Pacific Coast, in San Francisco, the late Philip Reiter and Alexander Henninger conducted vigorous propaganda activities from the end of the 1860s.

A fresh breeze of indignation against the increasing exploitation of the working class and against the increasingly insolent corruption of the bourgeois classes blew through the German labor associations. It spurred them to consideration of their own conditions as well as social conditions in general and gave birth to a true core of class-conscious, socialist-minded German-speaking proletarians who achieved a great deal. However, in New York, and in a certain sense the whole United States, the history of the activities of the German workers in this country during this time is combined in a renowned way with the name of Section I. What follows is a report on this.

In 1866, most of the members of the small, earlier-mentioned Lassalleian association entered the Communist Club of New York, which did not comprehend the growing class consciousness of workers and sank into inactivity.¹⁰⁴ The more energetic members of this club, drawing on support of like-minded workers, founded the Social Party in 1867, which had various

branch groups in the city, and at the end of 1868 called for an election campaign, that is, political action, as we reported in the last section.

In the same year (1868), the German United Workers' Association [*Assoziation Vereinigter Arbeiter*],—composed of the trade unions of the united cabinetmakers, woodworkers, cigarmakers, piano makers, and varnishers—founded a weekly newspaper, *Die Arbeiter Union*, and entrusted the editorship to—a lawyer. This man, W. S. Landsberg, knew nothing and wished to know nothing about the class struggle, paid homage to Malthusian ideas, and was incapable of supporting the main aim of the paper: propaganda for the eight-hour day.¹⁰⁵ When the workers indicated their desire to pursue their own independent policy, he resigned, and his place was taken by Adolph Douai.

Douai was a very talented man, well read in most of the disciplines of knowledge, a true polyhistor, as a contemporary journalist accurately called him. But exactly because of this he lacked the necessary depth and originality. In the antislavery campaign of the 1850s in Texas, Douai achieved great honor through fearless behavior and personal courage, which even forced his slaveholding opponents to respect him. Later, in the North, he made important contributions to the Republican Party through speeches and writing while he was also active as a teacher. He was socially charming, of spotless honesty, and astonishingly industrious.

In October 1868, this capable man became the editor of the *Arbeiter Union* which began publishing on a daily basis in May 1869 and folded in September 1870 because of the Franco-German War. From this point until his end Douai was continually active in the movement as a writer and speaker, as a co-worker on the *Vorbote* in Chicago, the *Sozialdemokrat* and the *Arbeiterstimme* in New York, on the *Volksstaat* and *Vorwärts* in Leipzig, the *Zukunft* in Berlin and several other newspapers; he wrote for the *Labor Standard* in New York and other English-language workers' journals as well as several brochures in German and English. Finally, he served as an excellent, steady, and industrious co-editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* from its founding until his death in January 1888.

The acceptance of the editorship of the *Arbeiter Union* was Douai's debut in the labor movement, about which he knew little at that time, and it is therefore understandable that he could not separate the wheat from the chaff at the very beginning. While he gained undeniable merit for spreading knowledge of economics among the German workers by printing many excerpts of Marx's first volume of *Capital*, which had been published the year before, he lost some of this merit through his defense of the Kellogg monetary system and the translation of Kellogg's "New Monetary System" which he printed in the *Arbeiter Union*.¹⁰⁶ From now on the members of the Social Party often used the space of the newspaper by way of letters to the editor to move the

editor in the right direction. This had succeeded to a degree when the Franco-German War (1870) split the German workers of the United States into two sections—the chauvinists and the internationalists,¹⁰⁷ which caused the *Arbeiter Union* to fold.

When the Social Party concluded the election campaign in November 1868, the members recognized that their activities had been premature. The party as such dissolved, but the most industrious and intelligent members, some of whom were mentioned earlier, enlivened their old organization, which they called General German Labor Union [*Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein*], although Lassalleism no longer influenced them. Correctly recognizing that the strongest and most successful effect on a body is gained by working from the inside out, they entered the National Labor Union in February 1869 and were accepted as *Labor Union No. 5 of New York*.¹⁰⁸

Now began a period of brilliant accomplishment, a period of the highest achievement that a labor organization can reach. Almost without exception, real, true wage earners and craftsmen of all possible trades, these proletarians competed with each other in learning economics, in overcoming the most difficult economic and philosophical problems. Among the hundreds of members who belonged to the union between 1869 and 1874 was hardly one who had not read Marx (*Capital*), and surely there were more than a dozen who had absorbed and worked out the most difficult sentences and definitions and were armed against the attacks of the haute and petite bourgeoisie, the radicals or reformists.

It was a real joy to be at union meetings, which were held every Sunday night in a low, badly ventilated room in the Tenth Ward Hotel, at the corner of Broome and Forsyth streets in New York. The class consciousness of these workers had gone into their flesh and blood and had awakened in them a true sense of brotherhood that inspired all their deeds toward their class comrades generally and toward their union brothers particularly, a sense of brotherhood that did not express itself in words but specifically in deeds. They had an exemplary discipline, a discipline that secured for the union over a long period something just short of a leading role in the American labor movement, as in the movement on the whole. How well deserved this position was, the following resolutions on various important questions, always passed after in-depth discussions, will show.

The first two paragraphs of the union statutes read:

1. The union represents general labor interests, strives toward realization of socialist principles and takes as its task the organization and centralization of the trade unions. It stands on the platform of the National Labor Union and recognizes the principles of the International Workmen's Association.

2. Every wage earner may become a member.

About the so-called monetary reform it resolved:

Gold is *under the present conditions* the only true standard of value. Gold has impressed itself on our present methods of production as a standard of value: (1) because by nature as a noble metal it wears out the least in circulation; (2) because it embodies more manpower [*Arbeitskraft*] than any other product; (3) because one can add fewer inferior substances to gold than to any other circulating coin the artificial value of which is forced upon people at a rate lower than that recognized by the world market, which is not possible with gold, or at least not on the same scale: gold as the standard of value of all goods, as a guarantee for paper money to be spent, is only a result of economic conditions, it grows because of them and will fall with them.

About the trade union movement:

We recognize the deep necessity of the trade unions for the present because they are the only means to prevent the worsening of the worker's situation toward which the capitalist class, the unrelenting enemy of the worker, strives and always will strive, but we cannot concede that the trade union cooperatives *in their present condition* are basically capable of improving *the lot* of the working class.

On the eight-hour question:

The eight-hour day must be made law by the state, for all labor and offenses against it must be punished with the heaviest penalties for the worker as well as for the employer.

On general education:

The liberation of the worker from the pressure of capital is completely independent of general education. The consciousness of his position in society is more than enough when conditions press for a change of his situation.

Necessity forces the workers to acquire this consciousness, even if they do not want to, because thought arises out of real conditions and the more the workers recognize these conditions through experience the more the spirit of discovery is stimulated and therefore the higher knowledge must rise.

On the form of government:

Only an indivisible social democratic republic whose constitution forbids all exploitation of labor can bring the real emancipation of labor.

On the petty bourgeoisie:

In discussions of social questions the petty bourgeoisie appears confused.

On political actions in connection with the women's question:

Whereas, universal suffrage cannot liberate humans from slavery, the General German Labor Union resolves:

1. The granting of the right to vote to women does not concern the interests of workers;
2. It is the duty of the workers to include women in the social struggle to help to liberate the workers and with them all mankind.

Words were not enough for the organization; it went to work to spread and propagandize the message. Its members were the driving force and the best officials in the trade unions, and the funds of the organization unrelentingly flowed in favor of the general and local labor movement. No labor meetings, no convention, no workers' festivity took place without the help of the organization's members—be it as ushers, speakers, or officials. This organization will remain unforgettable to those who belonged to it during this period (1869 to 1873) or to those who regularly went to the meetings. That man was truly correct who exclaimed at that time: "Proletarians, go out and do the same!"

In August 1869, the organization sent a delegate to the National Labor Congress in Philadelphia and again in August 1870 to Cincinnati; thereafter the connection to the National Labor Union loosened and dissolved. In the autumn of 1869 the organization entered the International Workingmen's Association and conducted a lively correspondence with all parts of the country and overseas, especially Germany, France (Varlin), England, (Marx), and Switzerland (J. P. Becker).¹⁰⁹ When war broke out between the Prussian-led German states and France the organization began widespread action to combat the chauvinism of the German-Americans and prophesied the Germans' fate to them: that they would inherit the Napoleonic empire. And after the battle of Sedan it agitated against a continuance of the war, against war as such, and was supported in this by some radical petty-bourgeois elements and by the recently formed French section of the International Workingmen's Association.¹¹⁰

French, and Czech) held a fraternization festival on January 22, 1871, in which old Weitling also participated with great joy and entertainment. On direct order from Eugène Dupont, a member and the secretary of the General Council in London, these three sections formed a provisional central committee, which welcomed the Irish Fenian,¹¹¹ O'Donovan Rossa, and his comrades, who had been pardoned to the United States, on their arrival in New York. The Fenians were somewhat astonished at seeing representatives of such heterogeneous nations united in brotherhood.¹¹² Two sections from Chicago immediately asked to join, and in New York City and environs in the course of a few months a large number of sections of all languages and nationalities (German, French, Czech, Irish, American, Scandinavian, and so on) developed. Similar events occurred in other parts of the country, and faraway New Orleans and San Francisco were early represented in the provisional central committee.

The struggle and fall of the Commune gave a special impulse to this movement.¹¹³ The following fact documents the industriousness of the members and the efficiency of the organization. On a Friday night in July 1871, the leaders decided to hold a general meeting of the New York sections on the following Sunday.¹¹⁴ The organization had no newspaper and no advertising was possible, but on Sunday morning 500 serious men of labor gathered in Dramatic Hall to the astonishment of the reporters who asked how this could be possible!

Another example is the fire in Chicago, which broke out in autumn of the same year. Hardly had the first news reached the public when New Orleans telegraphed an order to the provisional central committee to financially support the injured party comrades. The victims of the Commune struggle received the strongest sympathies, and much financial support for them went to Geneva and London, while a large number of Commune refugees were given help in this country.

The International was at that time undoubtedly a fad as the brochures of the time and the debates in Congress prove. Following the spirit of the times and their hearts "reformers" everywhere pushed into the sections of the International and made things difficult for the workers. There appeared the monetary reformers, the land reformers, the marriage reformers, the school reformers, the language reformers, the tax reformers—reformers of all types and sex, of every kind and nuance, crept in, especially into the American sections.

With their characteristic determination and obtrusiveness they wanted proselytes for their ready-made solutions and unashamedly claimed the right to lead the organization. The presumptions of the reformer clique found a measure of support in the correspondence that Johann Georg Eccarius carried on with the reformers because Eccarius was at that time secretary of the General Council for the United States.¹¹⁵ The worst was Section 12, founded and led by the ladies Woodhull and Claflin, extraordinary followers of free love and women's suffrage.¹¹⁶

The delegates of the Workers' Sections in the provisional central committee kept to the labor question, stood on the foundations of the real conditions and economic situation, and tried to organize and centralize the working class for the struggle for emancipation. The delegates of the "reformer" groups led by the ladies Woodhull and Claflin in Section 12 killed time with empty phrases about women's emancipation and right to vote, about a universal world language, about social freedom (a euphemism for free love), about all kinds of monetary reforms, and the like. It became clear to the workers that profitable cooperation with the reformers was impossible. Thus they forced the abolition of the provisional central committee on November 19, 1871 with a nineteen to five vote. However, they immediately formed a provisional federation council to replace it, and one of the first resolutions was to accept only sections that had a two-thirds majority of wage earners.

Let us shorten the tale! The General Council suspended Section 12, the section of "quacks," and later the General Congress in The Hague excluded it from the IWA. The provisional federation council called a congress of the American sections for July 6, 1872 in New York, which worked out a statute and sent two delegates, a French Commune refugee and a German, to the Fifth General Congress of the International in The Hague. The Congress in The Hague transferred the seat of the General Council to New York City and elected twelve members to it in true international cooperation, namely, four Germans, three Frenchmen, two Irishmen, one American, one Swede, and one Italian.

The history of The Hague congresses does not belong in the framework of this story, but we must note that the intrigues of Bakunin, Guillaume, and their comrades in the Alliance de la Democratique Socialiste were exposed and Bakunin and Guillaume expelled.¹¹⁷ The new General Council in New York had to use the scalpel even deeper in the case of Jurasians (the section led by Guillaume and Schwitzguebel in Switzerland), the Spaniards, and Belgians.¹¹⁸ The General Council had a tough task because it was its duty to liquidate the business, a task that was made extremely difficult because of the growing dispute within the only really functioning federation, the North American.

Section 1, as the General German Labor Union in New York was called now, had already begun at the end of 1870 to raise funds for the publication of a labor newspaper and on February 8, 1873 the first number of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* appeared, founded, administered, and edited by workers in truly proletarian spirit even if with proletarian defects. It was a deed that deserved and found recognition by the growing number of readers of the paper, whose financial situation was stable. Then in autumn of 1873 the crisis came, and Section 1 undertook the organization of the unemployed with the help of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* as we have already reported.

The undertaking was well done and extensive, unfortunately too extensively for the strength of the Section which was overtaxed and unable—given the

extended field covered—to keep out nebulous and dubious, as well as positively bad, elements that crept into the already mentioned safety (or welfare) committee. The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* cautioned against them and also warned that through a precipitous and unthought-out demonstration by the organization, the leadership would be broken. No one listened, and the demonstration took place on January 13, 1874, with the known results. The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* fully exposed the deeds of the Committee of Safety and its supporters whereupon it drew the rage of the nebulous elements, the dawdlers and screamers, in its own ranks.

These various machinations paralyzed the Federal Council of the North American Federation to the extent that the General Council finally had to step in, suspend the Federal Council, and take over its work. Thereupon a congress of the North American Federation was called for Philadelphia on April 11, 1874. This Congress justified the actions of the General Council, altered some of the statutes, passed resolutions against a precipitous political campaign, set up a control commission, denied recognition of the work accomplished in Geneva at the General Congress in September 1873, and elected a new general council with seven members. Various discontented men resigned, some self-glorifying individuals with no discipline were expelled, and the work began anew with a smaller number but with men of undaunted courage.

In the meantime mistrust was sown in Section 1, especially by the editorial staff of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, which began to think very highly of itself and became sensitive to all criticism of its work. Envy and jealousy against the holders of the few paid jobs became noticeable; added to this came the more or less well-founded complaints by old party members outside of New York about the content and form of certain articles. Numerous other circumstances worsened this unpleasant situation. When the administrative council and the control commission of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* wanted to end this situation and bring about change, Section 1 accomplished a *coup d'état* by grabbing the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. The other side responded by calling in the bourgeois courts. The result was a further weakening of the Federation and the collapse of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in March 1875—an unfortunate succession of human weaknesses from which proletarians also suffer.

The chapter on these disputes has been kept as short as possible,¹¹⁹ but it is unfortunately not finished. Many more interesting things should be reported from these agitated times, but we must take into consideration the space requirements of *Die Neue Zeit*.

The General Council found itself in a difficult position but did not bow its head. The organization of the International Workingmen's Association dissolved or broke apart except for the numerically weakened North American Federation, and besides the few sections in the United States, only some in Switzerland still existed. To the members of the General Council, it would have been an important personal relief if they could have abandoned the affair and

resigned from their positions. But their sense of duty and the firm intention not to let the pledge entrusted to them fall into unworthy or inexperienced hands would not allow them to do this, and therefore they maintained certain connections with most European countries until July 1876.

In the United States, the General Council, which also functioned as the Federal Council, always participated in all the activities of the working class and attempted to regain the faded trust, a task in which for the most part they succeeded. The connections already established in 1868 and 1869 by Section 1 with the great English-speaking labor unions were at this time maintained by the provisional central committee and the Federal Council. The General Council continued these contacts and attempted to expand them. In doing so the council came into close contact with the miners (especially in Pennsylvania), with the caskmakers, the Crispins (shoemakers), the machinists, the bricklayers, the carpenters, the furniture workers, the cigarmakers, and so on.

The International Furniture Workers' Union was founded in 1873, for the most part by members of the IWA. Also the gratifying growth of the organization of the Cigar Makers' International Union was due in great part to the participation by the members of the IWA. Similar stories can be told about the piano makers, carpenters, wall painters, and several other trades. Connections with the Eight Hour League in Boston were also finally established, and it may be said that, in general, the Internationalists were efficient organizers.

After the end of the Franco-German War, German immigration again greatly increased, and among this group was a large portion of German Eisenachers and Lassalleans. Unfamiliar with the language and the special institutions of the country, also to some extent infected by the "new Germans" megalomania that was rooted in the glory of battle,¹²⁰ they did not like the Internationalists' methods, which were based on a sober consideration of the country's conditions. For the most part they joined the discontented, the resigned, and the excluded and in 1875 founded with them a new party, the Social Democratic Party of North America, which hastened to publish a German weekly, the *New Yorker Sozialdemokrat* and later also published a weekly in English, the *Socialist*.

They did not achieve much success because they limited themselves as much as possible to working in the German way, to copying the German example. Because of this situation, attempts at unification with the Internationalists made in the autumn of 1875 miscarried. The call for unification—of persons—following the example of the unification of the two factions in Germany accomplished shortly before,¹²¹ increased in volume while unification in principles and tactics remained far away. Nonetheless, the General Council felt obliged to fulfill its duty toward the European party comrades and called a conference of delegates of the IWA on July 15, 1876, in Philadelphia, where the World's Fair was celebrating the one hundredth anniversary of the United States, to issue a final report and to be removed from

office. At the same time and place the North American Federation of the IWA, the Workingmen's Party of Illinois and the Social Democratic Party of North America called a unification congress on July 19, 1876.¹²²

The International Congress resolved the dissolution of the IWA and the suspension of the General Council.¹²³ The North American Federation of the IWA put its financial and other affairs strictly in order. On July 19, 1876, the unification congress met, to which the International sent two delegates, the Workingmen's Party of Illinois one delegate, and the Social Democrats three delegates.¹²⁴ One delegate from an organization in Cincinnati from which the Congress had neither a membership list nor anything else was accepted over the protest of the Internationalists under pressure from the three Social Democrats who thus secured the majority at the congress for themselves.¹²⁵ The delegates resolved to unify their forces, debated a program and new statutes for the new organization, called the "Workingmen's Party of the United States," which took over the indebted organs of the Social Democrats,¹²⁶ and moved its executive committee to Chicago.

Before the end of the congress the International delegates earnestly warned their successors to move the center of agitation to the New England states, the natural ground of the country's labor movement, and not to prematurely enter an election campaign, recommendations that the new party ignored. The following resolutions about the election campaign and the woman question have to be looked upon as a kind of legacy of the American Internationalists:

The Ballot Box.

Considering, That the economical emancipation of the working-classes is the great end, to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means;

Considering, That the Workingmen's Party of the United States in the first place directs its efforts to the economical struggle.

Considering, That only in the economical arena the combatants for the Workingmen's Party can be trained and disciplined.

Considering, That in this country the ballot box has long ago ceased to record the popular will, and only serves to falsify the same in the hands of professional politicians;

Considering, That the organization of the working people is not yet far enough developed to overthrow at once this state of corruption;

Considering, That this middle class Republic has produced an enormous amount of small reformers and quacks, the intruding of whom into the Workingmen's Party will only be facilitated by a political movement, and

Considering, That the corruption and mis-application of the ballot box as well as the silly reform movement flourish most in the years of presi-

dential elections, at such times greatly endangering the organization of workingmen;

For these reasons the Union Congress meeting at Philadelphia this 22d day of July 1876, *Resolved*.

The sections of this party as well as all workingmen in general are earnestly invited to abstain from all political movements for the present and to turn their back on the ballot box.

The Workingmen will therewith save themselves bitter disappointments, and their time and efforts will be directed far better towards the organization of the workingmen, which organization is frequently destroyed and always injured by a hasty political movement.

Let us bide our time! It will come!

Women's Rights.

The Union Congress of the Workingmen's Party of the United States declares:

The emancipation of labor is a social problem, a problem concerning the whole human race and embracing both sexes. The emancipation of women will be accomplished with the emancipation of *men*, and the so-called womens rights question will be solved with the labor question. All evils and wrongs of the present society can be abolished only when economical freedom is conquered for men as well as for women.

It is the duty therefore of the wives and daughters of the workingmen to organize themselves and take their places within the ranks of struggling labor. To aid and support them in this work is the duty of the *men*. By uniting their efforts they will succeed in breaking the economical fetters, and a new and free race of men and women will rise recognizing each other as peers.

We acknowledge the perfect equality of rights of both sexes and in the Workingmen's Party of the United States this equality of rights is a principle and is strictly observed.

chapter 7

THE LABOR MOVEMENT, 1877-1885

GENERAL; THE GREENBACKERS;
THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR UNION;
MOLLY MAGUIRES AND PINKERTONS;
HENRY GEORGE; FRENCH CANADIANS;
THE NEGROES

The bourgeoisie of the United States celebrated its bacchanalia of the secular commemoration of the founding of the Union on the backs of the workers. The powerful words of the Declaration of Independence degenerated into empty phrases, the emancipation of the Negroes raised the bourgeoisie to the throne, and the exploiter's gold turned to lead in the limbs of the workers. Wages in most industries had reached the level of starvation; hundreds of thousands of unemployed criss-crossed the land as tramps, breadless and homeless. The union organizations had been weakened, many of them destroyed, and the labor press, as far as it could exist at all, was powerless. And the bourgeoisie felt good, passed laws against the tramps who disturbed its peace, and could even allow itself the sport of falsifying presidential election results (1876),¹ to show how law abiding it was.

If in the past Lincoln, Wade, Sumner, Wilson, and others early recognized the growing antagonism between capital and labor and raised a warning voice against the encroachment of capital, now a German (Carl Schurz)² Secretary of the Interior recently declared that there is no social question, there are no classes in the United States. This good man had hardly warmed his secretarial chair when the storm broke loose that proved to him with elemental violence that a social question did exist and also gave the bourgeoisie an unholy fright: the big railroad strike of July 1877.

This remarkable strike, which will be discussed in detail below, spread throughout most of the Middle and western states, crippled many municipal and state agencies, and would have achieved a great deal had it found the necessary support in the eastern states. The strike brought the bourgeoisie and the authorities into unprecedented confusion, which lasted about a week. During this time they looked on in plaintive powerlessness. Hardly had the most intense danger passed when the reawakened began shrilly clamoring for a dictatorship, for monarchistic institutions, for expansion of the army and—for abolishing or limiting universal suffrage. From this period comes the quotation which is ascribed to Jay Gould:³ "that he would give a million dollars to see General Grant as dictator or emperor." And in the clubs of the bourgeoisie, in the local meeting places of the petty bourgeoisie, on steamers and trains, they unashamedly discussed denying the right to vote to the proletarians. The latter was a vain petty bourgeois desire for the realization of which they and their fabulous militia lacked the necessary courage. The idea was nipped in the bud by the opposition of the professional politicians who would have become jobless because this widespread, powerful guild lives only from the exploitation and extension of universal sufferage. The strike failed because of the lack of united leadership; the discontented received a few minor concessions, and the bourgeoisie breathed freely again.

Although the workers lost this strike, they began to recognize the extent of their power. For many of them, it became clear that to realize their demands and to achieve an existence of human dignity in the struggle with the ruling class, they needed strong, centralized economic organizations. They began working toward this end but, unfortunately, in two different directions. However, they at least organized themselves and began to centralize.

In one direction, the secret organization of the Knights of Labor made important progress and lifted the veil of its secrecy somewhat in 1878. In the other direction, the open trade unions began to cooperate with one another again and founded a union federation whose first congress met in 1881. Both of these large organizations will be described in detail later; it is sufficient for the moment to remark that they soon started to have differences that led to a struggle lasting a number of years.

The growth of the labor organizations was greatly furthered through the new industrial prosperity beginning in 1878. Along with the growth of organizations, the courage of the proletarians also grew, and the workers of Chicago and New York made appreciable efforts—under the guidance of German-speaking socialist workers—to create a political movement on the municipal level. Thereupon the greenbackers crept out of their crofters' hideaways in the West—just at the right time for the bourgeoisie—threw out some socialist sounding phrases as bait, and captured the executive of the German socialists which, under the guidance of Adolph Douai, combined with the greenbackers in the 1880 presidential election campaign.⁴ The result was a deplorable fiasco and—the walkout of the Chicagoans, at that time the strongest and

most active group of progressive workers, who rejected any kind of alliance with the "reformers." Because of the resulting differences, this group was forced more and more into the field of anarchism, which was unknown in the United States until the beginning of the 1880s thanks to the earlier activities of the International. The appearance of Johann Most⁵ two years later strengthened this anarchistic drift, which for a time attracted many American followers in the West and on the Pacific Coast and finally led to the catastrophe of May 1886.

In the middle of the 1870s, the New York International tightened its connection with the Eight Hour League of Boston and at the end of 1876 induced the leaders of the Boston group, Ira Steward and his comrades, to enter the Workingmen's Party of the United States, which had been founded in Philadelphia and which then had an excellent opportunity to gain a strong foothold on the natural ground of the labor movement of this country, the New England area. Because of the Chicago executive's lack of understanding of the state of affairs, this important position in New England was soon lost. Now [1878] the leaders of the Eight Hour League, in connection with discontented members of the old International, founded a new union called the International Labor Union [of America] whose declaration of principles, a kind of compromise between the two named elements,⁶ reads as follows:

The safety of society depends upon the equality of rights and opportunities of all its members; and whenever, from any cause, the freedom of a part of the community is endangered, either in their political or economic rights, it behooves the people to devise methods by which the usurpations of the powerful shall be overthrown, and the fullest freedom of the humblest be maintained. The political rights of a people are not more sacred than their economic rights, and to prevent a class from possessing all the material advantages of a progressive civilization is as much an act of tyranny as to prevent them from exercising their right of self-government.

The victory over "divine-right" rulership must be supplemented by a victory over property-right rulers; for there can be no government of the people, by the people, and for the people, where the many are dependent upon the few for an existence. Men will sacrifice their liberties for their lives, and those who control the industries of a people can and do control their votes. . . .

The achievements of liberty are the epochs of history. Villainage, serfdom and chattel slavery—the past systems of labor—have forever disappeared. The laborers of the civilized world have gained the right to starve. It now rests with them to secure the right of possession to the products of their labor. The liberty of labor is the hope of the world, and that liberty can only be obtained by the solidarity of laborers upon

labor measures. We therefore, in the interests of a common brotherhood, declare:—

1st. That the wage-system is a despotism, under which the wage-worker is forced to sell his labor at such price and such conditions as the employer of labor shall dictate.

2d. That political liberty cannot long continue under economic bondage; for he who is forced to sell his labor or starve, will sell his franchise when the same alternative is presented.

3d. That civilization means the diffusion of knowledge and the distribution of wealth; and the present system of labor tends to extremes of culture and ignorance, affluence and penury.

It declared further that wages would rise until there existed general cooperation, that individual cooperative experiments were worthless, that "the first step towards the emancipation of labor is a reduction of the hours of labor," and that the final goal was the abolition of the wage system.

No one could be accepted who had been expelled by another labor union or who had committed offenses against the interests of the labor movement. Also not accepted were workers who refused to join their trade union—assuming that one existed—and persons who were not wage earners could only be accepted after a unanimous decision by the concerned union branch.

In an earlier article we reported that in many factory areas of the New England states, in New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and western states, the whole town—landed property, houses, schools, churches, everything without exception—belonged to the factory owners who in such places reigned as despotically as the czar of Russia. The following shows to what conditions, to what crippling of the simplest civil rights this led.

In the years 1878 and 1879 lively propaganda for the International Labor Union was carried out, especially in Boston, by sending speakers to the factory districts. When these speakers came to one of the numerous areas of this type, rented a hall, and called for a meeting, they then found many attentive listeners, much applause, and verbal agreement, but—no one who would take the chairmanship or serve as the secretary of such a meeting. "If," said the people, "one of us did that he would have to pack his bag and leave with wife and child the next day." The speakers had to take the chair and keep minutes themselves and therefore always went in twos and threes. Under such circumstances the workers in these districts had no choice but to join the secret organizations, and to these the International Labor Union had to give way after a short period of productive work.⁷

Individual owners as well as the large coal and railroad companies in these years understood how to sour the miner's life and damage the open organizations. The workers then flocked to the secret organizations, and the most energetic among them, especially those from Ireland, for whom the Knights

of Labor were not resolute enough, formed a special secret combat organization in Pennsylvania, the Molly Maguires,⁸ who here and there through terrorism forced better working conditions for the miners. The owners vowed revenge. The American private spies, the Pinkertons,⁹ were employed and smuggled into the secret organizations as denouncers and informers. Under the flag of bourgeois order and justice, there now began a true reign of terror to which a large number of workers fell victim; they were hanged.

An eyewitness reported about the Pinkerton secret police and its operations in the anthracite coalfields in Pennsylvania at the time of the Molly Maguire horrors: "With the decline of the open organizations in 1879 the detectives came into play in a very prominent manner." The Pinkertons engaged by capitalists were forced to do something to keep their jobs and receive good wages. Their services would not be required if they discovered no sensational plots or conspiracies. They were employed to terrorize the workers and to create the idea in the public mind that the miners were a dangerous class of people and could only be kept down by force.

The already cited John McBride (now chief of the Labor Bureau in Ohio) declared that the Pinkertons were recruited from "the lowest beings in human society—thieves, pickpockets, and penitentiary refugees." The very cautious McNeill said: "They [the Pinkertons] awakened the hatred and detestation of the workingmen . . . not only [because of] the fact that they protect the men who are stealing the bread from the mouths of the families of strikers, but the fact that as a class they seem rather to invite trouble than to allay it. . . . How far the detectives were instigators and abettors in the Molly Maguire difficulties is not generally known." But he is "convinced that many innocent men suffered death in consequence of the Pinkerton exposure rather than as a result of crimes committed."

The appearance of Henry George¹⁰ falls into the middle of the renewed expansion of the organization of the wage laborer class. His famous work, *Progress and Poverty*, appeared at the end of 1879. This work created wide discussion, and the writer also gained the attention of the organized workers. To the labor movement he was—and this cannot be disputed anymore—enormously detrimental. The struggle of the proletariat in the United States is primarily against capital and not landed property. Those who distract the workers of this country from the struggle with capital greatly serve the latter and damage the labor movement. This judgment was proven by the later behavior of Henry George.¹¹

About *Progress and Poverty* and its author, Karl Marx wrote the following to a friend in America:¹²

London, June 20, 1881

. . . Before I received your copy of Henry George I had gotten two others. . . . Today I must confine myself to a very brief formulation of

my opinion of the book. Theoretically the man is *total arrièrè* [utterly backward]! He understands nothing about the nature of *surplus value*, and so wanders about in speculations that follow the English pattern, but are even behind the English, about the portions of surplus value that have attained independent existence, i.e., the relationships of profits, rent, interest, etc. His fundamental dogma is that *everything would be all right* if land rent were paid to the state. (You will also find payment of this kind among the *transition measures* included in the *Communist Manifesto*.) This idea originally belonged to the bourgeois economists; it was first put forward (apart from a similar demand at the end of the 18th century) by the earliest *radical* disciples of Ricardo, just after his death. I said of it in 1847, in my book against Proudhon: "Nous concevons que des économistes tels que Mills [the older, not his son, John Stuart, who also repeats this in a somewhat modified form], Cherbuliez, Hilditch et autres, ont demandé que la rente soit attribuée à l'état pour servir à l'acquittement des impôts. C'est là la franche expression de la haine que le *capitaliste industriel* voue au *propriétaire foncier*, qui lui paraît une inutilité, une superfétation, dans l'ensemble de la production bourgeoise" ["We understand such economists as Mills, Cherbuliez, Hilditch, and others demanding that rent should be handed over to the state to serve in place of taxes. That is a frank expression of the hatred the *industrial capitalist* bears toward the *landed proprietor*, who seems to him a useless thing, an excrescence upon the general body of bourgeois production"].¹³

We ourselves, as I have already mentioned, adopted this appropriation of land rent by the state among numerous other *transitional measures*, which, as is likewise stated in the *Manifesto*, are and must be contradictory in themselves.

But the first person to turn this *desideratum* [requirement] of the *radical* English bourgeois economists into the *socialist panacea*, to declare this procedure to be the solution of the antagonisms involved in the present mode of production, was *Colins*, an old ex-officer of Napoleon's Hussars, born in Belgium, who in the latter days of Guizot and the early days of Napoleon the Little [Napoleon III], favored the world with bulky volumes from Paris about this "discovery" of his. Like the other discovery he made, that though there is no God there is an "immortal" human soul, and that animals have "no feelings." For if they had feelings, that is souls, we should be cannibals and a kingdom of righteousness could never be established on earth. His "anti-landownership theory" together with his theory of the soul, etc., had been preached every month for years in the Paris *Philosophie de l'Avenir* by his remaining followers, mostly Belgians. They call themselves "*collectivistes rationels*" [rational collectivists], and have praised Henry George. After

them and besides them, among others, the Prussian banker and former lottery collector Samter of East Prussia, a shallow-brained fellow, has eked out this "socialism" into a thick volume.

All these "socialists" since Colins have this much in common, that they leave *wage labor* and hence *capitalists' production* in existence and try to bamboozle themselves or the world into believing that through the transformation of land rent into a state tax *all the evils* of capitalist production would vanish of themselves. The whole thing is thus simply an attempt, trimmed with socialism, to *save capitalist rule* and indeed to *reestablish* it on an *even wider basis* than its present one. This cloven hoof (at the same time ass's hoof) also peeps out unmistakably from the declamation of Henry George. It is the more unpardonable in him because he, on the contrary, ought to have asked himself: How did it happen that in the United States, where, relatively, that is, compared with civilized Europe, the land was accessible to the great masses of the people and still is to a certain degree (again relatively), capitalist economy and the corresponding enslavement of the working class have developed *more rapidly* and *more shamelessly* than in any other country! On the other hand, George's book, like the sensation it has made among you, is significant because it is a first, though unsuccessful, effort at emancipation from orthodox political economy.

H. George does not seem, moreover, to know anything about the history of the early *American anti-renters*,¹⁴ who were practical men rather than theoretical. Otherwise he is a writer with talent (with a talent for Yankee advertising too), as his article on California in the *Atlantic*¹⁵ proves, for example. He also has the repulsive presumption and arrogance that distinguish all such panacea-mongers without exception. . . .

Salut fraternel,
Yours,
K. Marx¹⁶

Rapidly expanding Chicago, growing in size and population, now plays an important role in the labor movement and maintains it despite all accidents and foolishness. Furthermore, as the old organizations disappeared, new, stronger ones replaced them, particularly powerful trade unions whose connections spanned the whole country. The Chicago workers greatly influenced municipal as well as Illinois state politics through an independent labor party, which they maintained for several years and whose true international character was guaranteed through the combined efforts of German, Irish, American, Scandinavian, Slavic, and other workers and through the publication of workers' journals in several languages.

The appearance and growth of anarchism shattered the great hopes based on this state of affairs. But the class consciousness of the Chicago workers did not disappear even during the darkest times. They always sought and found

new forms of action and expression. In April 1878, the Chicago workers entered the political arena during the municipal election, put up their own list of candidates, received 6,500 votes, and elected a member to the city council. In the autumn of the same year they took part in the state election, received approximately 8,000 votes, and elected a member to the Senate and three members to the House of Representatives. In April 1879, during the city election, their number of votes increased to 12,200, and they elected three aldermen. All later attempts of this sort were not as successful.

The warmth of the movement in Chicago produced a strange fruit, the *Lehr und Wehr Verein* [Study and Defense League], a military organization of armed workers that created an uproar in the country—great fear in the bourgeoisie and the authorities and less commendable opposition from a large number of their party and class comrades.¹⁷ The authorities and the bourgeoisie hid behind the legislature and made the public appearance of the *Verein* impossible by decreeing a special law. The *Verein* turned to the courts, as high as it could take the case, to uphold its constitutional rights, but the courts turned it down. Similar associations were founded at this time in various other cities without achieving any particular importance.

Chicago experienced an extraordinarily energetic and effective propaganda campaign, carried on in public meetings held in halls and in the open, in which speakers of various nationalities and languages participated. Big parades and processions were held often, and every appropriate event in public life was used to shake up the people, the workers, and to bring them to a realization of their condition and also, certainly, to frighten the philistines and politicians. The Chicago workers' festivities held in these days were wonderful events, and those held in the open drew crowds of 20,000 to 40,000 people. The often-mentioned George McNeill of Boston spoke at the 1878 Fourth of July celebrations,¹⁸ as did Ira Steward in 1879.¹⁹

The year 1878 saw the founding of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, which appeared along with the *Vorbote* two to three times a week, then transformed into a daily with the *Vorbote* as a weekly. Besides these, a number of English-language papers appeared and lasted for a few years. Chicago also had a Scandinavian and a Czech newspaper. In the fall of 1884, the AFL held its annual convention here, which passed the historically memorable resolution on May 1, 1886, to demand the eight-hour day.

The example of Chicago enlivened the movement in Milwaukee, St. Louis, and Cincinnati. In these cities, too, labor several times nominated candidates, with partial success in Milwaukee and St. Louis. Baltimore and Detroit did likewise, and even in St. Paul and Minneapolis on the upper Mississippi the movement gained a foothold. In Colorado, the machinists, the miners, and railroad workers were very active. In the territories of Dakota, Montana, and Washington the miners and woodworkers organized themselves. On the Pacific Ocean in Oregon and California, it was no less quiet, but there the Chinese caused most of the unrest.

This movement in California reached great significance. In 1877, a carter Denis Kearney²⁰ of San Francisco, appeared and stirred the workers and petty bourgeoisie with fiery rabble-rousing language, inspiring them to lead a political campaign to change the state constitution. This movement and campaign became known as the "sand lot campaign" because Kearney held his meetings almost exclusively on the sand lots (construction sites) in the city of San Francisco. A "labor" party with many diverse elements sprang up and led the campaign to success, giving the state of California a new, somewhat more democratic constitution whose most important clauses were directed against the Chinese and the railroads.

For the most part the constitution failed because of the opposition of the courts and the succeeding legislatures. Kearney, who himself was somewhat of a demagogue, tried later to use his popularity in the service of the well-known demagogues and politicians—for example B. F. Butler²¹ of Massachusetts, who got himself nominated in 1884 as a so-called labor candidate for the presidency but who failed miserably and did not even reach his expressed goal of preventing the free-trade-minded Grover Cleveland from entering the White House.²² The movement in California soon ran aground but played a very influential role in the passage of the 1882 federal law against the importation and immigration of the Chinese.²³

In the extreme east, in the New England states, the center of the textile industry, the weavers as always took the lead in the hard struggles for better working conditions. The weavers joined the aforementioned International Labor Union and began a strike in 1879, which will be described later. After sixteen weeks of heroic struggle, the workers lost, defeated by French-Canadian strikebreakers. The organized workers of Massachusetts complained so loudly against these scabs that the Bureau of Labor Statistics was forced to take notice. Certain national prejudices may have had something to do with the speed and energy with which this work was completed.

This report of 1881 contains the following:

The third objection to ten hours is the presence of the Canadian French. Wherever they appear, there their presence is urged as a reason why the hours of labor should not be reduced to ten. The reasons for this urgency are not far to find.

With some exceptions the Canadian French are the Chinese of the Eastern States. They care nothing for our institutions, civil, political, or educational. They do not come to make a home among us, to dwell with us as citizens, and so become a part of us; but their purpose is merely to sojourn a few years as aliens, touching us only at a single point, that of work, and, when they have gathered out of us what will satisfy their ends, to get them away to whence they came, and bestow it there. They are a horde of industrial invaders, not a stream of stable settlers. Voting, with all that it implies, they care nothing about. Rarely

does one of them become naturalized. They will not send their children to school if they can help it, but endeavor to crowd them into the mills at the earliest possible age. To do this they lie about the age of their children with brazen effrontery. They deceive also about their schooling, declaring that they have been to school the legal time, when they know they have not; and do not intend that they shall. And when at length they are cornered by the school officers, and there is no other escape, often they scabble together what few things they have, and move away to some other place where they are unknown, and where they hope by a repetition of the same deceits to escape the schools entirely, and keep the children at work right on in the mills. And when, as is indeed sometimes the case, any of them is so situated that they cannot escape at all, then the stolid indifference of the children wears out the teacher with what seems to be an idle task.

These people have one good trait. They are indefatigable workers, and docile. All they ask is to be set to work, and they care little who rules them or how they are ruled. To earn all they can by no matter how many hours of toil, to live in the most beggarly way so that out of their earnings they may spend as little for living as possible, and to carry out of the country what they can thus save: this is the aim of the Canadian French in our factory districts. Incidentally they must have some amusements; and so far as the males are concerned, drinking and smoking and lounging constitute the sum of these.

The description in the last paragraph fits almost exactly the Swedish and Polish journeymen in north Germany and especially the Italian workers of the same category in Germany, Austria, France, and Switzerland. The French-Canadians were embittered by the insults to them and Carroll D. Wright, the chief of the bureau, gave them the opportunity in October 1881 to bring evidence to disprove the statements of the bureau.

The French-Canadians brought proof that they were good, obedient citizens, diligently sought to own property, and also sent their children to school. But they could not disprove the statements of the bureau and limited themselves to declaring that these statements described the exceptions and not the rule and also did not fit the situation in Massachusetts but in New York and Connecticut. Their characteristics that were dangerous to and hated by the organized workers were thus proven by the evidence out of their own mouths. The main witness, a Mr. Gagon, who edited a small French-Canadian newspaper in Worcester, Massachusetts, said: "He [the Canadian] and his children did not *generally take sides with strikers* when strikes occurred, and for this reason the prejudices go against the *law-abiding Canadian*."²⁴

The spokesman of the French-Canadians, a Mr. Dubuque from Fall River, expressed the same thing more sharply: The arguments in favor of the 1874 ten-hour law were "intimidation, violation of law, rows and public demon-

strations, which were converting the whole city into a state of rebellion." He added, "Now we want to introduce evidence to show that the Canadian French, wherever a strike has taken place, wherever any of these public demonstrations against law and order in any place *have been made have never taken part in the movement*, and HAVE STAYED AT HOME LIKE GOOD LAW ABIDING CITIZENS. . . ."²⁵

A manufacturer then testifies with pleasure "that he found the French Canadians obedient [*sic!*] and quiet," and a constable from Fall River said that he particularly tried to engage French-Canadian families for the manufacturers there "because the French [that is, the French-Canadians] do not rebel so easy" and that the same factory owners do not desire to employ people from Lancashire because, even though good workers, they have a rebellious mind. Their own testimony showed that the Canadians follow the orders of their priests against the strikers and are very devoted to the clergy.²⁶

The organized workers of Massachusetts continually tried to influence the legislature in favor of improving their conditions with fluctuating success and also carried their agitation to the neighboring states: Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, and Connecticut. For several years one of their members, Robert Howard,²⁷ a spinner, has had a seat in the Massachusetts Senate. The workers of the textile industry, as far as they are organized, have belonged to the American Federation of Labor since the middle of the 1880s, while the largest part of the workers in the shoe industry were followers and members of the Knights of Labor. We will discuss women workers in the textile industry later on.

The *New Yorker Volkszeitung* was founded at the end of January 1878 in New York, and the German workers and socialists gained an organ of notable influence. Labor newspapers in several other languages appeared also and—so far as it concerned the labor press—New York achieved a truly cosmopolitan character. In this sense the city will hardly be surpassed.

In the autumn of 1878 an independent election movement was called to life, for the most part by the Germans, in which the labor candidates received approximately 4,500 votes. Later such attempts in this period had less success. Also in 1878, the cigarmakers held a large strike, the horse-drawn streetcar drivers began to organize, and the organizations of the bakers and brewery workers were directed from New York.

In this period (1877–1885) the movement in the state of New York and especially in the city of that name was altogether very active. The open unions, which had their own central body, the Knights of Labor, who markedly grew in numbers, and the (German) socialists with their untiring agitation—they all pursued the organization of the workers vigorously and with much friction.

In March 1882, the Central Labor Union of New York was founded, which, within a short time, combined the various factions and achieved respect and great power in the economic and political fields. To show their

power the New York workers often took to the streets but not for a struggle at the barricades like the Parisians²⁸ but rather to join the annual parade on Labor Day, the first Monday in September, in which sometimes over 30,000 workers took part.²⁹

In 1883 the New York State Bureau of Labor Statistics was founded, followed soon after by the Institute of Factory Inspectors.

In New Jersey the workers tried to gain influence on the legislature. A Bureau of Labor Statistics was set up, and several laws in favor of and for the protection of the workers were passed, which, however, were not very meaningful. Agitation was pursued mainly by the unions.

In Pennsylvania, eleven miners (allegedly Molly Maguires) suffered death by hanging in one day, June 21, 1877. Except for the strike of the railroad workers and the activity in Pittsburgh on this occasion (which will be described later), it was pleasantly peaceful in this large state, the home of the Knights of Labor, the seat of the powerful Iron and Steel Workers Association, the citadel of the protective tariff movement in this country, and nothing could be wrung from the legislature.

In 1884 the miners of the Hocking Valley in Ohio went out on a consequence-laden strike, which will be described in detail below. Coal mining in general expanded in Illinois, Missouri, Kentucky, Tennessee, West Virginia, and Alabama, and in the old slave states a movement in favor of the founding of industrial establishments became noticeable, especially in Alabama and Georgia.

In the beginning of the 1880s a characteristic movement took hold of the Negro population in a number of former slave states, particularly Mississippi. The Negroes may have become politically free,³⁰ but economically they remained as dependent as ever, if not more so, not only on former slaveowners but also on the new carpetbaggers. Except for certain times of the year, planting and harvests, they were miserably dealt with and lived in the deepest poverty. Consequently, these naturally naive and credulous people all the more readily lent their ears to the misrepresentations of conscienceless speculators and their fanciful racial comrades who held out to them the promised land in the free states of the West, particularly Kansas.³¹ A few thousand took to the road, and most of them also reached Kansas, where their arrival raised not a little apprehension. The labor statistician in Kansas later made an investigation and reported the following:

When these people first landed they were, as a clan, destitute. They had exhausted their last cent in reaching the land of promise, and they had no food to save them from starvation and no roof to shelter them. Many were shipped to Topeka. They have managed to erect small shanties in the ravine where they first landed, and have managed to subsist, some of them say, better than they did in their southern homes.

Regarding the so-called Labor Day referred to above, we add the following:

the origin of this workers' holiday lies in the tendency, indeed the need, of the German-speaking workers in the United States to make up for the lack of holidays and the strictly observed Sundays in this country with trips to the countryside. Already in the mid-1850s these excursions often took place, and during the end of the 1860s the central bodies of the German trade associations in conjunction with the International transformed these excursions into true *labor* holidays in that a part of the day was devoted to public speaking propaganda for the labor press and labor organizations.

In the 1860s the English-speaking workers mounted large parades for particular purposes, usually to support the eight-hour movement. In the 1880s both celebrations, the English speaking and the German speaking, were merged into one holiday during which the morning was devoted to the parade and the afternoon to entertainment. That the holiday is held in September has particular climatic origins. In the summer of 1885 during the busy preparations for this annual event, the New York Central Labor Union passed the following resolutions:

Whereas, various days of the year are set aside as legal holidays in memory of important events, and

Whereas, none of these concerns a labor demonstration;

Resolved, the Central Labor Union herewith declares the first Monday of September each year as Labor Day and will observe and celebrate this day.

We request all central bodies of workers in the entire United States to join with us to carry out the present resolution in spirit and achievement.

This resolution was sent to all reachable central organizations, found all-around approval, and brought about a general celebration of this day in the larger cities of the country.

This is "Labor Day."

The work of organizing was reactivated in 1878, and with organization the movement grew. We reported in earlier sections that besides the national and international unions of the various trades, local unions, that is, the delegate bodies of the various trades in one place, were also formed under various names. As we have seen, these local unions started to play an important role during the period 1877 to 1885. But concurrently new difficulties were placed in the way of organizing new locals, particularly the rivalry between the American Federation of Labor and the Knights of Labor, between the open and secret organizations. Where they succeeded in overcoming this difficulty, as in New York, those local central organizations gained great influence. Economic pressure strengthened the active drive of unification and finally succeeded in bringing to life such local central bodies in most all larger cities of the country whose power and respect was often remarkable, as in Chicago,

Boston, Baltimore, St. Louis, San Francisco, Detroit, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, St. Paul, Louisville, Pittsburgh, New Orleans, Richmond, and Philadelphia. Both within and outside of these larger general organizations, special German-speaking trade unions were formed in several places—for example, in New York, Chicago, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and other cities—whose work was often dedicated to furthering the German labor press.

The prejudice of the Caucasians against the Negroes hindered the creation of labor organizations and the formation of a healthy labor movement in many southern states. Although several congresses of the National Labor Union recommended the forming of unions among the colored working population, they had let the matter rest with mere words.³² But in the larger port and commercial cities of the South, such as New Orleans, Galveston, Savannah, and so on, the numerical majority of black workers forced the recognition of their equality and their acceptance in the organizations, even though the latter almost always kept the two groups apart according to skin color.

In New Orleans the first successful steps were taken to unify the organizations of both races and various nationalities into one body, the Trade Union Council. The main credit belongs to the local book printing trade, the typesetters, who in the summer of 1881 seized the initiative. Against all expectations the work was so successful that by 1883 the Central Trades and Labor Assembly of New Orleans had 15,000 members of various trades, both white and black and of Anglo-Saxon, Spanish, French, German, and Irish heritage, all of whom worked and marched together as brothers. McNeill writes on this matter in his often-cited work: "The formation of this association of trades and labor unions is confessed to have done more to break the color line in New Orleans than any other thing that has been done since the emancipation of the slaves; to-day the white and colored laborers of that city are as fraternal in their relations as they are in any part of the country, the Negroes, especially, taking great pride in their loyalty to their organizations." It is to the honor of the Knights of Labor to have broken completely with the prejudices against Negroes.³³

The main body of the black workers in the countryside on the cotton and sugar plantations is hard to reach and, of course, even harder to organize. It will have to rise by its own strength to end the misery it suffers. However, here also successes are to be noted as several activities in Louisiana and Virginia show, and the remarkable rise of industry in the "New South" during the last decade will also pull the Negro population into the movement and revolutionize them.

THE TRADE UNIONS

The International Typographical Union (typesetters and printers) progressively developed among the organized trades and regularly held annual conventions during this period. At the convention in 1879 in Washington, the

correspondence secretary was ordered to get in touch with all international trade unions in order to create stronger ties for mutual help and support. This was the first step toward the establishment of the Federation of Organized Trade and Labor Unions in the United States of North America and Canada,³⁴ which was founded two years later in Pittsburgh. It is noteworthy that the International Typographical Union also accepted employers if they were experienced, trained book printers. As mentioned earlier this union has completely organized the Government Printing Office in Washington and therefore is able to use its considerable influence at the seat of the national legislature, to which we owe the fact that no satisfactory agreement for protecting literary property has been reached between England and the United States because this union insists that printed material in the English language is duty free only if it is set and printed in the United States.

The German typesetters formed their own union, the German-American Typographic, which brought its members many benefits. Both unions joined the American Federation of Labor and were active in the economic field, for the most part successfully.

The shoe industry was one of the most important industries aside from the textile industry in the New England states, especially in Massachusetts, where large cities exist that produce only shoes. The majority of the workers there belonged to the Knights of Labor with the exception of the lasters who founded their own still-existing organization—the Protective Lasters Union. Since the shoemakers' organizations remained strong and sturdy, they succeeded for the most part in their struggles with the employers. In 1885 the shoemakers in Brockton, Massachusetts, fought a particularly hard struggle with the manufacturers. The manufacturers did not want to give the workers a vote in the establishment of wage rates but in the end had to retreat from this position.

We will have more to report on the textile workers when we describe the great 1879 strike in Fall River. The workers' organization there was generally limited to the spinners who had local unions in many places in the New England states but no real common bond except occasional correspondence. In the autumn of 1882 they made a special effort to introduce the ten-hour system, also in the neighboring states to Massachusetts, and for this purpose held a convention in Boston to which people from Fall River, Lowell, Lawrence, New Bedford, Manchester, Nashua, Salmon Falls, New Market, Lewiston, and Biddeford came.

In 1884 the spinners of Fall River led another unsuccessful strike, which lasted eighteen weeks. It was those spinners who were driven from Fall River after the defeat by the blacklist and other disciplinary punishments and who, on their forced wanderings, established new organizations everywhere. Other branches of the textile industry—the weavers, carders, and so on—only rarely could establish local unions because they consisted mostly of girls, women, and children, who, even though often understanding how to struggle, were

hard to organize. Also during this period there were difficult struggles (by the textile workers) in Lawrence, Lowell, Manchester, New Hampshire, and other places of New England as well as in Cohoes, New York, which ended for the most part unfavorably for the workers. The carpet weavers (especially in Philadelphia) and the silk weavers (in Paterson, Hoboken, and so on) made several attempts to establish a larger organization but—with little success.

Several things about the miners will be reported in the description below of the great Hocking Valley strike in 1884. After a several-year interim, a rather loose organization of coal miners was reestablished in the Pittsburgh district in 1879. And in March of 1880 the miners of several states held a convention there that demanded "continuous employment, wage payments every two weeks, the eight-hour work day and the abolition of the truck system." The miners of Tuscarawas and Salineville, Ohio, struck in August 1880—the former for nine months, the latter for four months—but they went down to defeat.

In 1882 the United Miner Association of Ohio was founded and became rather influential. The direct attacks by the employers and the continual danger from the unending stream of Slavic, Italian, Danish, and other immigrants made it clear to the miners that for their own protection they had to have a tight bond around all their colleagues. After two years of negotiation a congress of miners from various states met on September 12, 1885, in Indianapolis and established the National Federation of Miners and Mine Laborers of the United States and Territories. In their speeches they counted the misfortunes they suffered, for example, "the employers hold wages down through the importation of cheap labor, in many places the right of free speech is actually suspended, the monstrous English truck system was transplanted to the states even though it has been abolished by legislation in England," and so on. They made the same demands as those made in Pittsburgh but also asked for legislative intervention into the mining industry for the protection of the worker and the use of the right to vote for this purpose, condemned the use of convicts in mines, and promised all members protection against oppression and disciplinary punishments.

The large Amalgamated Association of United Iron and Steel Workers had to survive many internal and external struggles in this period. The external struggles were mainly not always successful strikes because of wage differences. The internal battles arose because of jealousies between the various branches of the association in which the actual blast-furnace workers knew how to gain and maintain ever-increasing influence and, with this, economic advantages. In 1882 the Bessemer Works introduced the eight-hour day. In 1884 the nailers left the association but were induced to rejoin in 1885. The association participated in the founding of the American Federation of Labor in 1881 but stood aside for four years because the Federation did not want to support a protective tariff policy whose busiest lobbyists came from the United Iron and Steel Workers. The long-time president of the latter, by the

way, was an influential politician and an active member of the Republican party.³⁵

Several things must be said about the great strike of the railroad workers and employees in 1877. In addition to the already-mentioned Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and Firemen and the organization of the conductors, this period saw the founding of the Mutual Relief Organization of Switchmen and the Brotherhood of Brakers, which had a membership in 1885 of almost 15,000. The extremely conservative and reserved character of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers hindered the establishment of a union of all branches of the railroad service no matter how often this was considered. The long-time engineers' president P. M. Arthur³⁶ betrays his attitude and ignorance of the movement in that he does not mention the great strike of 1877 in a little essay he wrote, except the remark (in a discussion of the Brotherhood of Firemen): "In 1877 the great railroad troubles of the country occurred and the Brotherhood's growth was delayed."

Among the international trade union organizations, the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners begins to stand out at this point. It was founded in 1881 in Chicago and grew so fast that in 1885 it numbered almost 30,000 members. It is one of the most progressive unions and did more than any other, except for the cigarmakers and German typesetters, for the reduction of working hours through numerous struggles on its own and with the support of other trades. In 1884 and 1885 the carpenters obtained the nine-hour day and eight hours on Saturday for the whole Pacific Coast and better working conditions in Boston, Hartford, Philadelphia, and other places, as well as in Canada. They fought against piecework and convict labor, that is the renting of convicts to employers, and tried everywhere to form special unions in the construction trade. Contrary to the views of the iron- and steelworkers, the carpenters proclaimed in their program of 1884 that "all protected industries are only protected [through tariffs] at the expense of the citizens and such protected industries have neither the moral nor the legal right to employ imported workers and also no right to decrease wage . . . it would be better to go to the voting booth than to strike, but both are correct and necessary and no wage earner should give his vote to a man or a party who does not support the issue of labor directly with word and deed. . . ."

The brotherhood did not discriminate against color, heritage, nationality, religion, or politics among its members whom it looked upon as American workers, and soon it had branches of Negroes in some southern states.³⁷ These men were and are a major mainstay of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and maintained active contact with their European colleagues. They often came into conflict with the Knights of Labor.

Besides the just-mentioned brotherhood, a large number of branch unions of the Amalgamated Carpenters and Joiners existed, which remained close to the AFL despite the natural rivalry between them and the brotherhood. The Masons and Bricklayers International Union had declined heavily until 1879 but

then started to climb continuously so that in 1885 it had approximately 16,000 members. It worked hard for the reduction of working hours and decided in 1886 to introduce the nine-hour day, but generally remained isolated. The plasterers and stucco workers early went over to the offensive and soon achieved successes in the eight-hour agitation. The same must be said about the painters who always stood in the forefront. The plumbers obtained the eight-hour day early and defended it steadfastly. The granite cutters, especially those working in Maine, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts, formed a national union in 1887 that gained much influence, particularly in Maine where they also elected one of their own, T. H. Murch,³⁸ to Congress. Their daily work load is eight hours, but they are paid mostly by the piece and then work much overtime. Among the lastly mentioned unions, the painters, plasterers, and granite cutters were loyal followers of the AFL.

A peculiar, rather useful institution has to be mentioned here that was created, first by the construction workers, then by many American unions—namely the “walking delegates,”³⁹ whom the Germans call “controllers.” These are officials whom the unions elect from their midst to serve the maintenance of the working conditions and the execution of the unions’ resolutions. For this reason they have to keep moving, to be on their feet continually, thus the description “walking.” This proved to be advantageous for the workers and was therefore a thorn in the side of the employers and the bourgeois press.

From the foregoing it can be seen that the construction trades hold a high place in the work of organization and the reduction of working hours. Next come the furniture workers, foremost the International Furniture Workers Union, which introduced in 1881 various benevolent funds, among them a well-directed fire insurance program. The union favored socialist principles and in 1885 consisted of 6,000 mostly German-speaking members.

In 1883 the wood-carvers formed a national union, which, like the furniture workers, participated actively in the general struggles of the workers. The furniture workers and the wood-carvers belonged to the AFL.

The Cigarmakers’ International Union undoubtedly held the highest rank among the trade unions of the period. In 1887 the organization had 1,016 members in seventeen local unions. In the same year, the annual convention in Rochester elected the old Internationalist, A. Strasser,⁴⁰ president. He held the position for many years with unflagging energy and with such great success that as early as 1883 the union had 185 local unions with 10,000 members, even though great confusion reigned in New York. This chaos—between the old and the new, between the already Americanized and the just-immigrated socialist German colleagues—was finally overcome, and the union began anew its triumphal progress toward better conditions and the reduction of working hours for their members.

The cigarmakers led a difficult and costly struggle to abolish the so-called tenement-house labor, that is, labor in those large tenement housing areas that

were owned for the most part by the employers. The legislature forbade this kind of work, but the courts called this law unconstitutional because it limited the freedom of the citizen.⁴¹ In 1880 the union was one of the first, if not the first, to introduce the label⁴² and soon found many imitators. The union also fought a bitter, lengthy struggle with the Knights of Labor and was a loyal, ambitious follower of the AFL.

The workers in glass factories also established an excellent national union. They were so well and completely organized that without their approval, nothing could be done, but they were also clever enough—when the factory owners began to import scabs from Europe—to fraternize with their European colleagues, especially the Belgians, mostly as Knights of Labor to beat the exploiters at their own game. The work of the Treasury Department statistician Young in the report for 1876–1886 contains the following complaint by a factory owner in Berkshire, Massachusetts, about the glass workers (already in 1875): “The main handicap in successful competition with the Belgian manufacturers is the refusal of the employees to act independently of the union. We are so isolated here; our establishment is the only one of its kind in the New England states, but our people are controlled by a union seated in Pittsburgh. Our people do not want to work as much as the Belgian workers and it is impossible for us to produce more than 75 percent of what they accomplish.”

The blacksmiths, isolated up to that time, were unified through the streetcars in large workshops and now also formed a national union.

The piano makers conducted hard struggles and changed their national union into a semisecret organization.

In the winter of 1879–1880, German socialists in New York made an effort to organize the slaves of the bakeries. They succeeded very well against all expectation and in June 1880 called a large strike that brought the workers fine advantages, including the reduction of their working day by two to four hours. Young and inexperienced, the workers let their organization fall apart until, in 1884, new efforts, also in other places of the country, were made, which ended in the calling of a convention in Pittsburgh (January 1885) and in the publication of a union newspaper. They formed the National Bakers Union, which quickly expanded and entered the AFL.

In 1880, the International Brotherhood of Boilermakers and Iron Shipbuilders was established. A conservative and somewhat exclusive society, it united in 1883 or 1884 with the organization of their English colleagues who had sent three delegates to America for this purpose. The brotherhood led a successful six-month strike in 1884.

The famous Amalgamated Engineers of England have quite a number of branches in the United States. The metal workers established an organization without achieving any importance, and the machinists founded several unions with the same result.

The employees of the streetcars often made fruitless efforts to force the

companies to accept their limited demands, especially with the strike in 1878. In the early 1880s they came together under the banner of the Knights of Labor, but it was only late in 1885 that they were able to force from the rich streetcar companies a reduction in working hours and other advantages, mostly in New York and Boston.

We will discuss the telegraphers when we describe their strike in 1883. Their organization, which belonged to the Knights of Labor, was almost totally destroyed after the strike, but they reconstituted it after 1885.

The wool and felt hatmakers remained split for a long period until 1884 when they unified under the name United Association of Felt Hatmakers.

In 1885, the tailor's union, founded in 1865, ran into great difficulties because of the betrayal by their treasurer, John T. Walsh, and collapsed. In 1883 a national union of custom tailors, the most skilled workers, was founded and often attempted to organize the ready-made tailors. This organization had a hard time expanding because of the curse of home work, which infested their trade and also damaged the furriers, fur workers, and cap makers. The tailors' cutters possessed an organization in most large cities and the potters had a strong trade union in Trenton, New Jersey.

Finally, there are the two major organizations, the AFL and the Knights of Labor, which will be discussed in a special chapter.

THE MAJOR STRIKES

The brilliance and pomp of the Philadelphia World Fair and all the beautiful speeches there did not bring the workers one piece of bread or meat to their tables, not one cent in their pockets. Indeed, the bourgeois manufacturers and entrepreneurs, particularly the big railroad companies, used this period of misery to cut back wages wherever possible and demand even more from the workers. Labor discontent grew in all branches, but—the organizations were weak and just beginning to collect their strength again when the greed of the big railroad companies set off the spark in the piled-up kindling, and the blazing flames shot up toward the sky.

The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, which had pushed through wage reductions in the last three years, announced at the beginning of July 1877 another reduction of 10 percent, which would take effect on July 16. This was too much, because the workers were unable to get by with their current reduced wages and had fallen into debt.

In various places and stations the workers started to discuss the issue, even sent committees to the officials of the company to negotiate, and finally reached the vice-president who refused to listen to the complaints. The workers went to work on the morning of July 16, and the officials comforted themselves with the thought that the "bad times would keep the men from the feared strike."

But at four o'clock in the afternoon, the brakemen and coal shovelers in Camden Junction left the locomotives, and a general strike broke out in Cumberland (Maryland) and Martinsburg (West Virginia), which the canal boatmen joined. The trains were put on sidetracks, and no freight train was expedited. That evening the workers in the big Baltimore cannery went out on strike demanding a 10 percent wage increase.

The B&O Railroad Company demanded troops from the governor of West Virginia to protect its property. He sent a company of seventy-five men who arrived in Martinsburg on the morning of June 17, fired a few shots, and then retreated from the threatening crowd to the armory. Two companies of Martinsburg militia fraternized completely with the strikers and, as the governor left the capital (Wheeling) for Martinsburg with a selected company of militia, he received a cable halfway there (in Cumberland) reporting that the strike had broken out in his own capital. He returned immediately and called the President of the United States for help. The latter issued a proclamation and sent a small troop of regular soldiers to Martinsburg.

On the third day, July 18, the company tried to expedite a freight train from Martinsburg to Baltimore under the protection of the federal soldiers. The troops surrounded the train while the locomotive was stoked. The sheriff was also there with his deputies because a locomotive engineer named Bradford had been found who was willing to drive the train. Just as Bradford began to start the train, his wife appealed with tears and sobs for him to give up his intention. His sense of honor awakened, he left his post, and no one else took it until several days passed and concessions had been made.

On the same day great excitement reigned in Baltimore because the militia had been called out and had fired, without a command, into the crowds who had filled the streets but dispersed in the face of the shooting. The militia marched on until they were hemmed in again by the oncoming masses, whereupon they fired a new salvo into the people who answered by throwing stones. Dead and wounded in great numbers covered the path paved by the militia in its attempt to get away from the enraged populace.

Another big railroad company, the Pennsylvania Line, had once again on June 1, 1877, dictated a wage reduction—and not satisfied with this—they burdened the workers with more work in order to release numerous employees and reduce the work force. The workers held a conference with railroad officials who were not willing to make concessions, whereupon the workers of Pittsburgh, the major terminal of the railroad, struck on July 19 and let no freight train leave. The county militia—consisting of several infantry companies, two batteries, and two cavalry squadrons—was called out. They were strengthened on July 21 by the quickly called up First Division⁴³ of the Pennsylvania National Guard from Philadelphia, all under the command of Major General Brunton.

These maneuvers by the government did not make the least impression on the strikers and on the sympathizing population. On the contrary, they spoke

disdainfully about the war machine and mixed unashamedly among the militia soldiers. At 3:30 in the afternoon the sheriff appeared with a police team of fifteen men surrounded by the troops under Major General Brunton at the meeting place of the strikers and the crowd of people at the crossing of Eighth Street. They marched along the railroad tracks toward the station followed by the shouts and curses of the crowd. The civil and military authorities had decided that the sheriff should try to execute the prepared arrest warrants, and they expected resistance. The militia cleared the tracks and the sheriff began to make arrests. There, as eyewitnesses affirmed, even before the least bit of resistance was shown, the commanding officer gave order to fire, and sixteen people were killed instantly!

This cowardly deed aroused the indignation of the whole population of the city. The firearms shops were emptied and now the attack started on the Philadelphia mothers' pets who had crept into the roundhouse where the strikers and insurgents had them under siege. On Sunday morning, July 22, several railroad buildings and their contents were burned down, and efforts to storm the roundhouse were made. The assault was repelled despite a breach in the fire of the beleaguered. The besiegers retreated and afforded themselves a small rest, which the beleaguered militia used to sneak out to try to flee. They had made but a small start when their escape was noticed, and a fiery chase began, which only ended with the approach of nightfall. The strikers stood as masters of the field and no one bothered them any further. However, they went back to work in a few days after assurances that small concessions had been made.

This Pittsburgh strike, which created a huge sensation and made the bourgeoisie tremble, has great similarities with the Berlin strike of March 18, 1848, and it is only to be regretted that Baltimore was not Vienna⁴⁴ as Pittsburgh was Berlin. What is the reason for the difference between the events in these two cities? It has economic origins. Pittsburgh is a factory town where mostly wage earners live. Baltimore is primarily a trade town and business city that has a strong residential and real property-owning population and, like Philadelphia, an enormous number of [conservative] building associations, that is, means to unnerve the proletarians.

There was also unrest at the Erie Railroad in Hornellsville, at the Missouri Pacific Line, and in almost all larger cities and train stations of the West. In Cleveland, Chicago, St. Louis, Kansas City, and many other places almost the entire working population sympathized with the railroad workers.⁴⁵ When the furniture workers of Chicago held a meeting to discuss the situation, the police broke in with force, dispersed those assembled, and killed one of the union's officials. The infamous Chicago police laid the groundwork here for the well-deserved hate that the Chicago workers felt for them.

The city and state officials in St. Louis crept away to hide at the first sign of turmoil, and the workers formed a Committee of Safety consisting mostly of Germans, which for a few days held the city in its hands.⁴⁶

The whole movement was a spontaneous outbreak stemming from the workers' and their sympathizers' discontent with their oppressed situation and with the gruesome mismanagement by the ruling class. And as with almost every other spontaneous movement, the numerous victories of the workers in many parts of the country did not bring lasting advantages because they lacked the necessary organization to exploit these victories. The victories that the workers achieved in Pittsburgh, Martinsburg, Cleveland, St. Louis, Chicago, Milwaukee, and many other places were undone after a few days by the cowardice of their eastern colleagues and class comrades. The most important railroad of the country at that time was the New York Central Railroad, the property of the Vanderbilt family. The workers and employees of this railroad, whose participation would have made the strike undefeatable, were drawn away through a bribe of \$100,000 pledged to them by the railroad president if they did not participate in the strike. And when the New Yorkers did not move, the New Englanders also remained silent.

The often misguided and self-defeating generosity of the proletariat during revolutionary activities is well known. One has just to remember Berlin in 1848 and Paris in 1848 and 1871. Here it was similar. No passenger car, no mail train was stopped or bothered. One did not want to offend Uncle Sam.⁴⁷ In return the president sent regular troops wherever they were requested as long as they were available. One did not want to anger the dear public or lose their sympathy. Instead the same bourgeois public decried the "rebels," the "uncouth, uneducated workers," and the like, of which some examples will be given later.

The second great strike of this period was the one by the spinners in Fall River in 1879. We have described the great spinners' strike of 1875, called "the long vacation," in an earlier chapter. It lasted fourteen weeks, destroyed all the textile workers' organizations except that of the spinners, and filled the workers with a deep distrust and anger against the employers. The strike of 1879 is even more remarkable because of the bitterness with which the struggle was fought on both sides, because of the peculiar light it shed on the employers, because of the sympathy it found in many parts of the country, because of its long duration, and because of the ultimate successes that the workers gained despite their defeat.

The organization of the textile workers—actually only the spinners—recuperated only slowly after the defeated strike of 1875, even though they never ceased—with the help of the Eight Hour League in Boston—applying remarkable pressure on the state legislature in favor of protective labor laws: shortening of working hours, limitation of child labor, appointment of factory inspectors, employers' liability, removal of the trucking system, weekly wage payments, and the like. The lack of a strong organization encouraged the employers to repeated attacks on the workers' standard of living with wage reductions, introduction of penalties, and so on, so that the wages at the beginning of 1878 were 30 percent lower than in 1873.

Business in cotton goods was somewhat slow but this did not disturb the well-being of the employers and stockholders. The main agents and treasurers of several large factories, besides the intensive exploitation of their wage workers, could also dedicate themselves to the lucrative business of emptying the purses and cash registers of their own class. For example, A. S. Chase, treasurer of the Union Mill, embezzled \$500,000 and George T. Hathaway, treasurer of the Border City Mills No. 1 and 2 and of the Sagamore Mill, more than \$1 million. That these two, as well as several others of their colleagues, were well-respected men in city, state, and church is here self-understood—and equally self-evident was the fact that the factory owners tried to make good their losses at the expense of the workers by announcing another wage reduction of 15 percent in the middle of March 1878. They explained this move by pointing to worsening business conditions. Delegations of the spinners proposed that instead of lowering the already insufficient wages, they could work only four days a week, but the "gentlemen" refused, made the wage reduction, and closed their factories on alternating weeks during the entire following summer. The result was dread and misery in Fall River, the busiest trade center in the New England states.

Despite this, the spinners tried to pull themselves together and nominated one of their members, Robert Howard, as permanent official and secretary of their union, which now rapidly grew in number and importance and joined the International Labor Union. At the beginning of 1879 the cotton industry started to grow again, and the spinners sent petitions to the factory owners asking for a 10 percent increase in their wages. Coolly and arrogantly the petitions were rejected. At the next meeting of the spinners, they decided to strike but, at the request of the spinners' negotiation committee, the strike vote was postponed one week. The spinners' committee also publicly announced that they were ready to hand the question over to a court of arbitration. In response, the factory owners sent out a circular with the declaration that they would not allow outsiders to interfere in their business and that courts of arbitration were not in accord with the business methods of the United States [sic!].

On June 15 the spinners gave notice to the employers that the strike would start on June 28 if their wage-increase demand was not met. On June 28 approximately 1,000 spinners and 900 boys (spinners' assistants) walked off the job. After several days all other workers also had to stop work because they lacked yarn, so the number of strikers rose to 14,000. The spinners had decided to pay no support for the first three weeks because their strike fund amounted to only \$1,500, and all kinds of measures were taken to procure funds. Thirty emissaries were sent out to New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New Hampshire, and Maine to drum up support from the labor organizations. And all the more important areas of Massachusetts saw large meetings held for the same purpose. Lynn, the shoemaker city, sent \$2,300; Lowell and Lawrence \$1,400; New York

\$1,500; the typesetters' union of San Francisco \$200; and the International Labor Union approximately \$2,000. When, after ten weeks of the struggle, the contributions flowed more slowly, the strikers formed an amateur theater group, which performed not only in Fall River but also in Randolph, Brockton, Lynn, Lowell, Lawrence, and Boston for the benefit of the strike fund.

The workers fought heroically but the employers were not inferior in stubbornness and cleverness and surpassed them, of course, in unscrupulousness in the choice of their weapons. Determined to break the spinners with hunger, they forced the spinners' relatives from their jobs in the city, influenced the shopkeepers to give no credit to the strikers, brought many strikers before the courts under the flimsiest pretexts, and sent agents to all cotton counties of the New England states to hire new spinners. The employers paid the agents \$3 to \$12 per head and paid most of the strikebreakers 50 to 60 percent more wages than their old spinners in order to keep them; gave them sleeping quarters in the factory yards; supplied them—despite their well-known desire for temperance—with drinks of all kinds; arranged amusements for them; and gave them each a revolver upon entering the factory to shoot the strikers on sight. A great number of these newly engaged were young French-Canadians who, since the end of the 1860s, had wandered into the New England states in large numbers and for many years functioned as regular strikebreakers.

It was a bitter struggle. Lack of food and clothing and every possible kind of seduction by the factory overseers and superintendents depressed the strikers more and more so that after fourteen weeks weakness became noticeable in the ranks, and in the sixteenth week a breach appeared when several spinners went back to work in the Border City Mills. This accounts for the defeat of the workers. They convened a general assembly and—not without heavy opposition—decided to return to work under the best possible conditions. This happened on October 16. The manufacturers eased the return by granting minor concessions, specifically by the introduction of weekly wage payments. In their first business meeting after the strike, the spinners taxed themselves with a monthly payment of \$1.50 to support their penalized comrades. Two months later the spinners received a 15 percent wage increase, which had been the reason for the strike, and in April 1880 received another 10 percent. All the factories in New England followed this example.

The next great strike that particularly upset official society was that of the telegraphers in 1883. Its importance lay in the annoyance it caused for the business world and the sensation it created in the peculiarity of its staging. Already in the early 1870s a telegraphers' union had been founded, but it lasted only a few years. At the beginning of the 1880s many telegraphers joined the Knights of Labor, formed their own assembly within it, and attracted most of their colleagues in the East. Concurrently in the West the Brotherhood of Telegraphers was founded on the model of the locomotive en-

gineers, and, after a short period of coexistence, all the local branches of both organizations united within the Order of the Knights of Labor. They had numerous complaints against the owners and directors of the telegraph lines, especially regarding the burden of Sunday labor that they had to perform without pay, and they decided to strike if no remedies were found. When negotiations proved fruitless—on July 19, 1883—the District Master Workman,⁴⁸ John Campbell of Pittsburgh, gave the agreed-upon signal to every local branch in the country, and in one fell swoop 60,000 telegraphers in the United States and Canada walked off the job.

They made a mistake similar to that of the railroad workers in 1877 because only the telegraphers employed in the commercial trade and business traffic walked out, while the telegraphers for the newspapers stayed on their jobs so as not to make enemies of the press. The strike created a great uproar. Some smaller telegraph lines granted the demands, and the large companies declared themselves ready to abolish the unpaid Sunday labor. And on August 17, after the strike was one month old, John Campbell gave the sign to return to work. Most of the older people were reemployed, but soon all those out of favor were removed by the hiring of younger, cheaper—especially female—replacements, a procedure that the telegraphers could not prevent because their organization had been almost completely destroyed.⁴⁹

Incomparably more important than the foregoing was the great strike of the miners in Hocking Valley, Ohio, in 1884 and 1885. A syndicate of big capitalists and influential politicians had bought this coal-rich valley and pursued coal mining on a grand scale and to their liking when the workers did not resist. The latter are mostly good-natured and put up with a great deal, especially the American miners, but when wages are cut too much, patience ceases to be a virtue even for them, and they take the bull by the horns and resist their tormentors. Thus it happened in Ohio. The miners there had a strong organization since spring of 1882, the United Miners Association of Ohio, to which the Hocking Valley people belonged. When the syndicate announced a reduction of ten cents per ton in January 1884, the miners demanded a conference committee and proof that this reduction was necessary. During the conference the workers proved to the owners that a reduction would not improve the market and were spared the reduction.

Two months later the owners announced a reduction of twenty cents. The miners wanted to accept a ten-cent reduction and declared that they would also accept the other ten-cent reduction if the reasons for it were explained to them. This did not suit the owners who wanted to force the reduction and destroy the workers' union so that they could manage the business in their own fashion. They decreed the wage reduction, and the miners of the valley went out on strike.

John McBride, himself a former miner, writes the following about the struggle:

No battlefield was ever better contested than was the strike in the valley during that time; no better generalship was ever shown than was shown by the leaders of the workingmen in that battle. It was a battle of dollars and cents of great capitalists, backed by armed force, against poverty, hunger, cold and want, backed by the support and sympathy of their fellowmen the world over. The same tactics of capital were used; armed thugs and imported labor were transported into the valley. Men who preached and taught temperance had barrels of beer and whiskey rolled among their hirelings to make them fighting mad. In their hurry they sometimes shot down each other, and the coroners rendered a verdict of accidental shooting. When arrested, the judge and jury set them free.

The struggle was hard and showed some peculiarities. The workers maintained the field for a lengthy period and for some time could not even be chased out of their huts, which belonged to the syndicate. They tried to explain the situation to the strikebreakers of various nationalities and to prevent them from working. They armed themselves and formed several small camps from which, with grim humor, they made life miserable for the Pinkertons by giving false alarms, shots in the air, misleading fires and signals, and so on. All this was done under the most bitter privations, which they, as well as their women and children who proved to be brave fighting comrades, had to bear.

It sounds almost unbelievable that American enterprise, the arrogant and brutal bourgeoisie of the New World, accepted such behavior by their subjects without bringing up cannons and shooting the rebels down. But 1884 was a presidential election year and that explains the situation. The voters had to be nursed. The state and federal authorities took great care, despite unconcealed sympathy with the mining syndicate, not to do more than was absolutely necessary for their protection, and so the strike was drawn out nine months into 1885. The Hocking Valley Syndicate received little official help and tried to help itself privately. It lost \$4 million. The workers lost the strike⁵⁰ but not their courage. They maintained and even strengthened their organization, and since then the syndicate requests the opinion and viewpoints of the union's officials at every suitable opportunity.

Naturally many other strikes occurred. Among others, the Negroes in Virginia and Louisiana brought about large strikes in 1880 and in the latter state the militia was called. Even the under-age boys rebelled—for example, in a cotton factory in Cohoes, New York, in a wool factory in Vermont, and in a large rope-making factory in Brooklyn. The boys at Cohoes, many under twelve, organized demonstrations and carried banners inscribed with "United we stand, divided we fall!" "Good news from Fall River," "Our fate is sad—nothing but work and no time for playing under God's sun"; "Have mercy on us poor children who have to work!" and the like.

FEMALE AND CHILD LABOR;
LEGISLATION; THE ADMINISTRATION
OF JUSTICE

In an earlier chapter we cited some lengthy, rather optimistic sounding excerpts from an essay, "Early Factory Labor," written by a former factory girl and published in the 1883 report of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in Massachusetts.⁵¹ From the same essay we now print the description of a visit she made in 1881 to the factory in which she had previously worked and her impression of it:

Last winter, 1881, I was invited to speak to a company of the Lowell mill-girls, and tell them something about my early life as a member of the guild. I was the more willing to do this, as I was desirous of forming some estimate with regard to the status of the successors of the early mill-girls.

About two hundred of them assembled in the pleasant parlors of the People's Club, and listened attentively to my story. When it was over, a few of them gathered around and asked me many questions. In turn I questioned them: about their work; their hours of labors; their wages, and their means of improvement. When I urged them to occupy their spare time in reading and study, they seemed to understand the necessity of it, but answered sadly: "We will try, but we work so hard, we tend so much machinery, and we are so tired." It was plainly to be seen that these operatives did not go to their labor with the jubilant feeling that the old mill-girls used to have, that their work was drudgery, done without aim and purpose, that they took no interest in it beyond the thought that it was the means of earning their daily bread. There was a tired hopelessness about them that I am sure was not often seen among the early mill-girls.

The wages of these operatives are much lower, accordingly, than of old, and though the hours of labor are less, they are obliged to do a far greater amount of work in a given time. They tend so many looms and frames that they have no time to think. They are always on the jump. They have no time to improve themselves, nor to spend in helping others. They are too weary to read good books, and too overworked to digest what they have read. The souls of these mill-girls seemed starved, and looked from their hungry eyes, as if searching for mental food.

Blind to what she has just seen herself, deaf to the complaints she heard, unbothered by the conditions she herself described, this philanthropic parvenu almost immediately after the foregoing raises the following complaints against the working girls:

They have more leisure than the mill-girls of forty years ago, but they do not know how to improve it. Their leisure only gives them the more time to be idle in; more time to waste in the streets, or in reading cheap novels and stories. They are almost worse off than if they worked more hours or did not know how to read, since they can use to advantage neither their extra time nor the means of education provided for them. Let it not be understood that I would take from the operative or the artisan, one of the chances of education. But I would have them taught how to use wisely those privileges, forced, we might almost say, on them and on their children.

This language is well known; one knows the type, the text, one also knows the author—the petty-bourgeois spouter of rhetoric with his slogan—"Through education to freedom"—but one can hardly find even a high priest of education who falls into such gross contradictions as our philanthropist in the last two citations. She almost seems to recognize this herself because in the following she turns to and against the bourgeois employers:

The factory population of New England is made up largely of American-born children of foreign parentage. As a rule, they are not under the control of the church of their parents, and they adopt the vices and follies, rather than the good habits of our people. It is vital to the interests of the whole community, that this class should be kept under good moral influences; that it should have the sympathy, the help of employers. This class needs better homes than it finds in too many of our factory towns and cities. It needs a better social atmosphere. It needs to be lifted out of its mental squalor into a higher state of thought and of feeling.

"Labor is worship," says the poet. Labor is education, is the teaching of the wise political economist.

If factory labor is not a means of education to the operative of to-day, it is because the employer does not do his duty. It is because he treats his work-people like machines, and forgets that they are struggling, hoping, despairing human beings. It is because, as he becomes rich, he cares less and less for the well-being of his poor, and beyond paying them their weekly wages, has no thought of their wants or their needs.

The manufacturing corporation, except in comparatively few instances, no longer represents a protecting care, a parental influence over its operatives. It is too often a soulless organization, and its members forget that they are morally responsible for the souls and bodies, as well as the wages of those whose labor is the source of their wealth. Is it not time that more of these Christian men and women, who gather their riches from the factories of the country, should begin to reflect that they do not discharge their whole duty to the operatives when they see that

the monthly wages are paid; and that they are also responsible for their unlovely surroundings, for their barren and hopeless lives, and for the moral and physical destruction of their children?

The Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics answered this question and appeal in their next report (1884), which described the conditions of the "Working Girls of Boston" (not the servants) in the following words (p. 22): "The fact will be apparent when the economic conditions of the working girls is considered, that by living at home the girls in our shops and stores are able to live on meager wages. In other words, parents and friends must make up for short wages." After ten hours of grinding labor (p. 49) "85 percent [of these working girls in Boston] do their own housework and sewing wholly or in part. . . ." And over 70 percent of these girls "were out of employment three months in the year" (p. 57). The average weekly wage was \$4.91.

The reports about child labor in this period are meager, and even the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, with the honorable exception of its first four years under Oliver and McNeill, never treats this affair in detail except in connection with schooling. It is therefore rather difficult to get an exact picture of the extent of child labor, all the more so, since useful special writings about this subject appeared only later. Only the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics' report of 1889 throws some light on the matter, though insufficiently on the whole.

As is known, the government of the United States compiles a census every ten years; but Massachusetts, like some other states, compiles in the interim its own state census, and the last state census in 1885 deals with the report cited. The census notes that in 1885 in Massachusetts, 69,807 females and 70,432 males between the ages of fourteen and nineteen were "in gainful pursuits"—almost 16 percent of the total number of employed. Page 572 of the report noted: "children at work have been omitted from the presentations. . . ." and then continued: "the number of children at work in 1885 was 3,040. . . ." Without doubting the correctness of the census figures it must be pointed out that the data of the Fall River strike of 1879, the statements in the reports of 1881 and 1882 about the French-Canadians, the above-mentioned report about the working girls of Boston, and the earlier report about child labor make the figure of 3,040 appear rather low. Nevertheless, the number of 140,239 young workers plus 3,040 real children is meaningful enough!

The same census gives the number of all working females as 300,999; if one adds to this the 70,432 young male workers, one comes to the total number of 371,431 women and under-age persons against 531,911 adult males; that is about 41 percent as against almost 59 percent.

Not counting the home servants, these 371,431 women and under-age persons were mostly employed in the factories of cotton, wool, worsted yarn, stocking, carpets, silk, rubber, paper, straw, and shoe industries, in dress and

watch manufacturing, in rope-making and book binding, and in the processing of tobacco. They were represented the heaviest in the various branches of the textile industries wherein, according to the same report, an average of two-thirds of the workers were women and children. We reported earlier that on the whole, the textile workers, despite repeated struggles, could achieve only minor improvements in their situation because the majority are *women* and *children*. Child and women labor are *valuable* and *cheap* articles and therefore have to be protected—by refusal of legal protection regarding which we have already given enough evidence.

With the progressive improvements in machinery and the concurrent simplification of the necessary manual work process, woman and child labor becomes more sought after and profitable for the employers from whom any improvement in the conditions of their female and juvenile work force has to be forced. Even politicians are hardly and rarely interested because women do not have the right to vote and therefore do not have to be taken into consideration.

All the statistical reports clearly show that woman and child labor is cheap. At the best women get a third, but children one-fifth of the adult male workers' wage, a problem that cannot be resolved with beloved fine-sounding resolutions about *equal pay for equal work* as long as wages are not paid for what a worker does, but on the basis of how much he needs for life's necessities. Women and children have more limited needs and therefore receive lower wages in America as well as in Europe.

Working hours in New England were mostly eleven hours, and even in Massachusetts the bourgeois manufacturers understood how to evade all the laws regarding limiting of working hours. A turn toward improvement began only in 1883, but a strict adherence to the laws in this law-abiding country has never been achieved.

The great strike of the railroad workers in 1877 induced the Congress of the United States in 1878 to create a committee of seven members to investigate the reasons for bad business practices and the discontent of the workers and to suggest means of remedy. The committee made a lengthy pleasure trip through the whole country, talked to many witnesses in many places, and submitted to Congress a report of great length that dealt mostly with money and land questions. There is hardly anything in the report about real labor questions and the situation of the wage earners.⁵³ The report remained completely unnoticed and forgotten except for occasional citations made here and there by a demagogic politician.

Similar committees were also formed later and were used by the politicians to gather votes but served the ruling bourgeois class to weaken the growing unrest. In the spring of 1882 Congress passed a law against the importation and immigration of Chinese workers for the next decade. This law lapsed in April 1892 but had been often evaded, for the most part, by sneaking the Chinese over the Canadian border.

What T. H. Murch, a stonemason himself and elected to Congress by the stonemasons of Maine, reported about an audience with the President of the United States is characteristic of the dominant spirit in official circles toward the efforts of the working class. It is taken from a Cleveland, Ohio, newspaper report on a mass meeting of workers at the end of the second convention of the American Federation of Labor on November 22, 1882.

Murch said that the President of the United States has more absolute power than any crowned monarch of the Old World. [He] told the story of going with a committee to wait on the President and ask the enforcement of the eight-hour law. President Arthur⁵⁴ received them coldly and when he heard what the committee wanted he replied: "I do not think the eight-hour law is constitutional and no power on earth can make me enforce an unconstitutional law." To this, Murch replied: "Mr. President, I did not know before that you were here to interpret the laws, but supposed you were to execute them. The Constitution of the United States says that the Supreme Court shall interpret the laws." Upon this the President came gracefully down from his position.

The year 1884 was again a presidential election year; Congress therefore showed a friendly face to the workers. This time a Senate committee (in 1878 it had been a committee of the House of Representatives) made an extensive trip to collect testimony about the workers' situation, and the opportunity was often used by union members and socialists in New York and Chicago to give the point of view of the workers themselves.⁵⁵

In June, Congress created the National Labor Bureau, and the President again showed his displeasure with such legislation by procrastinating in naming the chief of this bureau for six long months.⁵⁶ Carroll D. Wright, chief of the Bureau of Labor Statistics in Massachusetts, also became the chief of the national office and administered both offices for several years.

The positive effect of this office was very much restricted through interference by the Congress, which usually prescribed the field of investigation for the Bureau. In the same year (1884) Congress also passed a law prohibiting the importation of workers under contract, that is, prohibition to induce citizens (workers) of a foreign country to immigrate to the United States with the promise of work or payment of their passage; but the law did not correspond to its ostensible purpose.⁵⁴

Limitations of space prohibit reporting the legislation of the forty or more states in labor matters. We will only mention the most important aspects and then in condensed form.

Many states passed eight-hour laws, usually in this form: "Eight hours shall constitute a legal day's work." The law was mostly made inoperative with the clause: "except when otherwise agreed," or "except for weekly, monthly or yearly contracts," and the like. Since the law was obligatory al-

most everywhere for all public works, that is, work that the state, county, city, or community ordered, the law was avoided by giving the work to contract firms that were not bound by the law. California was the only state that did not permit firms to work longer than eight hours on government contracts.

The legislation for child and woman labor did improve somewhat. In 1876 Massachusetts totally forbade children under ten to work and permitted children under fourteen to work only when they had attended twenty weeks of school annually. In 1879 the legislature finally erased the little words "knowingly" and "willful," the subject of which we have previously discussed. The manufacturers violated the law shamelessly, and to excuse themselves pointed to the competition of the neighboring states that did not have a ten-hour law.

Thereupon the legislature ordered the Bureau of Labor Statistics to investigate the matter in all neighboring New England states and in New York. The results showed that most of these states had sixty-six to seventy-two hours of work weekly, and Massachusetts alone had sixty hours; but that Massachusetts did not stand behind the other states at all in production and profit; that in these other states only the small mills were in favor of the eleven- and twelve-hour working day and partially hid behind the absurd idea that the workers used the achieved free time badly and that the French-Canadians stood in the way of a reduction of working hours. The textile workers of Massachusetts, in the main the spinners, now made special efforts with the help of the AFL to introduce the ten-hour workday in neighboring states as well. They succeeded after some years in Maine and Rhode Island.

In short, the legislation for the protection of labor stood at the end of this period, 1885, as follows. In Massachusetts, Maine, and Ohio it was forbidden to employ children under twelve years of age; in Pennsylvania under thirteen; in Missouri and New Jersey boys under twelve and girls under fourteen; in New York under thirteen (1866). Children under twelve are forbidden to work in the mines of Colorado, Iowa, Kansas, and Missouri; in Connecticut, Illinois, and Indiana they have to be fourteen. Juvenile workers may not work more than ten hours daily or sixty hours weekly in Vermont, Minnesota, New Hampshire, and Connecticut if they are under fifteen; in Maine, New Jersey, and Maryland if they are under sixteen; in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York, Ohio, Michigan, Wisconsin, and Dakota if they are under eighteen; and in Pennsylvania if they are under twenty-one. In Georgia, all minors, that is, all persons under twenty-one, may not work longer than from sunrise to sunset!! In Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York (1886), Michigan, Wisconsin, and Dakota the working time for female workers is limited to ten hours daily. Laws were also passed in most states to make fire ladders and special exits obligatory to reduce the dangers of fire after a great disaster occurred in Massachusetts.

Colorado has a rather good law covering the mining business: under certain conditions two separate exits were required as well as unbroken verbal communication by speaking tube or telephone with the upper world. Daily exami-

nation of the machinery and many other protection procedures were prescribed. Iowa, Kansas, Tennessee, Ohio, Missouri, and West Virginia have almost the same mining laws, and Illinois is close to them. Special mining inspectors were appointed in Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Ohio, Tennessee, and West Virginia.

There were no liability laws to speak of, except those that gave the railroad certain responsibilities because the railroads are especially used by citizens. So-called lien laws exist in many states; these are laws that give the laborer the first claim on the work he produces. The incorporation of union and Knights of Labor assemblies have been permitted in several states.

We have mentioned the establishment of the National Labor Office. Bureaus of labor statistics, besides the existing ones in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, were also established during this period: in Ohio, 1877; New Jersey, 1878; Missouri, 1879; Michigan, 1883; Wisconsin, 1883; Iowa, 1884; Maryland, 1884; Illinois and Indiana, 1879; New York, 1883; California, Michigan, and Wisconsin, 1883; and Kansas and Connecticut, 1885 (the latter reestablished an institution that had been closed for several years). The official titles of the bureaus are varied, but their main tasks remain the same. Many of these tried to follow the old and new paths of the Massachusetts bureau, but soon failed because the officials were almost always indebted to the politicians, if they were not themselves politicians.

The bureaus of Ohio, New York, Michigan, and New Jersey deserve a certain respect. To bring unity into the tasks and business of the bureaus their chiefs have held annual meetings since 1883, and there is hope that the cause will be furthered by this. The establishment of most of the bureaus is due to the efforts by the organized workers who are now demanding the appointment of factory inspectors and so far have succeeded in Massachusetts, New Jersey, and Wisconsin.

Law is often characterized as deriving from the will of the people, and the demand for jury trials in the administration of justice is grounded in this idea. The European experience has shown that in legal conflicts that touch on class interests or relate to the class struggle, jury courts are class courts. The decisions of any number of courts and juries in this so-called free country, that is, in the land of the bourgeoisie sans phrase, in similar cases show the practice here to be the same. We will cite a few cases to prove this point.

During an 1878 strike in the factory town of Paterson, New Jersey, the employers succeeded in bringing in a number of scabs. The recently established workers' paper, the *Paterson Labor Standard*, published a list of the scabs' names after citing a very drastic description of the word *scab* from the proceedings of an English trial. Thereupon the public prosecutor brought charges against the editor, J. P. McDonnell,⁵⁸ for insulting and defaming third persons. McDonnell was sentenced to pay a \$500 fine, which the citizens of Paterson immediately raised and paid.⁵⁹

Hardly a year after this incident the same paper published the signed report

of a worker about the conditions in a brick yard near Paterson, and the following conditions were reported. Working hours lasted from 4 A.M. to 6 P.M.; the coffee was muddy water; food consisted of salted meat, bread, and butter—but the bread was rotten, and the butter rancid and like axle grease; the toilet and sleeping quarters were huts through which the rain poured down in streams; the beds were unclean and the whole room full of bugs; the treatment of the sick was undignified and inhuman; and so on. The grand jury, the secret indictment court based on the old English example, brought charges against the author and the editor. The public prosecutor made no attempt to disprove the above statements, but both were found guilty. The judge who passed sentence spoke harshly against the behavior of the people of Paterson during the previous trial and therefore did not ask the accused to pay a fine, which would have been paid by the people, but sentenced them to two months' imprisonment.

We mentioned earlier the brutal attack by the Chicago police at the end of July 1877 during a meeting of the furniture workers where a union official was killed. This union, the Furniture Laborers Union No. 1 of Chicago, thereupon went to court and the trial was held at the beginning of May 1879. The judge sharply condemned the behavior of the police, vindicated the complainants' and the peoples' right to assembly, and sentenced the two main guilty policemen—to a fine of six cents!!!

About other cases, we will mention only the court decisions against the *Lehr und Wehr Verein* in Chicago—that is, against the right to carry arms; the New York court decision in favor of "tenement housework"; and the mass death sentences in Pennsylvania based on mean, incontestable denunciations.⁶⁰

THE GERMAN WORKERS AND THE SOCIALISTS

Earlier we reported on the lively activities of the German-speaking workers in the trade union movement, and only a few things will be recapitulated here. Particular attention should be paid to the reports on the organizations of the cigarmakers, the furniture workers, the bakers, the typesetters, the brewers, and the piano makers because of their hard-won successes. The German-American Typographia was and still is composed of only German-speaking workers, and the organized bakers and brewers up to 1885 were almost exclusively German. Germans made up the majority among the furniture workers, the piano makers, and the cigarmakers. Among the latter a large percentage of Bohemians (Czechs) were also present. The Germans were also strongly represented among the tailors, carpenters, painters, and bricklayers. The activities during this period among the textile workers—excepting the weavers—in Lawrence, Manchester, Holyoke, Paterson, Hoboken, West

Hoboken, New York, and Philadelphia were almost exclusively initiated by the Germans and the Swiss. In general, the Germans were the driving, progressive element in the large and small unions, and the (unfortunately so far unsuccessful) effort of the German and German-influenced unions to centralize the AFL in order for it to gain respect and power deserves special recognition. Also in city central bodies they exerted a large influence, but concurrently showed in this period their inclination to separate into language communities, which led to the establishment of purely German central bodies in Chicago, New York, Brooklyn, and other cities.

That the German workers in this country had little taste for the secret organizations has been mentioned earlier. This was confirmed during the climax of the Knights of Labor movement during the 1884-1887 period during which the German workers participated relatively little. The International Cigarmakers Union, mainly Germans at this time, even led a bitter fight for many years with the Knights of Labor.⁶¹ For the most part the Germans remained loyal to the open unions.

The unity congress in Philadelphia in July 1876 had founded the Workingmen's Party of the United States and eliminated all adjectives like "international," "socialistic," and "social-democratic" because these words suggested an alien importation and handicapped the propaganda effectiveness among English-speaking and native-born workers. The congress did this despite the fact that nine-tenths of the organization was made up of German workers. Concurrently resolutions were passed against a premature election movement, and the executive moved to Chicago with the recommendation to concentrate on the industrial center of the United States, the New England states.

The labor movement was very active in Chicago and was dominated by the Germans, the majority of whom were new immigrants filled with the spirit of the movement in Germany and numerous Lassalleans who were known to have little sympathy with the trade union movement and probably had even less understanding of it. These were the constituents, this was the milieu of the new executive, and its activity reflected this milieu.

The executive was hardly two months in office when the New Haven section began its own election campaign disregarding the congress's resolutions.⁶² The executive quarrelled with the control commission; the control commission suspended the executive; but the latter turned the tables and by ballot discharged the control commission and moved it to another area.

With the help of the Old Internationalists, the leaders of the Boston Eight Hour League were induced to enter the Workingmen's Party. This gave rise to well-justified hopes for expanding the party and its principles in the New England states. The executive in Chicago, the West, had no comprehension of the situation and through its clumsiness forced the New Englanders out again.

The New York newspapers, the *Sozialdemokrat* and the *Socialist*, founded by the social democrats and the newly emigrated Lassalleans with the help of certain elements of the old Internationalists, had been renamed by the

Philadelphia congress *Arbeiterstimme* (Workers' Voice) and *Labor Standard*. The newspapers could maintain themselves only by continual sacrifices, which were made reluctantly because no real unity reigned among the disparate elements, that is, no unity that was based on conformity of principles and tactics, and thus disagreements soon broke out again. These disagreements were particularly sharp because of the attitude of the *Labor Standard*, which was moved in autumn 1878 to Boston and in 1879 to Fall River while its former editor pitched his tent in Paterson, New Jersey, and established the still-existing (1892) *Paterson Labor Standard*.

The old Internationalists of this country had—and probably still have—the opinion that the trade union is the cradle, the trade union movement is the basis of every healthy labor movement, that the class *struggle* depends on class *organization*, i.e., the organization of the wage earners. They therefore demanded the establishment of an economic organization able to offer resistance before political experiments were made and election campaigns undertaken whose predictable failures always made all other achievements questionable in this country. This opinion, to German readers probably somewhat heretical, is justified by certain peculiar political, ethnographic, geographic, and perhaps also the climatic conditions of this country, which we will discuss elsewhere.

The old Internationalists demanded further the concentration of force and direction on *one* point of attack; they demanded that the movement they supported place itself on a purely proletarian basis, opposite and contrary to the petty-bourgeois, radical freethinking and anti-temperance efforts of the "Gentlemen Reformers." They demanded that discipline be practiced and that the agitation have an American, not a German, character.

It is well known that at the German unity congress in Gotha (1875) the Lassalleans stamped the program and tactics with *their* coloring and *their* ideas,⁶³ but that the Eisenachers,⁶⁴ the German Internationalists, soon took over the leadership in the later admirable development of the Socialist Party of Germany. In the United States the situation was reversed. At the unity congress in Philadelphia (1876) the American Internationalists for the most part enforced their views (even though they were in the two-to-five minority). After a short time, however, they saw their views weakened, ignored, and finally completely changed by the new party and its representatives. The Old Internationalists saw danger in this process within the new organization during the years 1876–1878. Their warnings and protests were answered arrogantly or not at all. Under those conditions they viewed their activities as pure Sisyphean labor. So they withdrew more and more, mostly into the trade unions, and so cleared the field for the pure socialistic agitation of the younger immigrants who occupied and ruled it from then on.

At the seat of the Workingmen's Party of the United States executive in Chicago, the disputes, mostly between the executive itself and members of the Chicago party, intensified. At the end of 1877 a convention was held in

Newark where a thorough cleanout of the rest of the Internationalists took place. The statutes, the program, and the name of the organization were changed and manipulated after the famous overseas model. Douai wrote about this to the *Vorboten* (January 5, 1878): "The platform has been watered down. . . . But for the comprehension of the English-speaking workers it is now much better [sic]." The executive was moved to Cincinnati, along with the party secretary, van Patten, a young American. From there the executive engaged in a rather sharp fight with the Chicago section, especially because of the earlier mentioned *Lehr und Wehr Verein*.

The great railroad strike of 1877 activated the German workers of both factions, the trade unionists and socialists, and they made remarkable efforts to help the strikers and obtain concessions from the anxiety-ridden bourgeoisie in St. Louis, Chicago, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, St. Paul, San Francisco, and other places. In St. Louis, as reported earlier, the bourgeois officials had actually abdicated, whereupon the workers formed a so-called safety committee, which ruled the city for a few days and in which the majority consisted of German socialist workers. The situation did not last long; the authorities regained their courage, and the safety committee collapsed. It might be noted that F. Lingenaus was a member of this committee. He died a few days later from the excitement and became well known because of his last will.⁶⁵

In Chicago the German trade unions were very active in helping the railroad workers. In a meeting called for this reason by the furniture workers, the infamous Chicago police broke in, dispersed the members, killed one union official, and laid the groundwork for the bitter and justified hate of the Chicago workers for the nightstick heroes.

In the larger cities of the East the German workers had to be satisfied with holding mass meetings in favor of the strikers.

In the years 1877, 1878, and 1879 a blazing fever fired the German socialist workers to establish both daily and weekly labor newspapers in German, and such papers were edited in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, Newark, Buffalo, Detroit, Milwaukee, San Francisco, and other places. The majority did not exist for very long, but weathering all the storms the *Philadelphia Tageblatt*, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* of Chicago, and the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* still (1892) appear daily. Until his death, Adolph Douai remained an industrious, untiring co-worker on the last. Western newspapers (Milwaukee, Chicago, Cincinnati) for several years enjoyed the remarkable journalistic services of H. von Ende, who unfortunately died too soon.

In May 1878 *The National Socialist* appeared in English under the auspices of the Workingmen's Party executive in Cincinnati, but could not maintain itself there and was transferred in the same year to Chicago. The Chicagoans immediately struck out the curious adjective "National," and *The Socialist* appeared until the end of August 1879.

At the turn of the year 1879-1880 the Socialist Labor Party again held a

convention in Allegheny City, a neighboring city of Pittsburgh. The executive was reprimanded because of its handling of the *Lehr und Wehr Verein* case, and the convention decided to put up its own independent nominee in the coming presidential election, subject to approval by the membership. The executive was moved to Detroit, followed by the permanent secretary, van Patten, because in Cincinnati great confusion had come about during the executive's stay there.

During the years 1878 and 1879 independent labor candidates were nominated for city and state offices and legislatures in many larger cities and had partial, and in Chicago remarkable, success, which we have reported earlier. Besides Chicago, the cities Milwaukee, St. Louis, San Francisco, New York, Cincinnati, and Baltimore and the states California and Massachusetts should be noted. The most active supporters of this movement were the German socialists who relentlessly pushed for political action.

The executive of the Socialist Laborer Party (SLP) hesitated; then the petty-bourgeois monetary reformers, the greenbackers, again appeared on the scene. For a number of years they had led a quiet life in the Far West. Knowing full well that they could not find a large following in the industrial East without major concessions to the workers, they added a few labor demands to their program—it was only on paper anyway—and with this induced the SLP executive to enter an alliance with them and send a strong delegation to the greenbackers' nominating convention in Chicago during the summer of 1880. Adolph Douai, whose support for the greenbackers during 1868–1870 in the *Arbeiter Union* in New York has already been mentioned, was the spokesman of the socialist delegation to the convention that nominated Weaver of Iowa as the presidential candidate and with him, Douai suffered a great fiasco in the November election.⁶⁶

Many sections of the SLP, especially Chicago and New York, were deeply discontented with the executive's actions. Finally Chicago, which had the largest number of party members, became so indignant that it broke off to go its own way, moving further and further toward anarchy. The prestige of the executive suffered greatly by these actions, and the party itself was greatly weakened by the secession of Chicago and its consequences.

Both the party and executive now strongly brought into prominence their German character and turned to the raising of funds for the campaigns of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). The SPD sent two emissaries to the United States at the beginning of 1881 to support this activity.⁶⁷ The SLP collected a respectable sum, and collections for this purpose became a permanent item in the balancing of accounts and minutes of the meeting. That this brought about a reversal of the activity and a false perception of the situation in their own country did not remain unknown to anyone who observed the events. The following makes clear how faulty this judgment and the mental confusion became.

During their stay in the United States, the two delegates of the SPD visited an older party comrade, who, by the way, was *not* a member of the Social Democratic Labor Party, and discussed the purpose of their visit as well as the situation of the labor movement in the United States. After several weeks of absence, one of the delegates returned to the older party comrade and then began a longer discussion on the topic of the American labor movement. The delegate, completely under the influence of the SLP, perceived the situation completely from a German outlook and answered the older comrade's last question, "Well, do you want and are you able to Germanize the United States?" in a convinced and resolute tone: "But why not?"

At Christmas 1881, the Socialist Labor Party held another convention, this time in New York, where the executive had also settled, to remain there until its demise. Van Patten also came to New York where he was active for a time before mysteriously disappearing.⁶⁸

From 1878 on, the banning of the Socialists in Germany forced many of the German socialist workers to the United States, especially those from the smaller German districts that were blessed with martial law. Hamburg and Berlin with its surrounding areas contributed the largest number of émigrés. These people, forced into immigration, not immigrants per se, naturally found it very difficult to immediately assimilate to the changed situation, and for the most part the trade union organizations of this country did not conform to their conventional conceptions at all. With an exaggerated if understandable fervor, they established in various cities of the East new, mostly "progressive" trade unions and found themselves quarreling with the older organizations. This dispute, specifically among the cigarmakers, led to all sorts of unpleasantness but ended a few years later when the two parties united.

The anarchist movement, emanating from Chicago, gained ground in various cities of the country during 1881 and 1882. It found a leader in Johann Most, who arrived in the United States in the winter of 1882-1883 after serving a jail sentence in England. He developed a quantitatively respectable literary output along with personal agitation, the first result of which was the meeting of an anarchist congress in October 1883 in Pittsburgh. This congress created a lengthy program, full of nice phrases, and the name International Working Peoples Association.⁶⁹

Concurrently, anarchist groups had also formed in New York, and for a lengthy period both groups moved in a parallel direction as became clear at the funeral rites for Karl Marx in March 1883.⁷⁰ But it was not long before open hostility broke out between the anarchists and the socialists, which led to scandalous scenes in public meetings. The worst occurred during the debates about the dynamite assaults on the English Parliament. The bourgeois press, the Germans in the forefront, took great pleasure in this, and the police had their long-yearned-for opportunity to break up a meeting of revolutionary workers with nightsticks (February 2, 1885).⁷¹

Anarchism gained the upper hand in Chicago, achieved a strong influence on the unions and control over the German and other labor newspapers, and gained converts among the English-speaking workers, as well as among the Slavs and Scandinavians. In Colorado, Texas, Oregon, and California numerous followers of anarchism were found in petty-bourgeois American circles and called themselves the International Workingmen's Association.⁷² Soon so many varieties and independent groups of anarchists developed that it requires the expertise of a professional to classify them or to differentiate among them.

Only the Chicagoans maintained a certain agreement of views and tactics, stayed in close touch with the trade unions and other labor organizations, and secured themselves great respect and importance among the working population of the city. This they took advantage of on various occasions and made the bourgeois authorities very uncomfortable. Without a doubt the anarchists represented a respectable power during the years 1882-1885 in Chicago.⁷³ They had a number of intelligent, energetic leaders and possessed several newspapers with a large readership, most importantly the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in which industrious men treated all questions of general public interest as well as those of special interest for the workers. At first the leaders and newspapers were rather cool toward the eight-hour movement inaugurated by the American Federation of Labor (AFL).⁷⁴ When it gained momentum and became more powerful, however, the anarchists intelligently joined the movement and took over the leadership of it in Chicago. This example impressed many cities of the West such as Milwaukee, St. Paul, Omaha, Kansas City, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Buffalo, and so forth.

In 1883, the Socialist Labor Party held a convention in Baltimore and another, in 1885, in Cincinnati where the delegates exchanged some rather sharp words on the subject of arming the workers. We have already discussed the efforts of the socialists to establish socialist newspapers in the English language: the *National Socialist* of Cincinnati and the *Socialist* of Chicago. Further unsuccessful attempts were made, including some by the anarchists, who, however, also had some success with the *Alarm* in Chicago and the *Truth* in San Francisco.⁷⁵ To a certain degree the Scandinavian newspaper *Den Nye Tid* and the Czech *Delnické Listy*, both in Chicago, may be counted as successful anarchist publications. The bakers' and the German typesetters' organs, and also for a short time the general trade union journal *Der Gewerkschaftler*, appeared in German. The furniture workers' and carpenters' journals appeared half in German and half in English.

The executive of the Socialist Labor Party during its long residence in New York could achieve only a limited influence over the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* and therefore published its own weekly, the *Socialist*, in 1884. As editor, the executive appointed Josef Dietzgen, a loyal, intelligent fighter for the proletariat who left to the expatriate German workers and party comrades a fine legacy of wisdom in his writings. Dietzgen retained the editorship until February 1886 when he moved to Chicago.⁷⁶

POSTSCRIPT:
THE PLEASURES AND COLONIES OF THE
AMERICAN BOURGEOISIE

In our discussion of the decade 1850 to 1860 we reproduced a number of excerpts from the press and speeches of the slaveholders and the exploiters of black labor. Let us now see what the exploiters of white labor, only twenty years later, have to say. These utterances may speak for themselves, and we only remark that most come from the year 1877 and that they became a standing rubric in various English-language labor journals in the years 1878-1879:

There is too much freedom in this country rather than too little.—*Indianapolis Journal*.

We shall shortly find ourselves living under a monarchy. I would give a million dollars to see Grant back in the White House. . . .—Jay Gould.

If the workingmen had no vote they might be more amenable to the teachings of the times.—*Indianapolis News*.

Universal suffrage is a standing menace to all stable and good governments; its twin sister is the Commune with its labor unions, workingmen's leagues, red republicanism and universal anarchy.—George A. Best, Senator from Missouri.

There seems to be but one remedy, and it must come—a change of ownership of the soil and a creation of class landowners on the one hand and of tenant farmers on the other—something similar to what has existed in the older countries of Europe.—*New York Times*.

The American laborer must make up his mind, henceforth, not to be so much better off than the European laborer. Men must be contented to work for less wages. In this way the workingman will be nearer to that station in life to which it has pleased God to call him.—*New York World*.

Is not a dollar a day enough to buy bread? Water costs nothing and a man who cannot live on bread is not fit to live. A family may live, laugh, love and be happy that eat bread in the morning with good water, and water and good bread at noon, and water and bread at night.—Henry Ward Beecher.

The battle with Socialism will be brief but it will be very hot. No quarter will be given until it is ended.—Rev. Dr. Hitchcock, Brooklyn.⁷⁷

It is very well to relieve distress wherever it exists, whether in city or country; but the best meal that can be given to a regular tramp is a leaden one and it should be supplied in sufficient quantity to satisfy the most voracious appetite.—*New York Herald*.

All we owe a tramp is a funeral.—Theodore Kugler, pastor in Hoboken.⁷⁸

Tramps have no claims on human sympathy. When they invade my house and ask for bread I bid them begone without ceremony. The hand of society must be against these vagrants, they must die off and the sooner they are dead and buried the better for society.—Mary A. Livermore, suffragette.⁷⁹

The simplest plan, probably, when one is not a member of the Humane Society, is to put strychnine or arsenic in the provisions furnished to tramps. This produces death in a comparatively short time and is a warning to other tramps to keep out of the neighborhood.—*Chicago Tribune*.

These brutal creatures [strikers] can understand no other reasoning than that of force and enough of it to be remembered among them for generations.—*New York Tribune*.

Give them the rifle diet for a few days and see how they like that kind of bread.—Tom Scott, president of the Pennsylvania RR.⁸⁰

Hand grenades should be thrown among these Union Sailors who are striving to obtain higher wages, as by such treatment they would be learned a valuable lesson and other strikers could take warning from their fate.—*Chicago Times*.

Lack of principle and cruelty, meanness and brutality, cowardice and bloodthirstiness paired off in these bourgeois effusions. Grand and petty bourgeoisie, suffragettes and speculators, preachers and politicians, Democrats and Republicans buried the war hatchet and united against the workers, preached hatred and spite against strikers, spit scorn and curses on the unemployed. The capitalists' interests, the fear for bourgeois property, united all factions of the possessing class in brotherhood and, full of this brotherhood, they talked of civil war, recommended murder, and offered burial to the poorest and most miserable of society! The bourgeoisie has really come a long way!

The statements cited above also clearly confirm our earlier discussion about the development of this country's bourgeoisie. And if we noted then that the American bourgeoisie had placed itself at the top of the most exploiting society of the world, as evidence we need only refer to the huge wealth that the bourgeoisie in this country has amassed by exploiting labor during the last twenty-five years. Which other country can compare itself in this regard with the United States?

Full of admiration—and envy—the European bourgeoisie looks upon the Vanderbilts,⁸¹ Goulds, Astors,⁸² Carnegies,⁸³ and the Scotts of America.⁸⁴ And the American bourgeois also knows that he is the most successful appropriator of surplus value. He is not a little proud of it and behaves accordingly. The American bourgeoisie does not hide its light under a bushel; it shows what it is capable of: exploitation! It shows what it is: parvenu! It shows what it has: money!

The virtuosity of the American bourgeoisie's exploitation has been shown clearly enough in our discussions on woman and child labor. If it were necessary to give evidence of the bourgeoisie's characteristics as a parvenu and money owner, it could be produced immediately by referring to the massive stream of pleasure seekers—up to 100,000 of whom travel annually to Europe in the floating palaces of the English, German, French, Belgian, and other steamship lines. What forces these people over the ocean? What induces even the members of the middle classes to make a trip to Europe every two or three years? To enjoy natural beauty and landscapes the Americans really need not go to Europe. The beautiful coasts of Nova Scotia, Maine, and Massachusetts down to Florida on the Atlantic Ocean and those of California and Oregon on the Pacific Ocean; the mighty inland lakes from Hudson's Bay to the Ontario; the mountains and the Alleghenies; the great St. Lawrence, Hudson, Mississippi, and Columbia rivers; Yellowstone Park and Yosemite Valley—just to name a few—offer in greatness, beauty, and uniqueness, in almost limitless abundance, far more than Europe. Truly educated Americans often declare that the majority of the American tourists and travelers in Europe do not know their own country.

Why do they go then? Why do they suffer the hardships and unpleasantness of a sea voyage? Only to show off their full pockets, to let their wealth shine forth, and to prove to the world that they are not only the bourgeoisie but first-class bourgeoisie.

A really elegant and original accomplishment of the American bourgeoisie is their establishment of colonies in—Europe! Now, the founding of colonies, especially overseas, as such, is nothing new as everyone is aware who knows anything about geography and history, and even some comprehension of this has been beaten into the German patriots in recent years.⁸⁵

There are German colonies in Russia, America, Africa, and Australia, and also colonies of Englishmen, Italians, Scandinavians, Slavs, Irish, French, and others in many countries engaged in the cultivation of the fields in these lands; that is, they carry out the tiresome, useful task of producing value in their adopted country. There are colonies of Englishmen, Germans, French, and the like in the industrial centers of many countries contributing to the production of those lands. There are colonies of Irishmen, Poles, Italians, Hungarians, and so forth in many countries, especially America, mining the treasures of the earth, coal and ore, building great roads, canals, and railroads. There are colonies of Germans, Englishmen, and Frenchmen in the large commercial cities of the world where they perform remarkable services as employees, commercial clerks, teachers, and the like in trade and transportation.

Such colonies are well known to all and are appreciated according to their larger or smaller value. But the American colonies are not comparable to these. By no means do they consist of people who want to build something,

to work, produce, or achieve; their members are not at all useful productive human beings or workers. They are a peculiar kind, made up of pleasure-addicted loafers, blasé idlers: the bourgeoisie!

There are also refugee colonies, for example, of Russians and Poles in Geneva, London, and Paris. There were also refugee colonies of Germans, French, Italians, Spaniards, and Irish at various times and in various countries, that is, groups of people who fled from persecution and oppression in their home countries. A certain similarity exists among these refugee colonies and the American colonies in Europe in that the membership of the latter also fled, but not from persecution and oppression, rather from the democratization of their countrymen, from the threatening advance of the lower social ranks. And this last point could give the opportunity for comparison of the American colonies with the French immigration of the 1790s.⁸⁶ But this comparison is again to the disadvantage of the Americans because the French immigrants, even though forced first by necessity, in any case accomplished something as teachers of dancing, fencing, riding, or languages; but not the American immigrants.

There also existed and exist criminal convict colonies, and if the American colonies in Europe differ from these, it is mainly because their members have not yet been deported; still they have one important point in common: both are maintained by the mother country. As the deported convicts are supported by their country, so also are the American bourgeoisie in their colonies in Dresden, Stuttgart, Zürich, Munich, Berlin, Frankfurt, Leipzig, Nice, Florence, Rome, Paris, London, and so on, where they gobble up the profits of American labor.

Were it not for this last point the American proletariat would really rather see as many bourgeois emigrate to Europe and European workers immigrate to the United States. The courageous Josef Dietzgen wrote already in 1882 to a friend in America about this situation:

The United States remains, in my view, the place of refuge inside bourgeois society. From the New World, from the competition given to old Europe, the bad air is driven. Agriculture is receding visibly here (Europe). The land becomes more and more an appendage of the cities; hunting grounds, parks, rural residences. And if our people do not get together soon and throw out these social climbers, then soon Europe will become the playground of the Americans. From here the workers immigrate to there and from there the fattened citizens to here, then they will have their factories over there and their villas here.

chapter 8

THE LABOR MOVEMENT, 1886-1892

Two incidents in this period influenced the character of and imprinted their stamp on the labor movement: the Chicago bombing in May 1886 and the Henry George election campaign in the same year in New York. The further development of the movement (in this period) relates to these incidents; in them and their consequences the particular characteristics of the American workers and their actions are most strikingly reflected. Therefore we will describe these two incidents first.

THE BOMB THROWING IN CHICAGO AND THE TRIAL AGAINST SPIES AND COMRADES

The labor organizations of this country had grown enormously in number since 1883. They had grown too fast to assimilate all the disparate elements in these few years who expected and demanded actions and deeds; on May 4, 1886, in Chicago, an explosion resulted. "Who can count in America on *peaceful* development?" asks Engels in a letter to America. "There are economic leaps, as there are political leaps in France—they have, of course, also momentary setbacks."

As we noted earlier, the American Federation of Labor decided in the autumn of 1884 to start demanding the eight-hour day on May 1, 1886. The Knights of Labor *officially* remained out of the struggle, though not benevolently, a position that created great dissatisfaction and a certain unrest among the progressive workers. A large number of the Knights' members greatly sympathized with the action of the open trade unions but were hindered by

the laissez-faire attitude of their officials from any decisive contribution.¹

In March 1886, in the southwest of the United States a large strike by railroad employees, members of the Knights, broke out, and they asked for support from their union brothers. The Knights' executive limited itself to starting negotiations with the railroad directors. For this reason Mr. Powderly, the Grand Master Workman, went to New York and held a conference with the infamous Jay Gould who ruled the railroad system of the Southwest. Mr. Powderly did not accomplish anything, the strike was lost, and its leaders were punished.²

During his visit in New York, Mr. Powderly was "interviewed" concerning his opinion on the coming eight-hour movement. He declared that he was not against it but thought the movement premature and the demand for eight hours too high a demand. He was for a gradual reduction of working hours at a half an hour each time.³ This had an effect in hindering the movement in the East, but not in the West, especially in Chicago.

Since its reconstruction after the big fire of October 1871, Chicago has not only become one of the most populated cities of the country but also a center of industry and commerce for the middle, western, and northwestern states of the Union whose growth is extraordinary and secure for a long time to come. With the mining and textile industries excepted, all the important production branches are heavily represented in Chicago. In several instances it is the leading area, as in the production of agricultural machinery, in the huge slaughterhouses and in meat packing, in the timber yards and sawmills, and so on. More than twenty railroad lines go from Chicago to every part of the country and Canada. Great numbers of steam and sailboats leave from Chicago over the Great Lakes (Superior, Michigan, Huron, and Erie). This extraordinarily active traffic is the signature of the city, which has a very cosmopolitan population, one-third of which is German, almost as many Irish and also Scandinavians, Italians, Poles, Czechs, French, and so forth.

It is the undeniably meritorious accomplishment of the Chicago anarchists to have brought into this marvelous mixture of workers of all nationalities and languages a certain order, to have created affinity, and to have given the movement at that time unity and goals. In our description of the previous period (1877-1885) we explained how anarchism began in Chicago, stemming from the misguided policies of the Socialist Labor Party's executive. Once started on this precipitous path, the excited and easily excitable workers of Chicago could not be restrained anymore.

Johann Most had gathered a large number of followers in New York to whom he preached "the propaganda of the deed." He also supported this idea in brochures, especially in "The Revolutionary Science of War."⁴ This had an effect on the volatile Chicagoans: they, too, held debates on and studied the science of war. One man who was sentenced to death in the anarchist trial wrote about the developments during these years in Chicago as follows:⁵

To understand the situation at that time one has to keep in mind the following. At the time when the groups were founded conditions were similar to those of today, that is a real socialist movement did not exist. But there were socialists of all shades. To mold these into *one* organization was the task we had given ourselves. The organization was formed, but it found no stability and it was declining rapidly in 1886. Some groups believed in participation in politics, others disapproved on principle. Of the six demands which the International [that is, the anarchist so-called International at their congress in Pittsburgh in 1883] had in its platform, some groups disobeyed the two most important ones without their being excluded.

The main reason put forth against participation in elections was that a court acquitted two election judges who cheated a socialist of his seat in the city council, with the justification that they had acted in good faith. The two cheaters had admitted their deed. I myself was at the trial. The judge's name was Gardener.

If you take the time to glance through the pamphlets written by Spies, especially the one entitled "Reminiscences" and look at the explanation which he gives of socialism and anarchism, then you will see that his socialism hardly differs from that of the Social Democrats and that there anarchism appears as the ethical side of socialism. It can also be not unknown to you from whom or which writer he takes his thoughts about socialism.⁶ One time the Pittsburgh program with which many were unsatisfied was discussed. Spies explained: "The Pittsburgh program is secondary, our program is the *Communist Manifesto*!" And indeed the first large meeting which was held had as its basis the *Communist Manifesto*. Spies⁷ had Parsons,⁸ Gorsuch⁹ and other Americans round him in the office of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* on whom he impressed the major basic teachings from the booklet.

That an organization with such inner contradictions could have no durability is self-understood. We had a central committee, but no group needed to be represented in it and no group was bound by its resolutions. One day, a certain faction had the upper hand, the next day another. There was even a newspaper founded in opposition to the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*; this paper was autonomous. In the approval of violence we were guided mainly by the Irish movement of that time and the occasional brutal outbreaks of the American workers.

At the head of the Chicago anarchists, indeed of the Chicago workers at that time, stood intelligent and energetic people. The Germans, Albert Spies and Michael Schwab,¹⁰ the American Albert Parsons, the Englishman Samuel Fielden,¹¹ supported by many others, were active and untiring agitators and the first three also served as writers and editors of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and

Alarm. To the aforementioned characteristics must also be added great courage, loyalty of conviction, and untouchable personal honor. Friend and foe alike still think of them today as men of character.

We have already described how they kept the workers in motion and the bourgeois authorities in uneasiness. In the winter of 1885-1886 several circumstances came to the aid of the movement these men guided: the above-mentioned colossal growth of labor organizations, particularly the Knights of Labor; the great strike of the railroad employees in the Southwest; the squabbles between the officers and rank and file of the Knights and the American Federation of Labor; the noisy efforts to organize the bakers and brewers in the northern and western states; the strike in the large thresher factories of McCormick in Chicago; and especially—the extremely intense expectations regarding the demand for the eight-hour day to be made on May 1.

The day arrived; most organized workers made the eight-hour demand and in some cases it was allowed immediately. On the other hand, it was most often rejected, and many factories were temporarily closed. The streets came alive, at least insofar as the lumber workers and the freight handlers began to strike to obtain regulations of working hours and wages. The railroad directors hired scabs where they could find them, and the workers, already excited by the strike in the Southwest, decided to drive the scabs out.

The highly embittered workers shut out of the McCormick mowing machine factories united with the strikers and, near the McCormick factory, fights developed on the afternoon of May 3, during which factory windows were smashed and one or two policemen mishandled. The swiftly requisitioned auxiliary police force came on the run and fired into the mob, scattering it and leaving several dead and wounded behind.¹² Incensed by the incidents that he witnessed, Spies hurried to the office of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and wrote a short leaflet in which he challenged the workers to revenge and urged them to arm themselves.¹³ Spies had the leaflet distributed the same night in German and English:

Revenge! Revenge!

Workingmen, to Arms!

Working people, this afternoon the bloodhounds of your exploiters murdered six of your brothers out at McCormick's. Why did they murder them? Because they had the courage to be dissatisfied with the fate that your exploiters had decided for them. They demanded bread and were answered with lead, mindful of the fact that in this way the people can be best brought to silence! For many, many years you suffered humiliation without resistance, flayed from early morning until late at night, bore privation of every sort, even sacrificed your own children—all this to fill the treasuries of your masters, everything for them! And now when you step before them and entreat them to lighten

your burden a little, then, to thank you for your sacrifices, they set their bloodhounds, the police, on you to cure you of your dissatisfaction with lead bullets. Slaves, we implore you by everything that is holy and of value to you, revenge this horrible murder committed today on your brothers and maybe done to you tomorrow. Working people, Hercules, you have come to the cross roads.

For which will you decide? For slavery and hunger, or for freedom and bread? If you decide for the latter then do not waste a moment, then, people, to arms!

Destruction to those human beasts, who call themselves your masters. Ruthless destruction of them—that must be your slogan. Remember the heroes whose blood paves the path to progress, to freedom and humanity—and strive to become worthy of them!

Your brothers.

REVENGE!
Workingmen, to Arms!!!

Your masters sent out their bloodhounds—the police—; they killed six of your brothers at McCormick's this afternoon. They killed the poor wretches, because they, like you, had the courage to disobey the supreme will of your bosses. They killed them, because they dared ask for the shortening of the hours of toil. They killed them to show you, "FREE AMERICAN CITIZENS" that you MUST be satisfied and contented with whatever your bosses condescend to allow you, or you will get killed!

You have for years endured the most abject humiliations; you have for years suffered unmeasurable inequities; you have worked yourself to death; you have endured the pangs of want and hunger; your Children you have sacrificed to the factory-lords—in short: You have been miserable and obedient slave[s] all these years: Why? To satisfy the insatiable greed, to fill the coffers of your lazy thieving master? When you ask them now to lessen your burden, he sends his bloodhounds out to shoot you, kill you!

If you are men, if you are the sons of your grand sires, who have shed their blood to free you, then you will rise in your might, Hercules, and destroy the hideous monster that seeks to destroy you. To arms we call you, to arms!

YOUR BROTHERS. [English version]¹⁴

That evening in all clubhouses the workers held meetings at which they discussed the situation and decided to hold a large public meeting the next night, May 4, in Haymarket, a public square. Also, on the evenings of May 3 and 4, secret meetings allegedly took place to prepare an attack with dynamite

bombs, as paid spies and denouncers later attested before the court. Aside from the lack of credibility because of the questionable source, improbability also speaks against this evidence because the conspirators, with any preparation, would hardly have limited themselves to the one bomb thrown the next night.

Excitement grew and the bitterness against the brutal police was general. The next day, May 4, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* published a warm appeal to the workers to appear in large numbers at the mass meeting that evening. The first edition urged the workers to appear armed while in a later edition Spies eliminated the request. In another place the word "Calm!"¹⁵ [*Ruhe!*] was conspicuously printed.

The police took measures to disturb this calm. The reserve troops under the leadership of Inspector Bonfield gathered at the station nearest the Haymarket, and authorities called the militia to their armories. A number of workers and curiosity seekers, not a large number for Chicago, came to the meeting and listened to the rather unexciting speeches by Spies, Parsons, and Fielden. Among the listeners was the highest official and commander of the police, and the mayor of the city, Carter Harrison, who left shortly before ten o'clock since he did not hear or see anything extraordinary or dangerous. He went to the National House where the police reserves were gathered, informed the inspector that the meeting was quiet, and ordered him to release his men. The telegraph report, dated Chicago, May 5, published in the *New Yorker Staatszeitung* and in almost the same version in all larger newspapers, said: "During these events [that is, the holding of the meeting] the police captains Bonfield and Ward with almost 200 men in the stationhouse waited quietly for the socialists to either disperse or do something unlawful. . . ."¹⁶

The mayor went to his home,¹⁷ but the police, angry about missing their sport, disobeyed the order of their commander and marched to the meeting place. There the officer in charge ordered the meeting to close. The last speaker, Samuel Fielden, followed this order by leaving the improvised speaker's platform, a carriage body, with the words: "We are peaceable." At that moment a dynamite bomb was thrown into the rank of the police, causing a great disaster. Heavy revolver fire followed from the side of the police—the meeting was dissolved and broken up. More than thirty policemen were wounded, and seven died of their wounds. The number of the wounded on the other side was never exactly established.¹⁸

This is the factual course of the meeting in Haymarket Square as told in the statements of eyewitnesses, participants, and the mayor and also from telegrams to the large newspapers of the country.

After the first wave of confusion and anger, a deafening cry of rage and revenge from the authorities and citizens, from the cudgel law-and-order heroes rang out. All constitutional and legal guarantees of personal freedom and security were trampled upon, every individual safeguard was thrown

aside, and the naked arbitrary despotism of the police, the brutal Chicago police,¹⁹ reigned over the city.

On the morning of May 5, the complete editorial and typesetter staff of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* was arrested, every chest and box broken into and cleaned out. Meetings were dispersed or forbidden, halls closed, files of organizations opened, suspicious and unsuspicious persons arrested and jailed, houses searched, and so on—all without a shadow of the legal process. It was a true siege, not a small one, *in optima forma* and used against people who did not resist at all, except for Louis Lingg who resisted his arrest energetically and could be overpowered and jailed only after a hard fight. The state of affairs in Chicago during these days, what the bourgeois republic can accomplish in such cases, is most sharply expressed in the statement made by the mayor of Chicago: "If the Queen of England had acted as we have in these days, she would have lost crown and country."

After the police had vented their "courage" on all the elements of the labor movement in Chicago that were uncomfortable for them, judicial proceedings began. The grand jury was summoned and accused Wilhelm Seliger, Samuel Fielden, Adolf Fischer, Georg Engel, Oskar Neebe, and Rudolf Schnaubelt of having thrown the bomb or encouraging and supporting other persons to do so.²⁰

Schnaubelt, later often thought to be the actual bomb thrower, had been arrested by the police but was released after a short interrogation and fled. His hiding place has not become known. Seliger let himself be bought, appeared as so-called witness of the state against his fellow accused, and therefore went free. Parsons had disappeared. When the trial opened in the middle of June, to the surprise of everyone Parsons entered on the side of the defense counsel and voluntarily placed himself before the court to share the fate of his accused friends. He had only hidden himself until the opening of the trial to escape the niceties of the police interrogation.²¹

To present the detailed report of the trial in *Die Neue Zeit* is unnecessary.²² The trial was written up more or less in depth by all labor newspapers at the time. The whole trial was an act of scorn for the general feelings of justice and from beginning to end a denial of all bourgeois conceptions and practices of law—in favor of bourgeois class interests and instincts. The bourgeoisie sat in judgment on the proletarians and their spokesmen; and the bourgeoisie, the victorious bourgeoisie, knows no mercy for those who attack their power, damage their interests, undermine their position, and endanger their property. The bourgeois republic par excellence, the Republic of the United States, gave the world an example of class rule with no fig leaf, without regard for feudal, clerical, or monarchistic traditions and institutions as they still exist in most European countries, and class justice corresponds to class rule.

The judge who presided at the trial did not even bother to appear impartial and rejected every factual and principle defense objection.²³ The seating of

the jury took several weeks because the public prosecutor rejected every man who had any connection with or was a member of the labor organizations, anyone who was suspected of radical views, or was of German descent. On the other hand, the judge, from his power of the bench and against the protest of the defense counsel, allowed people in the jury box who openly showed their disgust for socialists, anarchists, and communists, even a man who had said before witnesses: "Every one of them must hang!" The court official who summoned citizens for jury duty had previously bragged that he would bring the right people for a jury that would hang all of the accused, and the judge refused to order an investigation of this. It has been proven, and not even denied by the public prosecutor's office and the police, that the main witnesses, foul informers, had been bribed with cash.

When all the efforts to prove even one of the accused in direct contact with the bomb throwing failed, the authorities brought into play two articles from the old English common law that declare every helper, supporter, or favorer of a crime to be as punishable as the real criminal. Now the prosecution began against the prisoners as socialists, communists, and anarchists.

Every article in the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, every speech by the defendants in meetings they held or attended, every written or spoken word that contained or seemed to contain a threat against the established society, bourgeois institutions, was read before the court to prejudice the jury against the accused. Socialism, communism, and anarchism—even the labor movement now sat on the defendants' bench—and the judge indicated his stupidity by comparing the accused with common criminals, for example, horse thieves. The main witnesses, the denouncers, Seliger and Waller, did not leave a strong impression, but this privation was finally remedied by the reading of letters from Most and his brochure "The Revolutionary Science of War," which had been found in A. Spies' desk. On August 20, the jury found all defendants guilty of murder and sentenced Spies, Parsons, Schwab, Fielden, Engel,²⁴ Fischer²⁵ and Lingg²⁶ to death and Neebe²³ to fifteen years in the penitentiary.²⁶

That these sentences, on the basis of the statements by witnesses to the actual throwing of the bomb, were in no way justified is generally recognized even by bourgeois authorities, and the judge himself declared: "It is not claimed that the bomb was actually thrown by the defendants." The law was used arbitrarily and the previously mentioned common-law paragraphs were explained in such a way that the moral authorship, documented by continuous inducements to rebellion and the creation of hate and revenge, was as punishable as the deed of any person.

The exploiters of Chicago and the rest of the country demanded revenge for the anxiety they had suffered for several years because of the agitation by the accused, and a terrifying warning to all who wanted to shake the existing order and society. The bourgeois press of the country, the German in the forefront, indulged in the most undignified defamation of the defendants and

cried loudly for their blood. They corrupted public opinion in an unprecedented way against which the labor press struggled in vain, the more so since the nearest weapon, the Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, could only be maintained by straining all its forces to the extreme, and actually appeared for a time under the censorship of the public prosecutor. For a lengthy period every article had to have the approval of the public prosecutor before it could be printed.

In this country, which thirty and forty years earlier had experienced a truly noble-minded movement, the abolitionists—a group of high-minded, self-sacrificing men and women, among them John Brown—has sunk so low that only scattered protests were heard against the intended, and later executed, judicial murder. Among others were two priests in New Jersey and Connecticut, both of whom had to give up their offices.

That the cry for revenge of the bourgeois class and their authorities also influenced a great number of workers, organized workers, could be seen in a striking way by the following efforts to rescind or at least to moderate the sentence. In the summer of 1887, the Supreme Court of Illinois rejected the appeal of the sentences and was followed by the rejection of the appeal by the Supreme Court of the United States—only a few days before the date of execution.

Intelligent and sensible men in Chicago recognized from the start that the use of all judicial means in the bourgeois courts and institutions would be fruitless and that the fate of the convicted men could be altered only through the establishment of a strong proletarian political movement in Chicago itself, since the courts and authorities would only be impressed by an important number of labor votes. The hope for an impressive election movement by the workers, however, proved to be illusory because the organizations were for the most part destroyed and deprived of their leaders, and the small number of labor votes in 1886 and 1887 in Chicago did not impress the people in power.

In the meantime, several sides made great efforts to gain pardon or at least a moderation of the sentences from the governor of the state, and these efforts had a reasonable chance of success—if the great labor organizations of the country truly recommended and supported them. The Knights of Labor stood at that time at the zenith of its power because it had between 600,000 and 800,000 members—some even estimated a million.²⁹ It was greatly respected and had great influence on all public officials and politicians.

The leaders of such a force of workers had to be careful that the labor movement was not damaged. Also, the Knights were obliged to help one of their members, A. Parsons, but every attempt to do so was thwarted. At the annual congress of the Knights in 1887, when a motion was brought forward that the organization come to the assistance of A. Parsons and his comrades, the Grand Master Workman of the Knights, T. V. Powderly, gave the chair

to another member and made a speech full of insults against the convicted men and against the motion. The latter then lost by a large majority.³⁰

The American Federation of Labor passed a few mild protests against the attacks of the police on the freedom of assembly and speech,³¹ and the president of the AFL, Samuel Gompers, made an appeal on his own, that is, unauthorized by the AFL, to the governor of Illinois to change or moderate the sentences because he opposed the death penalty and wanted to prevent "the anarchists from becoming martyrs."³²

The governor changed the death penalty for Schwab and Fielden to life sentences; Lingg committed suicide on November 10, 1887; and Spies, Engel, Fischer, and Parsons were executed on November 11, 1887. They died like men.

The bourgeoisie of the metropolis on Lake Michigan showed their appreciation with the collection of large sums for the support of the wounded policemen and the families of the dead, for the compensation of the jury members for their trouble, and with the erection of a monument in Haymarket Square in the form of a policeman in uniform with a nightstick.

THE 1886 HENRY GEORGE CAMPAIGN IN NEW YORK AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

The bomb of Chicago was followed by a second bomb in New York: an independent and autonomous election movement by the united workers of that city.

Already in the winter days of February 1886, the streetcars had experienced strikes in the neighboring city of Brooklyn, which later found their echo in New York itself: the great strike of the southwestern railroad system of the country inspired the New Yorkers as well as the workers of the whole country. Many trade unions struggled for the reduction of working hours until the late summer; the waiters and barkeepers made noisy efforts to improve their situations; in Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Louis, and in other places, the blood of the workers had flowed—reasons enough to fill the hearts of the wage earners with bitterness and to reach the decision to seek revenge, not revenge on unimportant individual enemies but on the whole enemy army, on the class of the bourgeois exploiters. A rather insignificant incident set off the memorable election movement of New York in 1886.

Some waiters had a dispute with the owner of a saloon they worked in, a man named Theiss with a doubtful reputation. They called a boycott against him and made it succeed by having pickets hand out leaflets to the public in front of the saloon and by other measures. The police and the courts at first did not dare to intervene because of the unrest among the workers in the city. The saloon owner and his beer brewer suffered heavy losses, and the latter

finally arranged a meeting between the union officials (waiters) and the boycotted saloon owner in the brewer's offices. There they reached a compromise agreement: the waiters lifted the boycott in return for payment of the boycott's costs (pickets, printing of the circulars, and so on) by the saloon owner.

Hardly was the matter thus adjusted when, if not by inducement so surely with the knowledge of one or both of the concerned bourgeois sides, the district attorney of the city of New York charged the officials of the waiters' union who had attended the meeting with extortion, which they allegedly committed in demanding money payments with threats. The accused were arrested, brought to trial with unusual swiftness, declared guilty by an "intelligent jury," and sentenced on July 2, by the trial judge, Barrett, to lengthy penitentiary terms—and fines.³³

The workers exploded in universal indignation over this cruel event; the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* stigmatized the sentences and their originators by conspicuously publishing the names and addresses of the jury members and the judge and later defied the threats made by the judge and the public prosecutor; the New York Central Labor Union, at that time very strong and powerful, immediately demanded the acquittal of the convicted and decided on July 18 to begin an *independent election* campaign to teach a lesson to the bourgeois authorities. On August 5 this decision was ratified at a large delegation meeting, and the delegates asked Henry George³⁴ to accept the candidacy for the office of mayor in New York City. On August 26 Henry George set the condition that 30,000 voters of New York City first had to give written assurance that they would vote for him. In a few weeks the demanded 30,000 signatures were collected, and on September 30 a huge meeting presented them to Mr. George who was now officially proclaimed as the candidate for the united workers of New York.³⁵

The program of the campaign and the candidacy of Henry George is too long and broad to be reported here in full.³⁶ From the wealth of phraseology here is a selection. With reference to the beautiful words of the Declaration of Independence "that all men are born equal," and so on, the program demanded:

—The *abolition* of the system "that today forces many human beings to pay money to their fellow humans for nature products which belong to everyone."

—The *abolition* of the system that turns beneficent discoveries, like railroads and telegraphs, into tools for the exploitation of the people and for the ever increasing power of the money aristocracy.

—The *abolition* of all laws that give advantages to one class of citizens in reference to judicial, financial, industrial, or political power.

—Home rule for the city of New York; reform in jury selection; abo-

lition of the property qualifications for jury service; simplification of the trial system; abolition of the recently introduced penalty code; protection against police infringements of the right of assembly, policing of construction sites and sanitary inspections of all buildings, abolition of the contract system in all public works, equal pay for both sexes; abolition of all taxation on buildings, so that the owners of vacant plots are forced either to build there themselves or yield them for this purpose to others.

It was further demanded that the surplus value of real estate induced by the increase of population should be given in the form of taxes to the community for improvements of all kinds and also used to effect the takeover of the existing means of transportation; that there be corruption-free elections, and so on. Finally: "We declare further that the emancipation of the workers should be brought about by the workers themselves."

With the exception of the appended final sentence, meant as an enticement for the more intelligent workers and socialists, the whole program was written to fit Mr. George and insured that the whole campaign would be a purely personal one. This is clear from the fact that the election of members to the legislature was given hardly any attention at all.

An unexampled agitation began. The organized workers of all branches and languages competed with each other in efforts to shake up the voters of the city and to win them for their cause. Nearly every trade union of the city formed Henry George clubs, and in the numerous campaign meetings they left not one corner of the gigantic city untouched or unvisited. All the earlier disagreements and disputes among the different labor groups were forgotten, and even the Knights of Labor, who were at first rather cool toward the campaign, finally became caught up in the common enthusiasm of the masses.

But the German socialists accomplished the most, throwing themselves with fiery passion into the movement and making many sacrifices in energy, time, and money to further the campaign and to bring about victory³⁷—an activity that was highly praised and received warm recognition for the English-speaking leaders of the campaign, from the Knights of Labor and H. George himself. The German socialists of that time showed what enthusiasm can achieve and thus proved that they are capable of remarkable accomplishments if they move on the right track, shoulder to shoulder with their English-speaking comrades.

The strongly influential and powerful New York daily press, excepting the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, opposed the workers. The German-language paper did everything humanly possible to further the campaign with stimulating leading articles in German and English, and various co-workers and employees of the paper followed these written words with stirring speeches that had a great influence and gained many thousands of readers.

The bourgeois parties became apprehensive, especially the Democratic Party which had long ruled the city of New York and also for many years the state of the same name under the leadership of Tammany Hall, one of the old political organizations in the city. Alongside of but opposed to Tammany Hall, another Democratic organization—known by various names but at that time called "County Democracy"—more or less successfully asserted itself for a number of years. The Republican Party was also on the field.³⁸

There was much talk of a coalition of all the bourgeois parties modeled on the infamous German cartels. The weakest in numbers, the Republican Party was not taken enough into consideration during the negotiations and in the end formed its own campaign and nominated its own candidate. But the various previously mentioned Democratic factions, in danger of being politically destroyed and highly anxious about thousands of their official jobs, made peace among themselves, divided the sinecures, and through sheer necessity nominated a comparatively, that is, bourgeois, decent man as their candidate for mayor: Abram C. Hewitt.³⁹ A very rich manufacturer, Hewitt had made a certain name for himself as a member of Congress with investigations into labor affairs and labor conditions in the whole country. George challenged Hewitt to public discussions on the speakers' platform; Hewitt declined, and George wrote sharp open letters to Hewitt who answered them in mild tones.

The Central Labor Union had already in July requested pardon for the Theiss boycotters from the governor of the state, the infamous David B. Hill⁴⁰ (now Senator), but the governor delayed the matter. At first he tried through his subordinates to move the convicted, who sat in the penitentiary, to make personal appeals to him. A number of them decisively rejected the idea. Finally on October 11, three weeks before the election, he pardoned the imprisoned boycotters on the pretext of certain legal doubts regarding the sentencing. However, this had no effect on the workers' election movement.

On October 16, the long-awaited daily English newspaper, *The Leader*, the founding of which had been to a great degree accomplished by Germans, appeared as an evening paper.⁴¹

The intense pitch of excitement during this campaign is indicated by the fact that personal friction and conflicts were not rare. In one case, on October 25, a worker and a George follower was beaten to death by a bourgeois political loafer. A Catholic priest of Irish descent, Edward McGlynn of New York, publicly supported George and created a sensation because the Irish and the Catholic clergy as a rule supported the Democratic party.⁴² Terence V. Powderly, the Grand Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, was also induced to support H. George, and on the day of the election the trio of George, Powderly, and McGlynn drove in an open carriage from ballot box to ballot box making last-minute propaganda. The main core of the campaign leadership, however, thought the kind of propaganda spread by the three superfluous and probably damaging to the cause.

The election was held on November 2. George received 68,242 votes; Hewitt, 91,265; and Roosevelt, the Republican, 60,579. Experts on this country and its customary election practices did not find it unreasonable that the result of the election was in accordance with the fact that all election polls and officials were maintained by Tammany Hall politicians and their supporters.⁴³ But nevertheless, the number of votes officially granted to the workers was in this first political attempt so important and dangerous for the bourgeois politicians that every means was used to avoid a further spreading of the workers' and socialists' independent election movement; indeed, the goal was to bury it altogether.

The victorious losers—because morally they were the victors, despite the election defeat—felt the obligation to keep their organization going, strengthening and building it up for further attacks on the old bourgeois parties, and thus they made an effort in this direction. They tried to maintain the district organizations, which had been established for the campaign, and to unite various individual clubs with them, and finally they created a central body of delegates from these sources. They also organized branches in the rest of New York state, mostly with ominous names like "land and labor clubs," to build a campaign organization for the whole state in the next year (1887).

George founded on January 1, 1887, a large weekly, *The Standard*, to spread his well-known theories on the land and property question and finally to put all his efforts into the single tax demand; that is, he demanded the abolition of all duties and customs and their replacement by one single tax on property. The followers of this plan are called single-taxers.

The Archbishop of New York removed the priest McGlynn from his office and excommunicated him,⁴⁴ whereupon he founded the Anti-Poverty Society. Ostensibly a society to fight against poverty, it consisted only of personal followers of the excommunicated priest and agitated against the Archbishop as a confederate of Tammany Hall. McGlynn preached every Sunday in the Cooper Institute⁴⁵ to the society, which consisted almost exclusively of members of his former parish. He didn't preach the gospel, however; rather, he gave them the words of George and McGlynn. The Anti-Poverty Society fought only the poverty of McGlynn and kept him above water until seven years later he made his way along the road to Canossa (Rome) and was accepted again by the mercy of the church. In 1887 the Anti-Poverty Society was a secure auxiliary for the special followers of George who defended McGlynn eagerly and warmly against the Archbishop in his *Standard*.

The avant-garde of the past campaign, the best helpers—the German socialists—were pushed more and more aside and finally were completely disavowed on the pretext that people who belonged to one political party could not belong to a second party. This arrangement cannot be disallowed but was given only as a pretext because in the last campaign the same

socialists, the same members of a political party, were warmly welcomed and respected as co-fighters for the cause. But now they no longer wanted any socialists, no longer wanted any opponents in principle of bourgeois parties because they were thinking about forming one of their own or an alliance with an existing one.

The new party was formed and called the United Labor Party. The god-parents were the three bourgeois reformers of the last-minute "pleasure drive" on election day, the gentlemen George, McGlynn, and Powderly. They undertook the organization of the whole state of New York—with little success because the workers had already become suspicious of the accentuation on bourgeois reforms and tax projects. Those who joined the new party in New York were mostly petty bourgeois and small farmer elements and pitiful leftovers from earlier so-called reform movements.

But in New York City a hard struggle broke out between the followers of George and the socialists—mostly German—who were denied entry into the new party on the aforementioned pretext. This struggle was softened only during the first few months of 1887 by the huge economic struggle and strikes and also because the evening paper, *The Leader*, at first held back.

The Leader was very weak financially in the spring of 1887 and was maintained so long only by the remarkable sacrifices of the Socialist Publishing Association, the owner and publisher of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*. These sacrifices were completely out of proportion to the existing means as well as to the success of the paper (*Leader*) and almost completely exhausted the resources of the participants. The English-language paper was on the verge of collapsing entirely when an old Democratic politician, O'Brien, offered a large sum for the continuation of the paper at the beginning of June. This same man had in 1874 already tried to gain influence by money on the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, then published in New York, but had been rejected at the time. With the *Leader* he had more success. His offer was accepted after stormy debates but could not secure the existence of the paper, which appeared for the last time on November 1, 1887. It should be mentioned that the *New Yorker Volkszeitung* came out strictly against this transaction in its editorials.

At the beginning of May the New York central committee of the United Labor Party called a convention of the new party for August 17 in Syracuse and excluded the socialists in the selection of delegates. Thereupon the socialists sent a large number of their own delegates to Syracuse to protest against this action and to demand acceptance into the state organization. The effort was in vain because the socialists were excluded by a large majority of the Syracuse convention.

They returned to New York and founded an opposition party to the United Labor Party under the name Progressive Labor Party; naturally it consisted mostly of Germans and also nominated candidates for various state offices.⁴⁶

On September 17, the United Labor Party held a ratification meeting in favor of its banner leader, H. George, and on October 8 the Progressive Labor Party held its own meeting, which the police brutally dispersed. This action caused much bad blood. The participating police, or rather their commanding officers, were brought before the police commissioner who excused their cudgel wielding as a regrettable error.

The Progressive Labor Party (PLP) thereupon called a protest meeting at the same place for October 17 and urged the participants to appear well armed in order to immediately fight off unjustified disturbances, and to meet police arbitrariness there and then. At the same time the PLP took other measures to counteract the police desire to interfere. With a rather large sum of money they secured the services of a number of private detectives from the Pinkerton Agency⁴⁷ to keep a close eye on the city police. Pinkertons against police! Hangman's faces on both sides! Under such conditions the police, who knew their own when they saw them, refrained from blocking the socialists' path. The latter could now hold their meeting undisturbed and could put before their opponents every nuance of the bitter truth.

At the end of October, because of a challenge, a public discussion took place between Sergius Schewitsch⁴⁸ and George in which the latter came off rather poorly. On election day, November 8, George received only 36,000 votes in New York, that is 32,000 fewer than in 1886, while the PLP received only 5,000 votes.⁴⁹

Both parties, the United Labor Party and the Progressive Labor Party, were now played out and gathered around their fathers. The PLP returned to their old banner, the Socialist Labor Party. But the United Labor Party broke into small pieces and went in groups to their bourgeois godfathers. George became a strict free-trader and, after President Cleveland's free-trade speeches (1888), moved with his followers, the single-taxers, over to the Democratic camp. McGlynn's Anti-Poverty Society became an auxiliary of the Republican Party, and Powderly began to beat the drum for the Populists, the party of the small farmers.⁵⁰

* * * * *

To understand the previously mentioned police-Pinkerton business, one has to know the party situation in New York and the relationship of the police to it. The two big bourgeois parties of the United States are the Republicans and the Democrats.⁵¹ But in both are factions that fight each other to a certain degree, that is, a faction of the satisfied who hold positions and a faction of the disappointed who are not standing at the trough. In New York City the Democrats have ruled for generations with short interruptions. This is the well-known faction called Tammany Hall.⁵² In the country districts of the state, the Republicans reign as a rule. As soon as they controlled the rudder,

that is, gained a position of dominance in the legislature, they tried to take away from Tammany Hall as much as they could of the fat plunder that New York City offered the Democrats.

Toward this end, the Republican country uncles passed legislation that removed the power and leadership of the most influential and wealthiest offices from the representatives of the city, the city council elected by the people. This power and leadership was given to commissions that were not elected by the people but appointed mostly by the mayor, for example, for the administration of the police, the parks, public works, the schools, prisons and correction institutions, and so on. In order that the mayor did not gain too much power by appointing too many members of *one* party to the trough, that is, his own party, and to force him to give something to the poor devils from the countryside, the law decreed in most cases that the members of such commissions had to be made up of both parties, they had to be "bipartisan."

Tammany Hall had to put up with this, but took the opportunity to put into office only such Republicans who would not upset the apple cart; this was done by previous agreement with the concerned factions. Thus the police council, the highest police body of the city, was for a number of years manned by two Republicans and two Democrats. While the Republicans settled any differences and conflicts concerning the handing out of offices with the Tammany Democrats in a brotherly fashion, during general elections they were as eager as the two Democrats that their party did not receive the short end of the stick. The many independent parties that from time to time revolted against the normal party despotism, the reform movements of the petty bourgeoisie, and the various labor parties are always closely observed by the administration and handled according to the influence they had on Democratic or Republican voters. If the Republicans fear that one of the small parties might take too many of their votes, then every possible obstacle is thrown in the reformists' path. The Democrats act no differently when they feel threatened.

If several of these little parties are in the field, they are attacked with chicanery by whichever bourgeois party fears it will lose its votes. With regard to these circumstances the police always receive the appropriate instructions, whereby the Democrats and Republicans do each other small favors, which are later balanced in the bartering for offices. Occasionally if the event is important enough, the police are rendered ineffective through secret dealings.

After reading these descriptions one will understand why the police acted in the way we described and the source of the money for the service of the Pinkertons. These conditions are by no means only local, that is, limited to the city of New York, but are wholly legitimate excesses of the pure bourgeois system of rule and are well known in all larger—sometimes also in smaller—cities of the country.

EVENTS AND ELECTION CAMPAIGNS IN
OTHER STATES AND LEGISLATION

In early May 1886, Milwaukee experienced events similar to those in Chicago. The workers demanded the eight-hour day, the reduction of working hours in general, and better working conditions. While various entrepreneurs met union and labor committee demands, others refused to make any concessions at all and attempted to use scabs against the striking workers.

The Allis Rolling Mill in Bayview, a suburb of Milwaukee, which employed mostly Poles, was particularly affected in this way. These Poles became very agitated, held large mass meetings and after one on May 5, marched toward the factory to hold a demonstration against the scabs. The frightened bourgeoisie of the city, mostly Germans,⁵³ had already a few days earlier asked the governor of the state for help against the proletarians. The governor had readily called up the militia to protect the valuable property of the citizens and to threaten the lives of the stubborn proletarians.

A strong section of the militia moved into position before the allegedly threatened factory. Made up mostly of Germans under the command of a Major Traumer, also a German, the unit had the express instructions to make short work of the strikers. When these, almost all Poles, came into easy range of the militia's guns—200 feet—the hero Traumer gave the order to fire, and a number of dead men, women, and children covered the field, which the rest of the strikers left in wild flight. Participants and eyewitnesses confirm that no call or warning was given, and this testimony appears trustworthy because otherwise the shooting exercise would not have been held at such a large distance.

Great bitterness reigned in workers' circles, and minor shooting incidents occurred almost daily during the next few days. The workers held massive protest meetings at which they demanded strict justice and punishment of the trigger-happy militia. But the governor stuck to his policy of trying to frighten the workers into line, knowing well that he had the support of his bourgeois friends and followers, especially the German petty bourgeoisie.

Instead of going after the murderers, the authorities imprisoned workers and the editor of a socialist newspaper, Grottkau, the latter on the charge of encouraging and inducing the strikers during a meeting to attack the factory and the scabs. Grottkau⁵⁴ was sentenced to a year in the penitentiary but was finally freed when he appealed the sentence. The blood of the murdered went unavenged, except for a small revenge that the workers took during the autumn elections. In connection with several other dissatisfied and reform elements, they elected new people to municipal and other offices.

On August 20, 1886, the court sentenced Spies, Parsons, and comrades, and on August 21, the workers of Chicago decided to again enter the election

campaign that had been spoiled for them by the shabby maneuvers of the bourgeois officials and courts.

The first objective was to influence the public, the press, and officials in favor of the convicted men by capturing a large number of votes. Second, the workers' leaders wanted to weld the city proletariat together again and to once more accustom the workers to participation in public life. At this point they had been estranged from the political struggle and in general demoralized, partly by the agitation of the last years, partly by the police brutality, and partly by the defeats and blows they had suffered. Agitation toward this end was carried out under unfavorable circumstances; the Workers' Party had to struggle against great obstacles, and received approximately 20,000 votes, hardly half as much as was necessary to gain the stated objectives.⁵⁵

In the election of April 1887, the workers' candidates received 23,000 votes, but at this point the workers became deeply discouraged because of a number of incidents and betrayals. An example of the former is the general, but especially visible in New York (United Labor Party and the Progressive Labor Party), internecine struggles—and one must count the behavior of Mr. Powderly among the latter. Nevertheless, the workers attempted the political process again in the autumn of 1887, but it ended badly with only 7,000 votes. This small result cost Spies and his comrades their lives because against 40,000 or 50,000 labor votes the governor would never have dared to sign the death sentence.

Furthermore, in St. Louis, Missouri, the workers organized an election campaign, which at first (1886), with the help of the petty bourgeoisie, had some success but soon collapsed until in later years the socialists created a permanent political movement, which they maintained with many sacrifices. A similar political movement was also started in 1886 in Cincinnati, Ohio, but in this state the compromises with the bourgeois parties became so much the rule that they damaged not only the workers' political movement but also their union movement.

With the settlement of the northwestern part of the United States, especially Minnesota and the Dakotas, agriculture and the production of grain began an enormous expansion. The fertile valleys of the upper Mississippi and its tributaries, the endless prairies of the Dakotas, gave agriculture a deeply rich territory that demanded comparatively little work, and the venturesome, smart Americans were quick to secure themselves large areas of the best soil and to build the world-famous giant farms of which P. Lafargue⁵⁶ has written an excellent description for the readers of *Die Neue Zeit* (1885, III, p. 343).

The small farmers could not compete with these huge capitalist enterprises and had to work harder and harder and sell cheaper and cheaper: a very uncomfortable position, which became continuously worse as other countries successfully entered the ranks of the grain-growing states (India, Egypt, Argentina, and so on). To these ills, created by the capitalist exploitation of

the soil and the competition under which the small farmer suffered, must be added the periodic drought damage to a large number of small farmers in the so-called arid zone, which spreads over large parts of Texas, Arkansas, New Mexico, Arizona, Kansas, Nebraska, and other states and territories.

The profits from farm produce became smaller; the expenditures for necessary manufactured products grew because of the protective tariffs; and the interest on loans increased.⁵⁷ No wonder that the small farmers became discontented and restless and finally decided to help themselves through solidarity and unification. They founded the "Farmers' Alliance,"⁵⁸ which gained a large following in the western and southern states of the Union and very soon constituted its own political party.

During the mid-1880s this Farmers' Alliance became active politically and looked east of the Mississippi for allies from other classes, which it did not need so greatly in the states west of the river. Indeed, the Alliance found hardly any support there from other classes. The Alliance saw in the industrial workers the best allies because they were the most numerous, and it tried to induce them to unite politically for action. The Knights of Labor were only too eager and joined with the Alliance without much ado.⁵⁹ Alliances or agreements of such kinds and of such doubtful value existed at various times in Ohio, Indiana, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Michigan, and other states. In this way the partnership was sometimes successful, if only temporarily, and the Union Labor Party, as the new associates called themselves to distinguish them from other parties, achieved victories in 1886 in Ohio (especially in Cincinnati) and Minnesota. California, Colorado, Nebraska, and other states also often experienced such alliances between farmers and workers.

In connection with the farmers' alliances, lately called "Populists," another kind of bourgeois reformer has to be mentioned: the so-called Nationalists who caused much discussion during this period. These are the followers of Edward Bellamy, the author of the famous and much-read novel *Looking Backward*.⁶⁰ These people for the most part came from the social group made up of official bureaucrats and academics—the middle class. They recognize and decry the defects of the existing social order and its pernicious influence on the workers, but they do not want to know anything about the class struggle.⁶¹ They strive for a new order of things: general cooperation by way of social production through the gradual governmental takeover of appropriate areas of production, very moderately beginning with the waterworks, gas and electric companies, railroads and the like.

This group took the name "Nationalists" to avoid indentifying themselves with the "socialists" and found little support among the workers. They damaged the labor movement by supporting Mr. Powderly in bringing the Knights of Labor into closer contact with the Populists and the silver advocates. On

the other hand, it has to be recognized that they were mostly on the side of the workers during their struggles and in general practiced real democratic ideas.

* * * * *

The national legislature, the Congress of the United States, during this period concerned itself almost exclusively with the tariff question. Protective tariffs and free trade were the questions of the day and the theme of the deliberations of Congress for which everything else was pushed into the background. Although both interest groups talked about the welfare of the workers often and loudly, they actually accomplished nothing for the workers except the eight-hour law for the mailmen who, in their overzealous gratitude, had nothing better to do than build a statue in New York to the sponsor of this law, S. S. Cox,⁶² a sly Democratic politician. The poor, inexperienced statue-builders nevertheless all too often have to fight the wind and weather longer than eight hours a day, have to take their demands for overtime to the courts and then—have to wait until Congress approves the necessary funds for payment, a matter it never rushes.

Most state legislatures passed numerous labor protection laws on the well-known American model—to capture votes. These laws have beautiful titles, contain rules that read excellently, and a choice of words that no one can understand or whose meaning blatantly contradicts the title. Real progress came in 1886 when the New York state legislature introduced a factory inspection system.⁶³ But this decidedly well-meant law was rendered ineffective by the appointment of a Democratic labor politician as the head of the office. He refused for many years to employ women or to recognize them as inspectors until forced by law to do so.

The New York legislature continued to deny the repeal of the conspiracy laws,⁶⁴ an old workers' demand, through 1892. The New Jersey state legislature reached a high point of sorts when it passed a law that limited female and juvenile workers to a fifty-five-hour work week. But at present, the sword of Damocles still hangs over this law in the form of a court decision on its constitutionality. Several states established courts of arbitration, but only for the use of some office hunters because they have no authority at all.

Bureaus of labor statistics were opened in most states,⁶⁵ even in the South, and since 1882 their directors have held annual meetings with the factory inspectors to exchange experiences and to unify their legislative efforts. Much good could be accomplished if these officials were independent. But the majority of them belong to a bourgeois party, Democratic or Republican, are appointed by these parties, and fall with them if they lose an election.

EIGHT-HOUR STRUGGLES; STRIKES AND VARIOUS ATROCITIES

The noisy, sensational activities and consequences of the eight-hour struggles have been described earlier, namely, the bomb throwing in Chicago, the Henry George campaign in New York, and the election movement of the workers in other states. Along with these great battles, and often concurrent with them, there were smaller battles all over the land: every bone in the American proletariat itched for action. Some of the multitude of events during those agitated times must be mentioned.

Even before the actual eight-hour movement, before that remarkable May 1886, already in March of the same year, as reported earlier, the employees of the southwestern railroads went on strike because one employee was fired for participating in a delegates' meeting of the Knights of Labor. The leadership of the strike lay in the hands of an energetic man, Martin Irons.⁶⁶ Jay Gould, the director of the concerned railroad system, probably would have been forced to make concessions if the Knights of Labor, then at the height of their development, had stood by their brothers, if the Grand Master Workman Powderly had not been afraid of every decisive step, of every resolute man.

Powderly, as usual, played the diplomat and traveled to New York to gain concessions from Jay Gould. Gould, who was cleverer than Powderly, knew at the time that the strikers were already weakened, and he flattered Powderly around in circles. The Grand Master Workman disavowed Martin Irons, and the strike collapsed after disturbances occurred in several places, and after Pinkertons in the employ of the railroads shot down several workers in East St. Louis, Illinois, a suburb of St. Louis.⁶⁷ The leaders and numerous participants in the strike were disciplined, and the Knights of Labor lost many of the railroad workers in that area.

Already in February 1886, the streetcar workers of Brooklyn, New York, and neighboring areas demanded a reduction in working hours and better treatment. This resulted in a strike that ended with concessions. In May, larger strikes and disturbances broke out on several such streetcars in the city of New York. The workers' struggle with the richest and most powerful company, the Third Avenue Railroad, was particularly rough. It ended in the defeat of the workers and a boycott of the railway, which they maintained for many years.

True to the 1884 resolution of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, the workers demanded on May 1, 1886, the eight-hour day in most cities and industrial centers of the country, led, of course, by the organized workers.⁶⁸ The joiners, cabinetmakers, carvers, painters, piano makers, carpenters, bricklayers, masons, plasterers, pipe layers, machinists, locksmiths and blacksmiths, bookbinders, printers, leather-workers, haber-

dashers and fancy goods workers, tinsmiths, cigarmakers, furriers, dress cutters, longshoremen, and many other trades took up this demand. On the whole, the skilled workmen, the mechanics and artisans, stood with the movement. The cigarmakers, the book printers, the furniture and construction workers led the movement and shied away from no sacrifices; they also profited the most from the struggle. The miners, divided into two groups—Knights of Labor and American Federation of Labor—could do little; and the iron- and steelworkers showed little eagerness. On the other hand, the streetcar workers in New York and vicinity, in Boston and other places, as well as the wood fumace workers of Chicago, those in the slaughterhouses and in the farm machine factories, fought many tough battles against their exploiters.

The New England states remained relatively quiet because the textile industry there, except for the spinners, contained mostly unorganized workers: women, children, and French-Canadians. Certain districts in Rhode Island, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, where metal, wood, and leather were processed and other industries existed, constitute exceptions. Despite all their sympathy for the eight-hour cause, the home industry trades participated very little in the movement. This was also true of the workers in the various clothing industry branches, except for the cutters, and, with minor exceptions, all of the female workers.

Excepting the already mentioned streetcar workers, the hundreds of thousands of workers in the transportation field—the railroads, transport businesses, and telegraphers—remained passive observers for the most part. The telegraphers had suffered a heavy defeat three years earlier.⁶⁹ Most of the railroad men remained alienated from the workers' organizations. They remained with their own special groups and, as far as they were represented in the Knights of Labor, had been beaten and punished by friend and foe shortly before.

Nonetheless, a great move forward was made in those days, and during these first sieges several advantages were gained, even though they were soon narrowed and reduced again. Still these events remained an active memory so that new attacks on the exploiters could be made more often and between increasingly shorter pauses. The above-mentioned furniture and construction workers, the cigarmakers, the typographers, as well as the bakers and brewery workers gained continual benefits from this movement.

The eight-hour movement suffered most harm through the official indifference of the Knights of Labor; that is, the indifference of the Knights' officials and leaders who did not even maintain a benevolent neutrality.⁷⁰ This attitude damaged many of the trade unions that leaned on the great respect and power of the Knights who had an estimated membership of 1 million at the time. Their existence threatened, the leaders and officials of the trade unions on May 26, 1886, turned for help to the Knights' special general congress in Cleveland with the suggestion to create a cartel of mutual recognition.

The general congress answered this recommendation brusquely by summoning the trade unions to join the Knights of Labor *in corpore* and by even crippling the eight-hour demand in their own declaration of principles. The conflicts between the trade unions and the Knights became more frequent and sharper.⁷¹ The Knights' officials often did not even consider the complaints of the trade unions. The latter appointed a committee to discuss and negotiate the disputed issues with the Knights' executive (September 1886). The latter assured the committee that their regular congress in Richmond, Virginia (November 1886), would bring about changes. But nothing of the sort happened there. The whole matter was then worsened by actually hostile resolutions against individual unions, most especially against the cigarmakers.

At this point the officials of the open trade unions called a congress of union delegates for December 8, 1886, in Columbus, Ohio. The Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions also called its annual congress for December 7, 1886, in Columbus. There the existing federation was dissolved, and the two groups united and transformed themselves into the American Federation of Labor.⁷² Among others this congress passed the following resolution: "The convention of the trade unions urgently recommends the hearty support of an *independent political movement of the workers*."⁷³ The congress also passed a very sharp resolution against the behavior of the Knights of Labor and from this point on a permanent state of war existed between the two big labor unions.

New struggles developed in the East in New York—not with the exploiters but among the exploited as a result of the exclusion of the socialists from the United Labor Party as reported above. The struggle between the United Labor Party (ULP) and the Progressive Labor Party (PLP) also cast its shadow on the Central Labor Union of New York, the body that inaugurated and supported the George movement. We have seen how the ULP threw itself into the arms of the ambitious bourgeoisie. Therefore, it is not surprising that questionable elements, supporters of the bourgeois parties, pushed into the Central Labor Union and gained influence there.

Against this corruption, which appeared openly during the presidential campaign in 1888, a strong opposition formed to which most of the Germans belonged. This opposition party finally left the Central Labor Union in the beginning of 1889 and founded a new central body of trade union delegates, the Central Labor Federation, which immediately joined the AFL and received a charter from it.

The majority of the participants mourned this separation of trade unions. Various sides made reconciliation attempts, the most objectionable elements were partly removed, and the two bodies reunited; that is, the Central Labor Federation *in corpore* joined the Central Labor Union again in December 1889.

But peace did not last long. The old enmities broke out again, and a new

secession occurred in the spring of 1890. The Central Labor Federation, as it called itself again, requested its old charter from the AFL and when this was refused asked for a new one, which AFL officials also denied, because in the meantime the Central Labor Federation had accepted into membership the American section of the Socialist Labor Party, an association that is neither a union nor a strictly labor association and belonged to a political party.

The CLF appealed to the AFL congress that met in December 1890 in Detroit, Michigan, and sent as its delegate and bearer of its demands the representative of—the American section. The negotiations on the case lasted two full days and ended with a CLF defeat: its delegates were rejected by a vote of seventy-nine to eighteen with five abstentions. The Socialist Labor party later recalled its delegates from the CLF, but this central body of socialist trade unions from then on became the declared enemy of AFL officials, if not the AFL itself.⁷⁴

In 1887 and 1888 the workers led numerous individual struggles for better working conditions and shorter working hours and also to maintain successes they had achieved earlier, but these struggles ended mostly in defeat. Only the cigarmakers, the German typographers, and various branches of the furniture and construction workers knew how to maintain the advantages for which they had struggled so hard. They were numerous represented in the AFL and, thanks to their influence and examples, the AFL convention in St. Louis in December 1888 passed a resolution to make new efforts to gain the eight-hour day in May 1890. This resolution prompted the 1889 International Congress in Paris to introduce the May 1 celebration along with the demand for the eight-hour day.⁷⁵

To create the atmosphere for the movement, the workers held huge mass meetings in 1889 on national holidays—February 22, July 4, and on Thanksgiving Day. In December 1889, the Boston AFL convention decided that the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners should demand the eight-hour day on May 1, 1890, supported by the other organized trades. This brotherhood, one of the best-organized unions in the country, accepted the honorable task and achieved a remarkable success.

In 144 places across the country the workers organized strikes after their demands had been refused: in 130 places for the reduction of working time and in fourteen places for a wage increase. The strikers won 132 of the 144 strikes; that is, the large majority of the members gained a reduction of working hours, even if not always to eight hours. The sacrifices for this important success were relatively minor; the friendly unions helped the carpenters with \$15,000, which the brotherhood paid back in a short time.

The success of the carpenters encouraged the trade unions to further action and in December 1890, labor leaders decided that the miners, that is, the coal haulers, should make the next thrust forward on May 1, 1891, with the help of the other trade unions. There were great expectations for this because the

miners had lately made remarkable progress in uniting their forces and perfecting their organization. Approximately two months before the date set, in early March 1891, a desperate strike broke out among the coke workers in western Pennsylvania, which spread into the coal-mining areas of the rest of that state, Maryland, and West Virginia, paralyzing the miners' organizations in those areas. The officials and leaders of the miners seemed to have lost their heads and courage and also did not measure up to the situation so that, in the end, no one knew if the eight-hour demand would really be made. Under the circumstances the AFL executive refused to take financial responsibility for supporting the strike, and the whole thing fell apart. Many rumors floated about regarding the intrigues of the Knights of Labor against the intended strike, while the Knights for their own part accused the AFL of having forsaken the miners.

The Knights, that is, its officials, had created much indignation and displeasure among the workers generally by their behavior during the strike of the southwestern railroad workers and during the eight-hour struggles, as well as by their animosity toward the open trade unions, specifically the cigarmakers. Also their lackadaisical behavior toward the workers' independent political movement in New York and other places, the resolutions of the general assemblies in Cleveland, Richmond, and St. Paul against the convicted anarchists of Chicago, and the shameful behavior of their executive against the anarchists had weakened the Knights' reputation.

A striking example supporting our negative judgment on the position of the Knights and its officials in the movement of the year 1886 is clearly seen in the instructions Grand Master Workman Powderly gave to his representative, Barry, in Chicago on November 10, 1886:

In a circular issued March 13, 1886, I stated the policy of the Knights of Labor on the eight-hour question. The circular was read to and approved by the general Executive Board before it went out. It was afterward approved by the entire order. In opposition to that circular men at the stockyards struck for eight hours. The Order of the Knights of Labor was not brought into the controversy, hence no action necessary during session of general assembly. Men at stockyards struck again. You were sent to try to settle, but in case of failure the Order was not to be involved or asked for assistance. You settled by ordering the men back at old hours. They have in violation of law and without notifying us again struck for eight hours. The Board instructs you and Carleton, who will be with you today, to settle by putting men back at old hours until the Order of the Knights of Labor takes definite action on eight-hour plan. *If men refuse, take their charters. We must have obedience and discipline.*⁷⁶

T. V. Powderly

This was read to the concerned workers on November 13, and they were forced with this to take up their work in the slaughterhouses under the old system again. To control the growing displeasure in their own ranks and the diminishing respect on the outside, the Knights for some time now have adhered to a more liberal policy toward strikes and the like, techniques that until now they had looked upon condescendingly with petty-bourgeois eyes and supported only reluctantly.

In December of 1886 the streetcar workers in Brooklyn went on strike again and, with the help of a sympathetic public, gained speedy recognition of their moderate demands for a twelve-hour workday, while up until now the streetcar employees all over the country worked fifteen to seventeen hours per day and did not even receive time enough to eat their meager meals.

The coal shovelers' strike at the end of February 1887 attracted a great amount of attention. The harbor of New York, at the mouths of the Hudson, Passaic, and Hackensack rivers, is the end terminal for many railroads that transport coal from the mines in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and West Virginia—for example, the railroad lines Erie, Reading, Lehigh, Susquehanna, Delaware, and Lackawanna. Huge quantities of coal are brought to the bay of New York partly for the use of the 3 million inhabitants of New York and its suburbs and partly to be shipped up and down the eastern coast of the United States. Many thousand coal shovelers, who had been organized for about two years and belonged to the Knights of Labor, unloaded and reloaded these huge quantities of coal.

Several large railroad and coal companies had announced a reduction of wages to the coal shovelers, and the shovelers put down their work in protest. They made sure that no scabs replaced them and, since the police do not like extra work if there is nothing to be gained by it, the largest part of the coal commerce and transport was halted. But on the New Jersey side, the owners hired Pinkertons who immediately opened fire when a few young people scorned them, and they killed a fourteen-year-old boy. This bloody deed created a great furor, and the Pinkertons were quickly recalled. The strike ended after fourteen days' duration with the repeal of the wage reduction.

At the beginning of 1888 a strike broke out on the Reading Railroad, which directly connects Philadelphia with the coalfields of Pennsylvania, because the owners demanded the employees resign from the Knights of Labor. The struggle was hard and the workers lost because members of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers betrayed them by becoming strikebreakers. Shortly thereafter, at the Quincy Railroad which leads west from Chicago, the locomotive engineers, members of the brotherhood, struck under the leadership of the famous Mr. Arthur.⁷⁷ The workers of the Reading Line, who had been betrayed by this brotherhood, now hurried to the West to take revenge on the Messrs. locomotive engineers. Mr. Arthur, head of the brotherhood, swiftly contacted the executive of the Knights of Labor and signed an agree-

ment for mutual recognition so that the locomotive engineers suffered a black eye and a small loss.

A remarkable number of workers on the powerful New York Central Railroad, the so-called Vanderbilt system, had joined the Knights of Labor during the 1880s. On the average they were contented people—remember the strike of 1877—but during the years, abuses damaging to the employees had crept in. They were evidently treated in the years 1886 to 1889 worse than previously. The railroad directors wanted to break the workers' resistance before their centralization had gone too far and before too-large demands were made on the railroad's productive capacity. The directors further increased the workers' indignation in a quiet way, so it would not come to the attention of the public through unmotivated discharges of Knights of Labor members. Finally, in 1890 a large strike broke out.

The workers counted on the help of their brothers in the Knights as well as the other co-workers on the railroad, but neither offered support. The usual differences regarding the leadership of the strike broke out between the officials and leaders of the workers at the point of action and the executive of the Order in Philadelphia. During this conflict Grand Master Workman Powderly wrote a letter to the leader or foreman of the strikers in which he accused the strikers and their leaders of rashness and stupidity: they should have postponed their strike until 1892 when they would have had an easier time because of the World Fair traffic. The railroad directors proved themselves to be as clever and even more clever than Mr. Powderly because that was exactly the reason they took preventive action and goaded the workers to strike *then*, not later. Powderly's letter was published; the strike and with it further respect for the Order were lost.

The workers in the breweries, who earlier languished under miserable conditions, low wages, and unlimited working hours, who hardly knew a Sunday or a holiday and suffered undignified treatment, had in the early years of this period created a good organization and for the most part joined the AFL. Young organizations, like young people, often possess a praiseworthy enthusiasm that does not take into account each chance of success or failure and therefore easily produces crises. Evidently this happened to the brewery workers who had numerous, lengthy, difficult struggles in the period from 1886 to 1892, struggles that occasionally inspired the working class of the entire country.

The largest and most difficult struggle between the brewery workers and the brewery owners began in Milwaukee, the German Athens, the beer metropolis of the country, in the spring of 1888—a battle whose consequences are still being felt today (1894). The malt house workers had difficulties with their principals and, when they appeared to be on the short end of things, the brewers' union of Milwaukee took up their cause and called a strike to show sympathy and support for them. The brewery owners joined the battle and

attempted to occupy their breweries with scabs to keep business going. Thereupon the striking workers appealed to their class comrades throughout the country and called a boycott of Milwaukee beer. This action hit the gentlemen owners particularly hard because a large percentage of the beer brewed in Milwaukee was shipped to every corner of the country and sold in large quantities.

At this point, the Milwaukee brewery owners appealed to their class comrades, who came readily to their aid, partly through the discharging of organized brewery workers, partly by forcing their workers to leave the union, and partly by compensating boycotted inn and saloon keepers. The Association of Brewery Owners, especially strengthened for this purpose, was called a "pool,"⁷⁸ and the beer distributed by them called "pool beer." Beer from breweries that were at peace with their workers was known as "union beer." The workers also called for the boycotting of pool beer. Pool beer and union beer played a nasty role in the labor movement here for many years, producing much conflict among numerous workers' organizations, which often had to change their meeting places to keep away from pool beer and to stay with union beer. It is impossible to thoroughly describe these struggles and conflicts—thus, only the major aspects have been reported.

The Knights of Labor, which does not accept saloon keepers and has a cosy relationship with the temperance movement, originally did not even want to accept brewery workers, but later reconsidered and accepted certain sections of them, which led to squabbles between workers of the same trade.

The bakers also made good progress in organizing their trade at first, but they soon experienced internecine conflicts, particularly in New York and Chicago.

The powerful Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers maintained their hard-won victories regarding wages and working hours during most of this period, but they also continued at their usual low level as loyal auxiliaries of the protectionist tariff party in Pennsylvania, which found its major support there. But when Mr. Frick,⁷⁹ the confidant of Mr. Carnegie, appeared on the scene, the workers' troubles really began. With the building of blast furnaces in the South, in Georgia and Alabama, and with the growth of the free-trade movement, wage struggles started, particularly with Mr. Frick. These finally led to the memorable battle of the Monongahela, and to the murderous struggles in Homestead which have been the subject of a special article in *Die Neue Zeit*. [See chapter 10.]

With the exception of the silk weavers who were concentrated in New England, the textile workers directed their efforts toward the achievement of protective labor legislation, particularly to reduce working hours and to create sanitary conditions for children and women. The majority of the textile workers everywhere is made up of women and minor persons who are difficult to organize and—do not have the vote. The legislators who boast of their love-

thy-neighbor and humanitarian attitudes are very sensitive to profits and dividends and are careful to arrange all regulations and laws for the protection and improvement of the workers so that their stock values are not damaged. Still the exploited won a number of small victories here and there, particularly in Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New Jersey, and New York. The main fighters were always the spinners who have a good organization and for a number of years have seen to it that one of their own and a few friends of their cause sit in the legislature of the most important state, Massachusetts.

Aside from the important and consequent-laden events described above, which ensure the period 1886-1892 a permanent place in the annals of the American proletariat, the labor movement in the United States during these years suffered from a feverish excitement with the accompanying symptoms of a boycott epidemic. Boycotts here, boycotts there, boycotts everywhere. At certain points it became extraordinarily difficult, and was considered a great achievement, if one could get along without violating one boycott or another.

The worst of the whole business was that rival groups within the same trade did not recognize each others' boycott resolutions, causing loathsome bickering, endless conflict, and minor intrigues, which resulted in their attempting to grab the bread out of each others' mouths to the joy and laughter of the bourgeoisie. As if it was not enough to cause conflict in their own ranks, their behavior brought about much confusion in all other organizations. We have already shown this in the description of the struggles of the brewery workers, and to say anything further on the subject is useless. To count up all the boycotts of this period, certainly to attempt to describe them, is beyond human capabilities because for a time the workers' organizations—whether the AFL, the Knights of Labor, or the independents—all competed with one another in calling boycotts. Not only the brewers, but the waiters, bakers, cigarmakers, and the Knights of Labor became infected with this epidemic in various parts of the country. Only at the end of the period did the temperature begin to approach a normal condition.

In this period, as in the 1880s as a whole, the sharp change in the nationality and character of immigrants is noticeable and remarkable. For forty years heavy immigration flowed almost completely from two sources: Germany and Ireland. In the 1860s and 1870s many Scandinavians also immigrated, particularly from Norway, most of them moving to the Northwest, almost completely occupying Minnesota, for example. During the same years the Chinese flowed into the Pacific states and also began to found colonies in the East. Of the other European peoples, only the Bohemians (Czechs) had small colonies in New York, Chicago, and some other areas. The French-Canadians can hardly be counted as immigrants because they traveled back and forth across the border according to the season. The incredible growth of industry in the 1860s absorbed the heavy immigration with ease and could not get enough of it.

The great majority of immigrants, the Irish and the Germans, acclimated

themselves bit by bit; they accustomed themselves to the country's customs and mores and gladly accepted the native-born workers' living standard, to the great displeasure of the entrepreneur class. The Scandinavians preferred to go into farming, and the Pacific states raised such a storm against the importation of Chinese that Congress passed a law that practically cut off their immigration.

Thus the bourgeois entrepreneurs found themselves in something of a bind regarding willing and cheap wage workers. But they soon reminded themselves that Europe consisted not only of Ireland and Germany and sent their dealers in human flesh into other countries, especially in southern Europe and even into Asia Minor. A broad stream of immigrants from Italy, Greece, Slovenia, Hungary, Poland, indeed even from Syria and Armenia flowed from the beginning of the 1880s into the United States. The exploiters grinned with pleasure over their twofold success: first, that they received tractable, frugal workers for low wages, and second, that they could throw a new bone of contention into the working class.

Not only the nationality of the immigrants had changed, but also their general character was different from that of the previous groups in that a large percentage of the new immigrants looked for only a temporary stay and income in the United States. Almost without exception, earlier immigration consisted of workers who had "tired of forced striving" and sought in the United States not only worthwhile work, greater mobility, and relief from petty police chicanery and so forth, but also a new homeland. With more or less success they achieved this.

But the new immigration for a great part consisted of young workers who did not observe the American workers' living standards and mostly retained their traditional low standards and saved little sums of money to return to their old homeland, buy small pieces of property, and continue to vegetate. In this way, not only through the depression of the labor market, which of course also helped, an emigration of immigrants started. The Slavs of the Austrian monarchy participated most heavily, most recently followed by the Italians and Scandinavians. After working hard for five to six years or more, such a frugal man could save, according to circumstances, \$150 or \$300 and, after his return to the districts of Hungary, Austria, and Italy with this sum—that is with 500 or 900 gulden, or 800 to 1500 lire—he already was a well-to-do man and could begin to be a petty bourgeois.

It has already been mentioned that the French-Canadians crossed the border back and forth according to the labor market. Similarly, but not on such a great scale, trained English workers, for example, the stonemasons and other construction workers, did the same thing. These last named, the seasonal emigrants and immigrants, are also the reason for the regulation in some trade unions of the United States to accept only those persons who have been at work for at least six months.

The Italians form the greatest percentage of the new immigration. Prefera-

bly they are used in groups to build railroads, canals, and streets all over the country and are usually exploited twofold and threefold by the entrepreneurs, by the contractors, and by their foreman, usually a compatriot who knows English, a *padrone*. In Louisiana a large Italian colony formed, which, like all the others, also contained undesirable elements who kept the authorities of New Orleans busy. The chief of police was murdered, and a large number of Italians were brought to trial for this reason and for participation in a dangerous secret league. The sentencing was mild and the law-abiding citizens started a real uprising, stormed the prison, lynched and barbarically slaughtered a number of Italians in true American fashion. Italy demanded reparation and broke off diplomatic relations for a lengthy period when the government of the United States declared itself to have no jurisdiction in the case.⁸⁰

In the west of Pennsylvania an important coke industry had developed. The often-mentioned Mr. Frick had "worked himself to the top," as the bourgeoisie say, and, with the help of the directly imported scabs, oppressed the mostly resident workers so much that they had to leave. But then he oppressed the newcomers, mostly Slavs and Hungarians, even more—so much so that they finally rebelled violently, at first in January and February 1886. Disturbances of this kind have become chronic in the coke district.

The Jewish immigration during that time also increased heavily, especially from 1889, as a result of the mistreatment and persecution of the Jews in Russia. They mostly went to the big cities and formed a welcome element for the spreading of the sweatshop system, because the majority of the Jewish immigrants work in the clothing industry. In New York alone there are 70,000 to 80,000 Russian and Polish Jews.

The immigration of the "unwelcome elements," as the natives call the various newcomers, became uncomfortable for part of the ruling class in the East, and they demanded restriction, beginning with the ban of immigration with a labor contract; the AFL and the Knights of Labor made a similar demand. For a longer period, immigration was made difficult through various chicaneries.

THE GERMANS AND THE SOCIALISTS

In the previous sections of this chapter we mentioned the German workers and their participation in the important events of this period several times. A short recapitulation and supplement follows.

It is well known that the German workers participated heavily in the Chicago events of 1886. We have already described the situation at that time and, in order to establish as closely as possible the responsibility falling to the German workers, we quoted a lengthy statement of one of the convicted men.

"We were young and unexperienced but on the road toward a healthy correct development when the catastrophe broke out" are the words of one of the sentenced leaders. The labor movement in Chicago, one of the most important areas of the country, suffered a great setback then, from which it has not yet completely recovered but from which it does not follow that the proletarians of Chicago have become indolent. Even though political work was made harder and spoiled, they accomplished remarkable things in the field of trade unionism. And it is only to be regretted that the majority of the numerically very strong German workers belong to a special central body, the Central Labor Union, which is in active opposition to the Trades and Labor Council, the general trade union council of Chicago.

We have already described the tremendous participation of the German workers and socialists in the Henry George campaign and its aftermath in New York. The secession of the Central Labor Federation from the Central Labor Union in New York was the work of the Germans as was the above-mentioned separation in Chicago. Only the names are different. What in Chicago is called Central Labor Union is in New York the Central Labor Federation; what in Chicago is called the Trades and Labor Council is in New York the Central Labor Union.

Regardless of which side and from which point of view these separations may be viewed, the inevitable result was and is the damaging of the labor movement to the point of abandoning the proletariat's aspirations. The mutual hostility of the competing labor delegations and congresses irresistibly leads to personal discord, causes petty intrigues, paralyzes the actions of the organized workers to the point of powerlessness, and delivers them to the curse of ridiculousness, to the scorn and sarcasm of the bourgeoisie.

Workers and wage earners have to struggle united for the improvement of their situation, to bring about human conditions through the abolition of abuses and evils, and to lift their class materially and intellectually. Workers and wage earners have to go united against the exploiters, against the entrepreneurs, against the bourgeoisie, against the ruling class. In this difficult struggle the workers and wage earners have to stand united and determined like the members of a family, like brothers who know only one common goal, only one common interest. And those who have gained, or think they have gained, a deeper understanding into life in society, a sharper insight into the social order, a better judgment on economic and political events must use and prove their deeper understanding, their sharper insight, by enlightening the ignorant, by encouraging the disheartened, by brotherly indulgence and patience with the weak and by steadfastness against the malevolents. But, if for reasons of integrity and honesty, cooperation has become impossible—which can happen and has happened—then a *modus vivendi* has to be found for peaceful *coexistence*.

In the eight-hour movement the organized German workers contributed

their full share, even achieved independent victories and helped with all other successes. The German Typographia, the trade union of German typesetters and book printers of the country, has the honor of having successfully struggled for the eight-hour day—and maintaining it. The cigarmakers, at least half of them German, also pushed through the eight-hour day and set an excellent example of what a good union organization can achieve. The great successes of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Construction Carpenters are due to a large degree to the ambition of the numerous German workers in this brotherhood. The advantages gained by the furniture workers and piano makers are also to a large degree due to the Germans, and similar things can be said about the painters and several branches of construction workers, about the furriers and cutters, the workers in the silk and carpet weaving industries.

The organizing of the bakers, the brewery workers, and the waiters and busboys was in the beginning exclusively the work of Germans, and the young organizations achieved remarkable advantages at first. Here the German workers and socialists accomplished highly meritorious work, which was later somewhat damaged through the already mentioned boycott epidemic that raged throughout the whole country from New York to San Francisco, from Bangor to New Orleans.

Since the majority of the organized German workers are socialists, one could assume that by the description of the activities of German workers in the United States the discussion concerns only socialists. However—there are socialists and Socialists. There are socialists as such, to which most of the organized German workers belong, and there are Socialists in particular, official Socialists, members of the Socialist Labor Party, socialists par excellence. There remains something to be said about the latter, especially about their national executive committee, their executive, as it is called here for short.

The executive of the Socialist Labor Party resided during this whole period in the two neighboring towns of New York City and Brooklyn and made continuous, if largely unsuccessful, efforts to expand this socialist organization. During the first three years (1886–1889) especially, the executive strictly adhered to the letter of socialist dogma and thus often lost the spirit of it. They obstinately insisted on adhering to the statute of the organization without considering the peculiar development of the situation which cannot be forced into a straitjacket; they always wanted to be first and often ended up last because of their clumsiness. They lacked understanding of the important events in 1886 and 1887 and the initiative to exploit these events for the socialist cause, as well as the courage and virility to maintain a secure position.

During the great New Yorkers' election campaign in 1886, the executive acted rather listlessly, and it approved the 1887 campaign (Progressive Labor Party) only a few days before the election. The executive observed the struggle almost indifferently because the little word *socialist* did not appear at the

head of the ballot and proclamations. These people missed the point that movement, vigorous agitation, is the first requisite for existence and any progress. They embraced words instead and finally collapsed pitifully.

When the bomb exploded in the Haymarket and the white terror reigned in Chicago, when the workers' press was censored there, the right of assembly suspended, the personal security of the habeas corpus abolished, and the sanctity of the home disrespected, when the official bourgeoisie started to destroy the leaders of the proletariat in the giant city on Lake Michigan, then the executive of the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) could think of nothing better to do than to whine into the world and into the ears of the bourgeoisie: *We are no anarchists, we have nothing to do with them.*

Josef Dietzgen, the philosopher of the proletariat as Marx called him,⁸¹ moved to Chicago in March 1886 where the executive ordered him to remain as a co-worker of the *Socialist*, the central organ of the SLP, and to write reports of the situation in and around Chicago. Almost every number of the journal in March and April of 1886 contained writings by Dietzgen. When his report on the Haymarket bomb affair reached the editorial staff of the *Socialist*, they showed it to the executive, which rejected it. The latter asked its secretary to inform Dietzgen that his report, the report of an eyewitness, did not agree with the point of view of the executive sitting 1,000 miles away and therefore could not be published. Fear, it seemed, lay in the bones of this peculiar labor party executive, and it is almost surprising that they did not fare as Lingennau, who became famous through his last will and who died as a result of the fears that the poor fellow suffered during the railroad unrest.

The executive thirsted quite madly for a testimonial of good behavior, and the police finally relented and gave it a certificate of good conduct for the person who replaced Dietzgen. This man wrote his reports for the *Socialist* to the liking of his bosses in New York. As it happened, the police arrested him, as they did many people in Chicago at that time. He was brought before a police captain who questioned him about his work and status. The party comrade and correspondent of the *Socialist* explained to the policeman that he tried to write about the mistakes and sins of the anarchists with whom neither he nor his party comrades had anything in common. The supervisor of the law and nightstick heroes was happy to make the acquaintance of such a solid, honorable man and released him with the following words, recorded by the correspondent. "You are a right fellow; go home and write that, it's all right!"

One should compare that with the deeds and presence of Dietzgen, as an earlier employee of the Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung* described it:

When, in May of 1886, the labor movement became more and more active, after the Haymarket-bomb had exploded and the reaction with its police rule reminiscent of Russia developed, when cautious and careful

people found it wise to deny knowing the imprisoned editor of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* as a human being, then, on May 6, an old gentleman appeared on the scene and offered his services to the editors of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, that is, to those editors who had not preferred to hide in the bushes. He declared it his duty to help in a time of need because it seemed necessary to him that the fighters and workers of Chicago should not be without their organ. This old gentleman, a giant of a man, with the air of an old patriarch as they can be seen in good, old pictures, was Josef Dietzgen. He had just recently moved to Chicago, the young world-city, to spend the autumn of his life with his children. It was the same Dietzgen who had been made fun of so often in the Chicago paper by Spies and his co-workers during a spiteful controversy which was brought about by Dietzgen's old-fashioned colorful style.

Dietzgen, who did not want or expect payment for his services, showed himself to be a courageous and unselfish man by this offer. Not only the men to whom he made the offer comprehended this, but also those who later heard about it admired and respected him for it. Two weeks later, when the administrative council of the Socialistic Publishing Society met, its members unanimously elected him chief editor for the three journals appearing under the Society's banner: *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, *Fackel* (a Sunday paper) and *Vorbote* (the weekly).

When the new chief editor took over the position he did so with a short speech, the content of which characterized the whole man: "I have been elected as your chief editor, gentlemen! If this position is connected with the duties of an overseer or taskmaster, then I do not fit it. I will have to limit myself to writing my articles. I have been told this editorial staff lacks unity. Well, if you can place your trust in me, then bring in to me each case of differences of opinion and make peace."

Well, lack of unity did not create much of a problem, but the editorial staff did trust their new chief editor and came to respect him like a father. Nothing changed this relationship, even though Dietzgen did not retain the position as chief editor for very long. He soon gave up the title and contented himself with writing articles until his death in April 1888. This almost-too-moderate man who shyly avoided appearing in public was known only to a few in Chicago. But all who had the good fortune to make his acquaintance loved the man Dietzgen and respected his character.

The writer of this unadorned testimony was correct. All who knew the honorable man Dietzgen loved and respected him, except for a few people in New York.

Already in the first months of 1886 the executive had sent invitations to

Bebel⁸² and Liebknecht⁸³ to undertake an agitation tour through America. Both had originally agreed, but Bebel later declined. The executive then engaged Edward Aveling of London, who spoke English, for the propaganda tour, which began at the end of September 1886. It covered the eastern, northern, and many western states, ending in December. In every large city and industrial center visited, numerous meetings were held in which Liebknecht, Aveling, and often his wife, the youngest daughter of Karl Marx,⁸⁴ explained the principles of socialism and recruited members for the Socialist Labor Party.

The socialist ambassadors expended great amounts of energy and worked hard. The results proved to be fruitful until the executive started a fight with Aveling about expenditures and ruined the good that had been accomplished. The personal honor of Aveling was never questioned, but the ability of the executive at that time to respect the simplest rules of decency was thrown into question. This occasion and another one regarding the publication of a book led to unpleasant scenes in the New York section's meetings. The congress of the SLP, which met in the autumn of 1887 in Buffalo, ordered the board of directors, the highest body of the party, to regulate the matter and to keep the executive in its proper place. The board failed to carry out its task, and the executive did not obey but continued to make mistakes by trying to belittle the trade union movement, the organization of wage earners, and treated them arrogantly.

The matter finally got out of hand, and even the patient New Yorkers finally rebelled, collected incriminating material, and demanded the meeting of a party congress and the removal of the executive, which they confronted with a long list of sins. There were many battles about the date of the meeting, but finally the majority of the section met on October 12, 1889, in Chicago, resolved the removal of the executive as well as the editors of the *Socialist* and the *Workmans Advocate*. The congress also transferred the seat of the executive to Brooklyn, the sister city of New York.⁸⁵

The followers of the old executive had held a convention on September 29 in Chicago and did not recognize the congress of October 12 or its resolutions, and claimed to be the only true and real Socialist Labor Party. They found support, especially in Cincinnati and Baltimore, and also edited their own journal, the *Volksanwalt*. Some sections remained neutral and independent for a while but soon followed the purified SLP and the executive in Brooklyn.

In 1887 and 1890 the SLP sent large contributions to the election campaigns of the Social Democratic Party in Germany, and the contribution of 1887 probably helped to keep the old executive's head above water, that is in office, for a time.

The Germans, that is, mainly the socialists, were very active in the creation of a German labor press. To the earlier mentioned daily newspapers—the *New*

Yorker Volkszeitung, the Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, and the *Philadelphia Tageblatt*—were added several new ones like the *Cincinnati Zeitung*, the *Indiana Tribune*, and the *St. Louis Tageblatt*. Also in San Francisco, Milwaukee, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Erie, and Newark, New Jersey, several daily labor papers in German were published at various times, but most of them soon ceased to exist. A whole series of weeklies was founded in several parts of the country, often after the prematurely founded daily papers had collapsed.

The German socialists' mania for bringing out newspapers in English cost great sacrifices without achieving the desired results. In New Haven, an important city in Connecticut, *The Workmans Advocate* existed for many years. It had originally been founded by the trade unions and the old greenbackers, but over the years came into the hands of progressive trade unions and socialists. The executive of the SLP used the newspaper as its own publication for many years, later took it over completely, and then moved it to New York where it changed its name to *The People*, which still exists as the organ of the SLP in the English language.⁶⁶

chapter 9

THE TWO MAJOR LABOR ORGANIZATIONS

Two large labor organizations, the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Order of the Knights of Labor, have exerted deep and important influence on the labor movement in this country since 1877. Considerations of space and the necessity of maintaining the narrative of our story have prevented us from going into detail about them. But a knowledge of the development of these organizations is certainly necessary for those who wish to gain a deeper understanding of the labor movement in the United States. Thus, we will describe below the founding, growth, and activities of the two groups through the year 1891. All dates, figures, and resolutions have been cited from official sources, the publications of both groups; for example, congressional minutes, yearbooks, and the like.¹

THE ORDER OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR

The reputation of this large labor organization has spread far beyond the boundaries of this country. Originally organized as a secret order on the model of the Freemasons,² the Knights pulled apart the curtain of secrecy more and more from 1878 on. In certain periods the Knights were able to attract large masses of adherents and exerted a strong influence on the labor movement here.

At first sight it appears strange that in this great republican community secret organizations as such, not by any means only the Knights, are able to achieve such importance. Undoubtedly the affected secretiveness, the stuff of ceremonies, and the obsession with titles of the Anglo-Saxon natives (other

people's also) places the American folk character in an unfavorable light.

On the other hand, only radical-democratic visionary enthusiasts and ideologists can find a contradiction between secret organizations and republican institutions. Only those who take external appearances for the essence of things are incapable of recognizing in the bourgeois republic "the unlimited despotism of one class over the other classes" and in bourgeois society "the conservative form of life." The accuracy of these definitions (from Marx, *The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*) has been unalterably proven in the history of the United States and the French Republic. The rubbish of secret orders and ceremony in the United States points simply to a certain youthfulness, an immaturity in the movement, as in the life of the people, and is deliberately cultivated by clever intriguers, petty-bourgeois reformers, quacks, and politicians.

The founding of the Knights dates from Thanksgiving Day, November 25, 1869, when they held their first congress in Philadelphia. The first election of officials took place on December 28, 1869, and this date is observed by the Order itself as the date of founding. The founders were exclusively tailors' cutters who gathered together after a defeated strike to discuss ways of permanently improving their conditions.³ They chose the secret organization as a way of protecting themselves from countermeasures by the owners.

They created rituals, oaths, ceremonies, and titles in the strictest secrecy and even the name of the organization remained a secret; in its place they used five stars (*****). The original founders numbered seven and after a year had expanded to sixty-nine members. They spent the year establishing the ceremonies of the Order—in opposition to their own trade colleagues who had founded an extensive and comprehensive organization.

The first step in the expansion of the Knights was taken in 1870 through the introduction of correspondence with the miners and nailsmiths in Pennsylvania—without much success. The mother lodge of the Knights, Local Assembly No. 1, originally consisted of only cutters, but by the spring of 1872 they had also accepted several workers from other trades, particularly pipe layers, tapesters, and painters. These latter, however, could not vote, paid no dues, and were viewed strictly as sojourners who should act as agents to bring the Knights into their own trades. In 1872, ships' carpenters and caulkers on the Delaware founded a second lodge, and in the same year about 120 lodges were established in Philadelphia among the following trades: rug weavers, shawl weavers, riggers, machinists and blacksmiths, plasterers, woodworkers, carpenters, bricklayers, and gold hammerers.

Many of these Philadelphia lodges had a short existence, because on December 25, 1873, during the first delegate congress, the first district assemblies were created with representatives of only ten lodges. From this point on the Order expanded slowly into other cities so that after another four years, in 1877, about fifteen district assemblies existed, although most of

them were in Pennsylvania. District Assembly 1 in Philadelphia had led the Order up until then and called a general congress for January 1, 1878, in Reading, Pennsylvania. Here the General Assembly was founded, a constitution approved, and three paid officials appointed.

In the first half of the 1870s, the Order in Philadelphia maintained a strong membership and the secret was well kept. The peaceful philistines of the Quaker City were occasionally frightened out of their wits when, as a result of a few cabalistic chalkmarks on Constitution Hall, a few thousand men gathered for an open meeting. Gruesome fairy tales about the secret organization were spread among the public, and a connection was made to the various events in the mining districts of Pennsylvania where the Order was unknown at this time. A certain feeling of insecurity crept into even the leaders of the Order, but they were driven by far more than this feeling of insecurity to bring about changes in their organization. These reasons were the opposition of the Catholic clergy and the limited expansion of the Order outside Pennsylvania.⁴

Most of the labor organizations in the United States, including the Knights of Labor, are dependent for their growth and expansion on the membership and cooperation of immigrant Irish workers and workers of direct Irish ancestry. Most of these are strongly influenced by the Catholic church, which, as is well known, does not allow any secret organizations among its faithful. Whoever takes the oath of such an order cannot enter the confessional.⁵ Thus the majority of the Irish workers could not join the Knights.

As a consequence of this, the secrecy of the Knights opened up somewhat at the first General Assembly in 1878. Then, Powderly, Grand Master Workman of the Knights from 1879, opened negotiations with the dignitaries of the Catholic church. This led to the recognition of the Knights by the church in the United States after the latter declared the Order's oath did not affect the confessional. Later the oath was replaced by a word of honor.⁶

Still, the Catholic church had made a concession in order to retain and expand its influence on the workers and the politics of the country. It is an open secret that this concession can be credited to the personal efforts of Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore who intervened with the Pope.⁷ On the other hand, the Catholic church in Canada, possessing a more secure position there, did not show the same flexibility.

The Knights' constitution proved to be strongly centralistic in that it gave the highest officials, especially the Grand Master Workman, extremely important powers. Throughout the years the constitution has been changed many times but without altering the basic structure. Slowly but surely a true bureaucratic structure evolved. The Knights also made frequent alterations in the declaration of principles and added a number of clauses of questionable value for the most part.

After the name and a large part of the constitution were published in Read-

ing in 1878, the organization won many followers. In the same year the Knights held an extraordinary general assembly in Philadelphia, a second in St. Louis in January 1879, and a third in September of that year in Chicago at which Terence V. Powderly was elected Grand Master Workman replacing Uriah S. Stephens,⁶ the founder of the organization, who had filled the office until this time.

As of this date, September 1879, approximately 700 local assemblies had been formed, of which only 102, with about 5,000 members, gave reports. The fourth General Assembly was held in Pittsburgh in September 1880, and Powderly was reelected Grand Master Workman as he has been at every congress until the end of 1891. The fifth General Assembly was held in Detroit in March 1881, and the sixth in September 1882 in New York.

At the end of the 1870s, in certain states in the Midwest—Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Ohio, and so forth—a secret counterorganization was founded and with some success competed with the Knights in that area. In order to clear the Knights completely from the field, this counterorganization established relations with the open trade unions. Together they held a convention in August 1881 in Terre Haute, Indiana. They sent a summons to attend the International Trade Union Congress on November 21, 1881, in Pittsburgh, which we will discuss later.

Only after 1881, after the founding of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, in which they were represented with more than forty delegates, did the Knights rapidly expand in these states and the rival secret organization disappear. Nonetheless, the major area of activity for the Knights remained Pennsylvania with its highly developed iron industry protected by the tariff. Following the lead of the association of the Union Iron and Steel Workers, the Knights stood in these years as a source of support for the protective tariff efforts.

On January 1, 1882, the Knights repealed the oath of secrecy to their great advantage. In September 1883, the organization held in Cincinnati its seventh General Assembly, which replaced the term "grand" with "general" in referring to its officials. The eighth General Assembly met in Philadelphia and the ninth in Hamilton, Canada, at which point the membership numbered 80,000 and increased daily.

The official report of the Knights' officers of 1891 contained the following regarding the growth of the organization in the years 1884–1886:

After the veil of secrecy was removed the Order increased constantly until, according to the report of the then treasurer, Frederick Turner,⁹ it contained 700,000 members in 1886. However, these figures were never checked and certified and it is highly doubtful that the total membership ever reached a half million. During the strike epidemic of a few years ago the chief object of the organization, the elevation of working people

through education, became for the most part lost from sight and thousands of new members accepted daily. Many of the applicants for admission expected help in their strikes and when they discovered that the Order was against strikes except in extreme cases, they became disappointed and left the organization. Others moved to extreme socialist opinions, some were anarchists and also left when they discovered that the leaders of the Order bitterly opposed such opinions. The secession of these various elements reduced the number of members to under 200,000, but the Order was actually strengthened by this process.

From 1883 to 1886 the conflict between the Knights and the open trade unions of Organized Trades and Labor Unions (the Federation) increased in intensity, as can be seen in the following discussion of the Federation. Neither was willing to compromise.

The Knights carried their unwillingness to compromise and give ground at that time to the extent that they completely ignored the complaints that the trade unions sent to the General Assembly and turned them over to their officials to answer. The worst things that happened were their non-participation in the great step forward for the reduction of working hours in May 1886, and associated with this, the crippling of their own eight-hour demand in the preamble to their constitution, as well as the rather brusque rejection of the suggestion that the trade unions sent to the Cleveland General Assembly at the end of May 1886.¹⁰ These recommendations were very simply answered with a summons to corporatively join the Knights.¹¹

Since 1886 the regular General Assemblies have always been held at the beginning of November. The assembly of that year in Richmond, Virginia, raised the salary of the Grand Master Workman to \$5,000 and declared war on the International Cigarmakers Union.¹² The 1887 assembly met in St. Paul, Minnesota. During both of these meetings, various sides made strenuous efforts to move the Knights to take a position on the convicted Chicagoans; but Powderly and his henchmen beat back these moves in the nastiest way with invective against the men condemned to death and the invocation of the lowest and most limited prejudices.

A strike among the members of the Knights working for the railroads in the Southwest broke out in March 1886 and was lost; in the following winter the coal shovelers at the railroad's final stop in the port of New York went out on strike; these and many other smaller struggles ended in defeat, for the most part because of the high officials of the Knights who reacted lukewarmly, almost with hostility to the eight-hour struggle.

All of these circumstances, plus the salary increase for the Grand Master Workman and the costly construction of an expensive office building in Philadelphia, created great dissatisfaction and resulted in heavy desertions, as the official report quoted above indicates. The recent complaints of high

Knights' officials against earlier officials also proves that disorder and chaos reigned in the financial administration. For example, complaints are made against the former, longtime treasurer, Frederick Turner, who is accused of costing the Knights \$14,000 through embezzlement or bad administration of funds. Turner answered this with a counteraccusation that the Grand Master Workman Powderly had used the Knights' money for personal interests.

Further general assemblies met in Indianapolis (1888); Atlanta, Georgia (1889); Denver, Colorado (1890); and Toledo, Ohio (1891). The official "Souvenir Journal" for the last assembly reports: "In recent times the number of members has sunk, a fact which is not at all regretted by thinking conservative members because they wish to achieve results through intelligent educational work. The present membership number approximately 380,000."

The most important aspect of recent Knights' history is the resolution, accepted by a large majority at the last General Assembly, to offer the American Federation of Labor a cartel (which earlier had been so often rejected). The AFL congress in Birmingham, Alabama, however, answered with a counteroffer.

The Knights possess only one organ, *The Journal of the Knights of Labor*,¹³ which has been cleverly edited for a long time and often shows some socialist thought in its editorial columns.

The large reputation that the Knights possessed in the 1880s gave them an opportunity to introduce similar organizations in other countries, including England, Belgium, and Australia. It appears that only in Belgium among the glass workers has there been any success.

PREAMBLE.

The alarming development and aggressiveness of the power of great capitalists and corporations under the present industrial system will inevitably lead to the pauperization and hopeless degradation of the toiling masses. It is imperative, if we desire to enjoy the full blessings of life, that unjust accumulation and this power for evil of aggregated wealth shall be prevented. This much-desired object can be accomplished only by the united efforts of those who obey the divine injunction: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread." Therefore we have formed the Order of Knights of Labor for the purpose of organizing, educating and directing the power of the industrial masses.

It is not a political part, it is more, for in it are crystallized sentiments and measures for the benefit of the whole people; but it should be borne in mind, when exercising the right of suffrage, that most of the objects herein set forth can only be obtained through legislation, and that it is the duty, regardless of party, of all to assist in nominating and supporting with their votes such candidates as will support these measures. No one shall, however, be compelled to vote with the majority.

Calling upon all who believe in securing "the greatest good to the greatest number" to join and assist us, we declare to the world that our aims are:

I. To make industrial and moral worth, not wealth, the true standard of individual and national greatness.

II. To secure to the workers the full enjoyment of the wealth they create; sufficient leisure in which to develop their intellectual, moral and social faculties; all of the benefits, recreations and pleasures of association; in a word, to enable them to share in the gains and honors of advancing civilization.

In order to secure these results, we demand at the hands of the law-making power of State and Nation:

III. The establishment of Bureaus of Labor Statistics, that we may arrive at a correct knowledge of the educational, moral and financial condition of the laboring masses.

IV. The land, including all the natural resources of wealth, is the heritage of all the people, and should not be subject to speculative traffic. Occupancy and use should be the only title to the possession of land. The taxes upon land should be levied upon its full value for use, exclusive of improvements, and should be sufficient to take for the community all unearned increment.

V. The abrogation of all laws that do not bear equally upon capitalists and laborers, and the removal of unjust technicalities, delays and discriminations in the administration of justice.

VI. The adoption of measures providing for the health and safety of those engaged in mining, manufacturing and building industries, and for indemnification to those engaged therein for injuries received through lack of necessary safeguards.

VII. The recognition, by incorporation, of orders and other associations organized by the workers to improve their condition and to protect their rights.

VIII. The enactment of laws to compel corporations to pay their employes weekly, in lawful money, for the labor of the preceding week, and give mechanics and laborers a first lien upon the product of their labor to the extent of their full wages.

IX. The abolition of the contract system on National, State and Municipal works.

X. The enactment of laws providing for arbitration between employers and employed, and to enforce the decision of the arbitrators.

XI. The prohibition, by law, of the employment of children under fifteen years of age.

XII. To prohibit the hiring out of convict labor.

XIII. That a graduated income tax be levied.

XIV. The establishment of a national monetary system, in which a

circulating medium in necessary quantity shall issue directly to the people, without the intervention of banks; that all the national issue shall be full legal tender in payment of all debts, public and private; and that the government shall not guarantee or recognize any private banks or create any banking corporations.

XV. That interest-bearing bonds, bills of credit, or notes shall never be issued by the government; but that, when need arises, the emergency shall be met by issue of legal-tender, non-interest-bearing money.

XVI. That the importation of foreign labor under contract be prohibited.

XVII. That, in connection with the post office, the government shall organize financial exchanges, safe deposits and facilities for deposits of savings of the people in small sums.

XVIII. That the government shall obtain possession, by purchase, under the right of eminent domain, of all telegraphs, telephones and railroads; and that hereafter no charter or license be issued to any corporation for construction or operation of any means of transporting intelligence, passengers or freight. And while making the foregoing demands upon the State and National Government, we will endeavor to associate our own labors.

XIX. To establish co-operative institutions, such as will tend to supersede the wage system, by the introduction of a co-operative industrial system.

XX. To secure for both sexes equal rights.

XXI. To gain some of the benefits of labor-saving machinery by a gradual reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day.

XXII. To persuade employers to agree to arbitrate all differences which may arise between them and their employes, in order that the bonds of sympathy between them may be strengthened and that strikes may be rendered unnecessary.

Many of these demands and points were added in later years, for the most part in favor of certain so-called reform parties. The wording of many points has been altered but hardly improved. Thus, for example, the original demand for the reduction of working hours reads: "... to reduce working hours by a general refusal to work more than eight hours." Compare this with the new version from 1886: "... to gain some of the benefits of labor-saving machinery by a gradual reduction of the hours of labor to eight per day." In the original version of point 7 trade unions were named first, while in the new version they are not mentioned at all. A criticism of the preamble and the demands is left for the reader to make.

It is unnecessary to reprint the entire constitution of the Knights of Labor here. It fills a book of 116 tightly printed pages containing twenty-eight arti-

cles with 351 sections or paragraphs, along with the bylaws of forty-three paragraphs and an appendix of forty-six pages with 226 decisions by the Grand Master Workman regarding various controversies and contested questions.

What follows are the most important and characteristic points.

The structure of the Order:

1. The local assembly which can be a mixed or trade assembly.
2. The district assembly made up of delegates from the local assemblies.
3. The state or territorial assembly made up of delegates from the district assemblies.
4. The National Trade Assembly made up of delegates of the assemblies of particular trades.
5. The General Assembly, that is, the convention of the general meeting of delegates from the National Trade Assembly.

Article XVI. Section 125 describes the structure and the objectives of the local assembly as follows:

Section 125. The Local Assembly is not a mere trade union or beneficial society; it is more and higher. It gathers into one fold all branches of honorable toil, without regard to nationality, sex, creed or color. It is not founded simply to protect one interest or to discharge one duty, be it ever so great. While it retains and fosters all the fraternal characteristics and protection of the single trade union, it also, by the multiplied power of union, protects and assists all. It aims to assist members to better their condition—morally, socially and financially. It is a business firm, every member an equal partner, as much so as a commercial house or a manufacturing establishment. All members are in duty bound to put in their equal share of time and money. The officers elected must not be expected to "run it" and the rest of the partners do nothing, as in the case of mere societies. While acknowledging that it is sometimes necessary to enjoin an oppressor, yet strikes should be avoided whenever possible. Strikes, at best only afford temporary relief, and members should be educated to depend upon thorough organization, co-operation and political action, and through these the abolishment of the wage system. Our mission cannot be accomplished in a day or generation. Agitation, education and organization are all necessary; thorough organization is essential for successful arbitration, and where arbitration fails strikes seldom succeed. The first duty of members is to perfect organization and discipline. Among the higher duties that should be taught in every Local Assembly are man's inalienable inheritance and right to a share, for use, of the soil; that the right to life carries with it

the right to the means of living; and that all statutes that obstruct or deny these rights are wrong, unjust and must give way. Every member who has the right to vote is a part of the government of the country and has a duty to perform, and the proper education necessary to intelligently exercise this right, free from corrupting influences, is another of the higher duties of a Local Assembly. In short, any action that will advance the cause of humanity, lighten the burden of toil or elevate the moral and social condition of mankind, whether incorporated in the Constitution or not, is the proper scope and field of operation of a Local Assembly.

Section 126: "A local assembly . . . shall be composed of not less than ten members, at least three fourths of whom must be wage workers or farmers, and this proportion shall be maintained for all time."

Section 127 declares that persons over fifteen years of age can be accepted as members.

Section 128 declares:

No person who either sells or makes a living or any part of it by the sale of intoxicating drink, either as manufacturer, dealer or agent or through any member of the family, or who tends bar permanently or temporarily, can be admitted into or remain in membership in this Order; and no lawyer, banker, professional gambler or stock-broker can be admitted.

Section 141 repeats the statement that any member dealing with strong drink will lose his membership.

Section 306 forbids the employment of organizers who use strong drink.

Section 329 states:

No local or other Assembly or member shall directly or indirectly, give, sell or have any ale, beer or intoxicating liquors of any kind at any meeting, party, sociable, ball, picnic or entertainment whatever appertaining to the Order. Any member found guilty of violating this law shall be suspended, not less than six months, or expelled. No fine shall be imposed for this offense. Any Local or other Assembly so offending shall be suspended during the pleasure of the General Executive Board, or shall have its charter revoked by said Board.

Section 311 states: "No Assembly of the Order shall participate in any procession or parade carrying flags other than the National or State colors."

Sections 196, 197, and 198 demand that a certain part of the meeting must be devoted to a discussion of the labor question and the "political economy in a fraternal and candid spirit" so that the members come to know ". . . the higher laws of God and legally or in the present laws of the land" as well as to learn to practice their duties as citizens wisely.

Regular dues are decided upon by the local assembly, but the initiation fee

cannot be under one dollar for men and fifty cents for women and fifty cents extra for the general secretary and treasurer. The assemblies may demand more from a skilled worker than a normal day-wage worker and must pay quarterly to the general executive board six cents per member or, in case of direct affiliation with the general executive board, ten cents (Sections 32, 133, and so on).

Regarding grievances between employer and employed, the local assembly must choose an executive board to handle the situation. If the grievance cannot be adjusted on this level, the local assembly must send the case to a district board, then to the state assembly or the general executive board. The decisions made by these boards are final, and any member who refuses obedience to them can be suspended for insubordination. (Sections 261, and so on).

Furthermore, any assembly can be suspended if it participates in a strike without the approval of a higher assembly or officials. (Sections 319, 337, and so forth).

Section 146 states:

The officers of a Local Assembly shall consist of Master Workman, Worthy Foreman, Venerable Sage, Recording Secretary, Financial Secretary, Treasurer, Worthy Inspector, Almoner, Statistician, Unknown Knight, Inside Esquire, Outside Esquire, Insurance Solicitor and three Trustees, who shall be the custodians of all property and funds of the Local Assembly under such regulations as may be fixed by its By-Laws.

Given this expanded structure and the numerous regulations, confusion and conflicts often arise and for this there exists a complex process of hearings and trials. Each assembly elects special court officials, judges, attorneys, court stenographers, and the like. These court officials are authorized to function throughout the globe, and appeals against all judgments can be made up to the last resort, the General Assembly. (Sections 172, and so on).

Both the Window Glass Workers, Local Assembly 300, and isolated members have special exception regulations.

The regulations and laws governing the purpose, activities, organization, and officials of the local assembly referred to above apply also to the district assembly, which, of course, is a level higher.

The National Trade Assembly consists of delegates from the individual local trade assemblies, which are exclusively made up of members of a particular trade. The above regulations also apply to this body with some exceptions, but the National Trade Assembly is a level higher than the district assembly, approximately on the same level as the state assembly. This body consists of representatives from the district or local assemblies, depending on the circumstances, has the same type of officials, is subject to the same laws,

stands a level higher than the district assemblies, and has more power.

The higher level of the Order is the General Assembly or the general convention of representatives of the state, National Trade, and district assemblies. It meets on the first Tuesday after the second Monday in November every year.

The General Assembly has full and final jurisdiction and is the highest tribunal of the Order of the Knights of Labor. It alone possesses the power and authority to make, amend or repeal the fundamental and general laws and regulations of the Order, and to finally decide all controversies arising in the Order (Section 1).

"These several subdivisions of the Order shall be subject to the absolute control of the General Assembly" (Section 2).

The representatives to the General Assembly are elected each year, also for extraordinary meetings, and they must have belonged to the Order for at least eighteen months. The actual travel expenses of the representatives and officials are paid out of the general treasury. The General Assembly elects a Grand Master Workman, a general foreman, a general secretary-treasurer, a general instructor and director of women's work (a woman), and a general executive board of four persons to work with the Grand Master Workman. These officials are elected from among the General Assembly with the exception of the four extra members of the general executive board. These four members are elected from a list of eight recommended by the Grand Master Workman. The General Assembly can remove any official from office during its regular meeting.

Regarding the Grand Master Workman and his rights, duties, and work, Section 23 states:

Section 23. The Grand Master Workman shall preside at all sessions of the General Assembly, enforce all laws thereof when the General Assembly is not in session; shall decide all questions of law during the recess of the General Assembly, subject to appeal to the General Assembly—all which decisions shall be reported to the General Assembly at the next regular session; act as Chairman of the General Executive Board; have general superintendence of the Order; make the annual traveling password, and, with the assistance of the General Secretary-Treasurer and Organizers, shall furnish the same to every Local Assembly in good standing attached to the General Assembly and to the proper Master Workman for Locals attached to a State, National Trade or District Assembly, also a visiting password for Locals in cities where there are two or more Districts; shall appoint a Committee on Credentials, comprising not less than seven members, against whom no contest ap-

pears; fill all vacancies occasioned by death or otherwise until an election can be held; sign all papers and documents that require the signature of the Grand Master Workman to properly authenticate them; shall have power to appoint Organizers who may be recommended for commissions, but all Organizers shall be governed by the provisions of Article XXXIII of this Constitution; shall have power to grant dispensations in cases of extreme emergency whenever deemed for the best interests of the order; shall have a Grand Master Workman's seal for official correspondence; shall make at each regular session of the General Assembly a written or printed report of all official acts since the last report, and perform such other duties as the laws, rules and usages of the Order require; and at the end of his term of office he shall turn over all books and other property of the General Assembly to his successor in office. In addition to actual expenses, he shall receive for services such compensation as may be fixed when elected, the same to be paid in equal weekly installments.

Section 6 gives the Grand Master Workman the authority to call extraordinary General Assembly meetings.

On the subjects of cooperation and cooperative enterprises of the Order and regarding a special insurance office (payments in case of death) there are also a large number of paragraphs in the constitution.¹⁴ We can bypass them here since neither institution has become important in the Order.

One point, however, seems of interest, namely, the possible distribution of potential profits from the cooperative enterprises, because Section 214 states:

All profits arising from investments of this fund shall be disbursed as follows:

One-third to the General Assembly.

One-third to the General Fund of the General Cooperative Board.

One-third to the employees of such enterprise as may create the profit.

Such sums to employees to be equally divided according to amount paid each for labor done.

The above excerpts from the constitution will suffice.

Of the 221 decisions of the Grand Master Workman (Powderly) the following can be mentioned:

Number 5: "Boards of arbitration may be established in each District Assembly. Arbitration is one of the points we aim at. The suicidal policy of strikes is a relic of barbarism, nourished and fostered by *capital* as a means of enslaving labor, and must sooner or later give way to a cheaper method of settling difficulties."

Number 138: "Where members of the Order are required to take what is known as the iron clad oath, they can do so with a mental reservation and

retain their membership in the Knights of Labor. . . . If you sign, do so with a mental reservation, but don't desert the Order."

In number 188 the Grand Master Workman declares it the duty of every Knight who is simultaneously a member of a temperance society to support the denunciation and spy system of the latter even against members of the Order.

We have attempted to present a picture of the Knights of Labor that reflects reality. The Knights played an important, but not always glorious, role in the labor movement of the United States, on which the organization achieved a large and often unfavorable influence. It is impossible to ascribe the unglorious and unfavorable factors to the confused and self-satisfied leaders given the fact that the Order represented at certain times a mass movement.

Except for paralyzing the eight-hour movement, the Knights caused the greatest damage through its support and reinvigoration of the petty-bourgeois and small farmer reform humbug regarding the money question and through its intimate alliance with the Populists.¹⁵ The Knights accomplished positive and meaningful achievements by the organization of large masses of unskilled workers, the lowest level of the working class¹⁶—in this field many laurels are still to be won. At this point we give the floor to the Knights of Labor and their officials with the following excerpts from the Knights' yearbook of 1891.

The Order of the Knights of Labor is the best representative labor union in the world. It is without doubt the strongest labor organization in the United States and its history illustrates more than any other the great power of organized labor.

The Order is not a trade union, rather it is a labor union. The difference is very important. A trade union consists of those who belong to the same trade, devotes itself only to the interests of the members of its trade, thus its potential strength is limited. A labor union can consist of members of all trades and even those with no trade, and its strength is unlimited.

The Knights of Labor agree that the improvements in machinery and industrial methods make it daily easier for unskilled workers and even women and children to step into the positions of skilled and handicraft workers so that it becomes daily more dangerous for the industrial masses to leave the unskilled workers unorganized. Therefore, the Knights of Labor attempt to bring "all branches of honest labor" into the ranks of the organization.

As little as it is possible for an individual alone dealing with the capitalists to come even close to gaining his rights, it is equally impossible in this period of widespread changing conditions for a single trade to successfully struggle for justice. Even the trade unions are beginning

to recognize this truth. Thus the various efforts to bring about a kind of unification or arrangement which offers, even with a limited potential, common, combined activity; efforts whose most recent and most intelligent expression has been the new Union movement in England. But even if some trade unions are beginning to see the necessity for united action among the skilled workers, they still seem unable to grasp that no unity of labor which does not include the world's unskilled workers has even the smallest chance of security, not to speak of successful action.

. . . The founder, Uriah S. Stephens, was a man of great intelligence and warmth of heart. When he observed after the War of Secession how his fellow workers unsuccessfully tried to stop the sinking of their wages, he became convinced that the trade union was a mistake because it furthered clannishness and thus withheld from its members the necessary financial and moral support for the long, hard struggle for success. The trade union also suffered damage by refusing to fully recognize the unskilled masses as a factor in the labor question with a right of representation in labor struggles, as well as by the inability to bring the clergy, journalists and other educated people, the white collar workers and the shopkeepers into a harmonious relationship and active sympathy with the workers, their interests and their strivings. The goal of Mr. Stephens was to create an organization free from all these weaknesses. . . .

One of the most important goals of the Order is to do away with strikes and under its laws every effort must be made to avoid them. . . . Very few strikes would occur if the owners tried to avoid them as much as most of the Knights' leaders. But many owners or their superintendents are just as tyrannical and unreasonable as those workers who go out on strike at the least provocation.

Such owners see the Knights of Labor only as unknowing machines or humans with no recognizable rights, and not only refuse to deal with them but insist that none of their employees become a member of the Order. Owners who are filled with the same spirit which characterizes Mr. Powderly will be able to satisfactorily solve most of the problems with their employees.

The Knights of Labor is perhaps the strongest independent labor organization in the world. In spite of all past mistakes the Knights has used its influence far more for good than bad. It has shown the lowest level of labor that those above them are interested in its condition. It has been able to stop the further sinking of the standards of simple daily wage earners and has awakened the demand for the raising of these standards. It has brought together every branch of intellectual and hand workers and made possible that every worker can understand the others as never before. It has awakened a thirst for knowledge in many igno-

rant workers and raised the intelligence of the lowest sections of labor.

The Knights of Labor has reduced intemperance and is the most powerful practical temperance organization in the country; not that it has the greatest number of teetotalers, to be sure, but the great number of people who drink less than before and many who have totally ceased using alcoholic beverages. Drunkards are not tolerated in its meetings.

More than any other reason the Knights are responsible for repressing the spirit of anarchy which has spread so swiftly. It has done much to maintain the respect for religion among the workers. It has suppressed many strikes and taught the workers that the interests of the owners and the employees are identical. It has shown many owners that organized labor wants nothing more than justice, although the workers often make mistakes in their demands.

The Order has done more than any other organization except the Christian church to elevate and protect women in this country.¹⁷ More than any other organization the Order has influenced Congress and the state legislatures to pass laws for the protection of life and health of working women and children, and to create statistical labor bureaus which have laid the groundwork for an intelligent judgment of the needs and conditions of working people. It has done much to protect the people from greedy monopolies. It has helped to stop the squandering of public lands and the purchasing of large tracts of land by foreigners.

To those who earlier dissipated time and money in saloons the Knights offered a place for social intercourse and thus gave to men, women and children who otherwise would have no social contact the possibility of achieving noble pleasures. It has given to its members insight into those questions which every American should be familiar with and in this way has hindered a further sinking of the level of the American citizenry. It has awakened much interest in cooperation as a possible solution to the labor question.

Should the Order of Knights of Labor for any reason become disorganized it has still accomplished so much for the cause of labor that its influence will be felt for a long time.

THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR¹⁸

After the money reformers, the greenbackers, destroyed the National Labor Union, which had been organized in 1866 and held its last congress in 1874, there existed no official connection between the big trade unions and labor associations of the country except for some thoroughly insufficient central bodies in a few larger cities and states. This interregnum occurred concur-

rently with the hard times of the great crash of 1873-1874 and the resulting industrial depression of 1879.

As soon as the consequences of the crash were somewhat overcome, and particularly as a result of the big railroad strike of 1877, the need for a unification of forces became more sharply evident. The Knights of Labor in 1878 partially removed the veil of secrecy that surrounded it, but it still maintained its secret organization, which weakened the ranks of the trade associations. Intelligent workers, as well as would-be leaders, attempted at the end of the 1870s to stop the expansion of the Knights, the former through active propaganda for the trade union movement, the latter through the founding of numerous secret societies.

Both of these movements strove for a certain amount of centralization: the trade union workers in order to strengthen the open trade union organizations and the would-be leaders in order to replace the Knights with a new secret organization.¹⁹ In the summer of 1881 delegates from Ohio, Missouri, Indiana, and Illinois (as well as a few other areas) held a convention in Terre Haute, Indiana, which, contrary to the plans of the secrecy advocates and based on the example of England, France, and other countries,²⁰ resolved "that all international and national unions, trade union councils and organizations, local trade unions and labor associations are herewith invited to send delegates to an international trade union congress which will be held on Tuesday, November 15, 1881, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. . . ."

On this day, 107 delegates met together in a gymnasium in Pittsburgh, including representatives from the most important industries and states, naturally with the heaviest representation, 68, from Pennsylvania. It is remarkable that among the 107 participants, forty-eight came from the Knights of Labor and a half-dozen, if not more, were clearly socialists with whom the Pittsburgh newspapers associated Samuel Gompers.

John Jarrett,²¹ from the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, was elected chairman of the congress. True to his already described bourgeois political opinions, he curtailed the discussion of the land and property and the railroad questions and pushed a protective tariff plank (#11) through with a small majority.

The delegates approved the acceptance of a declaration of principles, which consisted of an introduction and the following thirteen demands: (1) legal incorporation of trade and labor unions; (2) compulsory school attendance; (3) the banning of child labor for those under fourteen; (4) apprenticeship laws; (5) the national eight-hour legislation; (6) against the competition of prison labor; (7) against the truck system; (8) the legal right of the workers to the fruit of their labor through wage demands; (9) repeal of the conspiracy laws; (10) creation of a national labor bureau; (11) a protective tariff for American industry; (12) a ban on importation of contract labor; and (13) the use of the

right to vote to send representatives from the trade and labor associations to legislative bodies.

The Congress named the organization the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada and approved the statutes. The delegates passed resolutions against Chinese immigration; for the licensing of machinists on standing steamboilers; for the supervision and ventilation of mines, factories, and so on; and for the strict liability of owners. The Congress sent greetings to the English trade unions and expressed its sympathy with them and the Irish agitators.

The skilled workmen delegates showed a tendency to limit the organization to skilled workers, but this was easily overcome. In this regard, but especially in the debate on the protective tariff paragraph (#11), sharp controversy arose.²²

The second, sparsely attended Congress met from November 21 to 24, 1882, in Cleveland. Only seventeen delegates appeared, representatives of the machinists, carpenters, cigarmakers, German typesetters, English typographers, granite workers, sailors on the Great Lakes, spinners, and ten various trade union councils from the larger cities and areas of the country. The Iron and Steel Workers and the Knights of Labor, so heavily represented at the first Congress, were conspicuous by their absence.

The second Congress struck out the protective tariff plank²³ and added two other demands, namely against the contract system in public works and for the passage of liability legislation. The delegates vigorously demanded the passage of a national eight-hour law and with good reason, because, as Congressman Murch informed the Congress, the President of the United States, Mr. Arthur, had declared to a committee that interviewed him in this regard, "I don't believe the eight-hour law is constitutional and no power on earth can force me to sign an unconstitutional law." Murch had answered the President: "Mr. President, until now I didn't know that you were to interpret the law and was of the opinion that you are here to enforce it. . . ."

The Federation Congress further demanded the legal banning of Chinese immigration, declared that the organization of female workers had the right to be represented in the Federation, and recommended that workers study the land question—a result of the Henry George agitation—without considering the matter any closer. Samuel Gompers had declared emphatically: "We are organized as a defense against treatment by the capitalists, not against the big landowners."

The Congress raised a protest against the cigar factories in tenement houses and also discussed the boycott. In spite of the various conflicts with the Knights of Labor, the latter was recognized and treated in the statutes as having the same rights and privileges. The rendering of accounts showed an income of \$445.31 and expenditures of \$433.98.

The third convention met on August 21, 1883, in New York. Twenty-two

organizations sent twenty-seven delegates, including the bookbinders and bricklayers of New York (new) and a local woman representing the National Labor League of Women. The Congress altered nothing in the declaration of principles and made only minor alterations in the statutes. But the delegates devoted much time and consideration to the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, which was meeting concurrently in New York. The United States Senate had established the committee and authorized it to investigate the conditions of the workers.²⁴

The Congress censured the interference of the unauthorized in the affairs of the trade unions (this directed against the Knights of Labor); reminded the Iron and Steel Workers of its complete neutrality in the tariff question; passed a resolution calling for the organization of female workers; recommended that the executive and all affiliated trade unions take the organization of factory workers in hand; warmly recommended the achievement of the eight-hour day, the establishment of support funds in all trade unions, and the patronizing of the trademark of the cigarmakers; and increased the membership of the committee on legislation to nine.

The Congress ordered this committee to send written word to the national conventions of the two major bourgeois parties, which would be meeting in the next years, to demand in the name of the country's organized workers an exact public declaration regarding the passage of eight-hour legislation, the legal incorporation of the national trade unions, and the establishment of a national Bureau of Labor Statistics.

With reference to the very recent large telegraphers' strike, the Congress recommended the establishment of a telegraph system within the mail service. It also expressed gratitude to some politicians in the Senate and House of Representatives for beautiful speeches and made attempts to increase the income of the Federation. The rendering of accounts showed an income of \$726.14 and expenditures of \$352.32.

The fourth federation convention met from October 7-10, 1884, in Chicago. Twenty-five delegates attended, of whom the representatives of the furniture workers' union and the national cutters' union were new, including a representative of the Knights of Labor from Cincinnati. The existing resolutions were extended by one that recommended the confiscation of the railroad domains. The statute was altered to reject membership to groups who seceded from their larger organizations and those who did not pay their dues. The delegates added some minor passages regarding the support of strikes and presented them for approval.

The International Cigarmakers Union offered to put a certain percentage of its income at the pleasure of the Federation if the other organizations did the same.

The delegates heard reports that stated that the organization of the factory workers had made little progress because of lack of means, that some friendly

letters had been exchanged with the French syndicate chambers, and that the answer from the Democratic and Republican conventions contained naught but hollow verbiage.

The Congress passed sharply worded resolutions against child labor and censured the President of the United States because of his inaction on the matter of a national labor bureau, as well as the Supreme Court of New York for annulling the law forbidding the manufacture of cigars in tenements; recommended the creation of a labor holiday on the first Monday in September;²⁵ and declared a boycott against the *New York Tribune*.²⁶ It also recommended that the members of the Federation and all wage workers be cautious and give only true friends of organized labor support. At the same time they expressed gratitude to a number of politicians in Congress for their support of certain protection laws.

However, the most important thing to come out of the convention was the resolution introduced by the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners and passed by a vote of twenty-three to two that "from May 1, 1886 on, eight hours will be considered the legal day's work and all labor organizations should prepare themselves for this." They also instructed the committee on legislation to invite the Knights of Labor to work with them in the demand for the eight-hour day. The rendering of accounts showed an income of \$731.24 and expenditures of \$543.20.

The fifth convention met from December 8-11, 1885, in Washington, attended by eighteen delegates, none of whom came from the Knights of Labor. This Congress altered nothing in the program or demands but insisted on a strict execution of the law against the importation of contract labor, which had been passed in the meantime. The date for the vote on the clause dealing with support for strikes was extended to March 1, 1886, because the reports received were insufficient, except for that of the carpenters who voted for the clause with a large majority (2,197-310). The cigarmakers, the granite workers, and the German typesetters also declared for the obligatory support for certain strikes. The tailors came out against it, and most of the others had not yet taken a vote on the issue.

At the suggestion of the furniture workers' union, the Congress resolved: that all organizations report before March 1, 1886, whether they desired to demand the eight-hour day; that the legislation committee urge those organizations that did not yet want to call for the demand to support the struggle of those that did; that no wage increase demands be made concurrently with the demand for reduction of working hours;²⁷ that the owners be given papers to sign agreeing to the shorter working day; and that reports on the events of the day should be sent to the legislation committee on the evening of May 1, 1886, or as soon as possible.

The convention also urged the United States Congress to send a delegation to the international conference on common labor protection laws in Switzer-

land. The delegates raised a protest against the abuse of the boycott, against the Pinkertons and other private police forces, and appealed to all labor organizations to financially support the Federation. The Congress rejected a proposal to establish a labor political party. The summons to the Knights of Labor to participate in the coming eight-hour movement was officially sent to the Order but remained unanswered. The Federation decided to send another appeal to the Knights. The income for the year was \$722.07, the expenditures \$450.58.

In the meantime, the labor movement began to increase its visibility throughout the country, not the least as a result of the Federation's decision to push through a reduction in working hours on May 1, 1886, and demand the eight-hour day. The workers flowed in masses into the organizations and the slumbering rivalry between the two big bodies, the Federation and the Knights of Labor, increasingly developed into a struggle for hegemony.

The Knights had for some time begun to establish trade assemblies within the framework of the Order. They undoubtedly came into too-close contact with the open trade unions and hurt them, since making a common cause was difficult, indeed often impossible, because of the differences in organization.²⁸

Their existence threatened, the open trade unions within and without the Federation turned for assistance to the General Assembly of the Knights held in Cleveland, Ohio, on May 26, 1886, which rejected the suggested contract.²⁹ The events in Chicago and in other places, which made a common front of all workers so necessary, made no impression on the leaders of the Knights. As we have seen, the committee of the open trade union held another meeting with the Knights' executive in Philadelphia in September 1886, and received the assurance that the coming general assembly in Richmond would initiate a change. The opposite occurred, and the Knights attacked the trade unions.

On the other hand, the trade unionists had experienced the fact that the loose organization of the Federation offered them no protection, and the lack of means gave them no chance of success in the inevitable struggles to follow. Therefore, the open trade unions outside the Federation summoned a convention of pure trade union delegates to Columbus, Ohio, on December 8, 1886, in order to take measures for their own protection.

At the same time, the Federation also held its sixth annual congress in Columbus on December 8, 1886, where the old Federation dissolved. The delegates representing the iron molders, typographers, bricklayers, granite workers, carpenters, tailors, waiters, bakers, barbers, German trade unions of New York, metal workers, construction carpenters, cigarmakers, and various other trade union councils formed the American Federation of Labor.³⁰ A glassblower delegate was refused a seat because he belonged to the Knights of Labor and did not represent a true trade union.

The convention heavily altered both the program and the statutes, the former in that all demands were struck out and replaced by a simple demand for legislation in favor of working people—"by peaceful and legal methods." The constitution was changed so that, from now on, a regular board of directors of five partially salaried officials would exist. Higher dues had to be paid and all consideration of the Knights of Labor put aside.

The new American Federation of Labor (AFL) appointed a committee of five to negotiate outstanding differences with a Knights' committee that traveled to Columbus, but nothing came of this because the Knights' committee possessed no powers of decision and had no demands to put forth. This committee expressly declared that it had no complaints against the trade unions. Regarding the trade unions' complaints, the head of the committee declared: "We will grant that your statement be true . . . [but] we should be the judges as to who shall constitute our membership." Another committee member said, "The only remedy is consolidation with the Knights of Labor."

The AFL convention thereupon passed the following resolution:

WHEREAS, the K. of L. have persistently attempted to undermine and disrupt the well-established Trades' Unions, organized and encouraged men who have proven themselves untrue to their trade, false to the obligations of their union, embezzlers of moneys, and expelled by many of the unions, and conspiring to pull down the Trades' Unions, which it has cost years of work and sacrifice to build; therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That we condemn the acts above recited, and call upon all workingmen to join the unions of their respective trades, and urge the formation of National and International Unions and the centralization of all under one head, The American Federation of Labor.

Regarding the new political campaign movement in various large cities the convention resolved: "The convention of trade unions urgently approves the hearty support of the independent political movement of the workers." The convention also raised protest against the Pinkertons, against the owners' blacklist, and against the insufficient execution of the anti-Chinese law. Income was \$795.60, expenditures \$510.63.

As one can see, the May movement, even in its defeat, had achieved something. The new Federation strove for the centralization of forces, if in a limited way. The fall campaign in New York also repressed the worries about an independent labor political movement.

The AFL appeared to thrive under the new constitution: at the next convention, held in Baltimore in December 1887, forty organizations were represented by fifty-eight delegates, including eighteen Germans; and the membership figures for affiliated associations climbed from 316,469 to 618,000 (according to the officials' report). The flint glass workers, saddle makers,

brewery workers, brush makers, the United Iron and Steel Workers (appearing again), organ makers, workers in the oyster trade, a new ("progressive") tailor union, textile workers, cane and umbrella makers, and others were represented for the first time.

The president's report³¹ contained many complaints, particularly regarding the recent falling off of the movement, and it described his efforts to gain a pardon for the Chicago anarchists. He said there was no ambiguity necessary between the Knights of Labor and the AFL, noted the heavy participation of the Knights at the founding of the Federation in 1881 in Pittsburgh, and hoped that the Knights would return to the fold. He mentioned various struggles of the preceding year and recommended sending a delegation to the International Labor Congress summoned by the British Trade Union Congress.

The delegates altered various aspects of the statutes including, most importantly, the rule that no trade union council delegate would be allowed a seat if he did not accept the goals of the AFL or if he had been ejected from or quit a national or international body. The congress passed resolutions dealing with the following topics: against the extradition treaty with Russia, resistance to the attacks by the Knights for the universal observance of the labor holiday on the first Monday in September, and the revival of the trade union movement on the Pacific Coast. The congress also weakly protested against police arbitrariness and the limitations on constitutional rights (freedom of speech and assembly). Professor R. T. Ely was invited as a guest of honor, and a resolution to send a delegation to the above-mentioned International Congress was rejected. Finally, the delegates declared a boycott of Milwaukee beer. Income \$2,100.34, expenditures \$2,074.39.

The years 1887-1888 brought numerous but mostly unsuccessful strikes, particularly those by the Knights; for example, against various western railroads, in the Chicago slaughterhouses, by the coal shovelers in the East. The boycott of most of the big breweries in the country resulting from the brewery workers' strike was in full swing when the AFL held its December 1888 convention in St. Louis at which fifty-one delegates represented 587,000 members. New organizations represented were the boiler smiths, carton makers, and unskilled construction workers (rodmen, and so on) and, as usual, a number of trade union councils from various cities.

The president emphasized in his report that even in a period of general decline, the AFL had increased its membership (which did not agree with the official figures in the protocol). He regretted the rejection of obligatory support for strikes in the voting of the affiliated groups, made a number of negative comments about the leaders of the Knights, emphasized the miserable conditions of miners, noted that the creation of an independent political labor party would be extremely unclever at least at the present time, and approved a new and successful attempt to bring about the eight-hour day begun by cigar-makers and German typesetters.

Along with much of no importance, the convention resolved the following: not to send a delegate to Europe; to issue summons to financially support the striking brewery workers; to set up an unrelenting boycott against Milwaukee and New York beer which was controlled by the pools; to send the compulsory strike support proposal back to the rank and file for another vote; to strike for the founding of a large federation of all railroad employees; to sharpen Article IV, Section 5, of the statutes so that no central body could accept delegates from an organization that was dependent upon a corporate body not connected with the AFL; and, by a roll-call vote of thirty-eight to eight, the delegates resolved to again demand the eight-hour day all down the line on May 1, 1890, and to make all possible preparations, particularly the holding of large mass meetings on national holidays. (This resolution inspired the May 1 celebration in Europe.) Income \$4,538.50, expenditures \$3,933.67.

The AFL held its next convention in Boston December 10–15, 1889, attended by seventy-four delegates representing approximately 600,000 members. New organizations represented were the Amalgamated Machinists (the American division of the English Amalgamated Engineers), the shoemakers, sailors and firemen, silkweavers, knife sharpeners, tin workers, saw makers, cement workers, stone breakers, granite polishers, machinists and needle workers, marble workers, basket makers, and others. The city and state officials warmly welcomed the convention, which held its meeting in the city hall.

From the president's annual report we can emphasize that the attempts to gather all the railroad employees in one federation failed because of the conceit of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers and that the recently renewed contracts with the Knights of Labor remained unsuccessful. The report pointed with pleasure to the international congresses held in Paris and mentioned that the United States had not received an official invitation to the international conference on labor legislation; that the laws for the protection and in favor of labor were ignored while laws favoring other classes—such as the tariff legislation—were strictly enforced; that the census of 1880 had not been carried out correctly; and that a tendency existed that would leave out the unemployed in the 1890 census as well.

On the subject of the attempts by the farmers' organizations to open contacts with the AFL, Gompers said bravely and correctly "that these organizations are composed of employing farmers. While I am aware that there are many wrongs from which they suffer that should be righted, it is my opinion that our purpose should be to organize and ally ourselves with the farm laborers whose condition is so wretched and whose living so precarious."³² The president's report placed the most important emphasis on the renewed eight-hour agitation and made various suggestions on the subject.

Once again boycotts played a big role at the convention; in the forefront were those against the large breweries in Milwaukee, New York, and St.

Louis, which the convention again approved and certified. The delegates once again urgently recommended that the workers pay attention to the labels of the cigarmakers, the German typesetters, the bakers, and so on. The convention also resolved to hold an international labor congress in the United States in 1892, to express the sympathy of the American workers for the European eight-hour agitation, and to invite John Burns to make a lecture tour of the United States.³³

The congress demanded legal protection measures for the sailors and firemen on the oceans and lakes, as well as the counting of the unemployed in the census of 1890. Regarding relations with the Knights of Labor, the AFL resolved to break off relations with them and to address the country's workers with an AFL ultimatum: the Knights of Labor should dissolve all its trade assemblies and then the AFL would recommend its members join the mixed assemblies of the Knights. The congress again rejected the idea of a labor political party.

Regarding the eight-hour agitation, the congress jubilantly resolved: "The Executive Council shall have power to select such trade or trades . . . as shall . . . be best prepared to achieve success [on May 1, 1890] and that each union in the Federation be requested to assess their members 10 cents per week" from March 1, 1890, as long as necessary to win. At the same time the affiliated trades and labor organizations should open negotiations with the employers to secure a reduction of working hours to eight per day. Income \$7,443.23, expenditures \$6,578.33.

The choice of the executive for the renewed eight-hour struggle fell on the carpenters and building joiners (cabinetmakers) who were well prepared and were successful in their attempt.³⁴ A continuation of the struggle in the other trades had to be postponed until 1891 because the strike support measure did not achieve a sufficient level of acceptance.

The tenth AFL convention met on December 8, 1890, in Detroit and numbered 103 delegates from eight-three organizations with more than 600,000 members. Newly represented were the construction ironworkers, nail makers, barrel makers, coach makers, shop assistants, cutters, streetcar employees, electric plant workers, leather workers, musicians, polishers, plasterers, and so on.

The president's report mentioned the positive results of the recent eight-hour struggle of the carpenters and reported that the miners had been chosen to move for the eight-hour day in 1891. The AFL had been able to give the carpenters \$12,500 as support, but the money had been very slow in arriving. The report also informed the congress that the idea of an international labor congress for 1893 in Chicago had found little support and that the AFL must be represented at the next international congress (1891) in Europe.

The president declared that the eight-hour law and the law against importing contract labor were being continuously evaded and that the first Monday

in September as a labor holiday had found increasing support. He declared it would be folly to fear and fight against the capitalist trusts, described the screaming evils of child labor, and took a strong position against the acceptance of sections of the Socialist Labor Party in the AFL. The problem of the New York Central Labor Federation (CLF) took up most of the time at the convention. The following recapitulation will help in understanding the situation.

In the mid 1880s, with the heavy participation of the German trade unions and socialists, the various trade union councils of the New York workers united under the banner of the New York Central Labor Union (CLU) in which Americans, Irish, Germans, and so on (trade unionists, Knights of Labor, and socialists) sat together in brotherhood. This organization in the fall of 1886 began the well-known and important Henry George election campaign during which the New York German socialists gave the best and most self-sacrificing service, according to undisputed evidence.

In spite of this accomplishment, in the following year (1887) they were shut out of the United Labor Party. The second campaign ended in a thorough fiasco, and from then on the bourgeois parties gained ground among the various trade union council factions, thus also in the New York CLU, in preparing for the presidential election of 1888. A strong opposition made up mostly of Germans rejected the foolishness of the CLU as far as their strength allowed, but when matters came to a head in early 1889, they left the CLU and formed a new central body, the New York Central Labor Federation (CLF). The latter immediately associated itself with the AFL and received a charter from it.

Both bodies regretted and bewailed the split. The honest elements vigorously strove for a reunion. Since no important elections were in the offing, the CLU was purged of the most disreputable elements, whereupon the CLF dissolved itself and corporately returned to the CLU.

After a short time the old conflicts broke out once more and a new secession occurred. The CLF re-formed in the summer of 1890 and requested its old charter from the AFL. The AFL president and executive committee rejected this request as well as one for a new charter because, in the meantime, the CLF had accepted the New York American section of the Socialist Labor Party as a member. The AFL justified the rejection by pointing to the fact that the "American section" was neither a trade union nor a labor union, which precluded membership under Article IV, Section 5, of the statutes. The CLF appealed to the AFL congress and sent as its delegates—representatives from the American section. This caused a sharp struggle at the congress, which ended with the rejection of the CLF delegation. Seventy-nine delegates voted for rejection, eighteen against, and five abstained.³⁵

A resolution forbidding the presence of politicians at the AFL's conventions were rejected as was the proposal that the AFL take as its goal the abolition

of the wage system. The convention resolved to publish its documents in the German language and, when necessary, in other languages. The delegates passed further resolutions supporting the right to vote for women; against the overuse of the boycott; for holding an international labor congress in Chicago in 1893; against the exclusion of colored people and others from the National Machinists Union;³⁶ in favor of better strike support; against the use of agitation for the nationalization of railroads; against convict labor under contract in the mines of Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, and Tennessee; against the overflowing Chicago labor market; in favor of the bakers; for the opening of the World Fair on Sundays; for the organization of women workers; in favor of further pressure for the eight-hour day by the miners as the next step; and the congress sent brotherly greetings to the international congress in Brussels. Income \$24,714.64, expenditures \$21,070.57.

The last decade, 1880-1890, saw the preparation for an economic revolution in the former slave states, the gradual change of the southern states into an industrial area. In the past, the southern states had almost exclusively produced raw materials such as cotton, sugarcane, citrus fruits, lumber, and so on, the production of which did not demand much ability from the workers, free or slave, and the sale of which did not demand much entrepreneurial spirit from the owners.

Now, however, the more "practical" sense of the Yankees from the North exerted pressure for a more thorough exploitation of the rather frugal black workers as well as of the use of the rich land that promised large profits. Important coal and ore mines were put into production, factories and blast furnaces were built, and settlements and cities sprouted up like mushrooms after the rain, rich in population and talent. The "New South" had come into being. The states of Alabama and Georgia led the march, and the labor movement moved into the former slave states in earnest.

As a result of this, the AFL held its next convention in Birmingham, Alabama, from December 14-19, 1891. Seventy-five delegates attended, including four colored persons and two women. The president's report noted that the organization consisted of approximately 12,000 local groups, that the railroad employees remained at a distance, that the miners had given up the eight-hour struggle, that sending a delegation to Europe was necessary in order to insure the success of the international congress in Chicago, that heavy immigration was resulting in a very bad situation, that women workers should be organized, that the vote for women could be expected soon, that the full vote on compulsory strike support had not been completed, that freedom of speech and assembly had to be protected, and that the Knights of Labor had made a cartel recommendation. The remark is interesting that heavy immigration to the United States was an effective method of maintaining the anachronistic institutions of Europe and of hindering economic, political, and social reforms there.

The demand for the eight-hour day, which was to have been made by the miners with the support of the AFL on May 1, 1891, was cancelled by a resolution passed by the miners themselves.³⁷ The AFL executive released a circular letter on this doubtful situation in which the responsibility for the inaction was placed on the miners and the Knights of Labor. The decision to cancel the obligatory strike support must be seen as a result of the miners' action.

The delegates approved \$3,000 for the Pittsburgh typesetters to assist them in bringing the case against the conspiracy laws before the highest court in the land. They also demanded compulsory schooling in all states and territories, unanimously protested the behavior of the Chicago police, defended and endorsed the president—Gompers—against the CLF, and rejected an independent labor political movement.

In response to the cartel suggestion of the Knights of Labor the convention offered a counter-suggestion—as it had in 1889 in Boston—that the Knights dissolve their trade union organization, following which the AFL would also dissolve its mixed labor organizations and recommend that its members join the Knights. Income: \$21,346.00, expenditures: \$13,190.00.

The most important sections of the AFL constitution are as follows:

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

PREAMBLE.

WHEREAS, A struggle is going on in all the nations of the civilized world, between the oppressors and the oppressed of all countries, a struggle between the capitalist and the laborer, which grows in intensity from year to year, and will work disastrous results to the toiling millions, if they are not combined for mutual protection and benefit.

It therefore behooves the representatives of the Trades and Labor Unions of America, in Convention, assembled, to adopt such measures and disseminate such principles among the mechanics and laborers of our country as will permanently unite them, to secure the recognition of the rights to which they are justly entitled.

We therefore declare ourselves in favor of the formation of a thorough Federation, embracing every Trade and Labor Organization in America.

CONSTITUTION

Article I.—Name.

Section 1. This association shall be known as "The American Federation of Labor," and shall consist of such Trades and Labor Unions as shall conform to its rules and regulations.

Article II.—Objects.

Section 1. The objects of this Federation shall be the encouragement and formation of local Trades and Labor Unions, and the closer Federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trades and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies into states, territorial, or provincial organizations, to secure legislation in the interests of the working masses.

Sec. 2. The establishment of National and International Trades Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.

Sec. 3. An American Federation of all National and International Trades Unions, to aid and assist each other; and, furthermore, to secure National Legislation in the interests of the working people, and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of Organized Labor.

Article III.—Convention.

Section 1. The convention of the Federation shall be held annually, on the second Tuesday of December, at such place as the delegates have selected at the preceding Convention.

Article IV.—Representation.

Section 1. The basis of representation in the convention shall be: From National or International Unions, for less than four thousand members, one delegate; four thousand or more, two delegates; eight thousand or more, three delegates; sixteen thousand or more, four delegates; thirty-two thousand or more, five delegates, and so on; and from each Local or District Trades Union, not connected with, or having a National or International head, affiliated with this Federation, one delegate.

Sec. 2. No organization which has seceded from any Local, National or International organization, shall be allowed a representation or recognition in this Federation.

Article V.—Officers.

Section 1. The Officers of the Federation shall consist of a President, two Vice-Presidents, a Secretary, and a Treasurer, to be elected by the Convention.

Sec. 2. At the opening of the Convention the President shall take the chair and call the Convention to order, and preside until his successor is elected.

Sec. 3. The following Committees, consisting of three members each, shall be appointed by the President: 1st, Credentials; 2d, Rules and Order of Business; 3d, Resolutions; 4th, Finance; 5th, Report of Executive Council.

Sec. 4. Should a vacancy in any office occur between the annual meetings of the Convention, such vacancies shall be filled by the President of the Federation, by and with consent of the Executive Council. When a vacancy occurs in the office of President, the Vice-Presidents shall succeed in their respective order.

Sec. 5. The President and Secretary will be members of the succeeding Convention in case they are not delegates, but without vote.

Article VI.—Executive Council.

Section 1. The Officers shall be an Executive Council with power to watch legislative measures directly affecting the interests of working people, and to initiate, whenever necessary, such legislative action as the Convention may direct.

Sec. 2. The Executive Council shall use every possible means to organize new National or International Trades Unions, and to organize local Trades Unions and connect them with the Federation, until such time as there are a sufficient number to form a National or International Union, when it shall be the duty of the President of the Federation to see that such organization is formed.

Sec. 3. While we recognize the right of each trade to manage its own affairs, it shall be the duty of the Executive Council to secure the unification of all labor organizations, so far as to assist each other in any justifiable boycott, and with voluntary financial help in the event of a strike or lock-out, when duly approved by the Executive Council.

Sec. 4. When a strike has been approved by the Executive Council, the particulars of the difficulty, even if it be a lock-out, shall be explained in a circular issued by the President of the Federation to the unions affiliated therewith. It shall then be the duty of all affiliated societies to urge their local Unions and members to make liberal financial donations in aid of the working people involved.

Article VII.—Revenue.

Section 1. The revenue of the Federation shall be derived from International, National, District and Local organizations, which shall pay into the treasury of the Federation a per capita tax of one-half cent per month for each member in good standing, the same to be payable monthly to the Treasurer of the Federation.

Sec. 2. Delegates shall not be entitled to a seat in this Federation, unless the per capita tax of their organization is paid in full.

Sec. 3. Any organization, affiliated with this Federation, not paying its per capita tax on or before the 15th of each month, shall be notified of the fact by the President of the Federation, and if at the end of three months it is still in arrears it shall be suspended from membership in the Federation, and can only be reinstated by vote of the Convention.

Sec. 4. Each society affiliated with this Federation, shall make a monthly report of its standing and progress to the President of the Federation.

Sec. 5. It shall be the duty of the President to attend to all correspondence, publish a monthly journal, and travel, with consent of the Executive Council, wherever required in the interest of the Federation. His salary shall be \$1,000 per year, payable monthly, with mileage and expenses.

Sec. 6. Whenever the revenue of the Federation shall warrant such action, the Executive Council shall authorize the sending out of Trade Union speakers, from place to place, in the interest of the Federation.

Sec. 7. The funds of the Federation shall be banked monthly by three Trustees, who shall be selected by the Executive Council. The same Trustees shall be residents of the same city with the Treasurer. No money shall be paid out only in conformity with the rules laid down by the Executive Council.

Sec. 8. It shall be the duty of the Secretary to attend to such business as may be decided by the Executive Council.

Sec. 9. The accounts of the year shall be closed fourteen days prior to the assembling of the Convention, and a balance sheet, duly certified, shall be presented to the same.

Sec. 10. The remuneration for the loss of time by the executive council shall be at the rate of \$3.00 per diem; traveling and incidental expenses to be also defrayed.

Article VIII.—Miscellaneous.

Section 1. In all questions not covered by this Constitution, the Executive Council shall have power to make rules to govern the same, and shall report accordingly to the Federation.

Sec. 2. Charters for the Federation shall be granted by the President of the Federation, by and with the consent of the Executive Council, to all National and International, and Local bodies affiliated with this Federation.

Sec. 3. Any seven wage workers of good character, and favorable to Trades Unions, and not members of any body affiliated with this Federation, who will subscribe to this Constitution, shall have the power to form a local body, to be known as a "Federal Labor Union," and they shall hold regular meetings for the purpose of strengthening and advancing the Trades Union movement, and shall have the power to make their own rules in conformity with this Constitution, and shall be granted a local charter by the President of this Federation, provided the request for a charter be endorsed by the nearest Local or National Trades Union officials connected with this Federation.

Sec. 4. The charter fee for affiliated bodies shall be \$5.00, payable to the Treasurer of the Federation.

Sec. 5. Where there are one or more Local Unions in any city, belonging to a National or International Union, affiliated with this Federation, it shall be their duty to organize a Trades Assembly or Central Labor Union, or join such body, if already in existence.

Article IX.—Amendments.

Section 1. This Constitution can be amended or altered only at a regular session of the Convention, and to do so, it shall require a two-thirds vote of the delegates and must be ratified within six weeks thereafter, by a majority vote of the members of the societies composing this Federation.

Sec. 2. This Constitution shall go into effect March 1st, 1887.

chapter 10

HOMESTEAD AND COEUR D'ALENE

"Give them the rifle diet for a few days and see how they like that kind of bread!" cried Tom Scott, the late president of the Pennsylvania Railroad, fifteen years ago after the great railroad strike of 1877. "Lead instead of bread" is the answer of the American citizen to the demands of the workers. Lead instead of bread is what the ironworkers, members of the powerful Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers (ISW), got in Homestead, Pennsylvania. Lead instead of bread is what the organized mine workers got in the Coeur d'Alene district of Idaho in the Northwest.

But while in 1877 the Pittsburgh workers had to first empty the arsenals to arm themselves and wreak revenge on the cowardly militia, the workers in Homestead as well as Coeur d'Alene, having learned from the past, already possessed weapons and paid back the mercenaries and strikebreakers in the same coin, shot for shot.

In coal- and ore-rich Pennsylvania, protected by a high tariff, lies a very important iron and steel industry with its center in Pittsburgh. Here lay the field of exploitation, the gold mine of Mr. Andrew Carnegie, a born Scot, the same man who built the great library in Pittsburgh and one of the largest music halls in the world in New York, who received honorary citizenship in Glasgow on the basis of his donations, and so on. Because of this, and as a successful industrialist, he is known throughout the world. Aside from his astounding capabilities for acquisition, which assured him uncounted millions from the work of thousands of wage workers, he possessed the ability to surround himself with a certain aura of liberalism, a taste for the fine arts, and a democratic viewpoint so that people to a certain extent ignored his gigantic appropriation of surplus value.

As his business became too big, the responsibilities too infused with danger, as the labor movement became too energetic, he was smart enough about three years ago to retire from the colossal enterprise, transform it into a stock company in which he is the largest shareholder, and entrust the leadership and administration to a young man with much ambition and potential, Henry Frick, who well justified this trust. Still, the press and the public continue to refer to Carnegie as the owner and spokesman for this giant enterprise.

Alongside this powerful industrial establishment and parallel to it the ISW also grew. The organization encompasses the ironworkers and steelworkers of almost all the branches in the industrial centers of the country.¹ It is completely natural that these two large organizations soon and often came into conflict in which violence was not lacking, for example, in 1889.

Since the trade organizations in the United States have grown in strength and have come together in national trade unions, it has become common for them to sign contracts with the industrial concerns for a shorter or longer period designating a minimum wage. These contracts, negotiated by the representatives of the union and management, are strictly adhered to. This held true also for Homestead, where in the beginning of July a struggle broke out. The *New York Sun*, a passionate opponent of the struggling workers, described the background to this event as follows:

This little town is the greatest steel-producing center in the world, its output being greater than that of the immense Krupp works at Essen. These works, which are but a branch of the Carnegie Steel Association, occupy 110 acres with a dozen substantial buildings and a score of sheds and small outbuildings. Here all kinds of iron work is done, from the making of Bessemer steel to the making of those armor plates for war vessels that require the highest kind of skilled labor.

This is not the first trouble that has arisen between the works and the men. In 1889 there were serious difficulties, which ended in July of that year with the signing of a sliding scale of wages upon a basis of \$25 as the minimum price for steel billets. This scale was signed for three years, and until early in June of this year everything has been quiet. But the workmen have never been fond of Mr. Carnegie and his associates, and have grumbled continually, and have announced that they had all sorts of forebodings of evil. These forebodings were realized, they claimed, when Mr. Carnegie ceased to take an active part in the affairs of the great association he had formed, and was succeeded a short time ago by H. C. Frick, who became Mr. Carnegie's right-hand man and representative, with the official title of Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Carnegie Steel Association. The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, of which all the Homestead laborers are mem-

bers, does not like and has never liked Andrew Carnegie. But for H. C. Frick it has an antipathy that began with distrust and has ended in a hatred, active in the breasts of each of its 60,000 members.

The causes of this hatred and the career of Mr. Frick generally will be found interesting. He was born in West Overton, Westmoreland County, forty-two years ago. He was the son of a fairly prosperous farmer, and began his commercial career as a dry goods clerk in Mount Pleasant. Then he became a bookkeeper in his grandfather's distillery, and there began to study the possibilities of the manufacture of coke. Before he was 25 years old he induced several young men to go in with him in the building of fifty coke ovens at Bradford, Pa. In 1873, when the great panic came, he saw his chance and took it. The owners of coke ovens, frightened by the depressed markets, were anxious to sell at almost any price. Young Frick, despite the jeering at the setting of the judgment of a boy of 24 against the experience of old and rich men, bought all the coke ovens his capital would permit, leased as many more as he could, and, in short, staked his savings² and his credit on the turn of the coke market. The result was that in less than two years he was a rich man whose shrewdness had endeared him to all the business men of Western Pennsylvania [but also made him the object of the coke workers' hatred].

The Carnegies bought an interest in his coke business, which has been extended vastly, and thus he and Andrew Carnegie came to know each other well, and when Carnegie retired he selected this young millionaire to succeed him as President of the Edgar Thomson Steel Company, then the largest of the Carnegie interests, and on Saturday last he became the head of the Carnegie Steel Association. As a manufacturer of coke he had bitterly opposed unions, and had successfully insisted upon managing his own business without the aid of committees from the unions. As President of the Edgar Thomson Steel Company he broke up the union among its employees, and earned the everlasting hatred of the Amalgamated Association. When the announcement of his promotion came the Amalgamated Association felt that its fight for life had come, and that the struggle already on at Homestead would be a struggle to the end.

In June, when the time of the expiration of the three years' contract on a basis of \$25 per steel billet was at hand, the Carnegie Association announced that it would not enter into another contract on the \$25 basis, that the minimum must hereafter be \$22 and that the contract should expire on Dec. 31, with the close of the year's business, instead of at the more inconvenient time of July 1. When Chairman Frick presented these conditions to the representatives of the Amalgamated Association the anger and hatred burst out at once. The men denied the truth of the

company's assertion that the lessened output justified the reduction and asserted that the change of time for the expiration of the contract from midsummer to midwinter was made so that the men would not be able to follow a protest against a further reduction by a strike on account of the hard weather.

The men demanded the old minimum of \$25 and the old time of expiration. Mr. Frick raised the minimum to \$23 and the men lowered their demand to \$24. But on the dollar between, the employers and employees split. Neither would yield, and at last Mr. Frick said:

"If this contract at \$23 is not signed by June 24 midnight, we will not deal with the union any more. We will employ each man separately, and will pay no attention to the union."

The contract was not signed at that time, and the Carnegie works at Homestead were declared to be non-union from that time forth. The Amalgamated Association knew Mr. Frick's record of persistence and success in other anti-union wars, and it made ready for its struggle for existence.

But Mr. Frick, who is noted for his farsightedness had foreseen the struggle that was to be and had prepared for it. He began nearly two months ago to change the great works into a fortress. The union men were still working, and they could see from the windows the pushing of the plans of defense. They saw an army of carpenters appear and build with speed a strong fence, enclosing all the great buildings. This fence, three miles long, was founded upon an embankment of slack several feet high. It was pierced at regular intervals by loopholes, through which sharpshooters, guarding the works, could pick off any who might attack.

Around the top of this fence they strung a barbed wire, and this wire was so arranged that a powerful electric current could be sent through it. The men also saw a great search light put into the tower of the largest of the buildings, and they knew that the great path of light from this could reveal with the brightness of day any body of men approaching by night to scale the fence or any man skulking in the shadow of the buildings to set them on fire. They saw long sections of hose rigged to the plugs, from which streams of scalding or cold water, as the defense might wish, could be sent against the attackers or thrown upon any building that might take fire. They saw a big instantaneous camera put in a commanding position, that the faces and the weapons and the attitudes of rioters might be taken for use in the courts when the trouble was over.

With the beginning of this week the fight was on. The strikers put the town under siege and allowed no one to enter without stating his business and proving it. . . .

The men openly declared that no non-union laborers should go to

work in those mills, and that any who tried to enter the town would be driven back, by force if force was necessary. And the company, preparing to reopen the works, secured the services of the Pinkerton men as watchmen and as further guards against trouble. On Monday and Tuesday the electric current was guarding the fence, and by night the great search light was watching the dark yard with its revolving eye. The story of yesterday's doings is told in the despatches.

The reader should be reminded that the above description comes from the enemy camp. Before we present a description of the events of July 6 from the same sources, we should mention a few things for the purposes of orientation.

Homestead is a small area on the Monongahela River about eight kilometers from Pittsburgh but belonging to the same county. Carnegie laid out the area following the well-known example of numerous factory plants in Pennsylvania, New England, and the Middle states; that is, to shackle the workers, to frustrate their mobility. He parcelled out the property, built the houses and huts, and sold them to the workers on the installment plan.

Because the Carnegie works have expanded enormously in the past fifteen years and thus have hired a large number of skilled and unskilled workers, the city has greatly expanded and today has about 12,000 citizens. Of these 4,000 to 5,000 work in the Carnegie plant and for the most part have become owners of their small houses and yards, although a large number still rent company houses, from which they have recently been evicted.

The entire administration of the area lies in the hands of the workers, that is, their elected representatives. Recently this administration has served the workers well, standing alertly by their side. The workers, realizing with whom they were dealing, before the strike broke out had arranged with the support of the ISW and the local administration measures against the importing of scabs and had set up a functioning guard system with a strict schedule of service on the railroad, along the river, in Pittsburgh, and in many other factory areas. They were ready for the struggle.

But so was Frick; he had not only built up his fortress for offensive and defensive action, called Fort Frick,³ but also to prepare for coming events and in strict secrecy, in conjunction with the police and judicial officials, engaged a band of 300 Pinkertons, who snuck into and took over Fort Frick to cut off the strikers' possibility of keeping out the strikebreakers. The following description of the struggle is taken again from the *New York Sun*:

About 2 ½ o'clock this morning word was received at Homestead from the scouts stationed at Lock No. 1 on the Monongahela River bank that two boat loads of strange men had arrived there in charge of the steamer *Little Bill*, and were on their way to Homestead.

The information had no sooner been received than the large steam

whistle at the electric light plant was blown, and its mournful, far-reaching voice rose and fell on the morning air, waking the weary sleepers within a radius of many miles, and telling them that the Pinkertons were coming.

The perfection of the unparalleled system of signalling which has been adopted by the Homestead men was well demonstrated, for the moment the whistle was heard flash lights were brought into play from different points on the surrounding high ground. The little battle ship *Edna*,⁴ which is ever ready for duty, joined her shrill, small voice in the call to arms, but after shrieking for a few seconds put off down the river in search of her enemy. The sentinels on the outposts in the mean time were not idle, as hundreds of rockets were sent toward the heavens to make assurance doubly sure that no man, woman or child in Homestead would sleep while their town was menaced.

Within two minutes after the first blast of the large whistle 1,000 half-clothed but wide-awake people were on the streets hurrying toward the river, jostling each other in their eagerness to get the first glimpse of the Pinkerton fleet. They peered into the dense fog which overhung the Monongahela waters in vain, and no sound was heard save the calls and answers of the water scouts who were plying the river in skiffs searching for the enemy. For fully an hour it seemed as though the people had been hauled from their beds for no purpose, and many of the tired ones returned to their homes.

At 4 o'clock the streets of Homestead were almost deserted, when three horsemen, their steeds bathed in foam, came flying up the river road into Homestead and separated in different directions, shouting wildly:

"To the river! To the river! The Pinkertons are coming!"

At the same moment the whistle for the second time since the sun had set sent out its dismal warning, this time sounding the death call of many Homestead men who had sprung from their beds two hours before. This time the alarm was genuine, and as the people scurried through the streets toward the river a shrill whistle from the bend below the town announced the coming of the little boat *Edna*, and her peculiar, plaintive cry carried with it an awful significance.

Nearer and nearer came the little boat. Then it was seen that she was followed closely by a long low-lying float being pushed rapidly upstream by a steamer. The army of men, women and children on shore were not long in learning the character of the strange craft, and the cry of "Two model barges full of Pinkertons!" was soon raised.

Then there was a mad race toward the mill fence. Rushing, screaming, and falling over each other, the crowd reached the twenty-foot fence, which extended down to the water,⁵ and the advance guard began tearing down the boards. They were for getting to the mill as it was

seen that the Pinkertons intended landing inside the works. Every nerve of the 4,500 workmen and their families was strained toward reaching the only landing place in advance of the Pinkertons.

In less time than it takes to tell it, great holes were torn in the fence, through which the angry crowd poured in a stream. Along the footpath skirting the river bank they rushed pell mell, and though, in some places, it was necessary to go one at a time, the mad pace set by the lightfooted leaders was not relaxed and those who were unable to keep on the path rolled into the river.

The noise of the wild assembly was like the rumbling of a storm. The shrill cries of the foremost ones were answered by shouts of encouragement by those behind. Every man was armed with a club, at least, and fully eight of every ten carried revolvers. Women with babies in arms ran fleetly along the footpaths, bent on reaching the scene of the struggle.

Although from the moment the men on the Little Bill saw that their purpose was known, every pound of available steam was brought into play, and the boat load of Pinkerton guards shot through the water with surprising speed, but the strikers won the race. Before the barges were within 100 feet of the landing, that portion of the river bank was literally covered with mill men, brandishing their clubs, while some on the bank above were firing their revolvers to intimidate the occupants of the boats. Up to this time there had not been a sign of life on the barges, but then within fifty feet of the shore the large doors at the end of the boats were thrown open and as many men as could conveniently stand on the little forward decks crowded quickly out.

One glance was enough to fire the blood of the most conservative of men, as through the rapidly coming daylight was recognized the slouch-hatred, blue-coated, heavily armed Pinkerton men. Every one of the Pinkertons held in his hands a deadly double-barrelled Winchester rifle, and though three-score of the glittering barrels were levelled directly at the mill men as the boat reached the shore, not a man retreated, but rather pressed closer to the shore in order to be the first to fall if necessary. The din was terrific as the lusty-lunged mill men vented their rage upon the intruders.

"Don't come on land or we'll brain you," they yelled. "Why don't you work for your living like decent men?" they howled.

Not a word did the Pinkertons answer, but as the boat touched the shore and a gang plank was thrown out, every Pinkerton man covered as many men as possible with his Winchester. Rage had now transformed the usually pacific Homestead men into demons. They knew no fear, but even jumped forward to wrest the death-dealing rifles from the hands of their hated enemies.

It will never be known definitely who fired the first shot⁶ which

started the slaughter that has made so many homes of mourning. The first gun, however, was fired from the Pinkerton barge, and is thought to have been discharged by the captain of the gang of men, who was afterward killed. The last moment before the slaughter, the crowd was surging downward against six of the leading mill workers, who stood with their backs to the Pinkertons, fairly under the muzzles of the rifles, trying to keep the mill men back from what seemed certain death. Clear as a bell, far above the roar of the angry crowd, came the voice of Hugh O'Donnell,⁷ as, hatless and coatless, he tried to check the angry men.

"In God's name," he cried, "my good fellows, keep back, don't press down and force them to do murder."

It was too late, the appeal was drowned by the sharp report of a Winchester from a man in the bow of the boat. The first ball had hardly left the smoking barrel on its mission of death before it was followed by a sheet of flame from a score of rifles in the Pinkertons' hands. William Foy,⁸ who stood at the front with his foot on the gang plank, staggered and fell, his blood gushing out. For a moment the crowd was struck dumb by the attack. Only the groans of several wounded men were heard. The echoes of the rifles had hardly reached the neighboring hills ere the crowd replied. Out from the semi-darkness of the morning flashed a wall of fire. The men on the bank, too, had arms and were using them.

The leader of the Pinkertons clapped his hand to his breast and fell overboard, sinking beneath the waters, while several other Pinkertons staggered back and were carried inside the boat by their comrades.

At the first flash of the Pinkertons' rifles many of the crowd took to their heels, but close to the water's edge stood about 200 of the angry men firing their revolvers straight at the Pinkertons. Soon the latter, unable to withstand the firing, retreated into their cabin and fired from under cover as quickly as possible. When the men on shore had emptied their revolvers they retreated up the bank, greeting every shot from their enemies with defiant cheers.

It is remarkable that among that vast lot of Homestead men not a gun was seen, but after the first attack messengers flew wildly to the town, and in a quarter of an hour, armed with rifles, shotguns, muskets, and everything in the line of firearms, they were hurrying again to the scene of battle. The Pinkertons kept rather close under cover, but when the mill men came down to the water and asked for a conference one was readily given them.

The spokesmen of the Pinkertons said they did not intend working, and a voice from the crowd answered: "You fellows would not work; it's against your principles."

This evidently ended the conference, as the speaker shouted:

"You fellows have been blowing through the newspapers what you were going to do, and now we will show you what we can do, and in fifteen minutes we will make a landing and clean the ground in short order."

This was greeted with a defiant cheer on the part of the mill men. One old gray-haired man shouted to the Pinkertons:

"Our boys have just whipped you, and we can do it again. If you want to fight we'll send the women down, as you're afraid to fight men."

Nothing further was done by the Pinkertons until after they had eaten breakfast on the boat, when at 6:30 they made another attempt to land on the company's grounds, but were again repulsed.

For hours the strikers behind the barricades of structural iron within the walls watched the barges with guns cocked, waiting for a head to appear. A white flag had been waved to the detectives, but had not been heeded. Now there was no quarter. Down in the boats, sweltering and with hearts filled with fear, lay 270 Pinkerton guards. The sun was beating down on the low roofs of the barges, and the air within them must have been stifling, for an opening was not to be thought of, as it would only attract a storm of bullets from the angry men outside. The suffering of the wounded in the boats must have been awful, and as the sun grew hotter sounds of an axe at work within the boat told the crowd that the Pinkerton guards were taking desperate chances to prevent suffocation. Soon a hole was cut through, and a moment later it was made twice as large from the bullets from the shore. The axeman was wounded, and no further attempts were made to secure ventilation. Death in a stifling atmosphere was better, the Pinkertons thought, than from the guns of the mob.

All sorts of plans were tried to fire the boats. A hand fire engine owned by the steel company was gotten out of its shed and connected with a big oil tank. The oil was pumped down into the river and burning waste was thrown after it. This did not do, and the stores with overstocks of Fourth of July fireworks were drawn upon; rockets, Roman candles, and the like were used, but without effect. The oil was of the lubricating kind, and not as inflammable as other grades. Had the mill men succeeded, an appalling fate must have been in store for the Pinkerton men. To save themselves from death in fire they would have had to face the rifles of the mob, and the live escape of any of them would almost have been beyond hope.

Seeing their efforts were in vain, the steel workers rested and discussed the situation. Hugh O'Donnell, cool-headed and anxious to avoid further bloodshed, seized a small American flag, mounted a pile of iron,

and soon had the attention of the 2,000 maddened men who were shouting for blood. He began to calmly discuss the situation, and to caution the men to move slowly. His words were received with cheers, and finding he had the crowd with him he suggested that a truce be arranged until the arrival of the Sheriff. He said a white flag should be carried to the bank, and he was going to explain his plan further when a howl arose from a thousand throats.

"Show the white flag? Never!" was the cry. "They shot at one flag this morning, and if there is any white flag to be shown it must fly from the boats."

"What will we do then?" asked O'Donnell.

"We will hold them in the boats until the Sheriff comes, and we will have warrants sworn out for every man for murder. The Sheriff will then have to take them in charge," said one man, and shouts of approval rent the air.

Seeing that this was the desire of the men, O'Donnell stepped down and went to work to keep them to that and prevent further conflict. While a meeting was in progress in the mill, another was being held by the beleaguered ones in the boat. The result was soon shown by a white handkerchief being cautiously shoved out of an opening, and cheers greeted it.

"They surrender!" "Victory!" "We have them now!" and like cries rung out. Then Hugh O'Donnell, accompanied by two or three of the Advisory Committee, ran down the steep bank to receive the message of peace. The spokesman of the Pinkertons announced that they would surrender on condition that they be protected from the violence of the mob. After a short parley this was agreed to, though a multitude of enraged people were howling for the blood of the men who killed their comrades. . . .

To this report we can add that the captured Pinkertons wandered for almost an hour after their arrest through the excited crowd of people and were mishandled particularly by the embittered women. The sheriff picked them up the next night and released them in Pittsburgh. The number of dead was put at twelve, and the wounded at twenty, but the figures were probably higher.

On the next day, July 7, both houses of Congress created committees or authorized standing committees to investigate the background of the events and the activities of the Pinkertons. The few members of the Farmers' Alliance⁹ made statements, and from both Republican and Democratic sides came sharp words against the Pinkertons and their masters. After all, 1892 was a presidential election year. Senator Palmer, a Democrat from Illinois, made a fulminating speech in the Senate from which the following excerpts, based on the idea of "the right to work," appear interesting. After castigating the Pinkertons, he continued:

I maintain—and I ask the attention of the Committee on Education and Labor, if that committee shall be instructed to inquire into this subject—that these citizens were right. I maintain, according to the law of the land—not as the law is generally understood, but according to the principles of the law which must hereafter be applied to the solution of these troubles—that those men had the right to be there. That makes it necessary for me to assert that these men had a right to employment there, they had earned the right to live there, and these large manufacturing establishments—and there is no other road out of this question—must hereafter be understood to be public establishments in the modified sense, which I will explain in a moment, in which the public is deeply interested, and the owners of these properties must hereafter be regarded as holding their property subject to the correlative rights of those without whose services the property would be utterly valueless. That concession which I make only concedes to them a right to a reasonable profit on the capital invested in their enterprises.

I maintain, furthermore, that these laborers having been in that service, having been engaged there, having spent their lives in this peculiar line of service, have the right to insist upon the permanency of their employment, and they have the right to insist, too, upon a reasonable compensation for their services.

We talk about the civil-service law¹⁰ as applicable to Government employment. I assert that there is a law wider and broader than that, which gives to these men who have been bred in these special pursuits, as, for example, in the service of railroads or of these vast manufacturing establishments, a right to demand employment, a right which can only be defeated by misconduct on their part.

I maintain, therefore, that at the time of the assault upon these people at Homestead they were there where they had a right to be, they were upon ground they had a right to defend.

Mark me, I maintain the right of the owners of property to operate it at their will; I maintain the right of the operatives to assist in its operation. . . .

One can see that the man does not know what he wants—or he knows all too well. A hymn praising capital's right to profit and free disposition, the worker's right to continual employment and a decent wage, is about the same as the upright German-American's suggestion to erect a German Republic with Emperor William and Bismarck at the top. Still, the speech created an uproar and was admired by shortsighted and easily led people. The only thing in Palmer's speech worth discussing, and which of course was not discussed further, was his suggestion that the large industrial enterprises be viewed and dealt with as public institutions. This mightily annoyed the bourgeois press, which up to then had shown some sympathy with the strikers. The Democrat-

ic Party press attempted to make partisan points by noting that the big iron and steel works expanded under the protective tariff and that Carnegie, Frick, and their consorts, even the majority of the ISW,¹¹ belonged to the Republican Party. One exception to this is the *New York Sun*, directed by the old Fourierist Charles A. Dana, which consistently supports a pure Manchester capitalist viewpoint and mounts the most massive and savage attacks against the workers of Homestead and struggling workers in general.

The sympathy of the bourgeois press soon soured, and the victorious workers in Homestead proved themselves as model citizens in that they maintained a strict order and kept out the strikebreakers until July 11, when, in the still of the night ("Stealing on Homestead" the *Sun* called it) the militia, called into action after some hesitation by the Governor, numbering thousands, occupied the city and the factory, allowed the scabs in, and put an end to the strikers' rule.

On the same day that the militia moved into Homestead, July 11, the violent, murderous struggles broke out in the far high northwest of the United States, in the Coeur d'Alene district of Idaho, a state that joined the Union in 1891 to ensure a Republican majority in the Senate. Rich silver and lead mines make up the main source of employment, indeed the only industry worth mentioning in the sparsely populated state¹² (63,000 inhabitants in an area larger than the New England states together).

Originally these mines were successfully worked by individual miners or small groups for a number of years. Soon, however, they attracted the profit-greedy attention of the capitalists, who within a few years seized the most productive and best situated for themselves. They gradually reduced the wages of organized miners to a level of \$3.00 to \$3.50 a day, wages that in this uneconomical and sparsely populated area are very small and hardly a living wage. For this reason conflicts broke out often and since the fall of 1891 there has not been any real peace there. Coupled with this is the fact that the mine owners used the sinking price of silver on the world market to further reduce wages and shut down the mines on occasion as well as to secretly move in more scabs.

The following despatch from a bourgeois newspaper reports on the well-being of the owners:

San Francisco, July 13. If the Coeur d'Alene miners blow up the Bunker Hill crusher mill, as they have threatened, it will hurt many San Franciscans in their pocketbooks. This Bunker Hill and Sullivan property is the finest mine in the Coeur d'Alene district. It possesses one of the most excellent crusher mills in the West, if not in the world, and employs more people than any other mine in the area.

Superintendent Hammond chose the property and won over a number of friends to organize it. D. O. Mills, William Crocker, Percy Belmont,

Cyrus H. McCormick, Mr. Sloan, Vanderbilt's son-in-law, Creighton Webb,¹³ and others own stock in the company. From time to time they have received first class dividends and everything appeared favorable for more of the same when the current difficulties broke out. The property is very valuable. Experts estimate the value of the tunnels, shafts and the silver and lead at \$2,000,000.

We can also in this sense point to the Silver Kings Mackay, Jones, Stewart, and so on.¹⁴

The old miners, those for whom life was not so beautiful as the men referred to, had been organized in a union for some time, but the organization did not fare well; its existence became increasingly threatened when these sun-browned men, experienced in weapons, screwed up their courage to help themselves, attacked the scabs who had been armed by the company, beat them, and drove them out of the mines. They rounded up the scabs and forced them out of the area. In all this a number of people on both sides were killed and wounded and a large crusher mill was blown up.

The bourgeois authorities were incapacitated because the city possessed a 196-man militia and this only on paper while the armed strikers numbered 1,200 to 1,500. In his anxiety over the endangered property and the threatened dividends, the governor telegraphed the federal government for help. This help was readily forthcoming, and on July 12 federal troops moved into Coeur d'Alene from all sides and immediately proclaimed martial law.

At the same time the judicial process was set in motion in order to dissolve the miners' organization by having it declared an unlawful conspiracy. Whether this will be successful is an open question, but with Uncle Sam anything is possible.

The leaders of the struggling miners have been sought out and thrown into jails on the heaviest charges to repress the spirit of rebellion. At the moment calm reigns—at the points of bayonets.

Naturally this struggle caused a great deal of comment and fear among the bourgeoisie because of the evident, refreshing energy of the workers who were not shy in taking the offensive, and also because the struggle followed so closely that in Homestead. Coeur d'Alene however, soon lost public interest as the eyes of organized labor and the bourgeois politicians switched to the events in and around Pittsburgh—these events were being played out in one of the highly populated and industrial-rich areas of the eastern United States, so to speak on the classic ground of the great railroad strike of 1877. And, of course, in a presidential election year. The struggle in Homestead is rich in interesting episodes, including its painful consequences.

The House and Senate committees authorized to investigate the events at Homestead and the activities of the Pinkertons held meetings and took testimony from the Homestead workers, the Pinkertons, and Mr. Frick. When it

came to issuing a report on the investigation, however, the committees hesitated because of the coming election and finally, supported by both political parties, put off the report until December after the election was over. Remarkable in the hearings was Mr. Frick's refusal to give the net production costs of steel.

After the militia occupied Homestead and Fort Frick the arrests of workers on charges of murder brought by the Carnegie company officials began. The workers answered this with countercharges against Frick and his cohorts. The whole thing appeared to be worming its long, weary way through the courts when, like a *deus ex machina*, the Russian anarchist, Alexander Berkman,¹⁵ appeared and made an unsuccessful attempt to assassinate Frick on July 23. Berkman belongs to the autonomist faction, appears honest and upstanding in his statements, regrets failure of his act, has not compromised anyone up to now, but has taken full responsibility upon himself and has not given in up to this point.

The bourgeois press howled and insolently demanded that the labor papers disavow the act. The *New Yorker Volkszeitung* answered with a manly quod non, although it usually rejects anything that smacks of anarchism. Certain anarchist "groups," particularly in New York, held rallies to glorify Berkman and his act, and a large part of the bourgeois press demanded the limitation of the rally's organizers and speakers' freedom of speech and press, as well as court action against them. The district attorney refused the demand. The police in Pittsburgh and other places made themselves look thoroughly foolish with their search for a big conspiracy.

When Berkman's act became known in the militia barracks, a young soldier named Jams jumped up and shouted a loud "hurrah" for the assassin. When he heard of this, the commanding officer, Captain Streater, mustered the regiment and had Jams step forward before it. The captain cut the buttons from Jams' uniform, had him hanged by his thumbs until he passed out, and threw him out of the service with a half-shaven head. The entire bourgeois press remained silent about this cruelty until some private citizens, especially women, made noise about it, and even then it was characteristically an organ of the fine, fashionable "society," *Town Topics*, with the only exception being the labor press, which brandmarked with sharp words the cruelty of the militia officer. How closely this man was in harmony with his class comrades can be seen from the fact that fourteen days later the officers of the regiment unanimously voted him commanding officer again.

All these events created a furor among the workers of the country. From all parts of the United States expressions of sympathy and offers of help found their way to Homestead and also to Idaho. Resolutions supporting the organization of an armed march on Homestead were passed in Illinois, West Virginia, and Pittsburgh, but this march never took place. The New York workers held large mass rallies to support the people in Homestead, unfortunately

in separate crowds—the socialists, the Knights of Labor, the reconstituted Central Labor Union—everyone for himself.

The committee of Homestead workers released an address in which it supported Senator Palmer's speech. The conventions of various trade unions being held at this time, the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners, the decorators and painters, unanimously declared their support of the strikers in Homestead and their readiness to aid them; the Knights of Labor made particular efforts to insure the appropriate congressional committees were correctly informed by collecting the facts; the American Federation of Labor everywhere attempted to influence the workers and public opinion for the steel workers and also to drum up moral and material support; the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers (ISW) exercised itself to the limits of its ability to keep the struggle going.¹⁶

Frick, who had already last year won his spurs against workers' organizations and the repression of the workers in Morewood, Pennsylvania, is a clever, unscrupulous man and the politicians, especially the Republicans, who want the conflict quickly put away, have found no compromise in this unbending person. They will attempt it anyway because politically much is at stake.

The new third party, the so-called Populist Party, made up of dissatisfied farmers from the West and South and supported by the Knights of Labor and the silver advocates, is making unheard-of efforts to entice labor votes and has shown a great deal of sympathy for the workers in Homestead and Idaho. This sympathy is cheap because the small farmer is still far removed from the whole thing. Still, recently one of their influential papers, *Farm and Home*, pointed out that one day the farm wage workers could begin to think about behaving like the Homestead workers based on Senator Palmer's words, and that would not be very *gemütlich*.

Capital, here coincidentally represented in the person of Mr. Frick, is fighting for the reduction of production costs, in this case for the reduction of the variable part, the wages of labor, because of the competition within its own country, that is, competition from the "New South," especially Alabama, which now often undersells the Pennsylvanians. However, the industrial bourgeoisie in the United States is fighting mainly to become qualified to compete on the world market, which the tariff policy of the country makes almost impossible.¹⁷

In the final analysis, this is a matter of changing this tariff policy, of the more or less quick removal of the protective tariff limits so that the colossally developed industry of the United States can achieve its appropriate rank and profits on the world market. The most effective method to achieve this is the reduction of the standard of living of the American worker. The events in Homestead, Coeur d'Alene, and other places must be viewed and judged from this standpoint.

The cruelty, cowardliness, and brutality of the bourgeoisie, the lack of character in these citizens, as the quotations from their own mouths recently cited in *Die Neue Zeit* prove,¹⁸ have been once again documented in the events described above. To further characterize this bourgeois rabble the following prominently printed masterpiece from the *New York Sun* of July 26 will serve nicely:

Ten Chapters of the New Labor Gospel

1. Kill the employer's watchmen.
2. Take possession of his works.
3. Slug, maim, or murder non-union men.
4. Destroy the works, if there is no other way of keeping out non-union men.
5. Kill the employer if he continues to be insubordinate to the union.

When this penal legislation has had a sufficient deterrent and reformatory effect upon employers and capitalists, the following principles will be admitted by them:

6. Union workmen cannot be discharged.
7. Union workmen must be employed at wages satisfactory to themselves.
8. The union will take practical charge of the works.
9. The state of the market will not be permitted to affect wages.

But, some hirelings of capital may ask, what does the employer get? He gets:

10. The right to live. The union kept him alive and doesn't destroy the property, provided he behaves himself. What more can he expect or ask for?

Will the American workers draw the conclusion from these events and others that they must emancipate themselves from the bourgeois parties and stand on their own feet? At the moment this is doubtful because they are nowhere near constituting "the overwhelming majority of the nation" as *Le Socialiste* in Paris on July 31 noted. In the United States there are enormously broad middle sections which, if they do not disappear, must be greatly reduced, forced to the right and left, or assimilated before the working class constitutes "a majority of the nation."

To be heartily welcomed is the fact that the American worker has begun to give up passive resistance, is learning to put up a steadfast defense and even a decisive offense, an example that hopefully will be imitated further.¹⁹ It can also probably be assumed that the example of the English workers in their general movement and their independent stance in the last parliamentary elections will have a strong influence on the American workers, even if not overnight.

chapter 11

EPILOGUE¹

The trade unions of the United States are structured on the English model, but the bond that holds them together, the AFL, is a true child of the New World and must be judged on the basis of the industrial development, economic conditions, and political situation in the United States, as well as on the particular characteristics of the country. The industrial development of the United States is far advanced and in the most important industries (textiles, iron and steel, machinery, coal mining, transportation, clothing, and construction) is in general equal to those of the industrial countries of the Old World, in some cases even greater, but these developments do not at all reflect the population proportions.

There are states with 1,250 and 265,780 (English) square miles, and with 44,327 and 5,981,934 inhabitants. Alongside very heavily populated areas in certain New England states and various trade and industrial centers, incredible areas exist with hardly any inhabitants. Thus the large state of Nevada with 110,700 square miles includes only 44,327 inhabitants, while Rhode Island with only 1,250 square miles has a population of 345,343. It is obvious that these sharp paradoxes create great difficulties for a uniform, homogeneous organization.

As a result of the high industrial development, the economic conditions of the country have become similar to those in industrial Europe. The division of classes into propertied and propertiless, exploiter and exploited, bourgeoisie and proletariat has been complete for some time, with sharp class contradictions. But the classes in between, the petty bourgeoisie and the small farmers—particularly the latter—are a result of population proportions both absolutely and relatively more numerous than in the industrial countries of

Europe, as the Populist movement (of these in-between classes) has proven in recent years. Given this circumstance, a standard propaganda for the wage worker is made much more difficult.

The political situation of the country presents the labor movement with very peculiar difficulties almost impossible to overcome and almost incomprehensible to modern Europeans. These consist of, in the first place, the absurd number of so-called sovereign states and state legislatures alongside the national government and national legislature, which prove in many important instances powerless. The worker is hindered at every step of the way by the ball and chain of local patriotism. Every demand for the improvement of the situation is at first always answered by pointing to neighboring states and territories. The politically active workers of Massachusetts had to wait decades, had to struggle and make many sacrifices for a reduction of working hours because they were credited with having the ability to bring about the same conditions in the neighboring states (Rhode Island, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Maine).

The peculiar mixture of the population should not be underestimated as a factor. The enormous immigration of elements that can be assimilated only gradually provides a hindrance to the workers' organizations. From these circumstances and from its historic development, the country had developed a strong conservative tradition in the native born to which they hold on with a capability drawn from a mixture of naïveté and vanity.

The above circumstances must be seriously taken into consideration when evaluating what the AFL did and did not accomplish. The reproach thrown most often at the AFL, particularly by the German socialists on both sides of the Atlantic, is that it did not climb into the political arena, that is, it did not create a political labor party.

The political history of this country, as well as the history of the labor movement from 1865 to 1885, proves that the working class in the United States possessed neither the necessary understanding nor the necessary organization for an independent political movement. It also proves, however, that the working class instinctively knew how to react to those who only wanted to use the workers as a stepping-stone to lift up petty-bourgeois quackery and other would-be leaders: the workers moved back into their fortress, the trade unions.

A strongly developed class consciousness is a major prerequisite for a labor political party, and this most American workers did not possess. Many attempts, often very noteworthy, have been made to establish a labor political movement in their country. But the creation of a permanent institution, a real political labor party, constantly failed, mainly because of the lack of class consciousness.

One of the worst obstacles is the already mentioned political partition of the country, which now consists of forty-four states, six territories, and the Dis-

trict of Columbia. The party comrades in the old fatherland have seen their bitterest enemy² remove the greatest part of this obstacle and were presented with a unified civil and penal legal code, while the American worker is plagued with forty to fifty different variations of the same thing.

The "corrective" to universal manhood suffrage, the entrepreneurial class's influence on the economically dependent voter, is practiced in the United States at least as strongly as and much more unscrupulously than in continental Europe. The interference of the bureaucracy and the official candidates in Germany and its neighboring countries are more than balanced in the United States by the reigning nomination system of the political parties, which is formed by and based on the hunt for office and political jobbery and the enormous patronage connected with these offices.

We have often mentioned the shameless wooing of the voters, the manipulation of the ballot box and the election results in the United States. The art of counting up for the result one wishes has developed here to an astounding virtuosity under the direction of professional politicians, a group that is still little developed in Europe but that is growing there as well.

To censure the AFL for its practice of rejecting independent political activity appears under the given circumstances as unjustified as the conclusion that the political inactivity based on these circumstances can be called permanent. On the other hand, the reproach is justified that the AFL, which asserts that it marches at the forefront of the workers, and indeed does march, has no higher goal than the demand for the trade union system. If the AFL wants to remain in the forefront, it will have to widen its horizons beyond the understandable limitations of individual local trade organizations and groups.

The AFL can also be censured for doing more homage to certain national vices than is necessary. The overweening opinion of oneself, the patting of oneself on the back, decking oneself out in a phony allure, being coy with respectability, the swelled head and reflection of success, all held together with a certain lack of manliness when appearing before politicians and high officials is not praiseworthy in any people and least of all in Americans and American workers. In this regard the AFL has made a number of errors.

The AFL has also been reproached for doing little to organize the workers—but this is not correct. For added to the already noted difficulties, a particular obstacle appeared in the form of the rivalry between the AFL and the Knights of Labor, which led to a struggle between the two lasting many years. The AFL had to maintain itself in the struggle in an honorable way in order to preserve the basis of open, *not* secret, organizations. Organizational work is also made difficult by the polyglot task the AFL set for itself, which exceeds even that of the Austrian Labor Party.³

One can more readily reproach the AFL with not having welded together or having centralized its forces; in this way it condemned itself to a certain impotence. The personality cult practiced by the AFL is not pleasant, but foolish

and injurious, but no worse than in similar stages of development in Germany, England, and so on. Deserving of strong rebuke is the indifference, perhaps even the aversion, toward maintaining international relations, which was clearly shown by the lack of an appropriate and worthy American worker representation to the big Congress of Paris in 1889 and Brussels (1891).⁴

A heavy reproach must be levied against the AFL in that it did not offer one energetic protest against the heavy assault on the labor movement of this country, that is, against the judicial murder carried out in Chicago.⁵ This reproach is in no way invalidated by pointing to the behavior of other labor groups or through the personal appeal made by the AFL president to the governor of Illinois for mercy in which the president was motivated by his principle opposition to capital punishment and his aversion to creating martyrs.

Against the noted numerous justified and unjustified reproaches, we must emphasize the fact that the AFL is a real and true labor organization, an organization of wage workers pure and simple, without any clauses and back doors in its statutes through which the petty and grand bourgeoisie, reformers and politicians, can sneak. With all its mistakes and weaknesses the AFL is the representative of the working class, the proletariat, of this country and as such deserves respect, but it also has large tasks still to be carried out.

The AFL served the working class of the United States well in many areas. At the cost of hard struggles, the AFL threw out of its ranks the absurd conflict over protective tariffs and free trade; it powerfully supported the efforts toward the reduction of working hours; it favorably influenced legislation for the protection of men and women workers; it uninterruptedly carried on the indispensable organization of the wage workers; it protected the right of labor to open, virile organization against the supporters of secret groups and maintained this idea through long struggles—the AFL spoke out of duty of labor to go to battle with an open visage.

The AFL also showed economic understanding in that it considered the establishment of trusts, and the like, as a natural result of industrial development and did not join the chorus of stupid screamers; it recognized in the Populists not an ally, but a group of small capitalists and small property owners who exploited their wage workers the same way, if not more than the big land owners and entrepreneurs; it did not allow itself to be swallowed up by Henry George; it did not have eyes for the newest game of the Yankee reformers, the nationalists' game. The AFL simply did not let itself be used as a guinea pig by the proliferating reformers and sectarians of all shades.

Although class consciousness is not yet developed enough, the American Federation of Labor did represent a class standpoint in these things and preserved the class character of the organization. Its struggles were class struggles.⁶

appendix

SOCIALISM AND THE WORKER

by Friedrich A. Sorge

Socialism has been attacked and incriminated at all times, but never with more animosity than recently. Socialists are reproached with every kind of wickedness; of the tendency to do away with property, marriage, family, to pollute everything that is sacred; they have even been accused of arson and murder. And why not? If we look at the originators of these incriminations we are not the least astonished, for they have to defend privileges and monopolies which in reality are in danger, if drawn to the broad daylight and handled by the socialist. They act according to the old jesuitic stratagem: invent lies, pollute your enemy in every way you can; something will stick. But if we find those reproaches repeated and echoed even by workingmen whose interests are quite different, we must wonder indeed.

If the workers, however, hate and attack socialism, it is not a clear perception of the wickedness of the aims of socialism by which their judgment is guided, but by a dim and vague idea, and it is well known that specters are awful things in the dark for people who believe in them.

But everybody who hates and persecutes other people for their purposes and pursuits should be convinced that he is right in doing so. For, if we hate and persecute persons whose purposes and pursuits are reasonable and right, we are wrong.

For this reason let us examine the real aims of the socialists. I think I know them pretty well, and I promise to tell the truth and nothing but the truth about them.

When you have read this to the end you may persecute the socialists with renewed hatred if you find they are bad; on the other hand, you will think favorably of them if you find their views good and right. For I am convinced that you, dear reader, whoever you are, have not a mind to love the bad and hate the good.

Foremost and above all it seems to be certain that the socialists intend to divide all property. Everybody who owns anything must give up what he owns; this whole mass

has to be divided equally among all the people, and each person may use his part just as he likes. After a while, when some have used up their allotted part and a new disproportion of property has arisen, a new division will be made; and so on. Especially the money and the soil are to be divided—this is what some people say concerning socialism.

Now, honestly, reader, have you ever seen or heard of a man of sound mind who really demanded such nonsense? No, you have not! Such a demand involves the highest degree of craziness. Just reflect, dear reader, to whose lot, for instance, should a railroad fall? Who should have the rails, or a locomotive, or a carriage? And since everybody would have a right to demand an equal share all these things would have to be broken and smashed up, and one would get a broken axletree, another the door of a carriage, or perhaps some bolts. Not even lunatics could recommend such a state of things.

A division of money or soil might possibly be thought of, but money and soil form only a small part of the wealth of a country. The ready money forms even a very small part. And if the soil should be divided, all the new owners would be in need of houses, barns, stables, agricultural implements of all kinds. Such a distribution of the soil is, therefore, utterly impossible, and the socialists know well enough that such a proceeding would benefit nobody. During the great French Revolution in 1789 something similar was tried; large estates were divided among poor country people to make them happy. What is the result? The French peasantry, generally, are so poor that thousands of them live in dwellings with only a door and no window at all, or with only one small window at the side of the door. And small farmers are not much better off in any country, except, perhaps, in the vicinity of large cities. The small farmer must, as a rule, toil harder than any other person to make a living, and a very scanty and poor one in any case. Farming in our age only pays well if done on a large scale, if large tracts of land can be cultivated with the aid of machinery and the application of all modern improvements. And this knowledge and doctrine of the socialists is strictly opposed to a division of the soil. On the contrary, the socialists are of the opinion that there will be a time when a number of small farmers will unite to cultivate their farms in common and divide the products among themselves, seeing that farming on a small scale cannot compete with farming on a large scale, just as manufacturing on a small scale cannot compete with manufacturing on a large scale. Therefore, what has been said about the intention of the socialists with respect to dividing the soil is an apparent falsehood.

Concerning the division of money I must relate an anecdote invented to ridicule people who are represented to have such intentions. One day in 1848, as the story goes, Baron Rothschild took a walk on the Common of Frankfort-on-the-Main. Two laborers met him and accosted him thus: "Baron, you are a rich man; we want to divide with you." Baron Rothschild, not the least puzzled, took out his purse good-humouredly and answered: "Certainly! We can do that business on the spot. The account is easily made. I own 40 millions of florins; there are 40 millions of Germans. Consequently each German has to receive one florin; here is your share"; and giving one florin to each of the laborers, who looked at their money quite confused, he walked off smiling.

This teaches that the division of money is but an idle invention.

And with a little brain and thought everybody must easily come to the conclusion that the great number of those who confess to the principles of socialism cannot possibly consist of blockheads or rather lunatics, which they would prove to be if they demanded such nonsense. In Germany 700,000 voters (more than 1,000,000 at the last election) voted for socialist candidates. Can they all be crazy?

Therefore there must be something else in socialism. The number of socialists in Germany is constantly growing. Even Prince Bismarck confesses that. There must be something in it.

Now if we go to the meetings of the socialists, if we read their papers and pamphlets, what do we find?

They do not intend to introduce division of property; on the contrary, they are for abolishing its division.

This sounds strange, but it is so.

The socialists are of the opinion that division of property is flourishing in our society at present, and further they are of the opinion that this division is carried on in a very unjust manner. If you doubt, only think of our millionaires, and say whether those fellows did or did not understand how to divide and to appropriate to themselves large sums of money. Think of those swindling railroad and other companies. How many honest mechanics, farmers, laborers, have been swindled by them out of the little sums of money they had gathered by hard work and saving?

The socialists do not claim the honor of being the first to discover that this kind of distribution is going on everywhere throughout the world: they have learned it. Men who belong to their adversaries taught them. John Stuart Mill¹, who was opposed to socialism, said in one of his writings: "As we now see, the produce of labor is in an almost inverse ratio to the labor—the largest portions to those who have never worked at all, the next largest to those whose work is almost nominal, and so on in a descending scale, the remuneration dwindling as the work grows harder and more disagreeable, until the most fatiguing and exhausting bodily labor cannot count with certainty on being able to earn even the necessities of life."

This sounds really dreadful, but if you look around and consult your own experience, is it not so? Certainly it is!

There are people who have a princely income, who plunge from one pleasure into another—and perhaps they have never in their life done the least useful thing; they need not work, they do not work themselves, but—they draw the proceeds of the work of other people and enjoy them.

On the other hand, look at him who "eats his bread in the sweat of his brow," look at the laborer who works for wages. If he is skillful, industrious, and strong, and if he is lucky enough to find employment, he may even be able to save a little. But the large majority of laborers cannot even think of that, in spite of all the hardships they undergo. When they have to stop work, they are as poor as when they began it. And many, many laborers, hard toiling men, are not able to protect themselves and their families from exposure and hunger. You need not go far, reader; you will find them everywhere. Ragged, pale-faced, despairing people will meet your gaze, and on inquiring you will learn that they were industrious, orderly workers, and that there are thousands, aye, hundreds of thousands of people living in the same miserable condition, in the cities as well as in the country.

Now look at the mechanics. A few of them may succeed; they may be able to reach a state in which they are safe from sorrow and care for the necessities of life. The greater number of mechanics who have a little shop of their own and work on a small scale have to battle with poverty and care. Thousands, hundreds of thousands of mechanics fail in this battle; they give up their small establishments and turn wage-laborers. One manufacturer on a large scale deprives hundreds of small mechanics of their independent existence; one large shop or "cooperative store" crushes out fifty small shopkeepers. As things stand today, only those will succeed in the great struggle for life, in the universal competition, who command large means, a great amount of capital.

In commerce it is the same; merchants with small means rarely do a good business; many go bankrupt. Merchants with large means grow richer and richer. It is similar with farmers throughout the civilized countries of Europe and America. Owners of small farms just eke out a scanty living and have to work very hard; many gradually fall off; in general the peasantry get poorer. There is the usurer, who knows how to make a profit of a poor crop. Very frequently, we find that small farms are bought by owners of large farms to be united with them. Only the latter understand the business and are able to farm with profit.

Thus we see how the large class of those who work hard and assiduously do not make money, do not amass riches—on the contrary, many of them must suffer from want and care. But now, who creates these riches which fall to those who never worked, or whose work hardly deserves the name of work? Who else, but that self-same working class?

For industry and work scarcely a living! Riches for those who never or seldom did anything useful! Do you call that just? Can you approve of such a state of things? I know you cannot. No sensible man can approve of it. And now say what you may against socialists—in this point they are right. This state of things cannot and must not continue. It is wrong, and therefore it must be changed. Socialists do not object to acquisitions made by honest work; on the contrary, they try to secure the product of work to the worker himself, and to protect it from the clutches of those who hitherto have been accustomed, not to work themselves, but only to draw profit from the work of others, and who, in doing so, are not content with a small part, but try to take the lion's share as it is in the fable.

But do the socialists not go too far in their zeal? It would, certainly, be well and just if it could be accomplished, that those who toil and work should be liberated from care and want, and those who have been idle so far should be forced to work also. But are not the socialists enemies of the property holders, and is not everybody who owns property threatened to lose it by the socialists, should they come into power—so much so that he would have to face penury and want? *Are they not Communists?*

These objections and reproaches have been made and are made. Let us not make light of them, but let us consider them quietly, in order to judge rightly and justly.

Before we go on we must explain two conceptions:

I. What is communism?

II. What is property?

About communism many lies have been set afloat, especially by people whose interest it was to do so, viz., by those money-making idlers, so that most people cannot but connect with the word communism the idea of rascality; communist and scoundrel

of the worst kind appear to them to be synonymous terms. Therefore it is not an easy matter to speak of communism without running the risk of being condemned before one commences. Many people in such a case will not hear, will not see, will not judge. Their verdict is formed. All social prejudices are awakened and called forth by this expression. For that reason it is very difficult to come to a quiet understanding about it. But the reader, who has followed us so far, will follow us farther, not blindfolded, but using good common sense.

If we open our eyes and look around us, we find many beneficent and useful institutions established by many or by the whole people *in common*. In one place associations are formed, for instance, to save and shelter shipwrecked persons; at another place the *community* erect a school, or the State, the commonwealth, builds a harbor or a canal. In ordinary life everybody cares for himself, but in such cases as those just mentioned, people unite for advancing a *common, social* purpose. Experience teaches that in doing so they do admirably well; everyone of them who will reflect a little must confess that his own welfare is greatly advanced by such institutions of *common* usefulness. What would people be without *common* roads, *common* schools, etc., that is, such as are built and instituted at the cost of the *community* for *common* use? We should be in a terrible situation if all at once the different insurance companies were to cease to exist, whose object is to transfer a calamity, by which a person might be struck heavily, or perhaps be ruined, from his shoulders to the shoulders of many. If I chose I could mention here a thousand other things, but the above named *common* institutions will be sufficient. Now all these institutions are nothing but *communism*. For *communism* is nothing but the principle of the *common interests* of society. In everyday life everybody looks out for his own interest, even at the cost of his fellowmen; here cold, ugly egoism is dominant. The large cotton mills have ruined thousands and thousands of weavers; but who care for hundreds of honest, industrious, happy people who are ruined by one mill? Who cares how many honest shoemakers are deprived of a living by the large shoe manufacturers? What does the usurer care for the victims of his avarice? What do the speculating swindlers care for the fate of the shareholders after their hard-earned savings are gone? Nobody ever thought of caring for such things, and it is my firm belief that a business man in our days who should show any consideration for the welfare of his fellowmen in his transactions would be certain to become a laughing stock. Egoism rules supreme. Everybody thinks of his own welfare, and does not care whether by doing so he destroys the welfare of others. "What business have I to care for others if I am comfortable?" In spite of the prevalence of egoism, the *common* interest of mankind is irrepressibly gaining ground. More and more people unite to cultivate it, more and more associations are formed, the activity of the state and the Community is extending its influence over more and more objects. Who would have thought in former times of all the different associations which are formed today to advance any number of *common* interests of every description? Who had an idea in former years, that whole countries would be cut in all directions by railroads, that telegraphs would communicate news to the remotest parts of the world in an instant? Who could have predicted the admirable development of our postal system? Who thought of waterworks or of gas? Who had an idea of the modern arrangement of the fire brigades? The root of all these is *communism*. They represent the victory of *common* interests over hideous egoism.

To turn institutions of *common* interest to the use of all is the tendency of the age,

and however people may curse at communism, they are bound to obey its mandates. Everywhere *common* interests press their claims, and *communism*, proudly elevating its head, marches on triumphantly with all conditions of human life in its train.

He who declares himself an enemy of communism declares himself an enemy of common interest, an enemy of society and mankind! Whoever wishes to annihilate communism will have to destroy the common roads, the schools, he will have to destroy the public gardens and parks, he will have to abolish the public baths, the theaters, the waterworks, all the public buildings; for instance, town halls, courts, all the hospitals, the alms houses; he will have to destroy the railroads, the telegraphs, the post office! For all these belong to *communism*.

Communism cannot be annihilated. It has its origin and root in human nature, like egoism. Everybody who will open his eyes must see that in the present time we are in full sail to land in its sheltering harbor. Sheltering? Yes, sheltering! Sheltering for the great majority of mankind for whom a better time will come, must come, when the common interest, the interest of all, will be the rule governing all our social conditions, when a barrier will be erected against egoism by the regard for the common or public welfare. If it happens nowadays that rich speculators make people in hard times pay exorbitant prices, and take advantage of a common calamity to double their wealth; or if railway shareholders make their own rates for freight, injuring by high prices producers as well as consumers, in order to gain a large dividend; or if manufacturers prefer running short time to selling at lower prices—those proceedings are considered "all right," for everybody can do with his own as he chooses. But everybody must see that such egoism is opposed to the common interest; and there will be a time when people will know how to protect the common interest against egoism. When that time has come it will be better for all; all will enjoy life, not those only who do so now at the cost of their fellow beings.

If you define communism in this way, some of my readers will say, we do not object to it; quite on the contrary, we must confess we belong to the communists ourselves. But this is not what people generally understand by the word "communism." We were to consider the communism which the socialists want to introduce, the communism with regard to property. We admit that they do not intend to divide, but do they not intend to abolish property? That is what we oppose; otherwise we would not object to it.

What is property? "To be sure that which a person owns, possesses!" Well! But now tell me, are you certain that the socialists are, or ever were, opposed to what Peter or Paul owns? Can you show me a sentence or passage from any of the writings or pamphlets of socialists which justifies the supposition that they intend to attack the property of any person?

You cannot, because such an idea never entered the head of a socialist. I should not wonder if you yourself have not thought sometimes that, considering the means and ways by which many amass their riches, it would be only just and right to take that ill-gotten wealth from their rascally owners. But it is a firm principle of socialism never to interfere with personal property in order to investigate its origin or to arrange it in a different way. Never and nowhere! And whoever asserts to the contrary either does not know the principles of socialism or willingly and knowingly asserts an untruth. The socialists deem an investigation into the origin of an acknowledged personal

property an unnecessary trouble. They do not envy the Duke of Westminster or Lord Brassey their wealth.² Although they perceive very well the constant changes with regard to property; although they investigate and are acquainted with the causes producing those changes; although they are well aware that fraud and meanness and violence in a great many instances are among those causes, they forbear to investigate how much these causes, how much others, have influenced the state of property of this or that single person. They consider the personal property an accomplished fact, and respect it; so much so that they consider stealing a crime. Every time revolution was victorious in Paris, bills were seen at the street corners threatening death to thieves. A remarkable fact is that Baron Rothschild³ fled suddenly from Paris as soon as these bills were posted. At Lyons during an insurrection in 1832 a man who had appropriated another man's property was shot by a laborer in command. During the reign of the Commune of 1871 Paris had no thieves, no prostitutes.

On the other hand, the right of the owner is not always respected in our time, but they are not socialists who violate the sanctity of property in these cases, although it must be confessed that in many instances an abrogation of the right of a property holder becomes necessary. Socialists cannot be reproached with ever having condemned houses or tracts of land for the purpose of building a street or opening a railroad. They certainly are not socialists who seize and sell houses or lots at auction for unpaid taxes. Nor will you find socialists who connive at those shamefully unjust appropriations of the property of others which however go on in a lawful form.

One thing, however, calls forth all the energy of the socialists, and they will try with all their might to remedy it. I have stated already, they do not care whether a person owns hundreds of thousands or millions of pounds, whether that person makes use of his money one way or the other, whether he spends it wisely or foolishly. He may spend his own as he chooses. But—these sums of money are not used simply to be spent, but to bring interest, to increase, if possible, the wealth of the possessor. Does he himself want to work, to do something useful? Far from it. His money works for him, his money makes money, as the saying is; or in plain English, his money is the channel through which the earnings of other industrious people flow into his pockets. Socialists call all kinds of property in this respect "capital," this expression comprising all means for production. And because one class of the people possess, by their wealth, these means—that is, capital—another, and by far the largest class, have only their physical or mental strength and skill for labor. Hence capital becomes a means for enslaving workers, forcing them to give up the greater part of their produce to him who owns the capital. They themselves obtain hardly enough to support themselves and their families, while the capitalists enjoy life and get richer without working at all. This is the point: dead property deprives living work of its fruits. Now since work should, by rights, own what it produces as its sole and legitimate earning, dead property becomes the bitter enemy of working life.

Hence the struggle of labor against capital.

Returning to the question, "What is property?" the answer given above appears unsatisfactory. We must add another question: To whom justly belongs what the working part of the human race produces?

The answer to this question is of greatest importance. Now it is capital which appropriates the greater part of it, leaving to the workers, who form by far the greater

number, only so much of it that they may keep alive. They are treated like bees; they are robbed of the honey they make. This class is excluded from enjoying the blessings of civilization; the greater part of their product is taken by capital.

What right has the owner of a beehive to rob the bees of the fruit of their industry and labor? They are his property, his is the might. What right has capital to rob the working class of the greater part of the fruit of their industry and labor? The wage-laborers, the mechanics, the farm hands, are they the property of the capitalist? Are they his slaves?

As things stand today, they are! Might is right, and by the title of such right the slaveowner considers the fruit of the work of his slaves his property; by this right, in former times, the feudal landowner made his serfs work for his employment and benefit. Slavery is injustice; serfdom is injustice; so the right which capital claims to the work of the worker is injustice. I would not like to be misunderstood here. As far as anything is the personal property of a person he may enjoy it as he chooses; nobody has a right to interfere. But as soon as he tries to use this property to enslave other people, he steps over his domain and must be checked. For I think it is acknowledged among civilized people that nobody has a right of ownership over his fellow men. Slavery has been abolished, serfdom has been abolished, so the power which capital exercises now will be abolished: its place will be occupied by the natural and sacred right of the worker to the proceeds of his work.

But—is not capital as necessary as labor? Can labor produce anything without capital? There must be raw material, there must be tools, there must be machines, there must be workshops, warehouses, and so forth; there must be soil to be tilled, etc. What can mere labor do without all these? But labor existed before capital, and made the tools, workshops, etc. Is it necessary that capital, now the foundation of successful labor, which has been produced by labor, should be owned by a few individuals? Has this minority a right to continue to take the best part of what labor produces?

The socialists take the side of labor. They maintain that it is everybody's duty to work, unless he be sick or crippled. They maintain that whoever is able to work and is not willing to do it, has no right to enjoy the fruits of the industry and labor of others.

If capitalists attempt to justify their way of making profit by saying that they have to run risks sometimes, that a part of their property might occasionally be lost, we answer that labor has nothing to do with that. The real cause of it is the competition among the employers, the custom to produce at random without investigating whether what is produced is really wanted. For the class of capitalists there is no risk, because its wealth increases every day. But there is a great risk for the working class. When business is slack, when wages go down, when many workers are out of employment—when, in consequence of this, mechanics, grocers, and even farmers suffer, the condition of the working part of the people is pitiable, and many suffer. The newspapers tell about that. Have they not had startling accounts of people starving to death in our great cities? Look at the local columns of the daily papers, and it is exceptional if there is no account of some family or other being poverty-stricken, of people driven to despair, driven to commit suicide by want. And all this in cities that have stores and warehouses crowded with goods. Is this no risk?

But how could this state of things be changed?

This, certainly, cannot be done of a sudden. There is a natural process of develop-

ment in this, as in all changes that history has recorded so far. According to the reasoning of the socialists this development will be as follows:

Some time ago the middle class formed the firm and solid foundation of society and state. Machinery was invented and a change occurred. Manufacturing, and even farming to a certain extent, were conducted on a large scale, the middle-class people were pressed down into a class of wage-laborers, and were employed in large numbers by the manufacturers or employers. More and more this middle class ceases to be property holders; it is getting more and more difficult for the mechanics and small farmers to hold their ground; thus the middle class is constantly decreasing, the class of wage-laborers increasing, until there will be only two classes of people—rich and poor. In this process the number of rich people is diminishing, wealth becoming concentrated in the hands of comparatively few persons who are getting enormously rich.

But this process must soon have its limit. There will be a time when the large mass of the working people will feel its consequences unbearable, and will abolish it. That will be the time when communism will enter into its rights. Labor will then be organized according to a certain reasonable plan, and since, for that purpose, the use of the existing capital—comprising soil, houses, railways, shipping, manufactories, machines, etc.—will be necessary, those comparatively few possessors of all the wealth of the nations will have to be expropriated. Perhaps they then will consent themselves to such a measure, and give up everything necessary for production of their own accord, honored and praised for their patriotism and humanity, and remunerated deservedly; perhaps they will use their ample means to resist the common demand, and will perish, overwhelmed by the newly formed organization of the state. As I hinted before, in the new order of things all branches of labor will be organized in a similar way to the arrangements we see today in large factories, large estates, or institutions of the government. Unnecessary work will be avoided, and the reward for work done will be greater. Labor will not be wasted in making luxuries for the idle, but will be usefully employed in making the necessities of life for other workers. It will be everybody's duty to work, hence everybody will have ample leisure for recreation and mental development. All will strive to ameliorate the conditions of the community they belong to; for, by doing so, everybody will improve his own private situation.

The basis of this state of things will be abolition of private property of individuals in such things as are necessary for production and transportation, such as land, factories, machines, railroads, etc., or which have been created for instruction and amusement, such as schools, colleges, museums, parks, etc. Personal property will be what is necessary or useful for private life. These are the outlines of a picture of future times. Nobody is able to state whether the development will go on exactly in the way we sketch out; but that does not matter, if only the underlying idea of communism is right. When Stephenson more than fifty years ago built the first railroad,⁴ he certainly did not plan all the locomotives, rails, signals, stations, etc., such as we find them today; but his idea was right, and it conquered the world. Thus the idea of socialism will conquer the world, for this idea is nothing but the real, well understood interest of mankind. It is an injustice that a large majority today must work hard and suffer want in order to procure a superabundance of enjoyment for a small minority of people who do not work. And who would deny that, if it is everybody's duty to work, if the pro-

duction of unnecessary, nay even of injurious, articles is abolished, if production is organized in conformity with the real wants and pleasures of mankind—who would deny, I ask, that the standard of life of the whole human race might be raised infinitely above its present grade, that the great mass of human beings might enter into that sphere of life worthy of a human being, from which they have been rigorously excluded so far?

Let me point out to you an example of organized labor in one branch, to show the benefit of such an arrangement. How would it be possible to send a letter to any place in the United Kingdom for a penny, a postcard for a half-penny, a letter to America for 2½d., if the postmasters in the different parts of the world were private contractors like the merchants and manufacturers of today, if we had not the communistic arrangement of the post? Formerly the post was also a private business in nearly all the countries of Europe, like our railroads, and the owners of this institution derived a princely income from it, although its use was very limited. And well arranged as our post office may be, it might be better yet, and will be more convenient in time.

Similar benefits would arise from the reorganization of all branches of human activity. Look at our railroads—might they not be the property of the community at large as well as the high roads, instead of being a monopoly in the hands of private persons, whose sole object is to enrich themselves at the cost of their fellow citizens? If so, it has been proved that you could go to any part of these islands with a shilling ticket, just as a letter goes now by post with a penny stamp. In this manner one branch after the other will be organized according to the ideas of communism, perhaps by classes of people who are far from admitting the truth of the principles of socialism, of communism, by classes who are inimical to it—because they do not understand it—and who are still narrow-minded enough to shut their ears and their eyes to everything that does not tend to their private interest.

This is not yet enough. All means for transportation, such as ships, etc., must come into the hands of the community at large; so must all means for production. This demand of socialism has caused people to accuse the socialists of hostility to property, even to the property of those who own but a little. But who is it that actually drives the owner of small means from his house, from his soil? Is it the socialist? It is the large capitalist, the large landowner! As the magnet attracts iron filings, so large capital attracts the small sums round it. And the same capitalists who in all directions seize what they can get, try to persuade the small owners to beware of socialism, because it is ready to tear their property from them. What a shameful falsehood! Socialism only teaches the way in which in a future time people will try to reestablish justice and a more equal condition of life for the whole community; while the owners of small property are being robbed of the little they own, not by socialists—they have neither the power nor the desire to do so—but by the rich capitalists.

And this way is well-organized labor.

This certainly includes expropriation of those who have expropriated the mass of the people, and restitution of all means of production to those who made them. Socialism is the true and only friend of the man of small means, for it is the party of the working people. Large property is the natural enemy of small property, as long as it has not been able to seize and devour it.

Moreover, socialism, far from intending to abolish any property today or tomorrow, only predicts that there will be a time, not suddenly provoked, but brought on by his-

torical development, when the working people will insist upon their right to the product of their own work, against the privilege which property enjoys with regard to the work of others.

The conception of "property of capital" will be transformed gradually into the conception of "property of work."

Nowhere, you will perceive, is abolition of property thought of by socialists, and nobody, I trust, will object to the change just mentioned. The development of mankind to greater perfection never was and never will be arrested by the prevailing laws concerning property. For instance, it was not arrested, when humanity demanded abolition of slavery, by the pretended divine right of the slaveowners. And if such rights and laws demand that humanity stop its progress, such demand is madness. Laws and rights concerning property are subjected to constant changes, when such changes are in the interest of progress. But even in our better institutions injustice is ruling, and the change just spoken of will abolish that injustice and lead mankind to a higher state of perfection. At the bottom of our institutions there is a remnant of slavery; as soon as capital shall cease to govern, wage-labor and the rest of slavery will be abolished.

Freedom and equality will then be no longer empty and cheap phrases, but will have a meaning; when all men are really free and equal, they will honor and advance one another. The working man will then no longer be deprived of the fruit of his work, his property, and everybody who will work will be able to spend a good deal more in food, clothing, lodging, recreation, pleasure, and instruction than he can spend at present.

If the socialists had nothing to offer to the suffering people but the consolation that communism will bring help at some future time, when the condition of life, nearly unbearable now, will have become quite so, this consolation would be poor. Long enough a future state of bliss has been held out to suffering mankind, in which they would be rewarded for all the wants and sufferings and pains of this world, and now most people have lost confidence in such empty promises. They demand an amelioration: not words, not promises, but facts. They do not want to expect, with resignation, what may come after death: they demand a change of their unfortunate situation while living on earth.

The interests of all workers are the same! This is best shown by the fact that in many strikes working shopkeepers are in favor of the wage-laborers. Low wages are unfavorable to the farmer as well as to the mechanic, for when wages are low the struggle for economical independence is more difficult; large capital increases at the expense of small property. If the working people would only learn to comprehend the solidarity of their interests!

As it is with the increase of wages, so it is with the decrease of working hours. Eight hours' work a day is judged sufficient by physicians. A person who has worked properly eight hours a day ought to have done his duty, and has a right to request some hours for recreation, for instruction, and for his family. Those who are the loudest in complaining of the laziness of the working men would soon make wry faces if they were compelled to work only six hours a day. This decreasing of the working hours will better the condition of the whole of the working class. Everybody can easily see that. Even in the country it could be done, although there such a shortening will meet with the greatest objections, but it will be done. What a great benefit will be achieved by this measure alone! Whole armies of paupers, tramps, etc., will find use-

ful employment. They will disappear, and with them a great deal of mischief and crime.

Now if the wage-laborers of the cities and manufacturing places will be ready to lead the van in the struggle for the interest of labor, the rest of the whole working class have no right to put themselves in the position of idle, indifferent, or even grudging and hostile spectators. On the contrary, it is the duty of the whole working class to participate in this struggle, for this war is carried on in the interest of all workers, and the wage-laborers who have taken up the gauntlet are the pioneers for the human race.

But in order to carry on this war successfully, the workers must be organized. Singly and isolated they are powerless; if all would unite for the same purpose, they would be a formidable power which nothing could resist. You may easily break many single matches, but you may try in vain to break a whole bundle of them tied together.

With regard to this, the socialists have the gratification of seeing that their endeavors have not been fruitless. In Germany socialism already forms a respectable power, which has puzzled even the great Bismarck. They have been able to elect twenty-four (now more than thirty) representatives into the German Parliament, who, by their untiring activity, by the speeches they have delivered, have opened the eyes of hundreds of thousands of people in Germany. And who would venture to pretend that those men strove for something that was bad, that they betrayed the interests of their constituents? But not only in Parliament, but in a great many municipal assemblies also we find members belonging to the working class or representing its interests.

And all this has been accomplished in a few years. It is only twenty-four years since the labor party unfurled its banner there.⁵ And what has been tried and done during those twenty-two years to suppress the labor movement! It has been ridiculed, scorned, incriminated. Many of its prominent leaders have been put into prison. Many were deprived of their offices and situations, and customers. In spite of all this it grew and thrived. In France, Belgium, Holland, Denmark, Austria, Russia, Italy, Spain, and now in England—everywhere throughout the civilized world socialism has taken root. Everywhere it has begun the struggle against capital, monopoly, and class rule, and its victory is assured. Concerning socialism there might be said what was said in olden times about Christianity: if it is bad it will die of its own badness; if it is good it will conquer the world in spite of all persecutions!

And socialism will conquer the world. Its principles will carry the whole human race to a higher state of perfection.

Reader, you may judge for yourself and decide either in favor of or against socialism. If you think the aims and endeavors of the socialists deserve your hatred, try to crush them; if, on the contrary, you are convinced that they are good, that the socialists endeavor to promote the happiness and welfare of mankind, join them! And if you do not like to act publicly, help them secretly. Try to propagate their principles among your acquaintances, explaining them in your intercourse, destroying the falsehoods brought against them. Tell them that the socialists form the true and only party of the working people. And if you are a capitalist yourself, reflect how much nobler it is to help to promote the welfare of the many than to serve only your own interest, ugly and hideous egoism.

New York, 1876

notes

NOTES TO FRIEDRICH A. SORGE: "FATHER OF MODERN SOCIALISM IN AMERICA"

1. The term "Father of Modern Socialism in America" is by Selig Perlman who adds that Sorge became Marx's and Engels's "authorized interpreter in America, a position which he kept until his death in 1906" (John R. Commons et al., *History of Labour in the United States* [New York, 1918] 2: 207).

Alfred Fried calls Sorge "the single most influential socialist in America" from 1852 when he first arrived in this country "until his political retirement thirty years later" (*Socialism in America: From the Shakers to the Third International: A Documentary History* [New York, 1970], pp. 182-83).

Despite his importance, there is little biographical material about Sorge in existing literature. In German there is Franz Mehring, "F. A. Sorge, October, 1906," reprinted from *Die Neue Zeit*, 1906/07, Bd. 1, 145-47, in *Gesammelte Schriften*, Bd. 4 (Berlin, 1963), pp. 487-89, and Friedrich A. Sorge, "Erinnerungen eines Achtundvierzigers," *Die Neue Zeit*, XVII, Pt. 2 (1899), pp. 150ff. In Russian there is a biography (rather fictionalized) *Friedrich Sorge* by Semyanova Rumyantseva (Moscow, 1966). The only biographical sketches in English are Winfield R. Gaylord's in *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York, 1946), vol. 17; and in David Herreshoff, *American Disciples of Marx: From the Age of Jackson to the Progressive Era* (Detroit, 1967).

Sorge's career can be traced in Hermann Schlüter, *Die Anfänge der Deutschen Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1907), and *Die Internationale in Amerika: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung in der Vereinigten Staaten* (Chicago, 1918), and in Samuel Bernstein, *The First International in America* (New York, 1965).

2. *Frederick Engels, A Biography*, ed. Institute for Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (Dresden, 1972), pp. 202-208.

3. Mehring, "F. A. Sorge," p. 488.

4. Oakley Johnson is in error when he asserts that Sorge, like Joseph Weydemeyer, was a Marxist before he came to the United States (*Marxism in the United States Before the Russian Revolution* [New York, 1974], p. 20).

5. Eugen Dietzgen, "Josef Dietzgen. Ein Abriss seines Lebens," in J. Dietzgen, *Das Wesen der menschlichen Kopfarbeit* (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 17-18.

6. For Weydemeyer's life and activities, see Karl Obermann, *Joseph Weydemeyer: Pioneer of American Socialism* (New York, 1947), and for his role in the American labor movement, see Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States* (New York, 1947), 1: 228-35.

7. Schlüter, *Anfänge der Deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, pp. 13-17, 83-96, 226-33. Significantly, Carl Witke's biography of Weitling is entitled *The Utopian Communist* (Baton Rouge, La., 1950).

8. C. F. Huch, "Die Deutsch-amerikaner und die Deutsche Revolution," *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Pionier-Vereins, von Philadelphia*, no. 17 (1917): 25-37.

9. The International Association was organized in London in August 1856 by an International committee headed by the English Chartist leader Ernest Jones, and it included European leftist émigré organizations such as the French *Commune Révolutionnaire*, the German Communist Society, the Society of Polish Socialists, and the

Society of English Chartists. The members of the association pledged themselves "to use every means in their power to urge the citizens of all countries to organize national socialist and revolutionary societies, and to bring them together into one organization, so that international propaganda may benefit from the uniting of all these individual groups" (see A. Mueller-Lehning, *The International Association (1855-59)* (Leiden, 1938). The International Association was the forerunner of the International Workingmen's Association.

10. Several scholars have argued that since the Communist Club emphasized freethinking and put the battle against supernaturalism first among its objectives and only later listed the demand for the abolition of private property that it was not a Marxist organization. See, for example, Herreshoff, *American Disciples of Marx*, p. 69. But the founders of the club were all former members of the Communist League and were in close communication with Marx and counted on Marx's support, and Weydemeyer, surely a full-fledged Marxist, viewed the club as Marxist. Friedrich Kamm, chairman of the Communist Club, sent Marx a copy of the club's constitution on December 10, 1858, and there is nothing to indicate that Marx did not regard the club as Marxist. See Obermann, *Weydemeyer*, pp. 91-93.

11. Schlüter, *Die Anfänge*, pp. 161-62; Obermann, *Weydemeyer*, pp. 92-93.

12. "Statuten des Kommunisten-Klubs in New York," State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Labor Collection, Political Parties, Box 25.

13. Wittke, *Utopian Communist*, pp. 159-60. Weitling was no apologist for slavery—in his paper, *Die Republik der Arbeiter*, he denounced the Fugitive Slave Law and slave auctions and ridiculed the concept of racial inferiority—but his main emphasis was on the abolition of wage slavery, and he urged German-American workers not to get involved in the distracting issue of abolishing chattel slavery.

14. Carl Wittke, *Against the Current: The Life of Karl Heinzen (1809-1880)* (Chicago, 1945), pp. 190-95.

15. Foner, *History*, I: 289-96; Bernard Mandel, *Labor: Free and Slave, Workmen and the Anti-Slavery Movement in the United States* (New York, 1955), pp. 71-76; Frank I. Herriot, *The Conference of German-Republicans in the Deutsches Haus, Chicago, May 14-15, 1860*, reprinted from *Transactions of the Illinois Historical Society for 1928* (Chicago), pp. 48-49, 63-64, 85-86, 93.

16. Hermann Schlüter, *Lincoln, Labor and Slavery* (New York, 1913), pp. 83-84; Foner, *History*, I: 307.

17. Obermann, *Weydemeyer*, pp. 123-24; Sceva Bright Laughlin, "Missouri Politics during the Civil War," *Missouri Historical Review* 23 (July 1929): 603-605.

18. Obermann, *Weydemeyer*, p. 125.

19. David Montgomery, *Beyond Equality: Labor and the Radical Republicans, 1862-1872* (New York, 1967), p. 167.

20. In 1876 Douai began a series of articles on *Das Kapital* in *The Socialist*, which announced that this was the first attempt to render Marx's classic work into English in a concise and popular form. See "Karl Marx's Capital," *The Socialist*, May 17, 1876.

21. For a detailed characterization of Lassalle by Marx, see his letter to Kuglermann, February 23, 1865, in *The Selected Correspondence of Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, 1846-1895* (New York, 1942), pp. 193-97.

22. Bernstein, *The First International in America*, pp. 37-38.

23. *Karl Marx, A Biography*, ed. Institute of Marxism-Leninism of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (Dresden, 1968), p. 296.

24. *The General Council of the First International, 1864-1866* (Moscow, n.d.), pp. 277-87.

25. Interestingly enough, Sorge found it difficult at first to gain admission in Section 1 since he was not a wage earner, but once he was admitted, he quickly became its leading spirit. Commons et al., *History*, 2: 209n.

When Sorge had been empowered to act for the General Council in the United States, Marx, as Secretary for Germany, had sent the following enclosure to Siegfried Meyer: "We recommend Mr. Sorge to all friends of the International Workingmen's Association, and we likewise empower him to act in the name of and on the behalf of this Association. For the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association" (Marx to Meyer, London, July 4, 1868, *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Letters to Americans 1848-1895* [New York, 1953], p. 75).

26. Foner, *History*, 2: 338-71; Montgomery, *Beyond Equality*, pp. 276-94.

27. James C. Sylvis, *The Life, Speeches, Labors, and Essays of William H. Sylvis* (Philadelphia, 1872), pp. 186-87.

28. *Workingman's Advocate*, August 24, 1867.

29. John R. Commons, ed., *A Documentary History of the American Industrial Society* (Cleveland, 1910), 9: 338-39.

30. Cameron brought back several proposals made by the IWA for united action with the National Labor Union. One proposal called for the establishment of an emigrant bureau by both organizations, which would correspond with trade unions and emigrant associations in Europe, to obtain and forward information on the conditions of labor and the existence of strikes, "and otherwise aid the one high purpose of all who work for our reform . . . that of the complete unity and enfranchisement of labor everywhere." Another proposal provided that the General Council should "endeavor to prevent workmen being engaged in Europe to be used by American capitalists against the workmen of America" (*Workingman's Advocate*, October 23, November 23, 1869).

31. *Ibid.*, August 27, 1870.

32. Sidney Lens, *Radicalism in America* (New York, 1969), p. 136.

33. Foner, *History*, 1: 372-74.

34. Chester McArthur Destler, "Edward Kellogg and American Radicalism," *Journal of Political Economy* 40 (1932): 338-65, reprinted in his *American Radicalism, 1865-1901* (New London, Conn., 1946), pp. 50-77; Foner, *History*, 1: 417-23; Montgomery, *Beyond Equality*, pp. 425-48.

35. Marx to Sorge, September 1, 1870, in *Marx and Engels, Letters*, p. 97; Montgomery, *Beyond Equality*, pp. 417, 442; Foner, *History*, 1: 422-23.

36. Bernstein, *First International*, p. 58.

37. In 1872 the National Labor Reform Party nominated David Davis of Illinois for President, but in the middle of the campaign he withdrew, and Charles O'Connor of New York, a Democratic politician, leading defender of slavery, and foe of the Negro people, was chosen to replace him. The party received 29,489 votes. Foner, *History*, 1: 429.

38. Robert P. Sharkey, *Money, Class and Party: An Economic Study of the Civil War and Reconstruction* (Baltimore, 1959), p. 202.

39. For a criticism of Sorge's view that greenbackism attracted only middle-class reformers and antagonized the trade union leaders, see Montgomery, *Beyond Equality*, pp. 219, 249, 251, 442.

40. Bernstein, *First International*, pp. 38, 97; Commons et al., *History*, 2: 119, 237.
41. Montgomery, *Beyond Equality*, pp. 458–59.
42. *Workingman's Advocate*, August 27, 1870.
43. See below, pp. 133.
44. See below, pp. 399.
45. *Workingman's Advocate*, August 13, October 21, 28, 1870; Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619–1973* (New York, 1974), pp. 36–38.
46. Commons, ed., *Documentary History*, 9: 453–55.
47. Bernstein, *First International*, p. 39.
48. The call for the convention was published in the leading labor papers.
49. *New York World*, September 14, 1871; *Workingman's Advocate*, September 23, 1871.
50. Letterbook, International Workingmen's Association Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; Bernstein, *First International*, p. 66. In a survey of the black workers in New York City in 1869, the *New York Times* reported that the Germans were the only ones in the city "who appear to be really uninfluenced by this intolerant spirit of prejudice against the color of the negro," that in shops dominated by the Germans, a black worker received "fair wages—quite as much as . . . a white man of equal skill and powers of work," and that the German workers treated the black "properly, and not simply as the nigger" (*New York Times*, March 2, 1869).
51. Johann Philipp Becker to Friedrich A. Sorge, Geneva, May 30, 1867, Sorge Papers, New York Public Library, Manuscripts Division.
52. Schlüter, *Internationale in Amerika*, pp. 115–52; Bernstein, *First International*, pp. 35–49; *New York World*, November 20, 1870; *Workingman's Advocate*, December 3, 1870.
53. Bernstein, *First International*, p. 39.
54. Sorge to General Council, IWA, August 20, 1871, IWA Correspondence, State Historical Society of Wisconsin.
55. Schlüter, *Internationale in Amerika*, pp. 132–33.
56. Stuart Bruce Kaufman, *Samuel Gompers and the Origins of the American Federation of Labor, 1848–1896* (Westport, Conn., 1973), pp. 26–27.
57. Sorge to General Council, IWA, May 21, 1871, IWA Correspondence; Bernstein, *First International*, 55–56.
58. There is no adequate biography of Victoria Woodhull. Of the existing biographies, the best is Emmanic Sachs, *The Terrible Siren: Victoria Woodhull (1838–1927)* (New York, 1928). A good brief biography is in Madeline B. Stern, *We the Women: Career First of Nineteenth-Century Women* (New York, 1963).
59. *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, October 21, 1871. See also Philip S. Foner, ed., *When Karl Marx Died: Comments in 1883* (New York, 1973), pp. 238–39, 267.
60. *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, September 23, 1871. See also Sorge in *ibid.*, June 6, 1871.
61. Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, p. 255; Foner, *History*, 1: 382–88. See also below, pp. 140–41. Marx's comment was made when he learned that at its founding convention in 1866 the National Labor Union had "treated working women with complete equality."
62. *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, April 20, May 11, 18, June 1, 8, 15, 1872.

63. *The General Council of the International Working Men's Association: Minutes, 1871-1872* (Moscow, n.d.), pp. 250-51, 323-32.
64. Philip S. Foner, *Frederick Douglass* (New York, 1964), p. 302; *New National Era*, September 21, 1871.
65. The case was initiated by Anthony Comstock of the Society for the Suppression of Vice, although it was prosecuted by the United States government. It was linked to the publication in *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* of adultery charges against Reverend Henry Ward Beecher.
66. Schlüter, *Internationale in Amerika*, pp. 157-80.
67. Hans Gerth, ed., *The First International: Minutes of the Hague Congress of 1872 with Related Documents* (Madison, Wis., 1958), pp. 197-99; Bernstein, *First International*, pp. 151-60.
68. See Franz Mehring, *Karl Marx: The Story of His Life*, trans. Edward Fitzgerald (London, 1966), pp. 435-92; G. M. Stekloff, *History of the First International* (London, 1928), pp. 222-40.
69. Mehring, "F. A. Sorge," p. 489.
70. Gerth, *First International*, pp. 283-84.
71. For the seemingly endless difficulties facing the General Council, see the documents, *Papers of the General Council of the I.W.A. New York (1872-1876)*, ed. Samuel Bernstein (Milano, Italy, 1962); Schlüter, *Internationale in Amerika*, pp. 312-80; Bernstein, *First International*, pp. 161-96.
72. Sorge to August Senellier, August 8, 1877, original in IWA Papers, and reprinted in Bernstein, ed., *General Council*, p. 103.
73. Marx to Bolte, November 23, 1871, *Marx and Engels. Letters*, pp. 93-94.
74. Foner, *History*, 1: 448-50.
75. Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor* (New York, 1924), 1: 381-82. See also Kaufman, *Gompers and the Origins*, pp. 38-42.
76. "Copie d'un rapport de M. de La Forest, Consul Général de France à New-York, à M. le Ministre des Affaires Étrangères, en date du 11 Décembre 1873," Archives de la préfecture de police, Paris, BA 435, N916-917.
77. *Vorbote* (Chicago), June 5, 1874.
78. *Arbeiter-Zeitung* (New York), May 6, 1874; Sorge to A. R. Westrup, Chicago, June 17, 1874, in Bernstein, ed., *General Council*, pp. 146-47.
79. *Vorbote* (Chicago), June 20, 27, 1874.
80. Commons, ed., *Documentary History*, 9: 376-78; Commons et al., *History*, 2: 233; *The Socialist* (New York), May 13, 1876.
81. Bernstein, *First International*, p. 274.
82. Schlüter, *Internationale in Amerika*, pp. 331-58.
83. The English text of the declaration appears in the *Socialist* (New York), May 6, 1876, and the German text was published in *Social-Demokrat* (New York), April 30, 1876, and *Vorbote* (Chicago), April 29, 1876.
84. "Rapport du 28 mai 1876, Situation de l'Internationale in Amérique et spécialement aux États Unis (New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, etc.)," Archives de la préfecture de police, Paris, BA 435, N916-917. The report was made in connection with the impending visit of a delegation of French trade unionists to the centennial exposition in Philadelphia and was undoubtedly commissioned by the French government to discover to what extent the delegation might be propagandized by the Inter-

nationalists in the United States. Philip S. Foner, "The French Trade Union Delegation to the Philadelphia Centennial Exposition, 1876," *Science & Society*, 40 (Fall 1976): 257-88. For a brief discussion of the French trade union delegation, see Bernstein, *First International*, pp. 271-74.

85. *Verhandlungen der Delegirten-Konferenz zu Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1876); Morris Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the United States* (New York, 1910), p. 206.

86. Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Formation of the Workingmen's Party of the United States: Proceedings of the Union Congress Held at Philadelphia, July 19-22, 1876*. Occasional Paper, No. 18, American Institute for Marxist Studies, New York, 1976; Box 2; Bernstein, *First International*, pp. 284-87.

87. It has been claimed that the short-lived Social Party of New York, organized when the Marxists and Lassalleans combined, was the first Marxist political party in the United States. But after a setback in the local election of 1868, the party dissolved. Moreover, its program reflected more of a Lassallean than a Marxist outlook. See Schlüter, *Internationale in Amerika*, pp. 84-87.

88. Friedrich Sorge, *Socialism and the Worker* (New York, 1876). For the quotations, see pp. 12-13, 19-20.

89. *Labor Standard*, September 16, 30, November 18, 1876, January 6, 13, 27, 1877.

90. *Ibid.*, January 6, 13, 27, 1877.

91. *Ibid.*, September 30, December 30, 1876.

92. Bernstein, *First International*, pp. 290-91. Albert R. Parsons, one of the eight men later indicted in the Haymarket affair for which he was executed, was the party candidate for alderman in Chicago, and he received one-sixth of the total ballots cast in his ward.

93. *Labor Standard*, January 6, 13, 1877.

94. *Ibid.*, September 16, 1876, January 20, 27, February 24, April 14, 1877.

95. For the railroad strike, see below pp. 164-65, 183-86; for the strike and the role of the Workingmen's Party in it, see Foner, *History*, 1: 464-74.

96. *Labor Standard*, July 14, 1877; *Arbeiter-Stimme* (New York), September 2, 1877.

97. Bernstein, *First International*, p. 291; Foner, *History*, 1: p. 483.

98. Commons et al., *History*, 2: 277-82.

99. *Labor Standard*, September 7, October 12, 1878; Foner, *History*, 1: 500-502.

100. Sharkey, *Money, Class, and Party*, pp. 186, 206; Montgomery, *Beyond Equality*, pp. 413-14; Commons et al., *History*, 2: 88; Robert Marcus, "Wendell Phillips: The Public Vocation" (Master's thesis, Columbia University, 1964), p. 104.

101. Ira Steward to Friedrich A. Sorge, n.d., Ira Steward Papers, Box B, State Historical Society of Wisconsin; see also Montgomery, *Beyond Equality*, p. 251; Bernstein, *First International*, p. 24.

102. Dorothy W. Douglas, "Ira Steward on Consumption and Unemployment," *Journal of Political Economy* 40 (August 1932): 532-43; Ira Steward in *Workingman's Advocate*, March 11, 1871; *Labor Standard*, December 30, 1876.

103. *Labor Standard*, February 10, 1878.

104. *Ibid.*

105. Foner, *History*, 1: 503-504; Commons, *Documentary History*, 2: 306.

106. *Marx and Engels, Letters*, p. 219.

107. Laurence Gronlund (1846-1899), born in Denmark, graduate of the University

of Copenhagen, emigrated to the United States in 1867 where he became a school-teacher, lawyer, and socialist theoretician.

108. *New York World*, November 20, 1870; *Workingman's Advocate*, December 3, 1870.

109. Philip S. Foner, ed., *When Karl Marx Died: Comments in 1883* (New York, 1973), pp. 23-24, 60-69, 83-114.

110. *Vorbote* (Chicago), July 29, 1876.

111. *Marx and Engels, Letters*, pp. 142, 160-87, 289-90.

112. See Philip S. Foner, "Samuel Gompers to Frederick Engels: A Letter," *Labor History* 11 (Spring 1970): 207-11. For the circumstances that led Gompers to send the letter to Engels, see below, pp. 272-73.

113. Gompers, *Seventy Years*, I: 127, 210, 388-89.

114. For a picture of Gompers's increasing hostility to the socialists, see Bernard Mandel, *Samuel Gompers: A Biography* (Yellow Springs, Ohio, 1963), and Foner, *History*, vol. 3. The latter volume also contains a detailed account of the unfortunate consequences for the unskilled and semiskilled workers, black and white, men and women, foreign born and native American, of the narrow craft-union policies of the AFL.

115. See below, pp. 295-98.

116. Stuttgart, 1906.

117. Sorge did not excise the criticisms of German and other European socialist leaders in Marx's and Engels's letters, as was done by the German editors although they did not bother to indicate the deletions. The complete text of the letters, with these deletions restored, appears in *Marx and Engels, Letters*, pp. 20-38.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

1. Eleanor Marx and Dr. Edward Aveling, daughter and son-in-law of Karl Marx, visited the United States in 1886 at the invitation of the Socialist Labor Party. Their report on their stay in the United States was published as articles in *Die Neue Zeit* and in English in the book *The Working-Class Class Movement in America* (London, 1891).

2. On June 3, 1886, Frederick Engels wrote to Mrs. Florence Kelley Wischniewetzky of New York City that up to this point in its history in the United States "there were not, as yet, classes with opposing interests," hence "our—and your—bourgeois thought that America stood above class antagonisms and struggles. That delusion has now broken down" (*Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Letters to Americans, 1848-1895* [New York, 1953], p. 157).

3. Sorge is correct in pointing out that the words *slavery* and *slaves* were avoided in the Constitution drawn up in 1787. But the words used instead were *other persons* or *any person bound to service or labor*.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 1

1. The Louisiana Purchase from France was made in 1803. It included the area between the Mississippi Valley and the Rocky Mountains and between Canada and the Gulf of Mexico.

2. On February 22, 1819, Spain ceded East and West Florida to the United States.
3. Only a few lines later Sorge notes that tobacco was still important in Virginia and Maryland.
4. Eli Whitney (1765–1825) was the son of a prosperous farmer. In 1793, a year after he graduated from Yale University, he invented the cotton gin.
5. Vermont entered the Union on March 4, 1791, but Maine did not become a state until March 15, 1820.
6. In 1788, Samuel Slater, an English mechanic, came to America and offered his services to Moses Brown of Rhode Island as manager of a cotton spinning mill. Brown readily accepted the offer and supplied the capital. Slater drew up the plans of the Arkwright spinning machine from memory and turned them over to David Wilkinson, a Pawtucket blacksmith, who in 1790 built the first Arkwright machinery to be successfully operated in the United States.
7. The reference is to the Embargo Act passed by Congress in 1807 to bring England to terms for such actions as impressment of American seamen.
8. There is no evidence that the conspiracy laws were invoked in this strike. What happened is that the leader of the strike was arrested by the constables and imprisoned; as a result, the strike ended. Sorge bases his statement on the account in Richard T. Ely, *The Labor Movement in America* (New York, 1886), p. 38, but John Bach McMaster, whose work Ely used, says nothing of the conspiracy laws. See *A History of the People in the United States* (New York, 1885), 2: 618.
The use of the conspiracy doctrine against American trade unions and the conspiracy trials that followed were a distinct departure from American practice. While the doctrine of criminal conspiracy had been part of the Tudor Industrial Code, it had never been applied before 1806 to combinations of free labor in America. In the case of the Philadelphia cordwainers (1806), the court set the pattern when it ruled that the common law of criminal conspiracy was the law of the American nation and that a mere combination of workers who intended to raise wages was an illegal act and punishable.
9. The Boston Massacre refers to the killing of five men and the wounding of others on March 5, 1770, when British troops fired into a crowd. In a large measure the massacre resulted from the fact that British soldiers stationed in Boston competed in their off-duty hours with local laborers for jobs in the port. One of the five men killed was Crispus Attucks, a fugitive slave.
10. George Edwin McNeill, New England labor spokesman, one of the leaders of the eight-hour movement, active in the creation of the first state bureau of labor statistics, which was approved by the Massachusetts legislature in 1869, and served as the deputy director of the Massachusetts Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1869–1873. He was editor of and contributor to *The Labor Movement: The Problem of Today. Comprising a History of Capital and Labor, and Its Present Status* (New York, 1886).
11. We will soon see how this appetite for child labor grew.—Note by Sorge.
Editors' note: It is worth noting, however, that Pawtucket and other Rhode Island textile mills used child labor as early as the 1790s.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 2

1. The reference is to the almost bloodless revolution in Paris during July 1830 that expelled Charles X because of his autocratic, reactionary, and oppressive regime and

that replaced him with another branch of the Bourbon dynasty, headed by the Duke of Orleans, Louis Philippe, who became the "Citizen King," or "King of the French by the will of the people," no longer "by the will of God."

2. The *Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, the most famous of all socialist documents, appeared in February 1848 on the eve of the revolutions of 1848.

3. Robert Owen (1771-1885), self-made British industrialist who, at his New Lanark, Scotland, mills instituted reforms intended to raise the moral, social, and intellectual conditions of his workers. Owen was viewed as a utopian socialist by Marx and Engels because he hoped to persuade capitalists to institute communities in which labor and social relations would be rationally organized and the evils of capitalism would be abolished.

4. Josiah Warren (1799-1874), social experimenter and founder of philosophical anarchism, who was one of the men living in Robert Owen's New Harmony colony in Indiana. In 1827 he set up his "Time Store" in Cincinnati, Ohio, where he attempted to transact business in terms of equity rather than profit.

5. George Henry Evans (1805-1855) and his brother Frederick W. Evans were born in England and came to the United States with their family in 1820; George, the elder brother, became the editor of the *Working Man's Advocate* in New York City in 1829 and participated in and editorially supported the workingmen's parties of the Jacksonian era. He was especially interested in free land for workers.

6. The twelve demands listed here were published in *Young America*, which Evans published from 1837 to 1853.

7. Richard T. Ely, *The Labor Movement in America* (New York, 1886), pp. 41-42.

8. The first Workingmen's Party was launched in Philadelphia in July 1828. The New York Workingmen's Party was the second such party.

9. Ely Moore (1798-1860) was the first labor Congressman, although he was elected on the ticket of the Democratic Party rather than that of the Workingmen's Party. In 1834 he was reelected to Congress on the same ticket.

10. Edward Everett (1794-1865), Unitarian clergyman and statesman, member of the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate from Massachusetts.

11. The third convention of the New England Association met in October 1833 in Boston. Some twenty-five delegates were present from four New England states, and one was from Pennsylvania.

12. William Ellery Channing (1780-1842), a leading Unitarian clergyman who advocated greater educational opportunities for workingmen and was involved in the antislavery movement.

13. Horace Mann (1796-1859), noted educational reformer and Massachusetts legislator, who was the first secretary of the Massachusetts Board of Education (1837-1848). He created the first normal school in the United States.

14. Sorge is mistaken here. The celebration he mentions refers to the nineteenth anniversary of the defense of Baltimore against the British in the War of 1812. Among the speakers that day were Joshua Vansant and Joshua Jones, both elected to speak by the workers and mechanics of the city. The speeches are printed in the *Baltimore Republican and Commercial Advertiser*, September 16, 1833.

On September 7, 1833 the trades' unions of Baltimore met and resolved to form themselves into a "Union Trade Society."

15. The Boston Trades' Union, formed in March 1834, was the only one that included employers in its membership.

16. The description "rather successful" is an understatement. The general strike in Philadelphia in the summer of 1835 paralyzed the city and ended in a complete victory. Even the public employees were granted a ten-hour day.

17. President Martin Van Buren (1782-1862) issued his famous executive order establishing the ten-hour day in all government works on March 31, 1840.

18. These designations were used prolifically in the 1850s, even in the following decade; indeed they never completely disappeared and are frequently being used once again, but now the word "labor" is used more often than "workingman."—Note by Sorge.

19. Under the truck system the employer forced his workers to buy their necessities at stores that he himself owned and operated. Usually he carried a limited variety of poor-quality goods for which he charged 10 or 20 percent more than did independent stores.

20. The report was written by Harriet Jane Hanson Robinson (1825-1911), one of the famous "Lowell Girls" and contributor to the *Lowell Offering* and later a woman suffrage leader in Massachusetts. She was the author of *Loom and Spindle or Life among the Early Mill Girls* (1898). The full title of the essay by Harriet Robinson was "Early Factory Labor in New England."

21. Charles Dickens (1812-1870) visited Lowell during his American tour and was very impressed by conditions for workers in the mills and boardinghouses. He described his visit in *American Notes* (1842).

22. Universalism was the doctrine of a theologically unorthodox sect that rejected the trinity, the idea of the devil, the doctrine of the elect, and other aspects of Calvinist dogma, but believed in man's innate goodness and the universal salvation of all men, stressing personal salvation and interpretation of the scriptures. The Universalists were part of the general reform movement in the United States during the mid-nineteenth century.

23. Sorge follows this with an ellipsis and the statement, "A high school official explained that in his opinion about a quarter of the students at Harvard are supported by the self-denial and sacrifice of women," as if this were part of the text he is quoting. However, this statement does not appear in the original report.

24. An earlier strike occurred in Lowell in 1834 when wages were cut 15 percent. During the 1836 strike the Lowell strikers formed the "Factory Girls Association" with a membership of 2,500. "As our fathers resisted unto blood the lordly avarice of the British ministry," they announced, "so we, their daughters, never will wear the yoke which has been prepared for us" (*National Laborer*, October 29, 1836; *Boston Post*, October 7, 1836).

25. It was during the 1834 strike that the first public speech was made by a woman in Lowell. A contemporary report describes one of the strike leaders as making "a flaming Mary Wollstonecraft speech on the rights of women and the iniquities of the monied aristocracy" (*Boston Transcript*, reprinted in *The Man* [New York], February 20, 1834). Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797), author of *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman* (London, 1792), was the literary pioneer of the emancipation of women.

26. Seth Luther (c. 1817-1846), carpenter and radical labor spokesman, considered to be the Tom Paine of the early American labor movement. The pamphlet referred to

was his first, *An Address to the Working Men of New England*, a bitter attack on the abuses of the factory system. Published in 1832, it quickly ran through three editions.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 3

1. One should look today at the course of American government bonds and subscriptions to the last French government loan.—Note by Sorge.

2. The reference was to *The Lowell Offering* published from 1839 to 1845, which printed the literary output of the mill girls. However, when they sought to insert articles complaining of their conditions in the mills, they were turned down, and a number of the mill girls founded their own militant magazines.

3. The Know-Nothing Party, organized as the American Party in the 1850s, derived its name from the fact that upon questioning as to their motives, purpose, and program, the members would reply "I know nothing." The organization was particularly opposed to Roman Catholics and favored restrictions on Irish immigration.

4. Charles Fourier (1772–1837), French utopian socialist, who advocated reforming society by establishing units he called "phalanxes," consisting of four hundred acres of land and 500 to 2,000 persons. Although Fourier never came to the United States, his ideas were popular in this country in the 1840s.

5. Charles Anderson Dana (1819–1897), leading newspaper editor, was a member and managing trustee of Brook Farm community (1841–1846). He was also managing editor of the *New York Tribune* (1847–1862), during which time he arranged for the publication of a series of articles by Karl Marx, and was later editor and owner of the *New York Sun* (1868–1897), which became increasingly hostile to labor and radicalism.

6. Horace Greeley (1811–1872) founded the *New York Tribune* in 1842, which was the most influential newspaper in the United States at the time. During the early years of the *Tribune*, Greeley was an advocate of utopian socialism, especially of the theories of Fourier. Albert Brisbane, Fourier's chief American disciple, popularized his theories in the *Tribune*. As editor, Greeley gave the *Tribune* a pro-labor tone, himself having been the first president of the Typographical Union of New York. The *Tribune* also became one of the outstanding antislavery organs of the decade preceding the Civil War and a leading spokesman for the Republican Party.

Strangely, Sorge says nothing of Marx's contributions to the *Tribune*. During his decade of association with the newspaper, Marx (and sometimes Engels in Marx's name) wrote a series of important articles for Greeley's paper. The articles were arranged by Dana who first met Marx in Cologne in 1848. Considering him its outstanding leader, Dana asked Marx in 1851 to write a series of articles for the *Tribune* on the revolution. This began the association.

Thirty-two of the articles that Marx wrote for the *New York Daily Tribune* (part of the total of 487 such articles that the *Tribune* published over the ten-year period 1851–1861) are included in Henry M. Christman, ed., *The American Journalism of Marx and Engels. A Selection from the New York Daily Tribune* (New York, 1966).

What makes Sorge's failure to mention these articles even stranger is that in 1872 Sorge sent Marx a complete list of the articles that he and Engels had written for the *Tribune* from 1852 to 1859. The articles were later published in two books: *Germany:*

Revolution and Counter-Revolution (written by Engels) and *The Eastern Question* (written by Marx). On December 7, 1889, Engels wrote to Sorge: "Your list of Marx's *Tribune* articles is buried, no doubt, under the mountain of unsorted letters. I have pasted and mounted the *Tribune* articles" (*Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Letters to Americans, 1848-1895* [New York, 1953], p. 221).

7. The Harmonists and Separatists were pietist sects founded during the Lutheran Reformation in Germany during the sixteenth century.

8. The Oneida Community was established in 1847 in western New York State by John Humphreys Noyes (1811-1886) and became notorious as a "free love" colony. Noyes argued that monogamous love was selfish and that multiple love could be enjoyed, so long as it was freely given and received.

9. Etienne Cabet (1788-1856), French utopian communist lawyer and publicist, author of the utopian novel *Journey to Icaria* (1842), and spokesman for the first workers' communist movement in France. In 1855 Cabet published *Colonie icarrienne aux Etats-unis d'Amerique*. A year after the pamphlet appeared in Paris, Cabet was thrown out of the colony he had founded. For an English translation of the pamphlet by Thomas Treacle under the title *The History of the Colony or Republic of Icaria in the United States of America*, see *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* 15 (April 1917): 224-26, 233-39, 253-55, 285-86.

10. Wendell Phillips (1811-1884), great advocate of antislavery, woman's rights, and the rights of labor, and one of the outstanding orators of the nineteenth century.

11. William Lloyd Garrison (1803-1879), editor and publisher of *The Liberator* and champion of immediate emancipation of the slaves. He was a leading abolitionist of the pre-Civil War era.

12. Theodore Parker (1810-1860), religious liberal and scholar who was active in the struggle against slavery.

13. Sarah G. Bagley, a New England schoolteacher who became a weaver in the Lowell mills and a contributor to the *Lowell Offering*. When the magazine refused to publish her criticism of working conditions in the mills, she denounced it as a company organ and organized and became president of the Lowell Female Labor Reform Association. She was a pioneer female labor leader in the United States.

14. "Young America" was a movement of the 1840s that emphasized America's manifest destiny to expand, including the expansion of slavery into Mexico. It had its strength in the Democratic party.

15. The reference is to the presidential campaign of 1876 in which Samuel J. Tilden (1814-1886), Democratic candidate for President, lost out to Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican candidate, by one electoral vote in what is known as the "disputed election."

16. The Mexican War was fought between the United States and Mexico between April 1846 and September 1847. The meeting in New York branded the war as a scheme of slave owners and their allies who lived "in such luxurious idleness on the products of the workingmen." It demanded of President Polk that further hostilities be avoided by withdrawing American troops "to some undisputed land belonging to the United States."

The Oregon boundary dispute was finally settled by a treaty with England on June 18, 1846, but the pro-war forces in this country raised the slogan of "Fifty-Four Forty or Fight."

17. The reference is to an appeal to American workers during the Oregon boundary dispute urging them to combat "the War Spirit, that is sought to be excited between the two countries." It was published in *Voice of Industry*, April 10, 1846, a weekly labor paper issued in Lowell, Massachusetts.

George Julian Harney (1817–1897), leader of the left wing of the Chartist and editor of the *Northern Star* (1843–1850); member of the Communist League and the First International; emigrated to the United States in 1860; became assistant secretary of Massachusetts; returned to England in 1888; corresponded extensively with Marx and Engels while in the United States. See F. G. Black and R. M. Black, eds., *The Harney Papers* (Assen, 1969).

18. The Free-Soil Party did not come into existence until 1848 when it sought to keep out slavery in the territory obtained from Mexico. Its presidential candidate in the election of 1848 was Martin Van Buren, who received only 291,678 votes in contrast to Zachary Taylor, the Whig candidate, who gained 1,360,101 votes. The Free-Soil Party broke the ground for the organization of the Republican Party in 1854.

19. In 1842 Chief Justice Shaw of Massachusetts delivered an opinion in the case of *Commonwealth v. Hunt* in which for the first time the right of workingmen to organize and bargain collectively was judicially recognized.

20. Clauses were inserted into the ten-hour law that permitted employers to draw up special contracts with workers for more than ten hours. Even before the law was passed, employers submitted these contracts to their workers and informed them that they had the alternative of either signing and continuing to work or refusing to sign and going jobless.

21. A robust breed of descendants of immigrants from the Pfalz who arrived at the end of the seventeenth century and early eighteenth century and who still exist in Pennsylvania. For a long period they preferred to be called Germans, spoke and still speak a German dialect strongly influenced by English and other elements in which they publish their newspapers.—Note by Sorge.

22. The League of the Just (*Bund der Gerechten*), a secret society with code words and names begun by exiled German artisans in Paris in 1836, derived from the League of Outlaws (*Bund der Geächteten*, 1834–1836), the original goal of which was to bring into Germany the Rights of Man and the Citizen. Made up of half artisans and half professional people, the league took part in the unsuccessful 1839 Paris uprising after which many had to move to London where they founded an active branch. This branch created a front group called the German Workers Educational Union numbering about a thousand in 1847; it survived until 1914.

23. Young Germany was a conspiratorial secret group that supported a form of German nationalism and republicanism based on Mazzini's Young Italy movement. The German version remained relatively ineffective.

24. A split developed in the League of the Just in 1846 on the question of the need for revolutionary violence immediately or a period of calm agitation. The group supporting the latter idea finally transferred the League to London, and in June 1847 changed the name to the Communist League (*Bund der Kommunisten*), rejecting socialism based on sentimentality and condemning conspiratorial approaches to revolution. In August 1847 Marx transformed his Brussels Correspondence Committee into a section of the League. In November 1847 Marx and Engels were given the task of formulating the theoretical bases of the League's doctrines. The result was the *Com-*

munist Manifesto. Marx dissolved the League in 1848 as being unnecessary in times of open revolution.

See David McLellan, *Karl Marx: His Life and Thought* (New York, 1973), pp. 167ff; E. Schraepler, "Der Bund der Gerechten. Seine Tätigkeit in London 1840-1847," in *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* (1962), and Werner Kowalski, *Vorgeschichte und Entstehung des Bundes der Gerechten* (Berlin, 1962), pp. 57-81.

25. Franz Mehring, *Karl Marx: Geschichte seines Lebens* (Berlin/DDR, 1964), pp. 124ff, notes that Kriege's newspaper in New York City, *Der Volks-Tribun*, pursued "an imaginary and sentimental exaltation" in a childish and pompous way that had nothing to do with communist principles and would only demoralize the workers. With the exception of Weitling (Kriege was a friend and disciple of Weitling), Marx, Engels, and their friends protested to Kriege about his behavior but to no avail. See *Marx-Engels Werke*, 4: 3-17, for the circular against Kriege, and H. Schlüter, *Die Anfänge der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika* (Stuttgart, 1907), pp. 19ff.

26. The man referred to is Graechus Babeuf, who led the unsuccessful "conspiracy of equals" (1796-1797) against the restoration of bourgeois rule in the Directorate phase of the French Revolution. Though often considered the first modern communist, his ideas on the organization of society were nebulous and too loosely conceived for him to be thought of as a true communist.

27. Wilhelm (Lupus) Wolff (1809-1864), teacher and journalist; son of a serf peasant in Silesia; participated in the Burschenschaft movement; member of the central body of the Communist League; on the 1848-1849 editorial staff of the *Neue Rheinische Zeitung*; thereafter an emigrant in Switzerland, after 1851 in England; a close friend of Marx and Engels.

28. Edgar von Westphalen (1819-1890), in 1846 a member of the communist Brussels Correspondence Committee. The brother of Jenny Marx, Karl Marx's wife, he lived in the United States for a long time.

29. Wilhelm Weitling (1808-1871), German-American utopian communist, tailor by trade. He joined the League of the Just and propagandized communist ideas in Paris and Switzerland. He published *Republik der Arbeiter* in New York from 1850 to 1855. For additional information on Weitling, see pp. 80-94.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. For details on the slave trade of this period, see Philip S. Foner, *Business and Slavery: The New York Merchants and the Irrepressible Conflict* (Chapel Hill, 1941), pp. 164-67.

2. Sorge is hardly correct here. The division on the slavery question was particularly marked among northern workers. For this division, see Bernard Mandel, *Labor: Free and Slave: Workingmen and the Anti-Slavery Movement in the United States* (New York, 1955), and Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States* (New York, 1947), 1: 226-97.

3. John Randolph (1733-1833), known as Randolph of Roanoke, was a member of the House of Representatives and the U.S. Senate from Virginia; he strongly upheld slavery.

4. John Caldwell Calhoun (1792-1850) was the leading defender of slavery in Con-

gress and defended it as "the most safe and stable basis for free institutions in the world."

5. On Bunker Hill near Boston stands a large (so-called freedom) monument in memory of the first major battle between the English and American troops (the latter were actually free-booters) on June 17, 1775.—Note by Sorge.

Editors' note: Robert Augustus Toombs (1810–1885), U.S. Senator from Georgia, was the leader of the southern defenders of slavery.

6. James Henry Hammond (1807–1864), U.S. Senator from South Carolina, made this statement during a speech in the Senate. He insisted that in all social systems there must be a class to perform the mean duties, the drudgery of life. Its labor made possible the existence of a leisure class which provided progress, refinement, and civilization. "It constitutes the very *mud-sills* of society and of political government." In the South the Negro race filled that role while in the North it was filled by white workers. (The word *mudsill* was commonly used to describe the lowest level of society.) See *Congressional Globe*, 35th Cong. 1st sess., 1858, p. 962.

7. For a discussion of these pro-slavery views, see Wilfred Carsel, "The Slaveholders' Indictment of Northern Wage Slavery," *Journal of Southern History* 6 (November 1940): 514–20. Reference to "free society" was to Northern society.

8. This may refer to Heinrich Leo (1799–1878), historian and publicist who held and publicized the reactionary political and religious views of the Prussian Junkers.

9. For a discussion of the issues Sorge raises, see Russel B. Nye, *Fettered Freedom: Civil Liberties and the Slavery Controversy* (East Lansing, 1949).

10. John Brown (1800–1859) led a small band of white and Negro followers in October 1859 and seized the United States armory at Harpers Ferry. His plan to build up an insurrectionary movement among Negroes throughout the South failed. Brown was overpowered, brought to trial, and hanged December 2, 1859.

11. In October 1835 William Lloyd Garrison was dragged through the streets of Boston with a rope around his neck by a mob and had to be placed in the Leverett Street jail to prevent his being lynched.

12. William H. Sylvis (1828–1869) was the outstanding labor leader of the Civil War and immediate post-Civil War era. He was president of the National Labor Union when he died on July 27, 1869.

13. Today these corporate bodies are called Trades Council, Trades Assembly, Central Labor Union, Central Labor Federation, and the like.—Note by Sorge.

14. For a more positive evaluation of Weitling's role in the labor movement, see Carl Wittke, *The Utopian Communist: A Biography of Wilhelm Weitling, Nineteenth Century Reformer* (Baton Rouge, 1950), and Waltraud Seidel-Höppner, *Wilhelm Weitling, der erste deutsche Theoretiker und Agitator des Kommunismus* (Berlin/DDR, 1961).

15. Sorge's emphasis.

16. Sorge fails to mention the significant role of the German workers in these demonstrations of the unemployed. For a discussion of the movement of the unemployed during the economic crisis of 1857, see Foner, *History*, 1: 237–40.

17. Karl Marx, *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852).

18. The reference is to the revolutionary events of June 1848 in Paris when the bourgeois opposition to the monarchist regime of Louis Philippe and the French workers went into the streets to further their demands for reform. The events that followed

saw the victory of the bourgeoisie over the monarchy and the working class, and the election of Louis Bonaparte, nephew of Napoleon I, as President of the Second French Republic.

19. For further details about Weitling, see *Sozialdemokratische Bibliothek*, Heft XI.—Note by Sorge.

20. Joseph Weydemeyer (1818–1866), member of the Communist League; participated in the 1848–1849 German revolution and was the editor of the *Neue Deutsche Zeitung* from 1849 to 1850. He emigrated in 1851 to the United States where he laid the groundwork for the spread of Marxism in the country. A close friend of Marx and Engels, he is considered the pioneer American Marxist.

21. See *Republik der Arbeiter* (1851), p. 15.—Note by Sorge.

22. Edward Kellogg, a merchant ruined by the panic of 1837, published theories in *A New Monetary System, the Only Means of Securing the Respective Rights of Labor and Property and Protecting the Public from Financial Revulsions*, rev. ed. (New York, 1861). Kellogg contended that money and banking enslaved the people and called for the government to strip the national banks of the power to issue notes and for the government to loan funds to individuals on a low rate of interest. Kellogg's ideas greatly influenced the post-Civil War labor movement and especially the efforts to escape the wage system through the establishment of producers' cooperatives. See Chester McArthur Destler, "Edward Kellogg and American Radicalism," *Journal of Political Economy* 40 (1932): 338–65, reprinted in his *American Radicalism, 1865–1901* (New London, Conn., 1946), pp. 50–77.

23. Pierre Joseph Proudhon (1809–1865), a utopian socialist who viewed the "leprosy of interest" as the worst of all forms of unearned income and the worst of the capitalists as money lenders. Since under existing capitalist conditions only the rich could afford to borrow money, Proudhon envisioned a utopia in which all people could borrow, not from private or governmental banks but from a peoples' bank, which would give credit to all without interest and would issue notes that would eventually replace the money currency. In theory the credit given by the peoples' bank would enable each individual to become a producer. Thus Proudhon wanted a "revolution of credit," a change in the methods of financing production, which would create a rambling grouping of bourgeois individuals and would draw the proletariat into the bourgeoisie. Marx, on the other hand, foresaw a revolution in the ownership of the means of production and proposed the destruction of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat. Consequently, Marx did not take kindly to Proudhon's later theories, though he admired the latter's *What Is Property?* to which Proudhon's answer was: property is theft.

24. Karl Heinzen (1809–1880) was a radical publicist who was a petty-bourgeois democrat. He opposed Marx and Engels, participated for a short period in the Baden-Pfalz uprising, then emigrated to Switzerland, to England, and finally, in 1850, to the United States, where he edited *Der Pionier* with an antislavery tendency.

25. Kellner is still alive and lives in Philadelphia where he is the editor-in-chief of the *Philadelphia Democrat*.—Note by Sorge.

26. The reference here is to the "June Days" of the 1848 Paris insurrection.

27. The reference is to the Germans who emigrated from their homeland after the failure of the 1848–1849 revolutions.

28. Friedrich Kapp, *Geschichte der Sklaverei in den Vereinigten Staaten von*

Amerika (New York, 1860), pp. 177–84, 184–85n. Referring to the series of six articles Weydemeyer published in the *Illinois Staats-Zeitung*, Kapp noted that he considered them so “valuable” that he had based his analysis of the economic issues involved in the slavery controversy upon them.

29. Sorge’s text is often confusing because of his inexact use of names of various organizations. The central association (*Centralverein*) is evidently a kind of board of directors that ran the Worker’s League (*Allgemeine Arbeiterverein*, also referred to as *Arbeiterbund*), which gathered a number of different unions and other labor groups into one organization.

30. He edited the *New Yorker Demokrat* with Adolf Douai.

31. Sorge does not mention that he represented the Communist Club at the meeting of more than a thousand to pay solemn respect to the martyrs of the June Days of 1848 or that he gave the welcoming address. (A report of the meeting is in *Soziale Republik*, June 26, 1858.) For that matter, Sorge does not mention that the constitution of the Communist Club required all members to “recognize the complete equality of all men—no matter of what color or sex” (Foner, *History*, 1: 233n).

32. August Willich (1810–1878), a former Prussian officer, was a member of the Communist League in which he opposed Marx’s views. He led a revolutionary unit in the 1849 Baden-Pfalz revolution in which Engels served as his adjutant and then emigrated to the United States in 1853 and served in the Union army with the rank of general.

33. The sources of the description of the German workers’ movement in the U.S.A. are the *Republik der Arbeiter* and *Soziale Republik*, various protocols of older associations, as well as the personal collections and memories of the author.—Note by Sorge.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 5

1. The Republican Party was established at Ripon, Wisconsin, in 1854. Its first presidential candidate in the election of 1856 was John C. Frémont (1813–1890) who was defeated by the Democratic candidate, James Buchanan (1791–1868). However, Frémont ran up an impressive vote for the candidate of a new party. He obtained 1,341,264 popular votes to Buchanan’s 1,838,169 and 114 electoral votes to Buchanan’s 169.

2. The platform of the Republican Party in 1860 read in part: “That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the states, and especially the right of each state to order and control its own domestic institutions according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political fabric depends; . . . we deny the authority of Congress, of a territorial legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any territory of the United States.”

3. Abraham Lincoln (1809–1865) was elected President on the Republican ticket, receiving a plurality of the popular votes but a majority of the electoral votes. All of Lincoln’s electoral votes came from the North.

4. By February 4, 1861, six southern slave states had seceded from the Union and formed the Confederate States of America; they were South Carolina, Mississippi, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, and Louisiana. Texas seceded before the Confederacy was

formed but joined after this took place. Virginia, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina seceded and joined the Confederacy after the firing on Fort Sumter. Maryland, Delaware, Kentucky, and Missouri—the border slave states—remained within the Union.

5. The Morrill Tariff, passed by Congress in 1861 after the Civil War had started, inaugurated the policy of high tariffs. The act raised tariff rates to an average of 18.8 percent, and by its amendments in 1862 and 1864 this average was raised to 40.3 percent. The act's passage fulfilled a platform pledge of the Republican Party in 1860. The term "War of Secession" is Sorge's.

6. On October 25, 1858, William H. Seward (1801–1872), former governor of New York and Republican Senator from that state, made at Rochester, New York, the famous speech in which he declared that the slavery struggle was "an irrepressible conflict" between opposing and enduring forces. It is believed that this speech, which many considered too radical, was a factor in causing Seward to lose the Republican nomination in 1860.

7. Sorge's discussion on Lincoln's views on labor and capital is surprisingly brief in view of the fact that a fellow German socialist, Hermann Schlüter, wrote an entire book on the subject: *Lincoln, Labor and Slavery* (New York, 1913). Just what statement Sorge is referring to is not clear, but he may have referred to the following by Lincoln made in September 1859 at a Wisconsin state fair: "... that labor is prior to, and independent of capital; that, in fact, capital is the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed; that labor can exist without capital, but that capital could never have existed without labor. Hence ... labor is the superior ... greatly the superior to capital." (For this and other statements by Lincoln on labor, see Philip S. Foner, ed., *Abraham Lincoln: Selections from His Writings* [New York, 1944], pp. 15–18, 87–90.)

8. Benjamin Franklin Wade (1800–1878), U.S. Senator from Massachusetts, had once been a construction worker on the Erie Canal and favored labor's demands while in public office.

9. Ira Steward (1831–1883), a self-educated machinist who became a shorter-hours advocate while serving a twelve-hour-day apprenticeship in 1850, and joined the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' International Union after being discharged from his machinist's job for agitating for shorter hours. As the father of the eight-hour day, Steward published pamphlets on the issue and organized a network of eight-hour leagues. Steward believed that eight hours of labor was a vital first step in achieving a fundamental redistribution of wealth that would eventually result in the elimination of capitalism and the inauguration of a cooperative commonwealth.

10. Charles Sumner (1811–1874), Massachusetts abolitionist and champion of civil rights for Negroes, who was assaulted on the floor of the U.S. Senate in 1856 after making a speech, "The Crime against Kansas." During his long convalescence, Massachusetts kept his seat vacant for him. He returned to the Senate as a leading Radical Republican.

11. Both Henry Wilson (1812–1875) and Nathaniel P. Banks (1816–1894) were workingmen who entered politics with the support of their fellow workmen and became leading antislavery figures in Massachusetts politics and Congress.

12. Steward's published writings include *The Meaning of the Eight Hour Movement* (Boston, 1868); *A Reduction of Hours Is an Increase of Wages* (Boston, 1865); and

"Poverty," *Fourth Annual Report of the (Massachusetts) Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (Boston, 1873).

13. In June 1869 the Massachusetts legislature created the Bureau of Statistics of Labor. General H. K. Oliver became the first commissioner of the new Bureau of Statistics of Labor.

14. Mary B. Steward was Ira Steward's co-worker in the cause of the eight-hour movement until her death in 1878. She was the author of the popular little couplet: "Whether you work by the piece or work by the day / Decreasing the hours, increases the pay."

15. This is a reference to the currency reform or greenback movement, which had a tremendous influence in labor circles after the Civil War. See below, pp. 134–35, 137–40.

16. German and even social democratic supporters of temperance and abstinence could learn a great deal from this man.—Note by Sorge.

17. Sorge emphasis.

18. Sorge emphasis.

19. In October 1863, at a convention of radical Germans held in Cleveland, the Boston delegates proposed an eight-hour law resolution, but a very small majority defeated it.—Note by Sorge.

20. On September 28, 1864, at St. Martin's Hall, London, the International Workingmen's Association—First International—was founded. Although Karl Marx and Frederick Engels played a leading role in the founding of the association, its preamble and rules were drawn up on a broad enough basis to include workers of different persuasions. The first American section of the International was organized in New York City in December 1869 with Sorge as its secretary.

21. Karl Marx died in London on March 14, 1883.

22. Steward left his unfinished notes to George Gunton (1845–1872), textile worker and editor, eight-hour advocate (and later a defender of the trusts), who decided that they were too fragmentary to be put into shape as a separate book, and published them instead in his own book, *Wealth and Progress: A Critical Examination of the Labor Problem* (New York, 1887). For this action he was bitterly denounced by Steward's disciples. The original manuscript is now in the State Historical Society of Wisconsin where the following manuscripts by Steward are also kept: "Theory of Wages," "Wages and Wealth," and "Wealth and Progress."

23. William H. Sylvis (1828–1869) was a member of the Molders' Union in 1855, and treasurer of the Iron-Molders International Union in 1859. He served in the Union army during the Civil War. As president of the IMIU, he influenced the entire labor movement during and after the Civil War. He made several innovations in the IMIU, which also influenced other unions, such as the issuance of union membership cards, the imposition of high dues, and the creation of a centralized administration, which transformed the IMIU into the largest and most effective trade union of the era. Sylvis was also co-founder and president of the National Labor Union. He was a strong advocate of independent political action for labor, international labor solidarity, women's rights, and so forth. See Jonathan Grossman, *William Sylvis, Pioneer of American Labor* (New York, 1945).

24. Sylvis was greatly influenced by the monetary reform ideas of Edward Kellogg. See pp. 102–03.

25. Among the letters of mourning that poured into the National Labor Union upon

the news of Sylvis's death was one from the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, dated August 18, 1869, signed by Karl Marx and other leaders of the International. It referred to Sylvis as "a loyal, persevering and indefatigable worker in the good cause among you." For the full text, see *Workingman's Advocate* (Chicago), September 18, 1869.

26. William E. Gladstone (1809–1898), noted English statesman who was a Tory during the Civil War but later turned to Liberalism.

27. Thomas Carlyle (1795–1881), Scottish-born historian of aristocratic views who supported the South and held the Negro to be inferior in every respect to whites.

28. Though Great Britain was officially neutral and international law forbade the construction of naval vessels for belligerent nations, English capitalists evaded these restrictions by building warships for the Confederate states, allowing the partially completed ships to "escape" from British shipyards to unpoliced ports where guns and munitions were loaded on board. A total of eighteen of these "pirate" ships preyed on northern shipping. The *Alabama* was the most successful of them. In 1863, the English stopped this practice after the North threatened to send "a flood of privateers" against British shipping. Great damage, however, had already been done. The "Alabama claims" upon England by the United States for shipping losses suffered during the Civil War led to a settlement in 1872 negotiated through arbitration under which England paid \$15.5 million to the United States.

29. Karl Marx wrote to the *New York Tribune*: "It ought never to be forgotten in the United States that at least the working class of England from the commencement to the termination of the difficulty have not forgotten them" (Schlüter, *Lincoln*, pp. 164–65.) For a reevaluation of this subject, see Royden Harrison, "British Labour and the Confederacy," *International Review of Social History* 2 (1957): 79–86; Joseph M. Hermon, Jr., "British Sympathies in the American Civil War: A Reconsideration," *Journal of Southern History* 33 (August 1967): 356–67, and Mary Ellison, *Support for Secession: Lancashire and the American Civil War* (Chicago, 1972).

30. The Emancipation Proclamation freed slaves only in states or parts of states that were still part of the Confederacy but ruled out of the terms of emancipation all slave areas that were part of the Union, including the border states. Slavery was legally ended by the Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution (1865).

31. For a description of the suffering of the English working class during the Civil War, see Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States* (New York, 1947) 1: 312–17, and "Autobiography of Samuel Fielden," in Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs* (New York, 1969), pp. 142–45.

32. The outstanding meetings were those of the workers of Manchester at the Free Trade Hall, December 31, 1862, and of the trade unionists of London at St. James's Hall, March 26, 1863, but they were only two of many meetings called by the English workers in support of the Union cause and the Emancipation Proclamation. This should be kept in mind in judging the reevaluation by Harrison, Hermon, and Ellison cited above.

33. Henry Ward Beecher (1813–1887) addressed public meetings in England during the fall of 1863 urging support for the Union cause.

34. The reference is to John Joseph Hughes (1797–1864), Roman Catholic bishop of New York who visited Europe during the Civil War and spoke on behalf of the Union cause in France, Ireland, and England.

35. Lincoln's letter was addressed to the workingmen of Manchester, England, who had sent him a letter of support at the Free Trade Hall Meeting on December 31, 1862. The sentence Sorge quoted is preceded by the following three sentences: "I know and deeply deplore the sufferings which the workingmen at Manchester, and in all Europe, are called to endure in this crisis. It has been often and studiously represented that the attempt to overthrow this government, which was built upon the foundation of human rights, and to substitute for it one which should rest exclusively on the basis of human slavery, was likely to obtain the favor of Europe. Through the action of our disloyal citizens, the workingmen of Europe have been subjected to severe trials, for the purpose of forcing their sanction to that attempt" (Foner, ed., *Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 82-84).

36. John W. Mahan, a Boston lawyer, was the member of the legislature who moved that it establish a committee to investigate the hours of labor and the propriety of legislation on the subject.

37. Sorge emphasis.

38. Sorge emphasis.

39. The full report is published in Massachusetts, House of Representatives, *Report of the Joint Special Committee on the Apprentice System, to Whom Was Referred to the Order of March 8th, Instructing the Committee to Inquire as to the Propriety of Reducing the Hours of Labor*, House Doc., 1865, No. 259 (Boston, 1865). As Sorge points out, the committee did not recommend any legislation. It merely proposed that the governor appoint a commission of five unpaid members to make a thorough study of hours of labor and conditions in industry and submit its findings to the next legislature. However, David Montgomery points out that "the ideological significance of the report is immense," inasmuch as the demand for the eight-hour day "was endorsed for the community good and to be advanced by state action to that end" (*Beyond Equality: Labor and the Radical Republicans, 1862-1872* [New York, 1967], p. 125).

40. In Massachusetts mills, 13 percent of the labor force consisted of children under sixteen years of age.

41. See pp. 74-75.

42. All emphases are Sorge's.

43. European labor organizations and journals should observe and judge labor legislation in the United States in the light of the foregoing.—Note by Sorge.

44. For whatever reason, Sorge did not return to this subject in the next article but rather in the chapter on 1866-1876. See pp. 127-29.

45. The German Socialists in California opposed importation of Chinese workers by contract companies, but did not at this time join in the general demand of many workers on the Pacific Coast for the total restriction on Chinese immigration and the expulsion of the Chinese from all trades.

46. Ferdinand Lassalle (1823-1864), German socialist labor leader, played a prominent part in the founding of *Allgemeine Deutsche Arbeiterverein* (General Association of German Workers), organized on May 23, 1863. In his *Open Letter to the Workers' Committee of the Leipzig Workers' Association*, which he had written in February 1863, Lassalle laid down the two main demands of the association: universal suffrage and state credits for producers' cooperatives. His absorption in political action and his theory of the "iron law of wages," namely, that the worker receives, on the average, only the *minimum* "necessary for his subsistence" because there are always too many

workers, led him to ignore economic struggles and the trade union organization of wage earners. Political action, he believed, would solve the problems of the working class, for through it the workers could compel the government to help them by granting them capital or credit with which they might organize producers' cooperatives. Lassalle's historical service, wrote Marx, was that he "reawakened the workers' movement in Germany after its fifteen years of slumber," but he showed that Lassalle was forced into serious concessions to Prussian reaction, collaborated secretly with Bismarck, and weakened the trade union organization of the working class. See Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Correspondence, 1846-1895* (New York, 1942), pp. 82-83, 146-52, 193-97, 250-51, 332-39.

47. Johann Baptist von Schweizer (1834-1875), president of the Lassalle party in Germany (the General Association of German Workers), 1867-1871, publisher and editor of the *Sozial-Demokrat*, supported Bismarck's policies as a member of the North German Reichstag; he retired from political life in 1871.

48. Most of the American followers of Lassalle gradually abandoned his doctrine of the "iron law of wages" and entered trade unions in this country, thus tossing overboard Lassalle's indifference to trade unionism. However, they still clung to his views on cooperatives and state aid and supported currency reform and greenbackism in this country.

49. All the men Sorge mentioned were German immigrants.

50. The Knights of St. Crispin, a shoemakers' association, started as a secret order in 1867, not 1864.

51. During the decade 1863-1873, about 130 daily, weekly, and monthly journals representing labor and advocating labor reform were started. The principle papers were *Fincher's Trades' Review*, founded by Jonathan Fincher on June 6, 1863, in Philadelphia; the *Workingman's Advocate*, the first issue of which appeared in Chicago on July 1, 1864, under the editorship of Andrew C. Cameron, during a printers' strike; the *Daily Evening Voice*, the official organ of the Workingmen's Assembly of Boston and vicinity, published in December 1864 by locked-out printers; and the *Daily Press*, published in St. Louis on a cooperative basis by striking printers.

52. In the last months of his life, William C. Sylvis participated in the publication of this newspaper. The main force behind the paper, however, was a certain Andrew C. Cameron, an unreliable man who still hangs around Chicago and who cheated Wilhelm Liebknecht of the fruits of a long partnership.—Note by Sorge.

Editors' note: Sorge is referring to the fact that Liebknecht published a series of letters from Leipzig, Germany, in the *Workingman's Advocate* between November 26, 1870, and December 2, 1871, for which he was not paid. Sorge made several efforts to get Cameron to send Liebknecht the money due him (especially necessary at this time, since Liebknecht was in jail in Leipzig because of his agitation against the war between France and Germany). But it appears from the evidence that Sorge was unsuccessful, and Liebknecht was never paid. For the correspondence between Sorge and Liebknecht relating to Cameron, see Georg Ekert (ed.) *Wilhelm Liebknecht Briefwechsel Mit Deutschen Sozial-Demokraten*, Band I, 1862-1878, As sen, 1973, pp. 345, 364, 365, 385, 386, 392-94, 416-17, 422, 423, 442, 454, 458, 465, 459, 474. This volume also reveals the close connection between Sorge and the German Social Democratic Party.

Andrew Carr Cameron (1836–1890) was born in England and emigrated with his parents to the United States in 1851. He settled near Chicago and joined the International Typographical Union while working for a Chicago newspaper. He became editor of the newly established *Workingman's Advocate* during a printers' strike, which served as the official organ first of the Chicago Trades Assembly and later of the National Labor Union. Cameron was one of the founders of the National Labor Union and was an NLU delegate to the Fourth Congress of the International Workingmen's Association in Basel in 1869 where he met Wilhelm Liebknecht. He became hostile to the IWA in the 1870s, and this, together with his strong belief in currency reform, undoubtedly caused Sorge's anger.

Wilhelm Liebknecht (1826–1900) was one of the founders and leaders of the German Social-Democratic Party and became editor of the party paper *Vorwärts*. He was one of the first to enter the Reichstag as a socialist, and during the Franco-German War (1870–1871), voted against war credits and protested against the annexation of Alsace-Lorraine for which he was imprisoned by Bismarck. He published a book about Marx's life in 1896, which included personal reminiscences of his relations with Marx.

53. A delegation of the National Labor Congress visited President Andrew Johnson (1808–1875) who had succeeded to the presidency after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln to present the demands of the Congress on the need to abolish convict labor, to make public lands available for workers, and especially to take a stand in favor of the eight-hour day. The delegation wanted Johnson to act as Martin Van Buren had acted in 1840 when he had decreed the ten-hour system for federal workshops. John Hinchcliffe, speaking for the delegation, asked the President to issue an executive order making eight hours a day's work for government workshops.

Johnson spoke of his activities against convict labor in Tennessee in the 1840s and of the fact that he had introduced a homestead bill in Congress in the 1850s and supported the passage of the law in 1862. But he was evasive on the eight-hour issue. While he said that he was "in favor of the shortest number (of hours) possible," he quickly added the condition "that will allow of the discharge of duty and the requirements of the country." He completely ignored the question of a possible executive order instituting the eight-hour day in government workshops.

54. Edward Schlegel (also known as Edward Schlaeger) was a German-born Lassallean who turned to Marxism. He was the leader of the Chicago *Arbeiter-Verein*, a close associate of Andrew C. Cameron on the *Workingman's Advocate*, and a delegate to the founding convention of the National Labor Union in 1866 where he insisted that a new labor party be founded.

55. Sorge does not include here the point that the opponents of political action reduced the effectiveness of this resolution by adding the phrase "as soon as possible."

56. In a letter to an American on October 9, 1866, Marx wrote: "I was afforded great joy by the American Workers' Congress at Baltimore which took place at the same time as the Geneva Congress of the International Workingmen's Association. The slogan there was organization against Capital, and remarkably, most of the demands I drew up for Geneva were also put forward by the correct instinct of the workers" (Marx and Engels, *Selected Correspondence*, pp. 214–15).

The Baltimore Congress declared on August 16, 1866, that "the first and great necessity of the present to free the labor of this country from capitalistic slavery is the

passing of a law by which eight hours shall be the normal working day in all states of the American Union." Two weeks later, the Geneva Congress of the International Workingmen's Association resolved that "a limitation of the working day is a preliminary condition without which all further attempts at improvement or emancipation must prove abortive. . . . The Congress proposes eight-hours as the legal limit of the working day." The resolution then went on to say: "As this limitation represents the general demand of the workers of the North American United States, the Congress transforms this demand into the general platform of the Workers of the World" (Karl Marx, *Capital*, edited by Frederick Engels [New York, 1939] 1: 310).

57. *Capital*, 4th ed., 1: 264.—Note by Sorge.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 6

1. For a contemporary government report substantiating the picture Sorge draws, see House Report, no. 2, 37th Cong., 2d sess. For a later detailed study, see Gustavus Myers, *History of Great American Fortunes* (New York, 1937).

2. The "great German statesman" is Otto von Bismarck (1815–1898), the "blood and iron" chancellor of Germany from 1871 to 1890. "Fama reported" is the equivalent of "from what one hears," that is, "rumors."

3. The law was the first federal conscription measure in the nation's history. All male American citizens between the ages of twenty and forty-five were ordered by the law to be enrolled in two classes. The first comprised single men between twenty and forty-five and married men from twenty to thirty-five; the second included married men between thirty-five and forty-five. The second class was not to be called up until all the men in the first class had been drafted or exempted. Exemption was granted for a number of reasons, among them, mental or physical disability or proof that a drafted man was the sole support of aged or widowed parents or of orphaned children. A draftee could also escape service by providing a substitute or paying a \$300 commutation fee.

4. This is a mild statement in view of what occurred. On July 11, 1863, the provost marshal's office opened for conscription in New York City. That same day wild mobs began to riot, and for five infamous days they stormed through the streets of New York City, unleashing their hatred against the National Conscription Act and committing unspeakable atrocities against the black community, murdering or maiming any Negro whom they came upon. The riots went unchecked until eleven Union regiments were released by the Secretary of War to quell the rioters. Using official records, Adrian Cook estimates that 105 people lost their lives in the draft riots and several hundred were wounded. *The Armies of the Streets: The New York City Draft Riots of 1863* (Lexington, Ky., 1974), pp. 194–95.

The draft riots resulted from a combination of factors and not solely because of opposition to the Conscription Act. New York City's poorer classes, sympathetic to the Democratic Party, were not, in the main, sympathetic to the war's purposes and feared that the emancipation of the slaves would be followed by an influx of black workers who would compete for their jobs. Wartime inflation added to their discontent: by July 1863 retail prices had risen 43 percent since 1860, while wages had gone up only 12

percent. There was a huge criminal class in the city, and the riots gave an opportunity for looting.

5. Sorge did not have the time.

6. Whether the Australian voting system, which has been introduced in many states, will alter this situation remains to be seen.—Note by Sorge.

Editors' note: The Australian ballot sought to ensure the secret ballot by printing the names of candidates and parties on one ballot, enabling the voter to vote for his preferred candidate by placing a check after his name or in some other anonymous fashion that would indicate his choice. The Australian ballot was first adopted by Massachusetts in 1888; other states introduced it in subsequent years.

7. John McBride (1854–1917) was born in Ireland and emigrated to the United States in 1880. He became president of the Ohio State Miners' Union; was elected to Ohio legislature in 1883 and 1885; was active in the American Federation of Labor and elected president for one term in 1894; and served as head of the United Mine Workers from 1893 to 1897.

8. The oath was called ironclad because it was modeled after the oath which the amnestied secessionists had to take. This oath was to protect them like an iron armor against all further treasonous influences and ideas.—Note by Sorge.

Editors' note: In England the ironclad oath was known as "the document," stemming from the fact that during a British labor dispute in 1833, employers in Liverpool and Manchester publicly announced that henceforth no man need apply for work unless he was prepared to sign a formal renunciation of trade union allegiance. This was known as "the presentation of the document," or more briefly "the document."

9. John Sherman (1823–1900), U.S. Senator from Ohio and chairman of the Senate Finance Committee (1876–1877). He was a leading exponent of greenbackism.

10. William D. Kelley (1814–1899), Congressman from Pennsylvania, who was a leading exponent of greenbackism and sought to make greenbacks the exclusive currency of the nation.

11. The reference is undoubtedly to Allen Granberry Thurman (1813–1895), outstanding Democratic leader and U.S. Senator from Ohio (1869–1881), but it is not clear why he is included since he was not associated with greenbackism but rather with the Thurman Act concerning financing of the Pacific Railroad.

12. For a discussion of labor and free silver, see Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States* (New York, 1955), 2: 313–15, 327–29, 335, 337–39, 343–44.

13. Just why the "woman question" should be included among the factors that Sorge considered "diversions" is not clear. However, he may have been referring to his encounter with Victoria C. Woodhull and Tennessee Claflin. (See pp. 158–60.) In any case, it reflected his male chauvinism.

14. See p. 320.

15. The preference of rich American women for Prussian lieutenants can perhaps be traced back to this nostalgia for strict discipline and resoluteness.—Note by Sorge.

16. Crédit Mobilier was a construction company set up to build the Union Pacific Railroad; it received government and other subsidies. U.S. Congressman Oakes Ames, involved in its operations, was exposed by a congressional investigation for, among other things, having given the Vice-President of the United States, Schuyler Colfax,

and Congressman James A. Garfield stock in the company for no satisfactory reason. The scandal that followed (1872) was the first revelation of the notorious corruption in President Grant's administration.

17. James Abram Garfield (1831–1881) was elected President in 1880 despite his connection with the *Crédit Mobilier* scandal. He was shot by Charles Guiteau on July 2, 1881, and died September 19, 1881.

18. Although Schuyler Colfax (1823–1885) escaped formal censure for his implication in the *Crédit Mobilier* scandal on the ground that his misconduct (he had agreed to accept twenty shares of stock in the company and had received a considerable sum in dividends) had been committed before he became Vice-President, his political standing, unlike Garfield's, was ruined.

19. Marx once called our German "honorable Gentlemen" the Meistersingers of German patriotism and German thought: *De te fabula narratur*. The Welfenfonds, the tax trial in Bochum, and so on, are not fables.—Note by Sorge.

Editors' note: The Welfenfonds were monies confiscated by the Prussian government from the state of Hannover after the Austro-Prussian war of 1866. Hannover had supported Austria in that war. Bismarck used the money in a secret fund to bribe the press and others into supporting his policies. The Bochum tax trial concerned the scandalous tax evasion of one of the "bright lights" of German industry, the general director of the Bochumer Verein für Bergbau und Gusstahlfabrikation, who arranged to have two-thirds of his salary as well as one-third of the salaries of company officials not taxed but "deducted the taxes of the workers directly from their salaries with the exactitude of an executor." All of this came out at a trial in Bochum in June 1891. See *Die Neue Zeit*, IX. Jg., II. Bd. (1890–1891), pp. 393–97.

20. Congressman Ebon Ingersoll of Illinois had proposed hearings to look at the propriety of establishing the eight-hour day for federal employees as early as December 1865.

21. It is understandable that since his congressional district was a labor stronghold, Banks would be a leading champion of the eight-hour day. However, it was George W. Julian of Indiana who submitted the bill to provide an eight-hour day for all mechanics and laborers employed by or on behalf of the federal government. Nathaniel P. Banks called up the bill, which was adopted without debate or a roll-call vote.

22. The measure was sent to the Committee on Finance where the bill died. The committee was headed by John Sherman.

23. During the debate on the bill in the Senate, John Sherman had moved an amendment that "the rate of wages paid by the United States shall be the current rate for the same labor for the same time at the place of employment." Under this amendment, federal mechanical employees would have their pay reduced by one-fifth when their hours were cut, since an act of 1862 had fixed their wages at the prevailing standards of the communities in which they worked. But Sherman's amendment was voted down, sixteen to twenty-one. However, once the bill was passed stating that eight hours constituted "a day's work for all laborers, workmen, and mechanics . . . employed by or on behalf of the United States," the wage-reduction plan defeated in the Senate was put into effect by administrative practice.

24. On November 25, 1868, Attorney General William M. Evarts handed down a ruling asserting that the government was within its legal rights to reduce wages even though nothing in the act required the government to reduce wages together with hours. President Johnson supported his Attorney General's position.

25. President Grant's executive order was issued on May 19, 1869, and asserted that "from and after this date no reduction shall be made in the wages paid by the Government by the day to such laborers, workmen, and mechanics, on account of such reduction in the hours of labor."

26. President Grant prefaced the proclamation he had previously issued and now issued again with the words: "And whereas it is now represented to me that the Act of Congress and the proclamation (of 1869) have not been strictly observed by all officers of the government having charge of such laborers, workmen, and mechanics. . . ."

27. Sorge does not print Ely's footnote at this point which reads: "It should be distinctly understood that all these eight-hour laws relate chiefly to public employees; that is, to civil servants of federal government, of state, or of municipality. They are not mandatory for private employers of labor, though some of the State laws declare that eight hours shall be a day's work when nothing to the contrary is stipulated." Ely is writing just prior to 1866; Sorge is discussing the period around 1866-1870.

28. Sorge is referring to the act of May 29, 1867, which replaced the law of 1866 but did so by making conditions worse for the children. The previous law had specified that children ten to fourteen years old should attend school for six months of the year, and children under fourteen were not permitted to work more than eight hours a day.

29. Marx, *Capital*, 4th ed., I: 234.—Note by Sorge.

30. Henry Kemble Oliver (1800-1885) was the former manager of the Atlantic Cotton Mills, but he had been a schoolteacher for many years and was deeply interested in education. While superintendent of the Atlantic Mills, he established a library for the use of the workers. He was an advocate of universal education as state policy.

31. In his reports Oliver opposed a general eight-hour law but recommended more schooling for additional minors under the half-time system then current in England, the inspection of apprenticeships and bound-out children, and provisions for the annual collection of reliable statistics in regard to the conditions, prosperity, and wants of the industrial classes.

32. Massachusetts report, 1870, p. 134.—Note by Sorge.

Editors' note: The full title should read: Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, *Report of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor* (1870).

33. Sorge translates this into German as "a few."

34. George E. McNeill had been Oliver's deputy. He was assisted by Ira Steward's wife Mary, especially in the bureau's pioneer work on the condition of women and child labor.

35. The second commission included Francis Amasa Walker (1840-1897), the long-time president of the American Statistical Association and later the first president of the American Economic Association and president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

36. Carroll Davidson Wright (1840-1909), a pioneer in the field of labor statistics, was appointed commissioner of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor in 1873. He established the precedent for the accumulation of labor statistics in the United States as commissioner in Massachusetts and then as U.S. Commissioner of Labor in Washington.

Although Sorge is correct in his bitter denunciation of the failure to enforce the laws, it should be noted that the bureau's reports on violations of the child-labor provisions resulted in the strengthening of both the laws and the enforcement of them.

37. Actually, a combination of trade unionists, reformers like Wendell Phillips, clergymen, politicians, and even some more enlightened employers were responsible for the establishment of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor. See the report of the bureau for 1873, pp. 5-41.

38. This figure is based on the claim of the Massachusetts Grand Lodge of the Knights of St. Crispin, but it was highly exaggerated, and it is generally believed that the membership at the time was about 8,500. See David Montgomery, *Beyond Equality: Labor and the Radical Republicans, 1862-1872* (New York, 1967) p. 141; Don D. Lescohier, *The Knights of St. Crispin, 1867-1874* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1912), pp. 7-9; John Philip Hall, "The Knights of St. Crispin in Massachusetts, 1869-1878," *Journal of Economic History* 18 (June 1957): 161-62.

39. Sorge is referring to the fact that soon after the bureau was established, the state's attorney general ruled that all reports from employers would be voluntary. The bureau had sought compulsory reporting, believing that it could function effectively only with sufficient power to force companies and individuals to send data to it. The ruling made that impossible.

40. Sorge does not mention here that Marx fairly consistently wrote to him and to other Marxists in the United States, especially George Julian Harney, urging them to send him the reports of the Massachusetts and other state bureaus of labor statistics.

41. A motion in the general court (Massachusetts legislature) to abolish the Bureau of Statistics of Labor failed to pass 71 to 103 in September 1872.

42. Phillips's attack on the Bureau of Labor Statistics followed his break with Ira Steward. Phillips, angered by Steward's refusal to support monetary reform, attacked both the Eight Hour League and the Bureau of Statistics of Labor.

The Workingman's Advocate, November 2, 1872, noted the attacks on the bureau in an editorial, "The Labor Bureau of Massachusetts": "From a private letter which we have just received, we learn that the capitalists of New England are uniting in a movement to crush the Labor Bureau of Massachusetts. This Bureau has done more to expose the wrongs and grievances of the workingmen and workingwomen of New England, than any other means at their disposal, and it has become of so much national importance that the monied power of that section is bent on its destruction. We fervently hope that the workingmen of the good old Bay State will rise in their majesty, and enter their solemn protest against its abolition." Strangely, it was Wendell Phillips, a foe of the "money power," who was helping to emasculate the bureau.

43. The 1873 report also included an important historical piece describing labor conditions in the early part of the nineteenth century.

44. Wright remained as head of the Bureau of Statistics of Labor from 1873 to 1888. He was appointed first commissioner of labor by President Chester A. Arthur in 1885 and did not relinquish his Massachusetts post until three years later.

45. There is no reference to either Mundella or von Plener in the index of the first seven Bureau of Statistics of Labor annual reports under Wright's leadership. Engel was the head of the Prussian statistical bureau in Berlin during the 1870s and as such would hardly have been a friend of the German socialists, Marxists or otherwise. For a less critical evaluation of Carroll D. Wright and his contributions, see Wendell D. MacDonald, "The Early History of Labor Statistics," *Labor History* 13 (Spring 1972): 267-68.

46. There is no evidence that Ira Steward's Grand Eight Hour League was a secret organization.

47. This refers to granting the right to vote to the recently emancipated slaves of the South.—Note by Sorge.

Editors' note: The entire discussion here is a reflection of Sorge's white chauvinism. Moreover, it is strange that he never once mentions that Ira Steward and George E. McNeill, both of whom he admired, strongly advocated suffrage for the newly emancipated slaves. See Philip S. Foner, "A Labor Voice for Black Equality: The *Boston Daily Evening Voice*, 1864–1867," *Science & Society* 38 (Fall 1974): 314, 316.

48. The officials first used by the Republican Party were mostly poor wretches who carried all their belongings in a carpetbag. Therefore the name *carpetbaggers*. Of course, the "carpetbag" was not enough for a later return home to the north.—Note by Sorge.

For evidence that the carpetbaggers also played a positive, progressive role in the South, see W. E. B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction, 1860–1880* (New York, 1935), pp. 387–88, 489–90, 530–31, 616–19.

49. The Tweed ring was a group of key city officials, under the leadership of William Marcy Tweed, who plundered New York City, largely through the sale of city property and the purchase of supplies, all transactions requiring payments to the ring and its followers. Thomas Nast's cartoons and the *New York Times*'s exposures helped bring about the fall of the Tweed ring in 1872 and the sending of Tweed to prison, where he died.

The Tweed ring is an outstanding example of post-Civil War corruption, and nothing that occurred during the regime of the carpetbaggers in the South equalled it in the extent of the corruption. Moreover, while the Tweed ring fell, Tammany Hall, under which it operated, remained a power.

50. During the war circulating paper money dropped several times to two-fifths of its nominal value.—Note by Sorge.

51. This is indeed a simplistic approach. For an analysis of the reasons for the appeal of currency reform in labor circles, see Foner, *History*, 1: pp. 426–30, 476–85; Montgomery, *Beyond Equality*, pp. 340–55.

52. Dr. Adolph Douai (1819–1888) was a German-American abolitionist, educator, and socialist. He had been active in the Revolution of 1848 in Germany, taught in Russia, and then emigrated to Texas where he established an antislavery paper, the *San Antonio Zeitung*. Driven out of the state because of his antislavery views, he went to New York, helped launch the kindergarten movement in the United States, and edited *Die Arbeiter-Union* until 1870. Although Douai was a confirmed and ardent Marxist after he read *Capital*, he was influenced by currency reform, which led to criticism of his viewpoint by other Marxists. Douai was co-editor of the Socialist Labor Party paper, *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, from 1878 to 1888.

53. The Rochdale Cooperatives were organized at Rochdale, England, in 1844 by twenty-eight persons. The "Rochdale Plan," still used by many cooperatives, involved the purchase by members of shares of stock, which brought interest; goods were sold for cash; and at the end of stipulated periods, the profits were divided among the members according to a prepared system.

54. In this country one generally understands under civil service reform the alleged

abolition of the party, patronage, and spoils system through mandatory examinations for the positions in question. The hypocrisy, the betrayal of this "reform," is clear because only for the lower positions were such examinations introduced while all the higher, influential, high-salaried officials are still appointed without a prior examination.—Note by Sorge.

55. In 1872 the Liberal Republican party met in convention in Cincinnati and nominated Horace Greeley as their presidential candidate to run against Ulysses S. Grant on a platform calling for civil-service reform and a more friendly policy toward whites in the South. Greeley was overwhelmingly defeated by Grant, the Republican candidate running for reelection, and died soon after the election.

56. The eight-hour day for men and women workers was the key demand of the post-Civil War labor reform movement. For a discussion of the labor reform movement, see Montgomery, *Beyond Equality*, pp. 91, 113, 123, 125, 369, 373, 411, 422, 426, 446.

57. For a discussion of the Tompkins Square riot, see below, pp. 342–44.

58. For evidence that Sorge exaggerates the lack of influence of currency reform in New England, including Boston, see Montgomery, *Beyond Equality*, pp. 441–42.

59. Sorge's figures are not accurate here. At the Chicago convention of 1867, seventy-one delegates representing sixty-four organizations were present.

60. Although Sorge is correct in noting that the majority of the national trade unions did not affiliate with the National Labor Union—not only, however, for the stand the NLU took on greenbackism—his statement about the 1867 convention is not correct. Actually, ten of the eighteen national trade unions then in operation were at the 1867 convention, an increase of eight over the two represented at the 1866 convention. But this was the high point and was never again equalled. It declined to five in 1868, to four in 1870, and to only one in 1871.

61. Sylvis was elected president of the National Labor Union in 1868.

62. Actually, the National Labor Union had no funds to speak of; it was so poor that it did not even publish its own proceedings. Treasurer John Hinchcliffe received only \$205.21 during 1866 from the local tax for running expenses and spent \$187.25.

63. At the suggestion of William Sylvis, the National Labor Union in 1868 urged that the national census include labor statistics and called for a federal bureau of labor with "its sole object the care and protection of labor." Sorge's reference to the 1867 convention may be based on the statement by Sylvis's brother James that William Sylvis had proposed a national labor bureau at the meeting of the National Labor Union in 1867. See James Sylvis, ed., *The Life, Speeches, Labors, and Essays of William H. Sylvis* (Philadelphia, 1872), p. 74.

64. See below, pp. 340, 355.

65. This is not entirely accurate. A vigorous debate took place at the 1867 convention on the issue of organizing Negro workers. The discussion was on the report of the Committee on Colored Labor, which declared that it recognized the importance of the subject and the danger of Negro competition, but since the problem was "involved in so much mystery" it proposed that the question be referred to the next convention. During the debate that followed, Sylvis urged that Negroes be admitted to the unions so as to strengthen the labor movement. He insisted that there was no time for further delay; the use of white scabs against blacks and black scabs against whites had already created an antagonism that would "kill off the Trades Union" unless the two groups

were consolidated. Though the convention recommitted the report, the committee continued to evade the issue. Its final statement was that since the constitution did not specify that Negro workers could *not* belong to the National Labor Union, there really was no need to discuss the question.

66. The delegate to the International Workingmen's Association was Richard F. Trevellick (1830–1895), born in England and already well known as a labor agitator for advocating the eight-hour day in New Zealand before arriving in New Orleans in 1857. He moved to Detroit in 1861 and became the first president of the Detroit Trades' Assembly and the Michigan Grand Eight Hours League as well as head of the national Union of Shop Carpenters and Caulkers. Trevellick was elected president of the NLU in 1869 and again during 1871–1872.

67. Elizabeth Cady Stanton (1815–1902) was one of four delegates from women's associations who attended the 1868 convention. All the others were seated except Mrs. Stanton, whose credentials were referred to the convention. Since she came as representative of the Woman's Suffrage Association, the argument against seating her was that a suffrage association was not a labor organization as stipulated by the bylaws. But her seating was defended by William Sylvis, and by a vote of forty-four to nineteen, she was seated. However, when eighteen delegates threatened to leave the convention and resign from the National Labor Union, a qualifying resolution was adopted, asserting that admitting Stanton as a delegate did not mean that the National Labor Union had endorsed "her peculiar ideas" or committed itself on the question of female suffrage.

68. Sylvis died suddenly on July 27, 1869, poverty stricken. He did not have even one hundred dollars at the time of his death, and his family had no way of paying his funeral expenses.

69. This is both a simplistic statement and a male supremacist viewpoint typical of Sorge. What happened was that at the 1869 convention Susan B. Anthony representing the Workingwomen's Protective Association and Martha Walbridge of the Excelsior League No. 3 of Massachusetts submitted credentials. M. R. Walsh of the New York Typographical Union No. 6, objecting to seating Anthony, presented a resolution from his local which said that it would be "an insult to our entire organization to admit her as delegate." The resolution accused her of having used her Workingwomen's Protective Association as a strikebreaking agency, supplying women compositors to replace men who were on strike. Anthony admitted the charge but justified her action by arguing that since the union would not permit women to join, the only way they could get experience in the trade was to do what they had done. At first the delegates voted fifty-five to fifty-two for her admission, but this was later reversed, and her credentials were returned by a vote of sixty-two to twenty-eight.

While the decision of the convention was not because of their opposition to women but because of Anthony's defense of scabbing, which was "sacrificing the very cardinal principles for which the unions were formed," it is clear that the issue involved women workers and not just the women's rights movement. See Israel Kugler, "The Trade Union Career of Susan B. Anthony," *Labor History* 2 (Winter 1961): 90–100.

70. The last convention of the National Labor Union was held in Cleveland in 1872 and was attended by fewer than a dozen men. However, the Industrial Congress, which met from 1873 to 1875, is considered a continuation of the National Labor Union, so in one sense the National Labor Union continued to exist until 1875.

71. The Greenback-Labor Party emerged after the great railroad strike of 1877, and a national party was organized at a convention of "labor and currency reformers" in Toledo in February 1878. Richard F. Trevellick, formerly president of the National Labor Union, played a leading part in the Greenback-Labor Party. See Foner, *History*, 1: 479-88.

72. Wendell Phillips, abolitionist, orator, and reformer, advocated the cause of labor after the Civil War and was active in the struggle for the eight-hour day and other labor reform measures. He was chosen as the labor candidate for Congress from Massachusetts in 1866 but declined to run. Later he was a candidate for governor on the Labor Reform party ticket.

Although Phillips was a supporter of Ira Steward, he and Steward broke when the former came out for greenbackism. Steward accused Phillips of betraying labor's interests. Clearly Sorge's attitude toward Phillips, like that of Steward, is influenced by his advocacy of currency reform.

73. Franklin B. Gowen, president of the Philadelphia and Railroad Company, a leading labor hater and the man involved in the Molly Maguire issue. See below pp. 168, 175.

74. In September 1871 25,000 workers paraded in a great eight-hour demonstration in New York City. Ira Steward was one of the many speakers who addressed the gathering. See *Workingman's Advocate*, September 23, 1871. The following spring, a three-months' strike of 100,000 workers in ten unions, most of them in the building trades, resulted in securing the eight-hour day. The victory was celebrated on June 10, 1872, with a parade of more than 150,000 workers. It was at this parade that the presence of the International Workingmen's Association prompted the *New York Times* to observe: "It would be a matter of interest to inquire what proportion of the thousands pouring that long column of strikers . . . were thoroughly American" (June 12, 1872).

75. It is difficult to determine the exact figure, but on May 22, 1872, the *New York Tribune* reported that strikes for the eight-hour day were being won in scores of cities, among them Jersey City, Philadelphia, Buffalo, Chicago, and Albany.

76. The Committee of Safety, set up by several thousand workers at a meeting at Cooper Union on December 11, 1873, included socialists, antimonomopolist reformers, and trade unionists among its fifty members.

77. The reference is to a rival organization led by a bricklayer, Patrick Dunn, which denounced the Committee of Safety as led by "communists" and called upon the unemployed to gather in Union Square on January 5, 1874, and march to city hall. Dunn made it known that unless the city officials gave jobs to the unemployed, they would "help themselves to whatever they could." Herbert G. Gutman, "The Tompkins Square 'Riot' in New York City on January 13, 1874: A Re-Examination of Its Causes and Its Aftermath," *Labor History* 6 (Winter 1965): 44-45.

78. Sorge overlooks the fact that the original Committee of Safety was denounced by the authorities and the press as "enemies of society" and that the police attack on the unemployed would have occurred even if the rival group had not existed. See *ibid.*, pp. 46-47.

79. Public meetings and parades needed approval by the Department of Parks and Police Board. The Department of Parks granted the Committee of Safety a permit to meet in Tompkins Square on January 13, but the police board turned down its proposed parade route. The committee gave up the parade, but the police board persuaded

the Department of Parks to cancel the permit to meet in Tompkins Square to protect "public order and safety." But the police did not inform the Committee of Safety of this decision. Thus it was not because the Committee of Safety was not at its post but because it did not even know that the permit for the Tompkins Square meeting had been revoked that it could not warn its followers.

80. "Police clubs," went one account, "rose and fell. Women and children ran screaming in all directions. Many of them were trampled underfoot in the stampede for the gates. In the street bystanders were ridden down and mercilessly clubbed by mounted officers." Many persons "were laid low," wrote a reporter for the *New York Sun* (*The Toiler*, reprinted in Foner, *History*, 1: 448 and *New York Sun* reprinted in Gutman, "Tompkins Square 'Riot,'" p. 54).

It is strange that Sorge does not mention a report he sent to the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association in London about the 1871 New York riot in which over 200 persons were killed and in the course of which report he quoted the president of the New York Police Commissioners, Henry Smith, as telling reporters: "*He regretted that there was not a larger number killed. He believed that in any large city such a lesson was needed every few years. Had one thousand of the rioters been killed it would have had the effect of completely cowing the remainder, nor would any threatening demonstrations have been made for years*" (Sorge to the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, London, August 6, 1871, from the copy book of the New York Central Committee of the International, pp. 32-34, Labor Collection of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison; reprinted in Bernard Cook, "A Report from Friedrich Sorge to the General Council of the I.W.A.: The New York Riot of 1871," *Labor History* 13 (Summer 1972): 415).

81. Forty-six workers were jailed, of whom twenty-four were German. All but three of the forty-six were charged with disorderly conduct. Christian Mayer, a German worker, was sentenced to six months in prison and is undoubtedly the person referred to.

82. The Free Thinkers' Association called a protest meeting in the New York Assembly Halls for January 23, but responding to police pressure, the owners cancelled the rental agreement. The meeting was held in the public street. However, on January 30 a protest meeting was held in Cooper Union, whose trustees rented the hall to the Free Thinkers' Association and had posted a \$2,000 bond to cover possible property damages. The hall was jammed and hundreds were turned away. Among the speakers were John Swinton, editor of the *New York Sun*, Julius Kaufmann, leader of the German *Turnverein*, and Dr. and Mrs. Frederick Lilienthal, leaders of the Free Thinkers' Association.

John Swinton (1829-1901), managing editor of the *New York Times* during the Civil War, became interested in the labor movement as a result of the Tompkins Square outrage. He was nominated for mayor of New York by the Industrial Political party. He was chief editorial writer for the *New York Sun* in the 1870s and founded *John Swinton's Paper* later in 1883, resigning his lucrative post as managing editor of the *Sun*. Until August 21, 1887, when it ceased publication, *John Swinton's Paper* was the outstanding labor paper in the United States. Swinton met Marx in England in 1880 and was one of the speakers at the memorial meeting at Cooper Union in Marx's honor at the time of the death of the father of scientific socialism.

82. Swinton and two German-Americans appeared before the New York State As-

sembly's Committee on Grievances on March 25, 1874, bringing with them petitions urging the state legislature to abolish the police board, guarantee citizens the right to use all public places for free discussion, and investigate the entire Tompkins Square affair. Nothing, however, came of the effort.

83. Marx, *Capital*, 4th ed., 1: 609.—Note by Sorge.

84. "Vagrants had always existed in the United States, but 'tramp' was a new, popular word used for the homeless unemployed after the Civil War. The press used it increasingly in the 1870s" (Paul T. Ringenbach, *Tramps and Reformers, 1873-1916* [Westport, Conn., 1973], pp. 3-4.)

85. On May 10, 1876, the centennial exhibition, marking the one-hundredth birthday of American independence, opened in Philadelphia.

86. Actually, the Knights of St. Crispin began to decline in 1871 before the economic crisis, and by June 1874 it had disintegrated due to the loss of many strikes. Revived in 1875, it could not exist long in the face of the economic situation and disappeared in 1878. See Lescohier, *Knights of St. Crispin*.

87. See below, pp. 249-60, 267-68, for further discussion of the Knights of Labor.

88. John Siney (1830-1879), born in Ireland and raised in the Lancashire cotton mills, led the British brickmakers' union for seven years. He emigrated to Schuylkill County, Pennsylvania, in 1863 and worked as an anthracite miner until 1868. He helped found the Workingmen's Benevolent Association (later the Miners' and Laborers' Benevolent Association) of Schuylkill County in July 1868 and the first national miners' union, the Miners' National Association, which gained 35,000 members by 1875 but was destroyed by the depression and anti-labor persecution. He was president of the MNA three times and active in the formation of the Greenback-Labor Party.

89. On September 27, 1875, the strikers marched to the city hall to demand bread for their starving children. They were greeted by three companies of militia and a cordon of police who prevented them from presenting their demands. For many years after, September 27 was marked in Fall River by mass meetings to commemorate these textile strikers.

90. Sorge's discussion of railroad unionism is not accurate. Although the railroad industry was the largest employer in the country when the economic crisis began in 1873, the vast majority of the railroad workers had no unions whatsoever. Only the engineers had an effective union in 1873, the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. However, during 1873-1874, the railroad workers conducted a series of bitter struggles against wage cuts. See Herbert G. Gutman, "Trouble on the Railroads in 1873-1874: Prelude to the 1877 Crisis?" *Labor History* 2 (Spring 1961): 215-35.

91. William J. Jessup (1827-?) learned the ship joiners' trade in New York City and entered the labor movement by organizing a union of ship joiners in 1863; during the next decade he became the leading labor figure in New York City and New York State. Serving as president of the Workingmen's Union of New York City and the state Workingmen's Assembly, he was active in the eight-hour movement and maintained close connection with the International Workingmen's Association. He was prominent in the National Labor Union but withdrew after 1870 because of his opposition to the prominence of middle-class reformers in the NLU.

92. In the United States, international unions are those whose effectiveness and influence extend beyond the borders to Canada and occasionally to Mexico.—Note by Sorge.

93. The number of national unions decreased from about thirty in the early 1870s to

eight or nine in 1877. Those that still existed lost many of their members. The printers declined from 9,797 in 1873 to 4,260 in 1878; the cigarmakers from 5,800 in 1869 to 1,016 in 1877; the coopers from 7,000 in 1872 to 1,500 in 1878; and the iron molders from 7,500 in 1874 to 2,854 in 1879.

94. Edited by John M. Davis, the *National Labor Tribune* devoted special attention to the iron- and steelworkers but functioned as a general labor paper as well.

95. Hermann Meyer became secretary of the Communist Club of New York.

96. Sorge is correct in stating that the German labor and socialist organizations in Chicago and New York were quite similar. The German press in Chicago echoed the viewpoint of the press in New York and vice versa.

97. The *Deutsche Arbeiter* was published in 1869 and 1870 by the Arbeiterverein, Chicago's central body of German unions, and was thoroughly Lassalleian in approach.

98. There were several German sections of the International Workingmen's Association in Chicago. In 1871 German sections 4 and 5 issued a new German edition of *The Communist Manifesto* by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. See Samuel Bernstein, *The First International in America* (New York, 1965), p. 63.

The great Chicago fire of 1871 destroyed a large part of the city. Evidently the General Council helped raise funds for the victims of the fire, for on April 11, 1873, Sorge, as General Secretary, wrote: "Fellow workers: The G.C. has received a communication from Section 3 in Chicago in which he is requested to make recommendations about the use of a sum of \$75.00 which is still available from the support monies which were sent from the time of the great fire" (Samuel Bernstein, ed., *Papers of the General Council of the I.W.A. New York (1872-1876)* (Milano, Italy, 1962), p. 68. Translated from the German.

99. *Vorbote* was founded on February 14, 1874, as the official organ of the Workingmen's Party of Illinois. A Lassalleian weekly at first, it moved closer to the International and became one of the official organs of the Workingmen's Party of the United States in 1876. It appeared until 1924.

The Workingmen's Party of Illinois came into existence shortly after a large meeting of the unemployed in Chicago on December 21, 1873. The meeting was the largest Chicago had ever seen and had been organized by a labor committee formed by both the Lassalleans and the Internationalists, which put forth four demands: "(1) Work for all who have no work and are able to work, with sufficient wages; (2) Aid in money or provisions for the suffering people, out of the Treasury; (3) All disbursements to be made by a committee appointed by workingmen, for the purpose of fair dispensations; (4) In case of insufficient cash in the Treasury the credit of the city shall be resorted to" (*Chicago Daily Tribune*, December 23, 1873; Bernstein, *Papers*, p. 228).

100. Although at first the city authorities, tremendously impressed by the great meeting of the unemployed, agreed to carry through the four demands of the labor committee, they reneged later and recommended that the unemployed seek relief from the Relief and Aid Society.

101. Eisenachers refers to the members of the new Social Democratic Party of Germany, which was formed at a congress at Eisenach at the end of August 1873. See August Bebel, *Aus meinen Leben*, (Stuttgart, 1914), 2: 296-99.

102. See below, pp. 162-63, 199-200.

103. The reference is to Gustav Lyster, editor of *Sozial Demokrat* of New York and later of *Vorbote* of Chicago and the *Milwaukee Socialist*. Lyster was a Lassalleian and a member of the executive board of the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party of

North America, but he was removed from his position because of his hostility to trade unions. He was later expelled because of his attack on trade unionism in the *Milwaukee Socialist*.

104. The Communist Club was down to about twenty members, few of whom were workers.

105. Under Landsberg, the *Arbeiter-Union* did agitate for the eight-hour day, but it concentrated on anti-monopolism and Kelloggism and emphasized political action as the main method for the working class to conduct its struggle. At the same time it held private property to be sacred.

106. Under Douai's editorship, the *Arbeiter-Union* published excerpts from *Das Kapital* and chapters from Kellogg's *New Monetary System* in the same issue.

The *Arbeiter-Union* became a daily on May 20, 1869; by that time it was referring to itself as "Organ of the National Labor Union."

107. The Marxist-oriented German socialists supported the war as long as they could be convinced it was a defensive war. After the French defeat in September 1870 at Sedan, the war became one of Prussian conquest, and the Marxists refused to support it. Sorge labels these persons "internationalists" and the others who supported the war "chauvinists."

108. Sorge does not mention that he was the delegate from Labor Union No. 5 to the National Labor Union.

109. Johann Philipp Becker (1809–1886), German communist and brushmaker by trade. He participated in the 1848 revolution in Germany. He was a leader of the First International in Switzerland and edited *Vorbote* and *Précurseur* in Geneva. He was also a friend of Marx and Engels.

110. The sections of New York initiated the great antiwar meeting of November 19, 1870, held in Cooper Union. About 2,000 persons attended. Sorge chaired the meeting, speaking in English and German. Greetings were read from E. H. Heywood, corresponding secretary of the New England Labor Reform League, and Senator Charles Sumner. The meeting adopted seven resolutions that condemned the continuance of the war against the French Republic; sympathized with the people of France and Germany, "equally suffering by this unjust war, provoked only for the benefits of despotic rulers"; denounced the enforced annexation of Alsace and Lorraine; urged the American people to demand the government of the United States to use its influence in favor of the Republic of France; urged the government of the United States to propose to the European powers the abolition of the standing armies and the establishment of a permanent International Court of Arbitration; and invited all in favor of freedom, equality, and eternal peace "to join in a brotherhood, which will insure true self-government to all nations, in order that they may no longer tolerate the rule of a few monopolists and speculators, who always incline to despotism and even support it" (*New York World*, November 20, 1870; *Workingman's Advocate*, December 3, 1870; Bernstein, *Papers*, pp. 46–49. Accounts of the meeting also appeared in *Die Neue Zeit*, November 26, 1870, 2: 152–55, and must have been furnished by Sorge.)

111. Fenians were Irish revolutionaries who took their name from the warriors of ancient Erin. The first Fenian organizations were founded in 1857 in the United States where they united Irish immigrants; later they emerged also in Ireland. In the early 1860s the Fenians set up a secret Irish Revolutionary Brotherhood, which unleashed a struggle for an independent Irish republic, oriented toward armed revolt.

112. Five Fenian prisoners had been atrociously mistreated in the English prisons, and the General Council of the First International had publicized this in English and French newspapers. As a result of public pressure, the British government pardoned the Fenians on condition that they emigrate. Released by the British in December 1870, they had arrived in New York in January 1871, and along with many New Yorkers, the central committee sent Sorge and B. Hubert to greet them and to urge the Irish to join the IWA if they really wanted to achieve independence from England. Sorge spoke in welcoming the five and observed that the cause of the International and that of the five Fenians was the same.

One result of the activity on behalf of the Fenians was the formation of section 7 in New York City composed of Irish-Americans.

113. The Paris Commune is one of the great episodes of the nineteenth century. Briefly, a National Assembly elected after the proclamation of the Third Republic wished to capitulate to the Germans and make peace. Parisian radicals set up their own government, the Commune, in that city on March 18, 1871, and refused to capitulate. The provisional bourgeois government of A. Thiers, set up in Versailles, accepted the Paris challenge and besieged the city with troops released for that purpose by Bismarck. The radicals in Paris had no time to set up sweeping radical reforms before they were overwhelmed and defeated in brutal and bloody battles, followed by wholesale executions of men and women who were associated directly or indirectly with the Commune. Contrary to contemporary press opinion and legend, the International had little to do with the Commune, although a few of its members were in Paris at the time. As Engels wrote to Sorge in September 1874: "The Commune . . . was beyond doubt the child of the International intellectually, though the International did not lift a finger to produce it, and for which the International—to that extent with full justification—was held responsible" (*Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Letters to Americans, 1848–1895* [New York, 1953], p. 114).

For Marx and Engels's writings on the Commune, see Hal Draper, ed., *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels: Writings on the Paris Commune* (New York, 1971) and *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, On the Paris Commune* (Moscow, 1971). See also Philip S. Foner, ed., "Two Neglected Interviews with Karl Marx," *Science & Society* 36 (Spring 1972): 3–28.

114. The meeting took place on July 2, 1871. Sorge, however, does not mention a meeting scheduled for December 10, 1871, as a protest against recent executions of Communards. The meeting was prohibited by the police, but owing to public protest, the prohibition was cancelled, and the following Sunday, December 17, a great procession followed the funeral cortege. The fact that Sorge had opposed the procession may explain his failure to mention it. Yet even he had to write to the General Council: "The whole affair created quite a stir, and the daily press was full of statements and reports about the 'International' " (Bernstein, *Papers*, p. 90.)

115. Johann George Eccarius (1818–1889), a German tailor, emigrated to London where he became a member of the Communist League, secretary of the General Council of the First International (1867–1872), and corresponding secretary for the United States. He later became a leader of British trade unions.

For the role of Eccarius in the American sections of the First International, see Bernstein, *Papers*, pp. 115–26, 148–53, 164, 184, 298.

116. Victoria Claflin Woodhull (1838–1927), American feminist and "social free-

dom" advocate. She was nominated for President of the United States by the Equal Rights Party in 1872. Together with her sister Tennessee Claflin, she founded *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly* in 1870 and became leader of Section 12 of the First International in New York. The leaders of the International charged Woodhull with using the organization for personal advancement, attracting all kinds of malcontents to the cause. For the course of events leading up to the expulsion of Section 12 from the International at the Hague Congress in 1872, see Bernstein, *Papers*, pp. 133–54.

117. Michael Bakunin (1814–1876) and James Guillaume (1844–1916) were leaders of the alliance who supported anarchism and immediate destruction of the state. Marx and his followers strongly disagreed.

118. Bakunin's supporters in the Geneva section of the IWA split off and formed the Jura Federation in opposition to the section that supported Marx and the London General Council. The Spaniards and Belgians Sorge refers to also followed Bakunin's anarchist direction of immediate revolution and the destruction of the state, which Marx thought self-defeating under the circumstances following the defeat of the Commune.

By the "new General Council in New York," Sorge is referring to the fact that Marx and his friends, to keep the anarchists from capturing the International, decided to transfer the General Council to New York City.

119. For a more detailed discussion, see Bernstein, *Papers*, pp. 189–240.

120. Sorge refers here to the German victory in the Franco-German War, 1870–1871.

121. In 1875 the Eisenachers (Marxists) of the German Social Democratic Party united with the Lassalleans at a congress in Gotha to form a unified socialist movement. While the program adopted was basically Marxist in orientation, it had Lassalleian aspects as well and led Marx to criticize the concessions to the Lassalleans in his *Critique of the Gotha Programme*, published in 1876.

122. There were several steps toward unification of the socialist movement that Sorge does not mention. On April 16, 1876, at a convention in Pittsburgh called by the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party and attended by socialists of all tendencies, a "Declaration of Unity" was adopted that proposed a unified movement to be called the "Socialist Labor Party of the United States of North America." It was the "Declaration of Unity" that issued the call for a Union Congress to be held in Philadelphia toward the end of July 1876 to which the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party, the International Workingmen's Association, the Workingmen's Party of Illinois, and the Social Political Laborers' Union of Cincinnati would each send one delegate for every 500 paying members in good standing and an additional delegate for every further 500 members of good standing. "Immediately after the completion of the labors of said congress all the societies therein represented shall enter the newly organized party" (*The Socialist* [New York], May 6, 1876; *Sozial-Demokrat* [New York], April 30, 1876, and *Vorbote* [Chicago], April 29, 1876).

123. This is a rather casual way of describing the end of the First International. What happened was that on July 15, 1876, ten delegates representing the American sections of the International Workingmen's Association arrived in Philadelphia, and in less than a day, these delegates dissolved the once-powerful International and entrusted the archives and documents of the organization to Sorge and Karl Speyer. Before adjourning the convention adopted a proclamation that began: "Fellow Working Men:

The International Convention at Philadelphia has abolished the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, and the external bond of the organization exists no more." "The International is dead," it went on, would be the exultant and joyful cry of the bourgeoisie of all the world, but there was no doubt that the movement would never really die, and, indeed, would be soon resurrected. See *Internationale Arbeiter Association, Verhandlungen der Delegierten-Konferenz zu Philadelphia* (New York, 1876); Morris Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the United States* (New York, 1903), pp. 205–206; Bernstein, *Papers*, p. 282.

124. Sorge and Otto Weydemeyer, son of Joseph Weydemeyer, came from the International; Conrad A. Konzett from the Workingmen's Party of Illinois; and Adolph Strasser, A. Gabriel, and Peter J. McGuire from the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party of North America. These delegates represented approximately 3,000 organized socialists in the United States: 635 in the International, 593 in the Workingmen's Party of Illinois, and 1,500 in the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party of North America.

125. The delegate from the Social Political Workingmen's Society of Cincinnati was Charles Braun, who represented about 250 members.

126. The *Vorbote* in Chicago and the *Sozial-Demokrat* in New York were named official organs, the name of the latter being changed to *Arbeiter-Stimme*. The English organ of the Social Democratic Party of North America, *The Socialist*, was also declared an official organ. Its name was changed to *Labor Standard* and J. P. McDonnell was chosen editor.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 7

1. The reference is to the disputed presidential election of 1876 between Rutherford B. Hayes, the Republican candidate, and Samuel J. Tilden, the Democratic candidate, Oregon, Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina having sent in a double set of returns. Congress created an electoral commission, which voted to give the twenty disputed electoral votes to Hayes, making his total 185 to Tilden's 184, even though Tilden had a majority of the popular vote. An important feature of the final victory for Hayes was a bargain between the Republican candidate and the southern Democrat under which Hayes agreed to remove the remaining federal troops from the South and the southern Democrats agreed to support him for the presidency over Tilden.

2. Carl Schurz (1829–1906) came to the United States in 1852 after being forced to flee Germany because of his revolutionary activities. He became a leading Republican and supported Lincoln in 1860; was a Union general during the Civil War; was appointed minister to Spain (1861–1862); elected as U.S. Senator from Missouri (1869–1875); was appointed Secretary of the Interior (1877–1881). He was one of the leaders of the Liberal Republican movement and a strong advocate of civil service reform.

3. Jay Gould (1836–1892), with James Fisk and Daniel Drew, was the symbol of the ruthless behavior of free enterprise entrepreneurs of the post-Civil War era who earned the name "robber barons." Gould's approach to labor is summed up in his statements, "Labor is a commodity that will in the long run be governed absolutely by the law of supply and demand," and "I can always use one half of the working class to kill off the other half."

4. The participation of the socialists occurred after a long struggle led by Adolph Douai who maintained that in spite of the "currency humbug," the labor demands of the Greenback-Labor coalition were important. Because masses of American workers were in the movement, it was necessary to salvage the good and make war on its shortcomings.

James Baird Weaver (1833-1912) was the candidate for the presidency on the Greenback-Labor ticket in 1880. He polled only 300,000 votes.

5. Johann Most (1846-1906), German-American journalist and anarchist, a book-binder by trade. He was expelled from the German Social-Democrat party in 1880 and emigrated first to England and then to the United States where he published *Die Freiheit* and became the acknowledged leader of the anarchists.

6. At a conference early in 1878, J. P. McDonnell and George E. McNeill organized a provisional central committee of the International Labor Union. Among the members were Albert R. Parsons and George Schilling of Chicago; Otto Weydemeyer of Pittsburgh; F. A. Sorge of Hoboken, New Jersey; and George Gunton and Ira Steward of Massachusetts. An executive board of seven, with George E. McNeill as president, functioned for the provisional central committee when that body was not in session. The central committee prepared a Declaration of Principles, which represented a compromise of the two groups—the Marxists and the eight-hour advocates—that had combined to form the organization. For the history of the International Labor Union, see Foner, *History*, 1: 500-504.

7. Although the International Labor Union won great strikes of textile workers in Fall River, Paterson and Passaic, New Jersey, Clinton and Cohoes, New York, and other cities, it also lost many battles, and the strike failures, along with the reason Sorge cited, caused a rapid decline in membership. By February 1880, there were no more than 1,500 members in the organization, and a year later it went to pieces.

8. In 1875 the Workingmen's Benevolent Association responded to a wage-cutting drive instituted by the mine owners, led by Franklin B. Gowen, with a strike. The "long strike," as it was known, ended in a bitter defeat for the union, and the miners were forced to return to work on the operators' terms. The union disappeared. However, under the leadership of the Ancient Order of Hibernians, formed by a group of young Irish miners, the miners began to fight back, determined to restore their wages and rebuild their union. It was this renewed struggle that produced the story of a series of crimes, including murder and arson, committed by a secret society called the Molly Maguires. Today it is generally conceded that there was no society in America calling itself the Molly Maguires; that the name was tagged to the Ancient Order of Hibernians by the operators and their allies in the press in order to crush any organization in the mining industry; and that the Pinkerton agency hired by Franklin B. Gowen to ferret out the so-called criminals actually committed many of the crimes. In any case, as a result of evidence furnished by James McParlan, a Pinkerton spy who had wormed himself into the ranks of the miners, twenty-one miners were condemned to death after a biased trial and ten were executed. See Wayne Broehl, *The Molly Maguires* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964).

9. "The Pinkerton Agency," founded by Allan Pinkerton (1819-1884), a Chartist who came to America in 1842 and settled in Chicago where he set up a famous detective agency. After the Civil War, the agency became involved in anti-labor and anti-

union activities, furnishing strikebreakers, labor spies, and detectives to help break the labor unions.

10. Henry George (1839–1897) was the celebrated author of *Progress and Poverty*, published in 1879, which became one of the best-read books on political economy in the United States and influenced many in Europe. George argued that land belonged to society, which created its value, and if it were properly taxed through the "Single Tax," poverty could be eliminated.

11. For discussion of this "later behavior," see below pp. 222–24.

12. Marx wrote the letter to Sorge. The translation used here is from Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848–1895* (New York, 1953), pp. 127–29.

On June 2, 1881, Marx wrote to John Swinton: "As to the book of Mr. Henry George, I consider it as a last attempt—to save the capitalistic regime" (*Ibid.*, p. 127).

13. See Karl Marx, *The Poverty of Philosophy* (New York, 1936), p. 136.

14. The anti-renters were the settlers in New York State who refused to pay eternal rents to the "legal" property owners whose claims were supported by old documents. The settlers numbered in the thousands in the most fertile parts of the state. The so-called owners consisted mainly of two old (so-called Knickerbocker) families. When the courts decided in favor of the "owners," the anti-renters turned to their weapons and shot the deputies of the court. The anti-renters also led an active election campaign and represented the balance of power in a number of elections. The struggle lasted almost two decades in the 1830s and 1840s and ended in compromise.—Note by Sorge.

Editors' note: The Anti-Rent Party, a movement of rebellious tenant farmers, got underway in 1839 when the patroons made an effort to enforce rent collections and began evicting tenants who refused to pay back rents. The tenants united, and using horns and disguises, prevented law enforcement officers from carrying out evictions. Blood was shed and martial law was invoked by Governor Wright of New York. The Anti-Renters resorted to political action for relief, and their strength at the polls resulted in a new state constitution for New York in 1846, which remedied a number of the farmers' grievances. See Henry Christman, *Tin Horns and Calico: A Decisive Episode in the Emergence of Democracy* (New York, 1962).

15. *Atlantic Monthly* is the name of an American monthly magazine which formerly had a good reputation.—Note by Sorge.

16. The exclusions from this letter are of a purely private nature and do not concern criticism of Henry George's work.—Note by Sorge.

17. As far back as 1875, a small group of Chicago socialists, the vast majority German immigrants, had formed an armed club to protect workers against police and military assault. This club came to be known as the *Lehr und Wehr Verein*. The attacks on workers during the railroad strikes of 1877 by the police, the militia, and the United States Army resulted in the movement's growth. Although most of the members of the armed groups belonged to the Socialist Labor Party, the national executive committee denounced such organizations on the grounds that they gave a false picture of the objectives and policies of the socialist movement. In 1878 all members of the SLP were ordered to leave the clubs, but this order was resented by the Chicago socialists and, together with other issues, led to a split in the party in 1880.

18. McNeill spoke as the representative of the International Labor Union and was interviewed by the leading Chicago papers. For the interview and his Fourth of July speech, see *Chicago Tribune*, June 1, 1878.

19. Ira Steward's Fourth of July address was entitled, "A Second Declaration of Independence," and in it he called the eight-hour movement a new Declaration of Independence. See *Chicago Tribune*, July 5, 1879. It is reprinted in Philip S. Foner, ed., *We, The Other People: Alternative Declarations of Independence by Labor Groups, Farmers, Woman's Rights Advocates, Socialists, and Blacks, 1829-1975* (Urbana, Ill., 1976), pp. 115-19.

20. Denis Kearney (1847-1907), leader of the anti-Chinese exclusion movement in San Francisco who formed the Workingmen's Trade and Labor Union of San Francisco in 1877 and was president of the Workingmen's Party of California. Usually viewed as a demagogue who split the labor movement of the Pacific Coast.

21. Although Benjamin F. Butler (1818-1893) had elements of the political demagogue in his activities, he was a strong opponent of slavery and a champion of civil and political rights for the emancipated slaves. He had been a leading advocate before the Civil War of the ten-hour day and had been elected congressman in 1878 and governor of Massachusetts in 1882 largely with labor support. It is not surprising, therefore, that his candidacy was endorsed by a number of labor papers, especially *John Swinton's Paper*.

22. Grover Cleveland (1837-1908), reform governor of New York who was elected President on the Democratic ticket in 1884. He was defeated for reelection in 1888 but was again elected in 1892. During his second administration, he grew increasingly conservative and was instrumental in breaking the Pullman strike of 1894.

23. The Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882 prohibited Chinese laborers from entering the United States for a period of ten years. It was extended for an additional ten-year period in 1892 by the Greary Act and extended indefinitely in 1902.

24. Sorge emphasis.

25. Sorge emphasis.

26. The population of the French-speaking part of Canada, where the size of the family is as large and as legendary as those of German pastors, still lives under a clerical and feudal regime—only partially mitigated by English rule—as if 1789 had never occurred. In any case, the race is not pure, but often mixed with Indian blood.—Note by Sorge.

Editors' note: "1789" refers to the French Revolution. Since "Indian blood" is the only reference in Sorge's articles to the Indian, it does not speak well of his understanding of the Indian question.

27. Robert Howard, (1844-?), secretary of the Fall River's Spinners' Association in 1878; elected to the state house of representatives in 1880 and state senate in 1885; treasurer from 1881 to 1885 of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. For a discussion of Howard's role as secretary of the Spinners' Association, see Philip T. Silvia, Jr., "The Position of Workers in a Textile Community: Fall River in the Early 1880's," *Labor History* 16 (Spring 1975): 230-48.

28. Sections of the Parisian population went into the streets to overthrow various French governments throughout the nineteenth century. The last great French rev-

olutionary movement in that century expressed itself in the Paris Commune, 1870–1871.

29. For discussion of the origin of Labor Day, see below, pp. 371–72.

30. Sorge is correct in using the expression “may have become politically free,” since although under the Fifteenth Amendment of 1870 and the various state constitutions adopted in the southern states during Reconstruction Negro males legally were entitled to vote, they were deprived of that right in the main by varying kinds of disfranchisement. Although it was not until the 1890s that legal disfranchisement got underway, preliminary disfranchising techniques, ranging from outright violence and intimidation to the more subtle devices of a poll tax and highly complex ballot procedures, originated in some southern states as early as the withdrawal of the federal troops in the 1870s.

31. Conditions for Negroes in the South following the abandonment of Radical Reconstruction after the election of 1876 rapidly became intolerable. Peonage, inadequate educational opportunities, mob law and violence, and loss of political rights made life in the South increasingly unattractive to many Negroes, and an exodus from several states got underway. The first major Negro exodus occurred in January and February 1879 and was centered in, though not confined to, southern Louisiana. A bad crop, a devastating yellow-fever epidemic, and an unsuccessful effort on the part of Negro tenants to force a reduction in rent, caused something like 50,000 Negroes to move from the South. Many of them headed for Kansas. Most, however, were unprepared for the bitter cold of Missouri and Kansas and had hardly enough funds to keep them alive when they reached the Kansas plains. Many, moreover, never made it to Kansas and were stranded in St. Louis without funds to proceed further. Gradually the emigration fever subsided.

32. Sorge does not mention the Colored National Labor Union formed by black workers in 1869 or that at the 1869 convention of the National Labor Union nine of the delegates were blacks, including Isaac Myers, delegate from the Colored Caulkers' Trade Union Society of Baltimore and president of the Colored National Labor Union. He is, however, correct in noting that the National Labor Union did little beyond passing resolutions to organize black workers, a major reason being that the unions affiliated with the NLU did not welcome black workers and indeed kept them out of their organizations by constitutional provisions allowing only whites to belong. See Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619–1973* (New York, 1974), pp. 18–46.

33. For evidence that this is an exaggeration even though the Knights of Labor was far in advance of most labor organizations in organizing black workers, see *ibid.*, pp. 49–63. Strangely, Sorge never discussed the relationship of the Knights of Labor and Negroes in his detailed analysis of the Knights in a later article. See below, pp. 370, 371.

34. Later, after 1886, called the American Federation of Labor.—Note by Sorge.

35. The reference is to John Jarrett who was a supporter of the Republican Party and a lobbyist for the Tin Plate Association. For his career, see below, p. 371.

36. Peter M. Arthur (1831–1903), born in Scotland and emigrated to the United States in 1842 where he eventually became a locomotive engineer and a charter member of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers in 1863. Elected grand chief engineer in 1874, an office he held until his death, he was the key example of a conser-

vative trade unionist who believed in the identity of interests of labor and capital, opposed strikes, and refused to assist brother railroad unions in their battles. He became a wealthy man, partly through real estate speculation.

37. Sorge fails to mention that these branches were Jim Crow locals in the main, organized separately for black carpenters and joiners.

38. Thompson Murch, of Rochland, Maine, secretary of the National Granite Cutters' Union, was elected to Congress by the Greenback-Labor Party in the 1878 fall election.

39. The modern equivalent of walking delegate is business agent or steward. The term was originally applied to the representative of a trade union who was directed to visit the employers' establishments and see that union conditions prevailed.

40. Adolph Strasser (1841–1910) was born in Austria-Hungary and emigrated to the United States around 1871 or 1872. He became a cigarmaker and helped organize New York cigarmakers excluded from membership in the Cigarmakers' International Union of America, and with Samuel Gompers played a leading role in the United Cigarmakers. He was elected international president of the Cigar Makers' International Union in 1877, serving until 1891. Strasser helped organize the Social-Democratic Workingmen's party of North America and was a leading socialist of the 1880s. He was one of the men who founded the American Federation of Labor in 1881.

41. Either complete articles—such as cigars, cigarettes, artificial flowers, garments, caps, and so forth—were manufactured in the tenement homes of the poor in the large cities, or the "finishing" of articles partly made in machine workshops. In either case, the work was characterized by unsanitary conditions, unregulated hours, low wage standards, and child labor and was associated with the worst evils of what came to be known as the "sweating system." Several states enacted legislation either prohibiting certain kinds of tenement-house work or attempting to regulate it by licensing, registration, and inspection. But these laws have usually been declared unconstitutional by the courts.

42. The trademark or control mark (label) is a stamp or any other sign meaning that the goods with this label have been made by trained members in good standing of the particular union. The label of the Cigarmakers is a blue shield with the signature of the trade union's president.—Note by Sorge.

43. One should not be terrified of the name "division." Regiments, brigades, divisions are very elastic concepts here. Earlier regiments have numbered less than 150 men under the command of a few dozen officers.—Note by Sorge.

44. Sorge refers here to the revolutionary strike movement that took place within the context of the 1848 bourgeois revolutions in major European cities.

45. Robert Bruce, in his history of the 1877 upheaval, notes that the conflict reached a point of culmination on Wednesday, July 25. By this time it was a fully national event, ranging from unrest in New York to riot in San Francisco, from general work stoppages in Louisville to a railroad strike in Michigan, with the Workingmen's Party of the United States in virtual control of St. Louis. See Robert V. Bruce, *1877: Year of Violence* (Indianapolis, 1959), p. 261. Strangely, as one of the founders of the Workingmen's Party of the United States, Sorge says nothing about its role in the Railroad strike of 1877.

46. For a discussion of the developments in St. Louis, see David T. Burbank, *Reign of the Rabble: The St. Louis General Strike of 1877* (New York, 1966).

47. Uncle Sam is the popular nickname for the federal government.—Note by Sorge.

48. The District Master Workman is the title of the highest official in the Knights of Labor District Assemblies.—Note by Sorge.

49. For further discussion of the strike of telegraphers, see below, pp. 366–67.

50. The Hocking Valley strike began in June 1884 and ended in March 1886 with the miners returning to work at a drastic wage cut of seventy cents a ton and resigning from the union.

51. See above, pp. 60–62.

52. The authors consider “children at work” as being between the ages of ten and thirteen, but “The Working Girls of Boston” cites several cases involving younger children.—Note by Sorge.

53. For the committee’s report, see *Investigation by a Select Committee of the House of Representatives Relative to the Causes of the General Depression in Labor & Business, Etc.*, 45th Cong. 3d sess., 1879.

Sorge does not mention that Adolph Douai testified before the committee representing the Socialist Labor Party. He handed the committee a copy of his pamphlet *Better Times*, published by the SLP, in which he blamed “planless production,” inevitable under capitalism, for the economic crisis. In his testimony, Douai, among other points, stressed the need for strict introduction of the eight-hour day in all industry and immediate exclusion of Chinese immigration to reduce unemployment. See *ibid.*, pp. 29–41.

54. Chester A. Arthur (1830–1886) succeeded to the presidency after the assassination of James A. Garfield and served from 1881 to 1885. He angered many labor groups by vetoing the Chinese exclusion bill.

55. In response to an increasing concern with labor, the Senate resolved on August 7, 1882, that the Committee on Education and Labor investigate the “relations between labor and capital, the wages and hours of labor, the conditions of the laboring classes, . . . the division of capital and labor, . . . strikes, and . . . the causes thereof.” The committee was to recommend legislation based on its findings. It held hearings in 1883 in several major cities and heard testimony from a variety of witnesses, including corporation executives, labor leaders, reformers, clergymen, and ordinary workers. The testimony presents a vivid picture of living and working conditions in the 1880s. See *Report of the (Education and Labor) Committee of the Senate upon the Relations between Labor and Capital, and Testimony Taken by the Committee* (Washington, D.C., 1885).

56. The bill creating the Bureau of Labor passed both houses of Congress overwhelmingly, and on June 27, 1884, President Arthur signed the bill into law. “This bill was the direct ancestor of the present Bureau of Labor Statistics and the seed out of which the Department of Labor has grown” (Jonathan Grossman and Judson MacLaury, “The Creation of the Bureau of Labor Statistics,” *Monthly Labor Review* [February 1975]: 30).

57. The contract labor law was passed by Congress on February 2, 1885, largely due to pressure from the Knights of Labor. It prohibited aid to immigrants coming to the United States under alien labor contracts. The law applied only to laborers, exempting professional, skilled, and house workers.

58. J. P. McDonnell (1840–1906), born in Ireland and active in the Fenian move-

ment, for which he was often arrested and imprisoned. He converted to Marxism in 1869 and was an Irish delegate to the Hague Congress of the International in 1872. After the Congress, he emigrated to the United States, and after the formation of the Workingmen's Party of the United States, was appointed editor of the *Labor Standard*, its official English-language organ. He remained editor of the paper even after he broke with the Socialist Labor Party over its Lassallean emphasis on political action alone. He moved the paper, of which he assumed control, to Fall River, Massachusetts, and then to Paterson, New Jersey, where he lived until his death and where he was active in labor activities. He organized the New Jersey Federation of Trades and Labor Unions in 1883 and was its chairman for fifteen years.

59. In 1879, three years after the weekly was founded, McDonnell was fined \$500 and costs for denouncing the use of scabs in the Great Adams strike. A year later, he was indicted by the grand jury for publishing the letter of a brickmaker in which the terrible conditions in the brickyards were exposed. The indictment aroused great indignation in labor circles. A circular issued by the trade unions of New Jersey asked, "Is American Liberty Dead?" and warned that if "the capitalistic power" succeeded in imprisoning the editor of the *Labor Standard*, there would be "No Free Labor Press" (J. P. McDonnell to Terence V. Powderly, January 23, 1880, circular and letter in Terence V. Powderly Papers, Catholic University of America Library).

60. The reference is to the men hanged in the Molly Maguire cases.

61. From 1880 to 1886 a bitter struggle raged between the Cigar Makers' International Union and the Progressive Cigar Makers' Union, sponsored by the Knights of Labor. In 1886 the Progressives reunited with the International Union.

62. Sorge is referring to the fact that no sooner had the Workingmen's Party of the United States begun to function than the old conflict between the Lassalleans and Marxists broke out anew. The Lassalleans were determined to ignore the mandate of the unity congress that political campaigns should be organized only when the party was "strong enough to exercise a perceptible influence." At the Workingmen's Party convention held in Newark, New Jersey, December 26, 1877, the "political action" socialists gained complete control of the movement. Its name was changed to Socialist Labor Party, and the constitution and declaration of principles were completely rewritten. All obstacles to immediate campaigning were removed, and the main purpose of the party, it was now asserted, was the mobilization of the working class for political action.

63. Naturally this concerns *points of view*, not *persons*.—Note by editor of *Die Neue Zeit*.

64. See Karl Marx, "Zur Kritik des sozialdemokratischen Parteiprogramms" in *Die Neue Zeit*, Heft 18 (1890–91)—note by Sorge. Translated as "Critique of the Gotha Program" in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Selected Works* (Moscow, 1970), pp. 311–331.

65. Johann Karl Ferdinand Lingennau (d. 1877), a German-born American socialist, emigrated to the United States after participating in the 1848–1849 revolutions. On March 18, 1876, he signed a last will and testament giving about \$7,000, half his wealth, to the Socialist Workers Party of Germany with August Bebel, J. P. Becker, Wilhelm Bracke, August Geib, Wilhelm Liebknecht, and Marx as executors. At Lingennau's death in August 1877 the executors appointed Sorge as their legal represen-

tative to collect the money. Sorge fought a court battle over the will, which cost much time and hundreds of dollars, but in July 1880, the court declared the will invalid. Some sources indicate that Bismarck applied diplomatic pressure to insure that the German socialists did not receive the funds. See *Briefe und Auszüge aus Briefen an F. A. Sorge und Andere* [Letters and excerpts from letters to F. A. Sorge and others] (Stuttgart, 1906), pp. 150, 166, 168, and Marx and Engels, *Werke* (Berlin, 1966), Bd. 34, pp. 297, 392, 593, and Bd. 35, p. 198.

66. The conference was attended by representatives of the Knights of Labor, the Greenback-Labor Party, the California Workingmen's Party, the Working Men's Party of Kansas, the Chicago Eight-Hour League, the Workingmen's Union, and the Socialist Labor Party. For participation of the socialists and the role of Douai in bringing this about, see pp. 350, 365. The "fiasco" refers to the fact that James Baird Weaver, candidate for President on the Greenback-Labor ticket, polled only 300,000 votes.

67. Prince Otto von Bismarck, chancellor of the new German empire, succeeded in obtaining passage of an anti-Socialist law by the Reichstag on October 19, 1878. It gave the government the authority to suppress all independent labor organizations, all Socialist political and economic associations, and all Socialist newspapers, periodicals, and printing presses. The anti-Socialist law was renewed at its expiration in 1880 and every two years thereafter until 1890. During this period, many party leaders were arrested and imprisoned or driven into exile.

At its first illegal congress in Castle Wyden, Switzerland, in the summer of 1880, the outlawed Social Democratic Party of Germany voted to send a delegation to the United States "for the purpose of informing the German-American working men of the conditions of the party under the anti-socialist law, and collecting funds for the approaching elections to the German Diet." The delegation consisted of Friedrich Wilhelm Fritzsche and Louis H. Viereck. They arrived in the United States on February 5, 1881, and departed for Germany on April 23. They were warmly received by delegations from the Socialist Labor Party and trade unions and addressed mass meetings in New York, Paterson, Newark, Philadelphia, Detroit, Chicago, and Boston. See Philip S. Foner, "Protests in the USA Against Bismarck's Anti-Socialist Law," *International Review of Social History* 21 (1976): 3-28.

68. Phillip Van Patten, American socialist and secretary of the Central Labor Union of New York from 1876 to 1883. He was the national secretary of the Workingmen's Party of the United States in 1876 and of the Socialist Labor Party in 1879. He became a government official in 1883.

69. The congress of American anarchists took place in October 1883 at Pittsburgh. Twenty-six cities were represented at the convention where the International Working People's Association, the "Black International," was formed. Johann Most dominated the convention. An ardent advocate of terroristic tactics, he opposed the struggle for immediate demands—shorter hours, higher wages, better working conditions—as mere sophs thrown to the workers that served only to tie them closer to the capitalist system, and, of course, he had absolutely no use for political action. The manifesto of the IWPA, written in the main by Most, ended with an appeal to one remedy for the evils of capitalism—*force!*

70. Sorge is referring to the great memorial meeting held in honor of Karl Marx at

Cooper Union in New York City on March 20, 1883, six days after Marx died. For the full proceedings of the meeting, see Philip S. Foner, ed., *When Karl Marx Died: Comments in 1883* (New York, 1973), pp. 83–110.

71. On January 24, 1885, one of a series of dynamiting incidents took place in England. Radical Irish nationalists and a number of their Irish-American supporters placed explosive charges in the House of Commons and the Tower of London. The explosions caused slight damage but much controversy and debate in the United States. While most of the commercial press blamed the whole thing on "socialists and anarchists," both of these groups came to vehement disagreement on the issue.

72. The International Workingmen's Association was organized by a young American-born lawyer, Burnette G. Haskell of San Francisco. It gained a small following among the workers of the West Coast and Rocky Mountain regions and won over such labor leaders as Joseph R. Buchanan, editor of the *Denver Labor Enquirer*, who became head of the Rocky Mountain division of the IWA while remaining on the national executive board of the Knights of Labor. See Charles McArthur Destler, *American Radicalism, 1865–1901* (New London, Conn., 1946), pp. 79–103.

73. The Chicago section of the IWPA, led by militant and colorful personalities like Albert R. Parsons, August Spies, Samuel Fielden, and others, agreed with Most on the futility of political action and the value of force, but these anarchists also believed in trade unionism. As they saw it, the trade union would serve as the instrument of the working class for the complete destruction of capitalism and the nucleus for the formation of a new society. This mixture of anarchism and syndicalism came to be known as the "Chicago idea," and Chicago anarchists used it to penetrate deeply into the trade-union movement. Chicago had 5,000 to 6,000 IWPA members, and the section published five papers, including the *Alarm* in English, a fortnightly and monthly edited by Parsons with an edition of 2,000 to 3,000, and the daily *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, edited by Spies, with an edition of about 5,000. There was also the short-lived paper, *Der Anarchist*, a monthly published by George Engel and other more extreme members of the section.

74. At first the anarchists had not looked with favor on the eight-hour demand, first, because its acceptance was "a virtual concession that the wage system is right," and, second, because even if successful, the shorter working day was trivial compared to the struggle to abolish the wage system and might even divert the energies of the workers from activity to overthrow wage slavery. But when the Chicago anarchists saw how deeply the working class was stirred and how bitterly the industrialists opposed the movement, they understood that they would have to join in the common front. As Parsons later explained, the Chicago anarchists endorsed the eight-hour movement, "first because it was a class movement against domination, therefore historical, and evolutionary and necessary; and secondly, because we did not choose to stand aloof and be misunderstood by our fellow workers" (quoted in Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs* [New York, 1969], pp. 4–5).

75. *Truth* was a pro-socialist, pro-labor weekly published in San Francisco by Burnette G. Haskell, leader of the International Workingmen's Association. The paper was also the official organ of Knights of Labor assemblies in San Francisco.

76. Although Henry Ward Beecher had gained fame as a popular spokesman against slavery before the Civil War, he was hated by workingmen because of his hostility to

labor after the war. He was involved in the notorious Beecher-Tilton affair of 1874 with which Victoria Woodhull was associated as an informant.

77. Reverend Roswell D. Hitchcock was a leading foe of socialism. See *A Reply to Roswell D. Hitchcock, D.D. on Socialism. By a Socialist* (New York, 1879), a pamphlet published anonymously by Adolph Douai.

78. This Christian uttered these words at a public ceremony in honor of a high school graduating class.—Note by Sorge.

79. Mary Ashton Rice Livermore (1820–1905), suffragette and editor of *Woman's Journal* from 1869 to 1872. From 1875 on she devoted herself to speaking on social questions.

80. Thomas Alexander Scott (1823–1881) became president of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company in 1874 and headed the company during the railroad strike of 1877. After the strike he advocated a larger standing army and stationing armed forces in industrial centers to be used against strikers.

81. Cornelius Vanderbilt (1797–1877), railroad and shipping magnate, commonly known as "Commodore" Vanderbilt.

82. John Jacob Astor (1763–1848), fur trader, financier, and real estate operator who had acquired the largest fortune in the United States by the time he retired and whose children continued to build the fortune through additional investments.

83. Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919), Scottish-born industrialist who gained control of eight steel companies and consolidated them into the Carnegie Steel Company. Carnegie aided the public library system with financial contributions, but after he had broken the Homestead strike of the steelworkers in 1892, a number of communities rejected his offer of financial aid for their libraries.

84. The anti-Semites should take notice that no Jews are among them.—Note by Sorge.

85. Sorge is sarcastically referring here specifically to the German drive for a "place in the sun," which began in earnest in the 1890s under the leadership of Emperor William II and his advisers.

86. Sorge refers here to the aristocratic émigrés who left France after the revolution broke out in 1789.

87. Joseph Dietzgen (1828–1888), self-taught German-American philosopher and communist, tanner by trade. He wrote *Positive Outcome of Philosophy* and other works, some of which are collected in his *Philosophical Essays* (Chicago, 1906). For further discussion of Dietzgen, see below p. 368.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 8

1. In 1886 Terence V. Powderly, Grand Master Workman of the Knights of Labor, was so frightened by the rapid growth and strikes of the Knights that he forbade the organization of new assemblies and circulated secret orders that no assembly was to strike on May 1 for the eight-hour day. Powderly (1849–1928) joined the Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union in 1870; was secretary of the District Assembly of the Knights of Labor and elected Grand Master Workman in 1879; served as mayor of Scranton from 1878 to 1882; pursued conservative policies as head of the Knights of

Labor in an effort to appease the Catholic church and the conservative press; supported the Republican Party in 1897; and was appointed the United States Commissioner General of Immigration.

2. On March 16, 1885, the Knights of Labor won an important strike on the southwestern railroad system operated by Jay Gould. The victory was an important factor in the great growth of the Knights. But in violation of the agreement ending the strike, Gould fired workers who joined the Knights, refused to pay for overtime, and did not restore wages to the pre-strike level. The second Gould strike began in March 1886, and on March 28, Powderly met with Gould and announced an agreement that promised to settle all the grievances of the strikers. But Gould refused to recognize the agreement, and the strike finally ended in a complete defeat for the workers. On May 4, the general executive board of the Knights of Labor formally declared the strike ended. The surrender was unconditional. No member of the Knights was rehired. Blacklisted on the railroads, many of the strikers faced a dark future. Martin Irons, the local strike leader, was blacklisted in every industry and deprived of any opportunity to make a living as a worker.

3. Compare this statement with the letter from Powderly to an official in Chicago printed on p. 234.—Note by Sorge.

4. In a number of neighboring areas as well as in New York itself this theory found not only supporters but also a peculiar practical usage: arson in order to collect insurance. In later years this tactic was also practiced in Chicago, some say by the same persons.—Note by Sorge.

5. It is not clear which of the seven men sentenced to death is referred to here.

6. This is, of course, a reference to Karl Marx.

7. August Spies (1855–1887), born in central Germany of a family of moderate means, was forced by the death of his father when he was seventeen to leave for the United States. He settled in Chicago and joined the SLP in 1877, became a member of the *Lehr und Wehr Verein*, left the SLP for the anarchist movement, and in 1880 assumed the editorship of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. He was one of the four anarchists executed in the Haymarket affair.

8. Albert R. Parsons (1848–1887), a self-taught intellectual who came from a notable family in New England, and won distinction after the Civil War for his defense of Negro rights in Texas. He became a member of the Typographical Union in Chicago, was active in the Socialist Labor party until he became convinced that force, not political action, was the route to socialism; he then turned to anarchism and the editing of the *Alarm*. He was one of the four men executed in the Haymarket affair.

9. J. Gorsuch was a Chicago anarchist and an organizer for the International Working People's Association.

10. Michael Schwab (1853–), born in Bavaria, Germany, came to the United States in 1878, settled in Chicago in 1879, became active in the socialist movement in that city and in Milwaukee, moved over to the anarchists, and joined the editorial staff of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in 1882. Originally sentenced to be executed in the Haymarket affair, he had his sentence commuted to life imprisonment by Governor Oglesby.

11. Samuel Fielden (1826–), born in Lancashire, England. With Albert R. Parsons, he was the only one of the eight men in the Haymarket affair of neither German birth nor descent. A workingman all his life, he came to the United States in 1868, was drawn into the radical movement, and became successively a socialist and anarch-

ist. Originally sentenced to be executed in the Haymarket affair, he had his sentence commuted to life imprisonment by Governor Oglesby.

12. The workers at the McCormick Harvester factory, members of the Knights of Labor, were on strike for the eight-hour day at a \$2.00 wage for an end to wage cutting and the piecework system. On May 3, 1886, 300 scabs guarded by 350 to 500 police had been put to work in an effort to break the strike. When the strikers, aided by several hundred striking lumber-shovers, demonstrated against the scabs, the police fired without warning into the crowd of unarmed workers. At least four were killed and many wounded. The *Chicago Daily News* reported six dead.

13. Spies had been at the Black Road massacre of workers and had seen the workers scattering before the charge of armed police. Furious at the brutality of the police, he wrote an account of the episode for the columns of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, including an indignant, bitter circular that came to be known as the "Revenge Circular" because of the heading. The circular appeared both in English and German. Spies later disclaimed authorship of the heading, insisting that the word *Revenge* had been inserted without his knowledge.

14. Since the German and English versions differ in some aspects, namely, in the violence of the former, the German version is printed here first and then the English version. Sorge printed the German version. See John S. Kebabian, ed., *The Haymarket Affair and the Trial of the Chicago Anarchists, 1886* (New York, 1970).

15. According to the police, the word *calm* was the slogan of the conspirators, while others maintained the word was to have a quieting effect.—Note by Sorge.

16. Sorge emphasis.

17. Carter H. Harrison, mayor of Chicago, attended the meeting and left before it was over, convinced that all was peaceful and did not justify police interference.

18. The bomb killed policeman Mathias J. Degan instantly; six others died later. About seventy police officers were wounded. Before the riot ended, more than 100 persons were either killed or wounded.

19. The Chicago police had the worst reputation in the country for their wanton savagery against labor. "The police of Chicago reflected the hostility of the employing class, regarding strikes *per se* as evidence that the men had placed themselves in opposition to law and order . . . it had become a pastime for a squad of mounted police, or a detachment in close formation, to disperse with the billy any gathering of workmen" (E. L. Bogart and C. M. Thompson, *The Centennial History of Illinois* vol. 4: *The Industrial State, 1870-1893* [Springfield, Ill., 1920], pp. 167-68).

20. Actually, on May 27, 1886, thirty-one persons were indicted. They were charged with being accessories to the murder of policeman Mathias J. Degan and with a general conspiracy to murder. Of those indicted, only eight actually stood trial. One, Rudolph Schnaubelt, was arrested and released but never found again. The others were to wait until the trial of the eight was completed.

21. Parsons had baffled a police search for six weeks, and, thoroughly disguised, was perfectly safe in Wisconsin. Just as the preliminary examination of candidates for the jury began, Parsons walked into the courthouse and informed Judge Gary: "I present myself for trial with my comrades, your Honor."

22. The best discussion of the trial is in Henry David, *The History of the Haymarket Affair* (New York, 1963), pp. 202-207.

23. The reference is to Judge Joseph E. Gary.

24. George Engel (1836–1887), born in Germany, came to the United States in 1873 after a year's stay in England. He lived in Philadelphia for a year and then went on to Chicago where he joined the SLP and finally left for the International Working People's Association.

25. Adolph Fischer (1856–1887), born in Bremen, Germany, left for the United States when he was fifteen, already a socialist. He moved to Chicago where he worked as a compositor for the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. Believing the views of Parsons and Spies to be too mild, he had aided Engel in founding the *Anarchist* to provide a more revolutionary organ.

26. Louis Lingg (1864–1887), youngest of the eight prisoners, was born in Mannheim, Baden, where he was apprenticed to a carpenter and joined the Workingmen's Education Society. He became an anarchist in Switzerland and came to America in the summer of 1885 to escape military service in Germany, to which he would have been deported by the Swiss under an arrangement with the German government. Lingg immediately settled in Chicago and became a leading figure in trade union circles, helping to organize the International Carpenters' and Joiners' Union in addition to working for the anarchist cause. He believed that the sooner the workers understood the inadequacies of trade unionism in solving their problems, the sooner they would become revolutionists.

27. Oscar Neebe (1850–), of German descent though born in New York City, by trade a tinsmith, had developed a fairly successful yeast business by 1886, and while active in labor and radical movements, actually knew little of anarchism or socialism.

28. This criticism of the court trial and sentences in the memorable anarchist trial, written in 1891, was elegantly confirmed and substantiated two years later in June 1893 by an eminent lawyer, Governor Altgeld, in his memorandum justifying clemency for Schwab, Fielden and Neebe.—Note by Sorge.

Editors' note: John Peter Altgeld (1847–1902), an immigrant who rose from poverty to become a wealthy lawyer and governor of Illinois (1892–1896), issued his famous pardon message on June 26, 1893, pardoning the three Haymarket defendants still in prison—Samuel Fielden, Michael Schwab, and Oscar Neebe—on the ground that “the defendants were not proven to be guilty of the crime,” that they were completely innocent, and that they and the executed men had been the victims of packed juries and biased judges. The governor was subjected to a torrent of abuse and invective. But the AFL convention in December 1893 praised the pardon as “an act of justice,” and the trade unions distributed 50,000 copies of the message.

29. Between July 1885 and October 1886, membership of the Knights of Labor jumped from 110,000 to over 700,000. How much over is a question of some debate. Some estimates of the actual membership of the Knights of Labor at its peak in 1886 place it at 1 million, but usually it is set at about 750,000.

30. The General Assembly of the Knights of Labor finally did adopt a resolution almost unanimously calling for “mercy for the condemned men,” while making it clear “we are not in sympathy with the acts of the anarchists.” Moreover, Local Assembly 1307 of the Knights published an open letter against the death sentence of Parsons, a Knight, in which the trial was described as “a travesty on justice” and the verdict an outrage. Finally, on October 9, 1886, the *Knights of Labor*, published in Chicago, announced it would publish the lives of the condemned anarchists “told by

themselves," and in the next months, it did publish the autobiographies of all of the men except Lingg. They are reprinted (along with Lingg's autobiography) in Philip S. Foner, ed., *The Autobiographies of the Haymarket Martyrs* (New York, 1969).

31. At its 1886 convention, the American Federation of Labor passed a resolution pleading for mercy on behalf of the condemned men and at the same time condemning the use of violence.

32. Gompers's exact words were: "If these men are executed, it would simply give an impetus to the so-called revolutionary movement. . . . These men would . . . be looked upon as martyrs. Thousands and hundred of thousands of laboring men all over the country would consider that those men had been executed because they were standing up for free speech and free assemblage. We ask you, sir, to interpose your great power and prevent so dire a calamity" (David, *History*, pp. 370-71).

Samuel Gompers (1850-1924), born in England and apprenticed to a cigarmaker, came to America with his family in 1863. He joined the cigarmakers' union, then, with Adolph Strasser, reorganized the Cigar Makers' International Union and became president of Local 144. He was active in organizing the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada and its successor, the American Federation of Labor. Gompers was president of the American Federation of Labor, with the exception of one year, 1894, from its inception in 1886 until his death in 1924.

33. The five defendants were sentenced to state prison at hard labor—two for two years and ten months, two for one and one-half years, and one for three years and eight months.

Sorge is not correct when he refers to the "Theiss Boycotters Case" as a "rather insignificant incident." The district attorney stated the real issue of the case: "this boycott business must be annihilated and stopped."

34. For previous discussion of Henry George, see pp. 169-70.

35. George was nominated at a convention held on September 23, 1886, at Clarendon Hall, attended by 409 delegates from 175 trade and labor organizations representing a membership of 60,000 workers. John Casserly of the United Order of Carpenters nominated Henry George. This was seconded by Frank Ferrell, a Negro Knights of Labor leader, who said: "Our political movement will work a peaceful revolution—a revolution as decisive as that which John Brown preached. It means industrial emancipation and Henry George is the man to lead us to the consummation of our hopes." James J. Coogan, a furniture merchant, was also nominated, but George received 360 of the 409 votes on the first ballot.

36. The platform was adopted by the Clarendon Hall convention and is known as the Clarendon Hall platform.

37. About one-fifth of the signers of the George petition were German-Americans, many of them socialists.

38. Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919), then a New York assemblyman, was nominated as the Republican candidate for mayor.

39. Abram S. Hewitt (1822-1903), industrialist and political leader, successful iron manufacturer and son-in-law of Peter Cooper. Elected to Congress in 1876 on the Democratic ticket, he served on the committee to investigate causes of the economic crisis of the 1870s.

40. David Bennett Hill (1843–1910), governor of New York (1885–1891), and U.S. Senator (1892–1897), was a conservative Democrat who usually sided with conservative Republicans against his own party.

41. The *Leader* was a daily paper issued for the George campaign. It was edited by Louis F. Post (1849–1928), a leading disciple of Henry George. The campaign daily was made possible by contributions from the Central Labor Union and affiliated unions, but with a circulation of 52,000 on the second day, it was almost self-supporting. It is not clear how the Germans were responsible for the founding of the daily other than the fact that they were influential in the unions that contributed to its establishment.

42. At the beginning of the campaign, many, if not a majority, of the Catholic priests supported George. But as the campaign advanced, "at the suggestion" of the "higher Catholic powers" all Catholic priests except Father Edward McGlynn (1837–1900) withdrew from active participation on behalf of the Labor Party candidate and single-tax advocate. On September 29, 1886, Archbishop Michael Corrigan, a strong conservative, forbade Father McGlynn to speak at a scheduled public meeting on behalf of George. Father McGlynn disobeyed, and was thereupon suspended from exercise of his priestly functions for a period of two weeks.

43. The belief that George had been "grossly counted out" was widespread. When the returns were in, George said: "Under a fair vote of the people of New York I would be tonight elected Mayor of New York." Two months later, he wrote that "on a square vote I would undoubtedly have been elected" (Henry George to Gutschow, December 31, 1886, Henry George Papers, New York Public Library, Manuscripts Division).

44. As soon as the mayoralty campaign was over, Archbishop Corrigan decided to take more decisive action against the rebel priest. On January 14, 1887, he removed McGlynn from the pastorate at St. Stephens. McGlynn was then ordered by the pope to come to Rome to hear why he should refrain from pursuing his activities on behalf of the labor and single-tax movements, and when he refused, he was excommunicated from the Catholic church, effective July 4, 1887. He was not reinstated to the ministry until December 1892.

45. Cooper Institute is a huge building presented to New York City with various useful accommodations, particularly a school of continuing education, reading rooms, museums, and so on, for the free use of those without funds. It contains one of the largest halls in New York City on the first floor. The builder and presenter of the building was Peter Cooper, a rich factory owner.—Note by Sorge.

Editors' Note: Peter Cooper (1791–1883), industrial pioneer and inventor, founded Cooper Union in New York in 1857. He was the presidential candidate for the Greenback Party in 1876 and received 80,000 votes.

46. The candidates were John Swinton for state senator and J. Edward Hall, H. A. Barker, and T. B. Wakeman for other state offices. The last three candidates were all trade unionists.

47. See pp. 122, 168.

48. Sergius E. Schewitsch was a Russian-American socialist, leader of the Socialist Party, and editor of the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*. He had delivered a moving address at the state convention of the United Labor Party, August 17, 1887, warning that ex-

pulsion of the socialists would have dire results for the Party. See Philip S. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States* (New York, 1955), 2: 151-52.

49. According to the *New York Sun* of November 18, 1887, the Progressive Labor Party received approximately 10,000 votes.

50. The People's (Populist) Party was organized in 1891 by farmers, workers, and small businessmen. The party platform advocated the free and unlimited coinage of silver, the abolition of national banks, public ownership of railroads, steamship lines, and telephone and telegraph systems, direct election of United States Senators, and a graduated income tax. The Populists nominated James B. Weaver for President in 1892; he received over a million popular votes and twenty-two electoral votes.

51. The readers of *Die Neue Zeit* know very well that many party names, Democratic and Republican, are not to be taken at face value. The Americans like to use nice-sounding, misleading names.—Note by Sorge.

52. Tammany Hall was the political headquarters of the New York City Democratic Party. Originally a Jeffersonian popular organization, it became after the Civil War a major symbol of political corruption, especially as a result of the operations of the Tweed ring.

53. Milwaukee was given the honorable name "German-Athens" by conceited Germans. Common humans have read and heard about Athens as the seat of high culture, as a seeding and nurturing ground for art and science, as the place where architecture, sculpture, painting, philosophy, and the harmonious mental and physical education of the members of the ruling class reached its highest flowering. Why Milwaukee deserved the name *Athens* is incomprehensible because of the lack of all the aforementioned Athenian characteristics. That it was called *German-Athens* could be justified by the most remarkable achievements of the Germans in Milwaukee: the brewing and drinking of beer. Incidentally—*lucus a non lucendo!*—Note by Sorge.

54. Paul Grottkau, a leader of the socialist movement in Cincinnati, left the movement to join the ranks of the anarchists but later joined the Socialist Labor Party. In 1884 he engaged in a debate with Johann Most at Chicago on the issue of socialism versus anarchism.

55. Sorge, however, ignores the fact that the laborites elected a state senator and seven members of the lower house and that the Labor Party candidate for Congress narrowly missed election by only sixty-four votes.

56. Paul Lafargue (1842-1911), leader of the Marxist wing in the French labor movement and son-in-law of Marx, author of numerous Marxist pamphlets.

57. In the western, northern, and southwestern states borrowers pay a loan interest of 8 to 10 percent.—Note by Sorge.

58. Farmers' Alliances were organizations of farmers for the purpose of advancing their interests. Their fundamental objective was the elimination of railroad abuses, but they also called for cheap currency, regulation of public utilities, extended educational opportunities, consumers' cooperatives, direct election of United States Senators, government relief for mortgage indebtedness, and antitrust legislation. There was both a Northwestern and Southern Alliance with branches in many states. At their height the Farmers' Alliances were credited with a total membership of over 750,000. Most of the members went over to the Populist movement.

59. In the local campaigns of 1890, the Farmers' Alliance and the Knights of Labor

united to launch joint tickets. Outstanding successes were recorded in Nebraska, Kansas, and Colorado.

60. Edward Bellamy (1850–1898), published *Looking Backward* in 1888. Public demand for the novel (with its vision of an America operated for use, not profit, in the twentieth century) was so great that the printer could not keep up with it. Over a million copies were sold in a few years. Bellamy's main plank, the nationalization of industry, stimulated the growth of a short-lived socialist movement, the Nationalist clubs, which began in Boston in 1888, and spread overnight across the country. The Nationalist groups sought to remedy the fundamental evils of capitalism by nationalizing the functions of production and distribution. This new society was to be instituted through a gradual reform process; the ends were to be sought by "rational, peaceful means."

61. Sorge is correct in pointing out that the Nationalist movement had little in common with scientific socialism; indeed, Bellamy went to great pains to point out that he was no Marxist. However, the movement did contribute to the growth of socialist thought in this country. Despite its shortcomings, *Looking Backward* continued for many years to constitute for many Americans their first introduction to socialism.

62. Samuel Sullivan Cox (1824–1889), lawyer and congressman from Ohio (1857–1865) who then moved to New York and was elected to Congress (1869–1873; 1873–1885; 1886–1889). Cox was associated with tariff and civil service reforms.

63. At a state convention of the Greenback-Labor Party held in Troy, New York, October 1877, a demand was raised for a factory inspection law. It took nine years to achieve this goal.

64. In 1870 New York passed a law that provided that strikes for higher wages or shorter hours should not be considered conspiracies. But in 1881–1882, when the penal code was revised, the old conspiracy doctrine was reinstituted and indeed made even broader in its operation. It was under this code that the boycott cases of 1886 were prosecuted.

65. On June 23, 1869, the governor of Massachusetts signed a bill establishing the first Bureau of Labor Statistics in the world. It was followed by Pennsylvania in 1872, Connecticut in 1873, Ohio in 1877, New Jersey in 1878, and Missouri, Illinois, and Indiana in 1879. By 1885, fifteen states had Bureaus of Labor Statistics, each issuing annual reports.

66. Martin Irons died in 1900, but his memory was kept alive by the workers of Missouri in 1910, who, under the auspices of the Missouri State Federation of Labor, erected a monument above his grave, paying tribute to him as a "Fearless Champion of Industrial Freedom."

67. On April 9, 1886, seven workers were killed during a battle between strikers and police, militia, and deputy sheriffs in East St. Louis.

68. About 350,000 workers in 11,562 establishments in the country at large went out on strikes. In Chicago alone, 40,000 workers went on strike, and more than 45,000 were granted a shorter working day without striking. Altogether, it was estimated that 185,000 out of 350,000 workers who struck for the eight-hour day gained their demand on May 1 and the days following.

69. The first national strike under the aegis of the Knights of Labor was called in the summer of 1883 in behalf of the telegraph operators. The two eastern companies agreed to the demands of the strikers for higher wages and better working conditions,

but the strike of the Western Union telegraph operators was savagely crushed. The workers were forced to disband their organization and to sign ironclad oaths agreeing never again to join a union while they worked for the company.

70. In a secret circular to all assemblies of the Knights of Labor, March 13, 1886, Powderly wrote: "No assembly of the Knights of Labor must strike for the eight-hour system on May first under the impression that they are obeying orders from headquarters, for such an order was not, and will not, be given. Neither employer nor employee are educated to the needs and necessities of the short hour plan" (Foner, *History*, 2: 101). While Powderly was powerless to stop the eight-hour movement, he did succeed in preventing effective and concerted action in labor's ranks. The March circular divided the members of the Knights of Labor.

71. Although trade unions were in the Knights of Labor, an important section of the Knights' leadership viewed the trade unions as outmoded by the widespread introduction of machinery and incapable of combating the power of monopoly capitalism. The industrial revolution, they maintained, had, through specialization, so greatly diminished the number of skilled workers that there was no longer any need for craft unions. In general, the trade unions were viewed as a "relic" that should be replaced by general labor bodies like the "mixed" assemblies in which all types of workers, skilled and unskilled, would be merged.

72. Sorge is in error in considering the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Union as two groups. The name was that of the Federation formed in 1881.

73. Sorge emphasis.

74. The issue in the dispute was whether a political party, in this case the Socialist Labor Party, could be entitled to representation in a central labor body affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. Gompers ruled negatively and was sustained, by a vote of 1,574 to 496, at the 1890 AFL meeting in Detroit.

Sorge does not mention that Gompers wrote to prominent European socialists upholding his decision and that of the several letters he wrote, the most important by far was that addressed to Frederick Engels on January 9, 1891. For Gompers's letter to Engels's reply (not to Gompers but to Hermann Schlütter) in which he tended to side with Gompers, see Philip S. Foner, "Samuel Gompers to Frederick Engels: A Letter," *Labor History* 11 (Spring 1970): 207-11.

75. On July 14, 1889, the hundredth anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, the leaders of organized socialist movements of many lands met in Paris at the founding congress of the Second International. Although the AFL was not represented at the convention, Gompers sent a message to the Paris Congress informing it of the contemplated action by the Federation for a general movement for the eight-hour day contemplated for May 1, 1890, urging unity of action internationally for the eight-hour day and proposing that May 1 be celebrated "as an International Labor Day." As a result, the Paris Congress resolved to organize an international demonstration for the eight-hour day on May 1, 1890.

76. Sorge emphasis.

77. See pp. 353-54.

78. A pool is an association of businessmen, industrialists, and also industry knights for the purpose of achieving a percentage distribution of profits, and so on.—Note by Sorge.

79. Henry Clay Frick (1849-1919), Pennsylvania industrialist who gained control of the building and operation of coke ovens in the Connellsville coal district of the state

and was later chairman of the Carnegie Steel Company. Frick was a leading force in the drive against the union of ironworkers and steelworkers.

80. Peter Hennessy, chief of police of New Orleans, was killed on October 15, 1890, after he had begun to investigate the acts of violence associated with Italians, including open gang wars and a series of unexplained deaths, all said to be connected with the Mafia, or "black hand," which flourished in Sicily. When the jury dealt gently with the accused, acquitting some and remanding others to a further trial, a group of several hundred citizens broke into the jail in which eleven Italian prisoners were confined and lynched them all. The Italian Premier, Marquis Rudini, called to his minister in Washington, Baron Fava, demanding punishment of the ringleaders and an indemnity for the victims of the citizens' mob. In the end, Secretary of State James G. Blaine notified the Italian government that he was authorized by President Harrison to offer \$25,000 to the families of the victims of the "lamentable massacre" at New Orleans, with the hope that thereby "all memory of the unhappy tragedy" would be obliterated and enduring friendly relations between the two countries restored (*Foreign Relations of the United States* [Washington, D.C., 1892], p. 728.) The Italian government accepted the indemnity offered, and full diplomatic relations were resumed.

81. Marx had a somewhat negative opinion of Dietzgen. In January 1882, Dietzgen wrote enthusiastically to Marx that he was finally beginning to understand Hegel. Marx remarked to Engels that Dietzgen's work had begun to deteriorate and that the man was "quite incurable" (*Marx-Engels-Werke* [Berlin/DDR, 1967ff.], 35: 31. While Sorge may not have been aware of this opinion, he knew that Engels was critical of Dietzgen, for Engels wrote to Sorge on September 16, 1886, that he could not "support Dietzgen in his article on the anarchists—he has a peculiar way of dealing with things. If a person has a perhaps somewhat narrow opinion on a certain point, Dietzgen cannot emphasize enough (and often too much) that the matter has two sides" *Karl Marx and Frederick Engels. Letters to Americans, 1848–1895* [New York, 1953], p. 161.) Engels's reference is to an article in the Chicago *Vorbote*. Dietzgen had proposed that no distinction should be made, for the time being, between anarchists, socialists, and communists.

82. August Bebel (1840–1913), one of the organizers of the Social Democratic party of Germany and its longtime chairman until his death. Famous as the author of *Women and Socialism*.

83. See pp. 25, 45.

84. Eleanor Marx-Aveling who with her husband Edward Aveling and Wilhelm Liebknecht, toured the United States in 1886.

85. Until the Greater City of New York was created in 1900, Brooklyn was a separate city.

86. Daniel De Leon (1852–1914), leader of the Socialist Labor party in the 1890s, was the editor of the weekly and daily *People* until his death.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 9

1. The readers will kindly keep this fact in mind, particularly with the figures, for which we accept no responsibility. *Relata refero*.—Note by Sorge.

2. The Freemasons, a fraternal order noted for its secret methods and organization, was influential in America during the early years of the Republic.

3. The men who founded the Knights of Labor were members of the Garment Cutters' Association of Philadelphia, which had been organized in 1862.

4. Another factor was that the secrecy of the Knights of Labor enabled the anti-labor press to charge that the organization was a branch of the Molly Maguires and was plotting to overthrow the government of the United States.

5. In September 1884, instructions were issued by the Holy See at Rome condemning the Knights of Labor and directing every Catholic prelate in North America to stop their parishioners from belonging to the organization.

While Sorge is correct in emphasizing the issue of secrecy in the condemnation of the Knights of Labor, he overlooks the hostility of the Church to the growing strength of the militant labor groups in the Knights. See Henry J. Browne, *The Catholic Church and the Knights of Labor* (Washington, D.C., 1949).

6. In 1881 the Knights of Labor abandoned secrecy and voted to make the name of the organization public. The 1881 convention also deleted the oath from the initiation pledge, substituting for it a simple promise, and voted to remove all spiritual passages and language from the ritual.

7. James Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore appealed to the Holy Office personally on February 20, 1877, urging the Vatican to reverse the condemnation of the Knights. In his appeal, Cardinal Gibbons emphasized, among other issues, that Powderly, as Grand Master Workman, stood for conservative labor policies.

James Cardinal Gibbons (1834–1921), Roman Catholic archbishop of Baltimore, was created a cardinal in 1886. He was a close personal friend of many presidents and prominent people.

8. Uriah Smith Stephens (1821–1882), educated for the Baptist ministry but apprenticed to a tailor. Active in the abolition of slavery, he supported the Republican Party in the 1860 election. Stephens organized the Garment Cutters' Association of Philadelphia in 1862 and was co-founder of the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor in 1869, favoring cooperatives as a way of abolishing the wage system. He was Grand Master Workman until 1879 when he resigned his office partly because of illness and partly because he opposed abandonment of secrecy.

9. Frederick Turner (1846–), born in England, emigrated to the United States in 1856. He practiced the gold-beating trade and organized Local Assembly 20 of the Knights of Labor, consisting of gold-beaters in 1873. Elected general-secretary-treasurer of the Knights, he served on the general executive board where he opposed many of Powderly's policies.

10. A convention of national trade unions, meeting in Philadelphia on May 18, 1886, drafted a six-point "treaty" that was to be submitted to the special general assembly of the Knights of Labor that was to convene at Cleveland on May 24, 1886. The "treaty" required that the Knights: not initiate any person or form any assembly in any branch of labor having a national or international organization; not initiate any persons working for less than the regular scale of wages fixed by unions of their craft; revoke the charter of any Knights' assembly of any trade having a national or international union; revoke the commission of any organizer of the Knights who sought to have the trade unions disband or interfered with their growth; not interfere in any

strike or lockout of any trade union until a settlement was reached satisfactory to the unions affected; not issue any trademark or label in competition with those already issued or to be issued by any national or international trades union.

11. The Cleveland assembly of the Knights of Labor refused to respond to the demands of the trade unions, confining itself to instructing the general executive board to issue a command ordering members "to support and protect all labels or trade marks issued by the Knights of Labor in preference to any other trade mark or label." Violators of the obligation were subject to summary expulsion from the Knights.

12. The Richmond assembly ordered all members of the Knights of Labor who were also members of the Cigar Makers' International Union to leave the international union or leave the Knights.

Sorge does not mention that an outstanding feature of the Richmond assembly of 1886 was the stand taken on the question of civil rights for blacks and the battle that developed over the right of black members of the Knights to stay at hotels owned by whites. In this battle, the role of Frank J. Ferrell, leading black in the Knights of Labor, was crucial, but he is not mentioned by Sorge. See Philip S. Foner, *Organized Labor and the Black Worker, 1619-1973* (New York, 1974), pp. 52-54.

13. This refers only to the national Knights of Labor. Many local assemblies had weekly papers.

14. Instead of concerning themselves with such "petty questions" as higher wages and shorter hours, the Knights of Labor leadership urged the workers to direct all their energies to "banish the curse of modern civilization—wage slavery . . . by embarking on a system of cooperation, which will make every man his own master, and every man his own employer." The Knights of Labor were instrumental in establishing and maintaining for a short time many producers' and consumers' cooperatives, but most of them failed. Hasty action, inefficiency, competition from privately owned companies, dissension in the ranks, and lack of funds were among the chief causes of the failure of the cooperatives undertaken by the Knights.

15. For a discussion of labor-populism, the positive features of which Sorge totally ignores, see Foner, *History*, vol. II, pp. 300-45, and Norman Pollack, *The Populist Response to Industrial America* (Cambridge, Mass., 1966).

16. In his evaluation of the Knights of Labor at its height, Frederick Engels pointed out: "The Knights of Labor are the first national organization created by the American working class as a whole; whatever be their origin and history, whatever their platform and their constitution, here they are, the work of practically the whole class of American wage-earners, the only national bond that holds them together, that makes their strength felt to themselves not less than to their enemies, and that fills them with the proud hope of future victories . . . to an outsider it appears evident that here is the raw material out of which the future of the American working-class movement, and along with it, the future of American society at large, has to be shaped" (Frederick Engels, *Conditions of the British Working Class in 1844* [London, 1887], preface).

17. The Knights' constitution made no provision for the admission of women, and it was not until the 1882 convention that the initiation of women was permitted. Once the doors were opened, the number of women's assemblies grew markedly. Figures on the number of women members in the Order vary. But it has been estimated that in 1886, when the Knights' membership was at its highest point, there were about 50,000 women members, forming 8 or 9 percent of the total.

Sorge, however, says nothing here about the fact that the Knights of Labor did more to organize Negro workers than any previous labor organization and many that followed it. While the Knights of Labor did not succeed in eliminating race prejudice in its ranks and in eradicating discriminatory practices against Negro members, it did establish a significant record of labor solidarity. See Foner, *Organized Labor*, pp. 47-53.

18. All the factual material in this section—dates, figures, resolutions—is taken from the official AFL reports and protocols through the end of 1891.—Note by Sorge.

19. The secret society was the Knights of Industry, organized in Indiana. Together with another secret body, the Amalgamated Labor Union, it issued a call for a conference at Terre Haute, Indiana, on August 2, 1881, "to effect a preliminary organization of an international Amalgamated Union."

20. The call mentioned that in Great Britain and Ireland, annual trades' union congresses were held, and the work done by these assemblies of workmen revealed that "only in such a body can proper action be taken to promote the general welfare of the industrial classes."

21. John Jarrett (1843-1918) emigrated from England where he was a trade unionist to the United States, became an iron worker in this country as he had been in England, and helped in the formation of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, to which he was elected president in 1880. Although he chaired the 1881 convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, he withdrew from the Amalgamated Association when the Federation refused to endorse a high tariff.

22. The original name proposed by the Committee on Organization, chaired by Samuel Gompers, was Federation of Organized Trade Unions of the United States of America and Canada. But a number of delegates, including a Negro delegate, Mr. Grandeson of Pittsburgh, objected that the name implied that the Federation would include only skilled workers and that the objective of the new organization should be to reach all workers. As a result, the official name adopted was Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. This was to remain its name until it was changed in 1886 to the American Federation of Labor.

The protective tariff resolution was adopted at the insistence of the steel workers' delegates over the objection of some delegates who favored free trade.

23. The Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, represented by ten delegates at the Pittsburgh Convention in 1881, withdrew from the Federation in 1883 because the organization had adopted a series of resolutions condemning high tariffs. The loss of the union was a severe blow to the Federation.

24. See above, pp. 194, 195.

25. The resolution adopted by the 1884 convention read: "Resolved, That the first Monday in September of each year be set apart as a laborer's national holiday, and that we recommend its observance by all wage workers, irrespective of sex, calling, or nationality." The first nationwide observance of the first Monday in September as a national holiday took place on September 7, 1885, on which day demonstrations and parades took place in several cities. The first state in the Union to make Labor Day official was Oregon, in 1887. In 1894, Amos J. Cummings, a New York Congressman and member of Typographical Union No. 6, introduced a bill in Congress, drawn up by the AFL, to establish Labor Day, the first Monday in September, as a

national legal holiday. It was adopted by Congress on June 28, 1894, and signed on the same day by President Grover Cleveland.

Peter J. McGuire of the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners has been widely known as the Father of Labor Day, but this is contested by those who favor Matthew MacGuire, a socialist and trade unionist of New Jersey. See Jonathan Grossman, "Who Is the Father of Labor Day?" *Monthly Labor Review* (September 1972): 3-6.

26. The most famous boycott of the 1880s was conducted by Typographical Union No. 6, with the aid of the Knights and the Federation, against the *New York Tribune*. The dispute began in 1877 when Whitelaw Reid, its owner, declared his hostility to the printers by ordering a reduction in wages. The boycott was begun in 1883 and ended in 1892 when the officials of the newspaper announced that the *Tribune* "is now a strict union office."

27. The 1885 convention provided machinery by which the eight-hour day could be gained through negotiations with employers, and a form agreement was drawn up to be signed at conferences between the unions and employers. But if peaceful negotiation proved fruitless, the unions were to resort to the strike.

28. It was not the difference in organization but the difference in outlook that caused the conflict. The anti-trade union element in the Knights of Labor believed that trade unions were outmoded and should be replaced by mixed assemblies uniting workers regardless of whether they were skilled. This led to a lack of interest in the problems of the skilled workers in the trades assemblies in the Knights of Labor.

29. See above.

30. Forty-two delegates from twenty-five labor organizations, thirteen national unions, and twelve local unions and city centrals assembled at Columbus on December 8 and agreed to form themselves into an American Federation of Labor. At the same time, twenty delegates to the convention of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions, representing seven national unions and five city centrals, met at Columbus and decided to merge with the newly formed AFL. The older Federation turned over all its property, including a balance on hand of \$284.97, to the new organization, and it resolved to request all affiliated unions "to connect themselves with the American Federation of Labor."

31. Samuel Gompers was the AFL president, and except for the year 1894, he remained president until 1924.

32. At the 1890 convention, the AFL adopted a resolution instructing the president to forward the organization's "good will" to the officers of the Farmers' Alliance. Gompers refused to carry out these instructions, maintaining that the trade unions and the "employing farmers" who made up the bulk of the farmers' movement had nothing in common and that the Federation should devote itself to aiding the farm laborers to organize, thus building an alliance with the workers on the farms rather than with those who were their employers.

33. John Burns (1858-1943), English socialist activist who joined the Marxist Social Democratic Federation in 1884. With Tom Mann and Ben Tillett, he organized the great dock strike of 1899. Later he joined the Independent Labor Party and became a liberal and cabinet minister. Burns attended the 1894 AFL convention.

34. In March 1890, after polling all of the affiliated unions as to whether they wished to be selected to make the demand for the eight-hour day on May 1, 1890, the

AFL executive council selected the United Brotherhood of Carpenters to lead the way for the eight-hour demand in 1890. The choice was a good one: the union had built up a big strike fund for the eight-hour struggle and was fully prepared to battle it out with the employers with the assistance of the rest of the labor movement. The success it achieved exceeded the expectations of the most optimistic labor leaders. The union reported that it had won the eight-hour day for 46,197 workers in 137 cities, and nearly 30,000 had reduced their hours from ten to nine hours. The movement had also brought an influx of new members.

35. See above, pp. 201-03, 232-33.

36. Having learned that the constitution of the National Association of Machinists limited membership to white persons, the 1890 AFL convention refused to grant it a charter and instructed the executive council to request the organization to strike out the constitutional provision excluding Negroes from membership.

When the 1891 convention of the Association of Machinists refused to remove the constitutional ban against Negroes, the AFL sponsored the formation of a new union, the International Machinists' Union, which permitted all workers in the trade to join "regardless of religion, race or color." On the basis of this principle, the new Machinists' Union was admitted to the AFL.

However, this progressive practice was of short duration. In 1895 the International Association of Machinists removed the color ban from the constitution, transferred it to the ritual, and applied for membership in the AFL. Having been assured by Gompers and other AFL leaders that if the union did this, it would be admitted, the outcome was certain. The union was allowed to affiliate. Thereafter, it effectively excluded Negro machinists. See Foner, *Organized Labor*, pp. 64-81.

37. After 1891, the AFL left the task of achieving the eight-hour day to the individual unions. In 1895, Gompers proposed that the federation select another union to strike for the eight-hour day on May 1, 1896, but nothing came of this proposal. However, on May 1, 1898, the United Mine Workers launched a drive for the eight-hour day.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 10

1. Sorge exaggerates here. The Amalgamated Association was restricted to skilled workers in the rolling mills and puddling furnaces and did not include the laborers who were increasingly an important element in the labor force. In 1891 the association claimed 290 lodges and 24,068 members. But even at this time, the period of its greatest strength, fully three-fourths of the ironworkers and steelworkers eligible for membership did not belong to the association.

2. The young twenty-one year old began saving early.—Note by Sorge.

3. Frick had only recently assumed control over the Carnegie Steel Company. He had already stamped out unionism in the coke regions, crushing strikes by means of the Coal and Iron Police, the Pinkerton guards, deputy sheriffs, and the state militia. Even before the strike started at Homestead, Frick began preparations to crush it by force and violence: he literally turned the steel plant into an armed fortress. In fact, it obtained the name, "The Fort That Frick Built."

4. A very small steamer in the service of the Homestead people.—Note by Sorge.
5. The fence went all the way to the bank of the river to gain a landing place within the works.—Note by Sorge.
6. Compare this with the sentences directly following.—Note by Sorge.
7. The spokesman and main leader of the Homestead workers.—Note by Sorge.
8. One of the strikers.—Note by Sorge.
9. The Farmers' Alliance is a large collection of small farmers from the west and south who elected a few members to Congress in 1890.—Note by Sorge.
 Editors' note: The Farmers' Alliance movement grew out of farmers' discontent over steadily declining prices for farm products, high prices for everything the farmers had to buy in a highly monopolized market, excessive railroad rates, usurious interest rates on loans and mortgages, and a rapid increase in farm tenancy. Although the Farmers' Alliance was founded about 1875 in Texas, it became a real force in the 1880s. The Alliance called for more currency, silver coinage, easier freight rates, government loans on crops, and government ownership and operation of the railroads. By 1891 it was estimated that the Farmers' Alliance had a membership of between 3 and 4.25 million members.
10. The civil service law is supposed to protect subaltern civil servants from arbitrary dismissal.—Note by Sorge.
11. This trade union for many years supported the Republican protective tariff party.—Note by Sorge.
12. This state of 63,000 inhabitants has exactly the same number of Senators (two) as New York with a population of six million.—Note by Sorge.
13. All influential politicians, big industrialists, and capitalists.—Note by Sorge.
14. These are the many fellows from Nevada, California, etc., who became terribly rich through exploiting mines and miners, a few of whom sit in the Senate where they support the fraud of silver currency to line their own pockets.—Note by Sorge.
15. Alexander Berkman, a young anarchist and later close associate of Emma Goldman, spent fourteen years in jail, being released in May 1906.
16. A shipment of two carloads of flour by the Nebraska Alliance for the strikers received wide publicity. Populist rallies all over the country adopted resolutions and sang songs extending "to organized labor at Homestead our heartfelt sympathy in its present struggle" (Foner, *History*, 2: 302, and *American Labor Songs of the Nineteenth Century* [Urbana, Ill., 1975], pp. 241–43, 276, 308).
17. This "reciprocity" has not yet brought the United States anything worth mentioning.—Note by Sorge.
18. These quotations recently made the rounds here and also in the bourgeois press.—Note by Sorge. See above, pp. 205–06.
19. According to the latest news, the miners of Tennessee have also gone over to the offensive in their struggle against convict competition by ripping down the fences and turning loose the convicts who work in the mines.
 The switchmen on various railroads have struck to achieve better working conditions, resulting in unrest in Buffalo and elsewhere.—Note by Sorge.
 Editors' note: The miners' strike was known as the "Coal Creek Rebellion." For a discussion of the strike, see Foner, *Labor Songs*, pp. 219–29.
 The Buffalo Switchmen strike ended in defeat but was an important factor in the creation of the American Railway Union, an industrial union of railroad workers

headed by Eugene V. Debs. See *ibid.*, pp. 253–55. Sorge does not mention the great general strike in New Orleans, which also occurred in 1892. See *ibid.*, pp. 200–203.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 11

1. This epilogue was written at the end of 1891 and in the opinion of the author reflects the situation of the movement at that time. Further and more up-to-date information can be found in the special reports in *Die Neue Zeit* in recent years (1892–1895). Any differences must be charged to the account of important events of the most recent period, events that must be observed and judged *not as such* but always within the context of the entire movement.—Note by Sorge.

2. The reference here is to Bismarck and the unification of Germany in 1871.

3. The Austro-Hungarian Empire contained dozens of different ethnic groups and nationalities with often conflicting interests until it fell into its component parts as a result of the defeat of the Central Powers and revolution in 1918. Organizing work for the Austrian trade unions and Labor party was thus made very difficult and in a number of ways similar to that of the AFL in terms of the lack of homogeneity.

4. Sorge is referring to the General Assembly meetings of the Second International made up of representatives of the labor parties in Europe with a permanent bureau in Brussels. Formed in 1889 the Second International followed the Marx-dominated First in an attempt to solidify the international aspect of socialism and coordinate the various national parties' efforts.

5. The reference here, of course, is to the execution of the anarchists accused of participating in the bombing in Haymarket Square, Chicago, May 3, 1886.

6. Sorge's approach to the AFL parallels that frequently expressed at this time by Samuel Gompers. Gompers repeatedly emphasized that the AFL had to avoid errors of the past in its operations. Among them was the practice, seen clearly in the case of the Knights of Labor, of permitting all sorts of non-working-class elements, including even employers, to belong to a labor union. The AFL, on the other hand, had to be exclusively for wage earners. There was room for non-working-class elements, even employers, to work jointly with the trade unions in broad, progressive movements, but the unions must be reserved for the worker.

Another danger of the past to be avoided was permitting the workers' organizations to be diverted from the immediate problems facing them. A major error of the past was hitching the labor movement to the wagons of different panacea peddlers who promised an easy solution of all of the problems of the working class. In this category should be placed such utopian nostrums as the single tax, currency reform, producers' cooperatives, and other enticing, all-embracing plans to lift the working class out of wage slavery by a shortcut.

One of the results of the middle-class reformist panaceas was that they tended to push the class struggle out of the minds of the workers by spreading illusions that they could be transformed into farmers, independent businessmen, or cooperative self-employers in an economic system under which workers were likely to remain workers throughout their lives.

For all of these reasons, Sorge felt that the AFL in its formative stage, despite weaknesses and inadequacies, represented an important step forward for the American

working class. Although it represented only a small minority of the American working class, the skilled workers, its approach was a working-class approach, unlike that of many of its predecessors, which had a middle-class outlook.

NOTES TO APPENDIX

1. John Stuart Mill (1806–1873), British philosopher, political economist, exponent of a Utilitarianism based on the ideas of Jeremy Bentham, and author of such works as *A System of Logic* (1843), *Principles of Political Economy* (1848), *On Liberty* (1859), and *Subjection of Women* (1869).

2. Thomas Brassey (1805–1870), leading British railway contractor who built railway lines all over the world.

3. The Rothschild family was the most famous of all European banking dynasties, and it exerted great influence for some 200 years on the economic and political history of Europe. The dynasty was centered in Frankfurt am Main, Germany.

4. George Stephenson (1781–1848), principal inventor of the railroad locomotive. On September 27, 1825, railroad transportation was born, when the first train ran from Darlington to Stockton in England, carrying 450 persons at fifteen miles per hour, with the steam locomotive built by Stephenson.

5. It is difficult to know what Sorge means by twenty-four (or twenty-two) years "since the labor party unfurled its banner" in Germany. Sorge wrote this in 1876, which would make the year he is talking about 1852. That year was the year of the Cologne Communist Trial and the dissolution of the Communist League, but no "labor party" was formed then. Lassalle and others formed the General German Workers' Association in 1863. In 1864 the Union of German Workers Societies under August Bebel was created. In 1869 at Eisenach Bebel's group and dissidents from Lassalle's organization formed the Social Democratic Workers' Party. In 1875 the Eisenachers and Lassalleans joined at Gotha in the Socialist Workers' Party of Germany (later renamed the Social Democratic Party of Germany). On the other hand, a number of histories of the German labor movement date the practical expression of the modern proletariat's struggle against capital from 1852. Thus: "From 1852 to 1859 the German workers were involved in over 100 strikes." (Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus beim ZK der SED, *Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, II, Berlin, 1966, 28), and "In the years 1852 to 1859 the number of the proletariat's economic struggles increased. The workers were organized in local craft unions and general labor unions in which the core of the trade union organization lay" (*Grundriss der Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung*, Berlin, 1966, 51).

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