

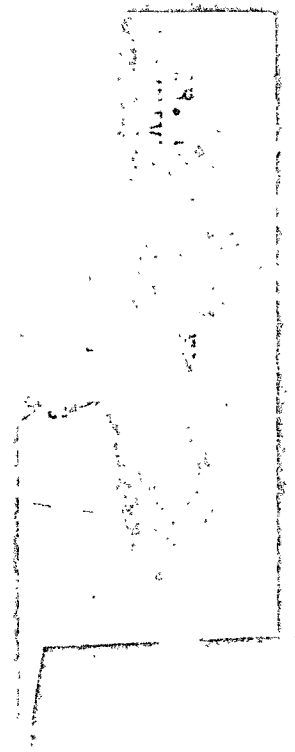
RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED

APR 19 1964

Handwritten text, possibly an address or recipient name, including "Mr. Johnson" and "New York, N.Y."

PRINTED MATTER

OAKLEY C. JOHNSON
140 W. 104th St., Apt. 15-D
New York, N.Y. 10025



It was a mild summer evening, still daylight, when the people began to gather. It was not the kind of a place, nor exactly the time to say farewell to "Wag". Only a few weeks ago he had looked so ruddy, had so few complaints, and now the sunny disposition everyone associated with him was stilled.

He had known each of the three hundred and sixty people who filled the seats in the funeral home, which had been rented because no hall could be secured. He had known, and been known to tens of thousands more in his lifetime. These were his co-workers. They had all participated in trade union organization, strikes, hunger marches, unemployed struggles, civil liberties and civil rights struggles for Negroes and foreign born, anti-fascist and peace movements. As a young man he had taught some Socialism which he had first learned from his father. Others remembered him as a Communist. The calendar of events in his life can be reckoned in outstanding labor and people's struggles in the U.S.A.

Seated in the first row was one of his daughters Helen, and her husband Carl, who carry on the third generation of Socialist and Communist thought and activity. There is another daughter Gene, their mother Hortense, two of his ten grandchildren, a brother, and his wife and co-worker Caroline. Another daughter Ruth had died, and Gertrude the oldest, married to a Venezuelan Communist, could not leave Mexico, where the family had migrated as political exiles.

On August 26, 1956, in Chicago, where he had spent his last seventeen years, eleven days after his 75th birthday, life ended for Alfred Wagenknecht. The newspapers reported "no mention was made of his soul", at the memorial services, and that "it was strange to hear a number who spoke pledging in his name to collect funds

for the newspaper which he helped to found - The Daily Worker.

Wag would have smiled to know that even after he had departed he went on to organize.

Alfred Wagenknecht was not one for reminiscence. He lived too much in the present and future. He wanted to be young and stay young, and seldom talked about age or the past.

His admiration for his father led him to relate incidents of his youth. When he was a year and a half old his father, a good shoemaker and cobbler, and his wife, packed up the family belongings and the feather bedding; the pride of every European immigrant. They left Goerlitz, Germany, for the promised wealth and liberty of America. Besides Alfred, they had an infant son. They were glad to leave behind the poverty, German militarism and political oppressions of Bismark and the Kaiser. Wag's father was a Freethinker and Socialist who did not believe in keeping his opinions to himself. A Freethinker in those days was a mixture of an agnostic and infidel.

The family settled in a poor Irish, Polish Catholic and German Lutheran neighborhood in Cleveland, Ohio, on the south side, at Jefferson Avenue and Herschel Street. This was in the "good old days" when shaves were five cents, hair cuts ten cents, wages ninety cents a day for unskilled labor, and one dollar and seventy five cents for skilled workmen. T

There was a grocery store on one corner where the boys including Al, as he was called, used to "lift" potatoes. They would take them to the woods a mile away, or to the swamps, where they would catch a frog or two, and have succulent frog legs with their baked potato. There was a candy store on the block where he and other children looked in at the window and decided a week in advance what kind they would take in exchange for their weekly penny allowance. The only Jewish family in the neighborhood had a variety store. It was located next door to the shoe store, with living quarters in the rear, which Wag's family rented. The picture would be incomplete without the corner saloon. Here according to Wag, the

adolescents, encouraged by adults and loaded with beer, plotted campaigns against the radical little shoemaker.

Wag was fond of telling the story about how his father argued in those days against prevailing superstitions. He would want to know if "anyone had ever seen an angel or devil; there must be millions; and did anyone ever see their droppings on the roofs or in the streets."

His father hung pictures of the Haymarket martyrs, Parsons, Spies, Engel, Fischer, Fielden, Schwab, Neebe in his home. For being sympathetic to these anarchists, and for being a Freethinker and Socialist, he was called vile names. Then a boycott was organized against him. The neighborhood did not give him shoes to repair. He got few new shoes to make. Teen agers stoned his windows, stole money out of his shop, and attacked his sons if they were caught some distance from home.

At twenty-eight his mother fell victim to the dread poor-man's disease - tuberculosis. She had born four sons. After she died Wag, the oldest, learned to scrub floors on his hands and knees, wash clothes on the scrubbing board, clean house and wash dishes.

The family's eating habits of those days left a lasting impression on Wag, and forever influenced his diet. Since there was little money on which to raise his family, the little shoemaker used to patronize a small slaughterhouse two miles away. In those days the nutrient value of liver was unknown, so the pluck, consisting of the heart, lung, liver and intestines were usually sold for five cents each. Animal heads were also cheap. Wag's father would then use his purchases to make blutwurst, summer sausage, and many other types of sausages and head cheese. Since his father also bought veal very cheap, because it was a little maggotty, and

which he bathed in vitriol to eliminate contamination, Wag never could eat veal.

Wag was proud of his father's role in the 1893 panic. He told how he spoke at large outdoor public meetings calling for aid to the unemployed. Wag tells how his father learned to talk about the reasons for the panic, ~~xxx~~ give concrete plans of organization, and help to secure some immediate help for those in need. Gone were the vague arguments and discussions about the soul, immortality, angels riding on clouds with harps, and everlasting hell fire. Now people who had formerly regarded him as strange and not one of them, began to demand that the "little shoemaker speak."

Hard times settled on the family too, and they had to move to an alley. His father was not satisfied with speaking, selling papers and literature, he also had to help get out the German Socialist paper. Once a week the two oldest boys walked to the west side of the city, to Welhelm's print shop on Pearl Street, to fold the paper their father edited. The paper was circulated from Buffalo to Chicago.

Fortunately there were six aunts and uncles living in the neighborhood. When there was no food at home the children could visit and eat. However, the relatives raised quite a rumpus demanding that the shoemaker "stick to his last." Once Uncle Herman, a tailor, shook his brother (Wag's father) when he found the children had been without food for two days. Their father was away making speeches. The children were cold and hungry. Wag said they decided to invest their last dime for coal to keep warm, rather than a loaf of bread.

Wag's father remained a member of the German Socialist movement in America. Wag felt very hurt when the Daily Worker did not carry

one word about his death. He felt it was ignoring American Socialist tradition, and his father's role in the struggles of the American workingclass. The Social Democrats took charge at the funeral. Wag insisted on his right to speak, regardless of the tradition that a member of the family does not talk at the funeral. He had to tell of his father's belief in the first Socialist government, and his pride in the Soviet Union. Furthermore, his father had not disapproved on his activities in the Communist Party, and he wanted no such impression to prevail.

In the twilight of the 19th and infancy of the 20th Century, in Wag's childhood and youth, shiploads of immigrants were coming to our shores. They brought their trade skills and ideas of religious, economic and political freedom and liberty. They came as carpenters and cabinet makers, printers, blacksmiths, metal workers, miners, weavers, journeymen shoemakers, tailors and other craftsmen. Some came with their heads filled with Socialist study, understanding the class struggle and the need for Socialism replacing Capitalism. Some had been members of the First International.

Unskilled workers came from Ireland when the potato crops failed. Skilled, unskilled and intellectuals came to escape Czarist tyranny, especially after the failure of the 1905 Revolution. Jews came to escape pogroms. Germans came to escape Bismark's Exceptional ? Laws. From France they came to escape the bloodbaths which followed the uprisings of 189? and 189?. Some came in answer to the hucksters calls to the "golden nation where money grows on trees."

A good description of immigration is given in "A Short History of Labour Conditions in the United States of America 1789 to the Present Day (pages 105 through 108) by Jurgen Kuczynski, formerly Statistician for the American Federation of Labor.

"From 1870 to 1880 immigration remained at the same level as from 1850 to 1860. About $2\frac{1}{2}$ million people in each decade came to settle in the States. Between 1880 and 1890 immigration almost doubled, but declined again between 1890 and 1900 to over $3\frac{1}{2}$ million.....By the end of the century more than four-fifths of the immigrants were living in the North Atlantic and Central States. In 1900 only about two-thirds of the population were native born and had native-born parents; and

almost one-fifth of these were Negroes.

"The immigrants were all accustomed to a lower standard of living than that prevailing in the United States. They were, therefore, the ideal labor force for the American employers who used them partly as for exploitation, and at the same time as a means of exerting pressure upon the standard of living of the native workers.

"A number of companies sprang up whose sole business was to organize the immigrants of labor into the United States.

"It is quite interesting to see how such companies worked. They employed as their agent a Government official who, of course, had more means of guaranteeing the necessary demand and supply of immigrants. They declared themselves ready to supply every kind of labor required so that there need be no shortage, and so that workers should be as little able as possible to put pressure upon the employers if they want an improvement of labor conditions. Finally, they explain that this also helps to equalize wage conditions in Europe and the United States; as they express it, it will lead to higher wages in Europe and thus hamper the competitive activities of Europe. But what they and the employers really expect from immigration is an 'equalization' which will lower wages in the States.

"The direct advantages are these: (so stated in their advertisement)

"1st. It secures a supply of diversified labor necessary to develop the varied resources of the country, and to prosecute every branch of industry.

"2nd. It offers facilities for large corporations or special industrial interests to import in sufficient quantity the special kind of labor which they require.

"3rd. It gives each individual employer the opportunity of supplying himself with the exact number and description of operatives he needs.

"4th. It will tend to equalize the value of labor in Europe and America, and thus by raising the rate of wages in the Old World, undermine and finally destroy its manufacturing suoremacy." *

These background differences, no longer a factor since _____ when low immigration quotas were established, became the "divide and conquer" tactic used against trade union organization. Socialist ideas were labelled foreign. This is still the case today, and for "good measure" is added the big lie of "Moscow agent", which is smeared on Communists.

Not all immigrants would praise the American "melting pot" ideas as being the most democratic. The rapid 'beat' in all stages of American development brought the Americanization 'squeeze' to all persons from distant shores. We did not think it cruel for a group of children, or even grown-ups, to follow a man or woman dressed in European clothes and yell "greenhorn, greenhorn", at the top of their voices. In these days of jet propulsion world-wide standardization of clothes is taking place. A new immigrant is no longer recognized by their clothes. The workmanship, color, artistry of patiently made, beautifully hand-embroidered, in some cases hand loomed linen native costumes, was not always admired. Better hide them in some trunk because they are "foreign". Learn the fox trot and how to jazz, your waltzes, mazurkas, polkas are foreign. Only today, when we are sure of our Americanization, with the overwhelming majority of the population being first and second generation native born, with few immigrants coming each year, can we call for the building of a Museum of Immigration, at the foot of the Statue

* A Documentary History of American Industrial Society, vol. ix, p 3

of Liberty. on Bedloe Island. We can now encourage the artistry of the polka, even danced in European costumes, on a popular radio and TV program.

Socialism in America already had a rich history when Wag became Washington State organizer of the Socialist Party in ____?. He used to recall that it was considered taking on greater responsibility when anyone left trade union organizing for Socialist Party organizational work.

Our young nation had experienced many movements since its founding. Utopian Socialist ideas were introduced in the 1820s and 30s in 19 cooperative colonies organized through the inspiration of Robert Owens. Then large and small movements were organized by many others, including about 40 phalanxes by Albert Brisbane, the American disciple of Fourier. Religious colonies, Populists, Greenback movement, Single Taxers basing themselves on Henry George; the Nationalist movement based on Edward Bellamy's book, "Looking Backward," co-operative societies, Christian Socialists, Anarchists, the Social Democratic Society, the Socialist Labor Party and many others had ~~grown~~ ~~and declined~~ mushroomed and decayed. Some split and reorganized; others merged; some still remain as sects.

*"The Socialists exerted considerable influence among unorganized workers. ~~in 1873~~ This was particularly true during the depression which followed the panic of 1873", says Ira Kipnis in his book "The American Socialist Movement 1897-1912. "The great movement of the unemployed of 1873-1874 was led by Socialists. Early demonstrations were impressive, for for a time it appeared that the Socialists would establish firm roots among the working class. But the American Socialist movement was torn by dissension, and by 1874 was so split on principles and tactics that the unemployed were left to shift for themselves." *

(* Note: Kipnis took this from Commons, et. al., History of Labour, II, 219-21.)

(development
of classes -
dictatorship
of the pro.)

INSERT

~~xxxxxxx~~ Marx on American scene

all excerpts from

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels
Letters to Americans 1848-1895

March 5, 1852 (Marx to Weydemeyer

"..Bourgeois society in the United States has not yet developed far enough to make the class struggle obvious and comprehensible"

~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~

"That bourgeois society in the United States has not yet developed far enough to make the class struggle obvious and comprehensive is most strikingly proved by H.C.Carey (of Philadelphia) the only American economist of importance. He attacks Ricardo, the most classical representative (interpreter) of the bourgeoisie and the most stoical adversary of the proletariat, as a man whose works are an arsenal for anarchists, socialists, and all the enemies of bourgeois society. He accuses not only him, but Malthus, Mill, Say, Torrens, Wakefield, McCulloch, Senior, Wakley, R. Jones, etc., in short, the economic masterminds of Europe, of tearing society apart and paving the way for civil war by their proof that the economic bases of the different classes must give rise to a necessary and ever-growing antagonism between them. He tries to refute them, not like the fatuous Heinzen, to be sure, by linking the ~~existing~~ existence of classes to the existence of political privileges and monopolies, but by attempting to demonstrate that economic conditions - rent (landlord property), profit (capital), and wages (wage labor) - are conditions of co-operation and harmony rather than conditions of struggle and antagonism. All he proves, of course, is that he takes the "undeveloped" social conditions of the United States to be "normal" social conditions.

As for me, no credit is due me for discovering either the existence of classes in modern society or the struggle between them. Bourgeois historians had described the historical development of this struggle of the classes long before me, and bourgeois economists had portrayed their economic ~~xxxx~~ anatomy. What I did that was new was to prove (1) (over)

that the ~~EXISTENCE~~ OF CLASSES is bound up only with SPECIFIC HISTORICAL PHASES IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTION: (2) that the class struggle necessarily leads to the dictatorship of the proletariat; (3) that

this dictatorship itself only constitutes the transition to the abolition of all classes and to a classless society. Heinen, who deny not only the struggle, but even the existence, of classes, merely prove that, despite all of their bloodcurdling yelps and humanitarian airs, they regard the social conditions under which the bourgeoisie rules as the final product, the non plus ultra (acme) of history, and that they are merely the servants of the bourgeoisie.

November 23, 1871.

Earl Marx letter to F. Bolte (look up date
Member of the Provisional Federal Council

"The International was founded in order to set the real organization of the working class for the struggle in the place of the socialist or semi-socialist sects: The original statutes as well as the inaugural address show that at a glance. On the other hand, the International would not have been able to maintain itself, if the course of history had not already destroyed sectarianism. The development of socialist sectarianism has always been inversely proportional to that of the real labor movement. As long as the sects as justified (historically), the working class is still not ripe enough for an independent historical movement. As soon as it reaches this maturity, all sects are essentially reactionary. Meanwhile, there has been repeated in the history of the international what history proves everywhere. The obsolete endeavors to re-establish and to maintain itself within the newly gained form.

"And the history of the international was an incessant struggle of the General Council against the sects and the endeavors of amateurs, who try to maintain themselves against the real movement of the working class within the international.

Post script to letter states.

... "The political movement of the working class naturally has as its goal the conquest of political power, and to that end ~~it~~ is necessary of course, a previous organization of the working class, developed to a certain degree, which arises of itself from the latter's economic struggles.

"On the other hand, however, every movement in which the working class as a class faces the ruling classes and attempts to force its will upon them by pressure from without, is a political movement and in this manner there everywhere arises from the scattered economic movement of the

a movement of the class, in order to fight for its interests in a general form, in a form which possesses general, socially compulsory force. When these movements are subordinate to a certain previous organization, they are just as much means towards the development of the latter organization.

Where the working class is not yet sufficiently advanced in its organization, in order to undertake a decisive campaign against the collective power, i.e. the political power, of the ruling class, it must under all circumstances be trained for this by incessant agitation against the hostile political attitude of the ruling class towards us. Failing, it remains a plaything in the latter's hands.

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ENGELS to Sorge

Letters etc.

London,
p. 162 November 29, 1886

(criticism of

Germans in USA)

Henry George movement
labor party

//.... "The Henry George boom has of course brought to light a colossal mass of fraud, and I am glad I was not there. But in spite of it all it was an epoch-making day. (The Germans have not understood how to use their theory as a lever which could set the American masses in motion; they do not understand the theory themselves for the most part and treat it in a doctrinaire and dogmatic way as something that has to be learned by heart, which then will satisfy all requirements forthwith.) To them it is a credo and not a guide to action. What is more, they learn no English on principle. Hence the American masses had to seek out their own path and seem to have found it for the time being in the Knights of Labor, whose confused principles and ludicrous organization seem to correspond to their own confusion. But from all I hear, the K. of L., are a real power, especially in New England and the West, and are becoming more so every day owing to the brutal opposition of the capitalists. I think it is necessary to work inside them, to form within this still quite plastic mass a core of people who understand the movement and its aims and will thereby take over the leadership, at least a section, when the inevitably impending breakup of the present "order" takes place. The rottenest side of the K. of L. was their political neutrality, which has resulted in sheer trickery on the part of the Powerlys, etc., but....

The first great step of importance for every country newly entering into the movement is always the constitution of the workers as an independent political party, no matter how, so long as it is a distinct workers' party. ^{And} ~~xx~~ this step has been taken, much more rapidly than we had a right to expect, and that is one main thing. That the first program of this party is still confused and extremely deficient, that is as

Over the...

raised the banner of Henry George, these are unavoidable evils but also merely transitory ones. The masses must have time and opportunity to develop, and they can have the opportunity only when they have a movement of their own - no matter in what form so long as it is their own movement - in which they are driven further by their own mistakes and learn through their mistakes. The movement in America is at the ~~xxx~~ same stage as it was with us before 1848; the really intelligent people there will first have to play the part played by the Communist League among the workers' associations before 1848. Except that in America now things will proceed infinitely faster; for the movement to have gained such election successes after scarcely eight months of existence is wholly unprecedented. And what is still lacking will be set going by the bourgeoisie; nowhere in the whole world do they come out so shamelessly and tyrannically as over there, and your judges brilliantly outshine Bismarck's pettifoggers in the Reich. Where the bourgeoisie wages the struggle by such methods, the struggle comes to a decision rapidly, and if we in Europe do not hurry up the Americans will soon outdistance us. But just now it is doubly necessary to have a few people on our side who are thoroughly versed in theory and well-tested tactics and can also speak and write English, because, for good historical reasons, the Americans are worlds behind in all theoretical questions, and while they did not bring over any medieval institutions from Europe, they did bring over masses of medieval traditions, religion, English common (feudal law, superstition, spiritualism, in short, every kind of imbecility which was not directly harmful to business and which is now very serviceable for stupefying the masses. If there are people at hand there whose minds are theoretically clear, who can tell them the consequences of their own mistakes beforehand and make clear to them that every moment which does not keep the destruction of the wage system constantly in view as the final

for
the

Letters

Nov. 29, 1886 cont'd

2
goal is bound to go astray and fail- then much nonsense can be avoided
ant the process considerably shortened. But it must be done in English;
the specific German character must be laid aside, and for that the gentle-
men of the Socialist hardly have the qualifications, while those of the
Volkzeitung are cleverer only where business is involved.
(italics)

(CRITICISM OF GERMANS)

p 237 Engels to Sorge
London, October 24, 1891

"I can well believe that the movement over there is ebbing again.
Over there everything proceeds with great ups and downs. But every up
wins grounds conclusively, and so one advances after all. Thus the
tremendous strike wave of the Knights of Labor and the 1886-1888 strike
movement has put us ahead despite all the recoils. For there is an
altogether different life in the masses than before. The next time even
more ground will be won. But with all that the native American working-
man's standard of living is considerably higher than even that of the
British, and that alone suffices to place him in the rear for still some
time to come. Then there is the competition of immigration and other
things. when the time comes things will go ahead over there tremendously
fast and energetically, but it may take some time until then. Miracles
happen nowhere. And then there is the misfortune of the arrogant Germans,
who want to play the schoolmaster and commander in one, and make the
natives dislike learning even the best things from them...."

up
down
W.C.
Lear
take
time

Letters

(need for a native
American movement use
when talk of split with
SP)

~~xx285~~

Engels to Mrs. Florence Kelley Wischnewetzky

London, February 9, 1887

p 169

..."As soon as there was a national American workingclass movement, independent of the Germans, my standpoint was clearly indicated by the facts of the case. The great national movement, no matter what its first form, is the real starting point of American workingclass development. "

...."All my letters to America...from the very beginning, have repeated this view over and over again. ~~xxxxx~~

L:etters

(theory)
(Americans hard to learn)

Engels to Schlueter, London, January 11, 1890

p. 222

.. "The American workers are coming along all right, but just like the English they go their own way. One cannot drum theory into them beforehand, but their own experience and their own blunders and the resulting evil consequences will bump their noses up against theory - and then all right. Independent peoples go their own way, and the English and their offspring are surely the most independent of them all. Insular stiff-necked obstinacy annoys one often enough, but it also guarantees that what is begun will be carried out once a thing gets started.... "

Engels to Sorge, London, January 6, 1892

p 238-9

... "You in America have a movement that moves in ups and downs, continually gives rise to disappointments, and hence can easily lead to pessimism. *M*

.. "There is no place yet in America for a third party, I believe. The divergence of interests even in the same class group is so great in that tremendous area that wholly different groups and interests are represented in each of the two big parties, depending on the locality, and almost each particular section of the possessing class has its representatives in each of the two parties to a very large degree, though today big industry forms the core of the Republicans on the whole, just as the big landowners of the South form that of the Democrats. The apparent haphazardness of this jumbling together ~~is~~ is what provides the splendid soil for the corruption and the plundering of the government that flourish there so beautifully. Only when the land - the public lands - is completely in the hands of the speculators, ~~the~~ ^{and} settlement on the land thus becomes more and more difficult or falls victim to gouging - only then, I think, will the time come, with peaceful development, for a third party. Land is the basis of speculation, and the American speculative mania and speculative opportunity are the chief levers that hold the native-born workers in bondage to the bourgeoisie. Only when there is a generation of native-born workers that cannot expect anything from speculation any more, will we have a solid foothold in America. But, of course, who can count on peaceful development in America! There are economic jumps over there, like the political ones in France- to be sure, they produce the same momentary retrogressions.

"The small farmer and the petty bourgeois will hardly ever succeed in forming a strong party; they consist of elements that change too rapidly- the farmer is often a migratory farmer, farming two, three and four farms

(over)

in succession in different states and territories, immigration and bankruptcy promote the change in personnel in each group, and economic dependence upon the creditor also hampers independence,--but to make up for it they are a splendid element for politicians, who speculate on their discontent in order to sell them out to one of the big parties afterwards.

"The tendacity of the Yankees, who are even rehasing the Greenback humbug, is a result of their theoretical backwardness and their Anglo-Saxon contempt for all theory. They are punished by this by a superstitious belief in every philosophical and economic absurdity, by religious sectarianism, and idiotic economic experiments, out of which, however, certain bourgeois cliques profit."

Letters, etc.

Engels to Sorge

labor party

London, December 2, 1893

P. 257

... "The German socialists in America are an annoying business. The people you get over there from Germany are usually not the best - ~~xx~~ they stay here - and in any event they are not at all a fair sample of the German party. And as is the case everywhere, each new arrival feels himself called upon to turn everything he finds upside down, turning it into something new, so that a new epoch may date from himself. Moreover, most of these greenhorns remain stuck in New York for a long time or for life, continually reinforced by new additions and relieved of the necessity of learning the language of the country or of getting to know American conditions properly. All of that certainly causes much harm, but, on the other hand, ^{it} is not to be denied that American conditions involve ~~e~~ very great and peculiar difficulties for a steady development of a workers' party.

"First, the Constitution, based as in England upon party government, which causes every vote for any candidate not put up by one of the two governing parties to appear to be lost. And the American, like the Englishman, wants to influence his state; he does not throw his vote away.

"Then, and more especially, immigration, which divides the workers into two groups: the native-born and the foreigners, and the latter in turn into (1) the Irish, (2) the Germans, (3) the many small groups, each of which understands only itself: Czechs, Poles, Italians, Scandinavians, etc. And then the Negroes. To form a single party out of these requires quite unusually powerful incentives, *Often there is a sudden violent elan, but the bourgeois need only wait passively, and the dissimilar elements of the working class fall apart again.

(over)

"Third, through the protective tariff system and the steadily growing domestic market the workers must have been exposed to a prosperity no trace of which has been seen here in Europe for years now..

"A country like America, when it is really ripe for a socialist Workers' party, certainly cannot be hindered from having one by the couple of German Socialist doctrinaires."

Karl Marx and Frederick Engels kept in close touch with developments in the U.S.A. During the Civil War, Karl Marx wrote for Horace Greeley's paper _____?. They carried on extensive correspondence with German members of the First International who migrated to America. ~~affixing~~ The following excerpts from their letters, although lengthy, throws light on problems arising during that period. Many are still plaguing us today.

March 5, 1852 Marx to Weydemeyer
 November 23, 1871 Marx to F. Bolte
 November 29, 1886 Engels to Sorge
 February 9, 1887 Engels to Mrs. Florence Kelley Wischnewetzky
 January 11, 1890 Engels to Schlueter
 January 6, 1892 Engels to Sorge
 December 2, 1893 Engels to Sorge

Who can say we have solved the questions of doctrinairism, sectarianism, proceeding with great ups and downs, humbug or as Engels says about the Henry George Boom "a colossal mass of fraud". The question of a labor party still commands our attention, and theoretical backwardness and "Anglo-Saxon contempt for all theory" is a daily part of our lives.

Since all the above quotations are from "Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, Letters to Americans, 1848-1895" which was copyrighted in 1953, They could not serve as a guide to Wag and other Socialists, at the turn of the century.

The Socialist Party was organized July 29, 1901 at a joint convention assembled in Indianapolis, Indiana. It consisted of 129 delegates; 70 coming from Hillquit's group, which was a split off from the Socialist Labor Party, dominated by Daniel DeLeon. There were 47 delegates from Debs' group, which was an outgrowth of the Socialist Democratic Party, and 8 were from smaller groups. Most of the delegates were native born, and three of the delegates were Negroes. This is the first time Negroes were present at any Socialist convention.

The American Socialist Party, like others which were part of the Second International, had within it many and varying trends of thought. ~~They~~ Wag would tell of the "silver tongued reformers"; the Catholic Priests, Protestant and other denomination ministers who were Christian Socialists; the believers in government ownership; he met who were members of the Socialist Party. These were comparable to the Fabians (the Right-wing) in the British Socialist Party; the Mensheviks in the Russian Social Democratic Party, and the slang references to the "Sausage" Socialists who were the Right-wing in the German Socialist Party.

Wag said
Many of the Socialist Party members he met were members of labor unions. Some were officials of American Federation of Labor Local Unions. In the Free Speech Fights Wag participated in, he met many I.W.W. members, who were also Socialists. He met Bill Haywood, leader of the Western Federation of Miners, I.W.W. and later National Committee member of the Socialist Party.

~~One of the people~~
A Socialist
One of the people who greatly influenced Wag's thinking was Dr. Herman F. Titus. He met him in Washington State in 190? .
(Try to get some personal anecdotes from Hortense).

Kipnis - Herman F. Titus

p 177

"The most complete exposition of Left Socialist ideology before the development of "industrial socialism" was made by Titus in a series of articles entitled "Revolutionary and Reform Socialism" published in his paper between January and March 1906. The arguments were much the same as those developed by the Center Left in 1901 and 1902. Now, however, the Center no longer accepted its early analysis.

"Titus contended that there were only two kinds of Socialism, reform and revolutionary. Fabian, Christian, utopian, state, and municipal socialism were all forms of reform socialism. They were products of middle-class struggle against monopoly, and not of working-class struggle against capital. Revolutionary socialism was based on scientific method and recognition of certain scientifically determined facts. Titus found three key facts prerequisite to an understanding of the social process; (1) that the workers did not receive the products they created, but only a subsistence upon which they might live; (2) that capital and labor were engaged in a class struggle which would continue as long as capitalism existed; and (3) that the government was an organ of capitalist rule.

"Titus held that these facts demonstrated that the working class need have no concern with the various reform movements and measures which were the product of the quarrel between big and little capital as to who should have the privilege of robbing the workingclass. The Socialist Party organization must be based on class struggle so that all powers of government may be won through workingclass activity at the polls. When the working class, through the Socialist Party, had swept the country in the national elections it would use the power of government to end capitalism and institute socialism.

" "Notwithstanding how it is sugarcoated, Socialism will not go down the throats of the workingclass until they thoroughly understand what

11

Kipnis

P 178 - Titus cont.'d

what it is and that they want it.' Failure to base all party activity on recognition of the class struggle would cause the Socialists to go the way of the Populists. The Socialist Party, therefore, should devote itself to educating the workingclass and the members of its own party in principles of scientific socialism."The Left welcomed middle-class converts to socialism, but insisted that they support a workingclass program.

see below

Note p 27

"One of the reasons why the Right wing of the SP so consistently outmaneuvered the Left wing was the latter's peristent refusal to recognize the fact that Hillquit, while continuing to give verbal support to revolutionary socialism, was actually allied with the Right to crush the "revolutionaries." As late as July, 1908, Herman F. Titus, the leader of the party's Left wing in the state of Washington, insisted that Hillquit was the one revolutionary member of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. (Herman F. Titus, "Executive Partisanship", The Socialist, Seattle, July 25, 1908).

And further:

P 205 (attach to above)

*This is not H.F. Titus statement
submitted to the party in fighting*

"The Left held that all wage labor was exploited, and it did not matter to the proletariat whether surplus value was extracted by trusts, little business, or government. The Socialist Party will gain the respect and be the Party of the workingclass, and that is the class that works for wages, only by forgetting all other classes, and fighting for its own,%. The Left said that the proletariat could not concern itself with the metaphysical problem of separating the capitalist from his system. Nor ~~could~~ could the workingclass ignore the class struggle and repudiate scientific socialism in order to join Bryan and Theodore

*for 1903
SD
flat
form*

(over)

Roosevelt in crying 'down with the trusts!'

Ira Kipnis in his book on the American Socialist Movement, has the following to say about Herman Titus.

quote 19 and 20

The clashes between the Left-wing and Right-Wing were very sharp. William Z. Foster, in his "History of the Communist Party in which he and Wag participated, of the United States" describes one incident/as follows:

"The first crucial struggle developed in the state of Washington, coming to a split at the Everett Convention, held in July 1909. The leader of the left was Dr. Herman F. Titus...The local leader of the Right-wing was Dr. E. J. Brown, a rank opportunist... The immediate cause of the split was a fight over control of the convention; but the basic reason was a long developing opposition generally among the Left-wingers to petty bourgeois domination of the Socialist Party. The outcome was a split and then two Socialist Parties in the State. The National Executive Committee recognized the Right-wing forces in Washington, although the Left clearly had a majority. Consequently the latter found themselves outside the Party, most of them, including Foster, never to return."

Ira Kipnis describes the incident in some detail.xx He also states that "According to 'Minutes of the National Executive Committee, December 18, 1908, Socialist Party Official Bullentin, April 30, 1910., In proportion to population the Left-Wing Washington Socialist Party had the highest membership and second highest vote in the country." *

The story follows: "

"According to "Minutes of the National Executive Committee, December 18, 1908, Socialist Party Official Bulletin, April 30, 1910, (note on page 373 Kipnis)" In proportion to population the Left-Wing Washington Socialist Party had the highest membership and second highest vote in the country.

~~...The fact that the fight which determined the~~
cd

Since the events which ~~xxxxxx~~ occurred in Washington state from 1906 through 1909 led ~~to~~ Herman F. Titus, Alfred Wagenknecht and William Z. Foster to leave the Socialist Party, *and note on Boston to why Z.F. left?* the latter never to return, it is interesting to relate the ~~incidentxxxxxxwhichxxxxxx~~ occurrences.

"Late in 1906 the Washington Rightwing Socialists invited Walter Thomas Mills ((page 180 Kipnis; sometimes minister, evangelist, and temperance lecturer who had come to the Socialist Party by way of the Democratic Party and a series of co-operative ventures of doubtful legality. His trail in the socialist movement, which leads from Chicago to Australia, is strewn with charges of immorality, dishonesty, and fraud. In 1903, after the failure of a series of socialist schools, from which, however, he apparently succeeded in extracting a fair profit, Mills began to use his position as National committeeman from Kansas as a credential for renting himself at fifteen dollars per day to local party organizations and dissident socialist propaganda clubs for the purpose of factional activity.) to leave Chicago and take charge of their campaign to gain control of their state's party. When Mills arrived,

Kipnis

p 373 cont'd

He suggested that a 'good government' campaign be offered in place of the Left wing's effective fight for free speech, relief for the unemployed, and union organization. All efforts should be concentrated on getting the support of 'solid, earnest citizens.' Furthermore said Mills, acceptance of Socialist ideology need not be a requirement for party membership. Everyone who voted the Socialist or Socialist-supported reform ticket should have a voice in party decisions. The resultant factional fight was bitter, accompanied by numerous suspensions, expulsions, and referendums. At the July, 1909, state convention the Right-wing was in the majority for the first time in the state's history. The Left charged the Right with unconstitutional conduct at the convention's opening sessions, walked out of the convention, and held one of their own. A referendum of the state's membership was held to determine which of the two state committees had the support of a majority of the Socialists. Before the referendum could be completed, the National Executive Committee declared it illegal and recognized the organization of the constructive Socialists. Herman Titus and other Left-wing leaders in the state promptly abandoned the party as unworthy of their further support."

cd

It is too bad that The Washington Left did not have the benefit of the struggle carried on ~~by~~ ^{in 1908} the Bolsheviks led by Lenin against the Mensheviks, on what constitutes a party member. Lenin and the Bolsheviks thought this question of such importance that ^{it led to a} ~~a split took place~~ in the Russian Social Democratic Party.

It is forty years since the first crack was made in the capitalist system. Forty years is a long time in an individual's lifetime. Wag often expressed his joys at having seen Socialism established in the one-sixth of the world formerly ruled by Czars. His dreams became further realities when millions of people in Europe and China decided to replace capitalism after World War II. They established the type of governments which would eventually grow into Socialism. Historically speaking, when we realize that slavery lasted for years, Feudalism years, and capitalism in the U.S.A. dates from 1776, when the 13 Colonies revolted against Great Britain and became a nation; forty years is a very short time.

It is, therefore, not a question of Socialists like Wag thinking everything the Soviet Union did was correct. It was rather giving support to a new social system whose former privileged class wanted to get back into the saddle, on the people's backs. There was need for support so encircling hostile capitalist countries could not destroy the Soviet Union. Capitalism always feared being subject to co-existence. The capitalist world did send its trained armies, and armed might in 1918-19?? to overthrow the weak and industrially backward Soviet state, established by the workers and peasants. The capitalists never wanted the people in their own countries to see and judge for themselves how Socialism works. This fear still haunts them.

The Socialist Party before 1917 did not have any living examples to give in answer to questions. Here are a few which were asked according to Wag. "Wont pæple be lazy and refuse to work. How can you do without the rich. Suppose there were not some people to take the money we poor people make, and spend it, thereby giving us work; how would we poor folks then find something to do?"

Will it work has been answered affirmatively, even though it took the U.S.A. until when FranklingD. Roosevelt was President, to recognize and establish relations with the Soviet Union. We have not yet recognized the new social order in Chinag established in . How it will work is being answered in many ways. Each country must work out its own problems on the basis of its own background, degree of industrialization it has been able to achieve,,the amount of democracy the people have been able to win in the many years the capitalist system had been in existence. In other words the advances made during the ^{life of} capitalism to complete the bourgeoise democratic revolution.

Experiences in countries where the workers, farmers and democratically minded people have taken power shows that there are some basic Marxist-Leninist theories which have to be followed to make advances. One such basic conception is that since large scale modern industry is run socially, it should be owned socially, and not by individuals for their own personal prof it. The land should be given to those who work on it. However, eventually to make life easier, advantageously use large scale machinery, and secure greater productivity, producers co-operatives should be established. Large scale collective farms come later. The oppressed minorities, whether they have a different language and culture, or a different color skin, must end. A new constitution basing itself on the new organization of society, and new way of life, eventually has to be introduced and voted on by the people.

These were not the questions troubling the Socialist Party/^{the} early part of the century. Since the ^{Party} was quite "respectable" we can go to the Saturday Evening Post to find ^{what was} out. In 1909 that magazine asked ten leading members of the Socialist Party; J. Mahlon Barnes, Victor

Berger, Bernard Berlin, John C. Chase, Eugene V. Debs, Robert Hunter, William Mailly, Upton Sinclair, A.M. Simons, Gaylor Wilshire, "what steps they would take to establish the co-operative commonwealth if their party were to win the Presidency and a majority in Congress. The majority of the replies were not prefaced with a declaration that Socialism would not come via a Socialist Party sweep of political offices. Rather, they said, it was now coming through those reforms which were making the country's political life more democratic, and through an extension of municipal and government regulations and ownership.

"They further said that if the Socialist Party were suddenly to win public office it would continue development of the co-operative commonwealth already taking place through the gradual purchase of the major trusts at full value. Only Eugene Debs held that if the party won complete victory it would 'doubtless proceed by legal and orderly means to abolish the capitalist political state and establish an industrial democracy- that is to say, they will supplant the capitalist government of men with the democratic administration of things.' He continued that the new Socialist society would then take over as rapidly as possible the essential means of social production, beginning with the monopolies. Debs did not specify the means by which the monopolies would become public property, but his position on that subject was well known - confiscation. The answers furnished by the Socialist leaders and printed by the Post were of a nature which permitted that magazine to comment: "We leave it to our readers to judge whether the preachers of this new gospel have a cure for social ills which they or anyone else can apply practically."*

*Ira Kipnis Page 221, also his reference "Practical Socialism, Is There Any Such Thing? The Saturday Evening Post CLXXXI (May 8, 1909, 8,9, 55)."

After the formation of the Communist Party, the Saturday Evening Post had another method of giving that party's position. They had their "experts" ^{on the subject;} do the writing. These were the kind of experts who ~~were~~ are so prejudiced and opposed to Communism, they take as ~~their~~ gospel truth the fact that all Communists are "foreign agents".

After reading this section of Mr. Kipnis's book, Wag made a note to the effect that "the capitalist system has travelled quite some distance since those days. They have accepted "creeping Socialism". Not only FDR (Franklin D. Roosevelt) but Truman and even Taft were guilty of "creeping Socialism" according to the McCarthyites. Yes, capitalism and their spokesmen have been forced by the workers and ^{the reforms of} all progressive people to accept/'creeping Socialism'. But dont touch their monopolies. And as long as the representatives of monopoly are in the saddle why should they worry."

Mr. Kipnis in his book says: " quote p 117 -see attached)

This Right-wing thinking came from the new members joining its ranks. Mr. Foster describes them as follows: "The Party was already attracting a large and motley array of doctors, lawyers, dentists, preachers, small businessmen, and other reformers and opportunists. These elements, the radical wing of the city middle class, then being crushed by the advancing trusts, hoped to make use of the proletarian membership and following of the Party for their own ends, and they descended upon the Socialist Party in force. By concentrating upon innumerable opportunist partial demands and by damping down all militant struggle and revolutionary propoganda they were transforming the Party into a vehicle for middle class reform.*

* Foster's History page 101

Kipnis

p 11 7

"The Right wing of the Socialist Party agreed with much of the early Center-Left theory. On such matters as the failure of capitalism, the futility of trust-busting and regulations, and especially the need to capture the government through the election of Socialists to public office, there was little that distinguished the three party factions. But there were sharp differences on other matters. And before many elections had gone by, the Center ~~xxx~~ accepted more and more of the Right analysis as more "practical" for a party devoted to success at the polls.

"The American Right wing made no secret of the source of its ideology. The rise of the relatively privileged leadership of the craft unions and of the new middle class-the professionals and relatively high-paid salaried employees-had been accompanied by attempts to revise Marxian teachings to meet their needs and ambitions."

By 1908 there were 300 preachers , with other professional groups in proportion in the Socialist Party. ^{Among} the millionaires ~~were~~ ^{were} Socialists ~~included~~ Stokes, Walling, Loyd, Patterson, Hunter, and there were others.

According to ^{The Socialist Review} Mr. Kipnis's book "The Left

P 308-9 Kipnis ideology of Left

better part in ways

"The Left declared that the proletariat would furnish its own political and intellectual leaders. They might not have the questionable advantage of a college education, but they would have learned from their daily life the facts of the class struggle and economic determinism. Every day they witnessed unemployment and poverty contrasted with over-production and wealth and therefore needed no metaphysical investigation of the truths of scientific socialism in which intellectual leaders were perpetually engaged. The revolutionaries found that socialist propaganda written by intellectuals concerned itself with answering the objections of members of their own class. They claimed that the proletariat was not interested in whether socialism would end graft, kill incentive, break up the family, or destroy religion. Nor was it concerned about the "spiritual significance of socialism". Proletarian propaganda would be directed at arousing class consciousness and strengthening class solidarity in the industrial unions and the Socialist Party (from International

*Socialist Review + E. E. Rotherberg
NY Call*

The literature which the Socialist Party published further added to the confusion. "In 1904, when the party had 20,000 members, it had about forty daily, weekly, and monthly papers and magazines. In 1912, with membership climbing over the 100,000 mark, the party boasted no fewer than 323 papers and periodicals - five English and eight foreign-language dailies, 262 English and 36 foreign-language weeklies, ten English and two foreign-language monthlies. The national office sent out weekly mimeographed "propaganda articles" to 400 Socialist, union and other papers which agreed to print at least one article a week, and in 1911 it began to keep a press representative in Washington during Congressional sessions." (Kipnis page 247)

The newspapers were all privately owned. "The Left wing took cognizance of the fact that most Socialist newspaper owners and editors belonged to the middle class and tended to publicize theories and policies of a non-Marxist, reformist character." (Kipnis p 246)

The Left-wing put up a struggle at the 1904 Convention in San Francisco for an official ~~xxxxxxx~~ Socialist Party ~~xxxxxxx~~ press. The motion was defeated on the grounds that the editors of such a party press would be able to dictate party policy. The real reason was that the Center group in the Socialist Party did not want to weaken the influence of such papers as the New York Worker and the Chicago Socialist, which represented their position. A constitutional provision was adopted forbidding the National Committee to publish or designate an official party organ. When a Center-Right wing coalition wanted to establish such an organ in 1909, the Left-Wing ~~xxxx~~ had an instrument to stop them.

Chicago, *non-cooperative socialist*
 Charles H. Kerr in ~~New York~~ *Chicago* was an important publisher. They printed the International Social Review, ~~xxxx~~ which enjoyed a circulation of about 200,000, and ~~printed many articles carrying the Left-wing~~ *editorial* support. Kerr also printed ~~xxxxxx~~ Marx's Capital, and other theoretical works.

Wag liked to mark, clip and keep what he considered well written expressions. Some even clashed with his ideas. He got quite a "chuckle" out of this one:

"Inevitably, the world's future depends on ideas. The man whose political philosophy has triumphed over half the globe rarely moved from his chair in the reference room of the British Museum. If we are effectively to combat the ideas of Karl Marx, we can do it only with our minds and spirits, not with jet planes for statesmen or soldiers."

~~Since~~ Wag, like many other Socialists, did a great deal of work for the "Appeal To Reason", ~~an~~ understanding of the ~~maxims~~ owner of this paper, its program and policies, would help ~~to~~ understand the times.

"Julius A. Bayland, a publisher was determined singlehandedly to 'Yankeefy' the American socialist movement.

(continue with Kipnis)

Kipnis

p 44 Julius A. Wayland, a publisher determined singlehandedly to "Yankeefy" the American socialist movement. Beginning as an unsuccessful Indiana small town newspaper editor, and then achieving some success as a job printer in Pueblo, Colorado, Julius Wayland finally stumbled onto the real estate speculation which by 1890 had made him a small fortune. In that year a Pueblo shoemaker, probably a Fabian socialist, saw in Wayland's sympathy for striking railroad workers, a base on which he could build a socialist edifice. The speculator emerged from the protracted debates with the shoemaker with a strong if somewhat hazy conviction that socialism must replace capitalism. He immediately closed his real estate office and gave full time to "trying to get my neighbors to see the truths I have learned". (His own quotation from Wayland's Leaves of Life). Wayland had absorbed enough socialist theory, however, to conclude that the American economy was about to go through another crisis, and in 1892 he began to turn his property into cash. Always a hard-headed businessman, he accepted nothing but gold and government bonds from the banks, insisting that they "were gold standard men and should be given a taste of their own medicine." The panic of 1893 found socialist speculator Wayland with eighty thousand dollars in gold cached away in safety deposit boxes, ready to begin his career as a socialist publisher.

"During the election campaign of 1892 Wayland had undertaken the publication of a local labor paper. Within three months he had boosted its circulation from a few hundred nonpaying to 2,700 paying subscribers. In February 1893, he moved to Greensburg, Indiana, where he established The Coming Nation, a socialist weekly which had its largest circulation among left-wing Western Populists. The Coming Nation was an immediate success, and by July, 1894, Wayland was ready

(over)

Wayland's

Leaves of Life describes The Coming Nation as a four-page weekly selling

at a subscription price of 50¢ a year. No figures are available on its

circulation. N.W. Ayer and Son's American Newspaper Annual for 1895

(p 189) describes its political position as "Nationalist", not as

"Socialist."

Kipnis

p 45 contd

to take the next step in the classical utopian pattern, the founding of a co-operative colony. Ruskin Colony, established in Tennessee City, had as its main enterprise the publication of the Coming Nation. Although the paper continued to thrive, the colony was soon torn by the dissension accompanying most utopian ventures. Within a year Wayland had packed and left, leaving the colony his paper and press.

"A month later the first issue of his new paper, The Appeal to Reason, was mailed from Kansas City, and a few months later the Appeal was established in its permanent home in Girard. From that small Kansas town its pointed paragraphs, easy style, and constantly reiterated message were to make it the trail blazer of the socialist movement throughout the country. With a circulation that in a decade grew to 260,000, the reform socialism of the Appeal did much to set the tone of the American socialist movement.

P248

"In 1908 The Appeal to Reason had a weekly circulation of almost four hundred thousand.

"Without question the most successful of ...all the socialist papers was Julius Wayland's Appeal to Reason. Simple and direct in style, sensational and muckraking in approach, with a subscription price of 25¢ a year, the Appeal maintained a circulation that usually varied between 300, and 500,000. As a promotor of newspaper circulation Wayland had few equals. The low price coupled with contests for steam yachts, trips to Europe, bonuses, and commissions enabled him to organize tens of thousands of Appeal reads and most party organizers into an "Appeal Army" perpetually engaged in selling subscriptions. For, as the "Appeal Army" was informed, socialism could not be won through violence but only through "the Book and the Ballot." Special exposé issues,

p 248 contd

issues, such as that of December, 1905, on trusts, sometimes sold as many as three million copies. Orders for bundles of hundreds of thousands would pour in for weeks before publication, and virtually the entire adult population of Girard, Kansas, would be engaged in wrapping and mailing."

The "Hyer - Haywood" edition and "Debs Reply to Teddy Roosevelt" issue reached close to three million circulation. C.D.

~~Wag felt that~~

always

Wag's contention/was that we had lots to learn from the Appeal to Reason, regardless of its many faults. He felt the paper knew how to crusade on an issue, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ He would tell how ~~the~~ ~~xxxx~~ entire issue would be taken up with one question, and then ~~the~~ following issues would do the same. This would dramatize the issue and make it possible to get people to work for the issue.

In building circulation: Wag would tell how the Appeal to Reason would advertise for some time in advance ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ the ~~issue~~ which would be "crusading for an issue". They would call for special bundle orders, and it would not be hard to get people to agree to buy bundles, and then go out and sell or distribute the papers, at the same time talking about the issue raised. The low price of the paper ~~while it possible to buy~~ ~~self~~ ~~subscriptions~~ subscription sales. And Wag liked the simple, dramatic way in which it was written.

p 249

"The Appeal was ably edited by Fred D. Warren, who continued to publish the paper after Wayland committed suicide in 1912. The first page, when not devoted to some particularly colorful expose of corruption rampant in trustified America, was made up of an article by Eugene Debs and a series of one-and two-paragraph observations on

Kipnis - Cont'd

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happenings of the week and the obvious advantages of socialism. Thus "You think the right to vote for public officers enlarges your liberty and makes you a sane man, and also that to vote on who shall be your boss at the shop, what hours you should work and what should be done with the earnings, would curtail your liberty and put you on a level with your employer. You certainly have a great mind." And, "Industry is in the hands of the workers and out of the hands of the capitalists now. All that stands between the workers and industrial freedom are paper walls known as titles."

"The inside pages were devoted to descriptions of how socialism would benefit the farmer, worker, small businessman, professionals, women and children, including detailed descriptions of life in the new society. In addition to pictures of the 'good life to come for all as soon as socialism was voted in, inside pages also carried muckraking articles and prepublication serialization of such books as Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*, and Gustavus Myer's, *History of the Great American Fortunes*, and *History of the Supreme Court of the United States*.

"In his use of the paper as a source of advertising revenue, Wayland was unscrupulous. (Note: In 1906 the Appeal had an income of \$10,000 a month according to Upton Sinclair, "The Socialist Party," *The World's Work*, XI April 1906, 7431-32). The faith of its readers in the Appeal was enormous, and Wayland did not hesitate to claim that he had investigated and found valid virtually every enterprise which took a full-page advertisement. Appeal readers were told, indeed guaranteed, that the purchase of advertised gold stock, patent medicines, and farm co-operatives were sure escapes from the trials of wage slavery. Thus a typical advertisement trumpeted in two inch letters that took up

The Jails of Capitalism are the Incubators of Liberty

THIS EDITION TO DATE IS
800,000
 COPIES

Published
 March, 1905
 FIFTY CENTS A YEAR
 BY THE NATIONAL SOCIALIST PARTY
 214 W. WAYLAND
 CHICAGO, ILL.
 Edited by Warren
 KENNEDY
 This is Number 625
Appeal to Reason
 Edited at Chicago, Ill.
 Chicago, U.S.A., Nov. 23, 1907

LOOK at the yellow address label, and you see No. 626
 Your subscription expires with the next number. You should
 renew at least three weeks before your subscription expires
 so that you will not miss any numbers.
 No man is great enough or rich enough to get his paper on
 credit or for a longer time than paid for. It is fundamental
 an advocate of International Socialism, the only movement which
 saves the working class from the slavery of the capitalist.
 Part of the reason.



JAIL AND GALLOW'S EDITION



JOHN BROWN, HISTORY'S GREATEST HERO

BY THOMAS W. WARREN
 The most pitiful and heroic of the historical heroes and saints from the golden age of the world and modern heroes to the dawn of the future.

"The man is conquered until he
 conquers failure. Sargent, not
 Warren, is the only doctor."—Fried
 B. Warren.

"Looking Backward"
 by Edward Bellamy
 Boston, 1889. The only copy of the original
 edition in the world. Price \$1.00. Only one left.

"About all the really good men
 who have ever lived have been
 in prison."—Eliot Hubbard.

1837 = SEVENTY YEARS: A PARALLEL = 1907
 BY FRED W. WARREN
 Twenty years ago this month, the spark stone of which the
 work of every man and woman in the world is made.

A portion of Page 1 of The Appeal of Nov. 23, 1907.

GIANT OF JOURNALISM

THEY HAD to go into the basement of the State Library at Sacramento to find the dust-covered files of The Appeal to Reason.

The pages of the volumes the young man laid on the table were yellowed but they breathed the life of another day.

The words of Eugene Victor Debs came up like torches from the crowded pages of the most widely read radical publication in the nation's history.

The issue of May 2, 1914, shouted with indignation at the news of the Ludlow massacre. "Rockefeller's Gunmen Murder Women and Children in Colorado," said a banner line (in red) across Page 1.

"Socialism the Hope of the World," said a Page 1 streamer on Jan. 27, 1912.

Can you imagine a U.S. paper espousing socialism which had a paid circulation of 500,000? There was one, and it lived for 27 years

BY STEVE MURDOCK

There was, to cite one of the most redoubtable supporters, Louis Kiamroth, who rode a bicycle all over the United States and Canada seeking new readers. He was pelted with rotten eggs, struck down, clubbed, drenched with fire hoses and water buckets. He was arrested and deported. But in his time he personally sold more than 100,000 subscriptions to The Appeal to Reason.

Thus The Appeal was able to proclaim:

Johns Augustus Wayland, a roving printer from Versailles, Ind., who conceived Appeal to Reason, bore it and nursed it through adversities that have rich parallels in the struggles of today's progressive publications to stay alive.

WAYLAND, who always signed himself J. A. Wayland, launched The Appeal to Reason at 807 Main st., Kansas City, Aug. 21, 1880. He was

Appeals circulation. There always remained a close relationship between the paper's readership and Debs' votes. The Appeal, born before there was a Socialist party in the U.S., saw the Socialists in the paper's heyday elect a thousand minor candidates throughout the nation.

Yet there were times in Chard when Wayland's children were hooted by their schoolmates and when, as one writer put it, "hate and suspicion hemmed him in."

It was in such a moment of adversity in 1901 that Wayland, after several attempts, brought to Chard to stay the man who has been given the most credit for the paper's subsequent growth—Fred Warren, an editor who will go down in history as the man who returned a printed pardon to the President of the United States because it didn't carry a "union" label.

While format of the Aug. 3, 1907, edition celebrating the acquittal in Boise, Idaho, of Big Bill Haywood, Charles Hoyer and George Feltlhone, labor leaders charged with having murdered former Gov. Frank Steunenberg of Idaho.

This weekly newspaper lived for 27 years on the U.S. scene. In its heyday it had a paid circulation in excess of 500,000. This meant a regular readership well in excess of a million. Several special editions went over the three million mark and at least one was over four million. In 1912, The Appeal's greatest year, it published 56,091,000 copies.

It took four solid mail trains of 10 cars apiece to haul some of the special editions of The Appeal out of Girard, Kansas, the small town that was his home for almost all of his life.

Its staff included in its best years more than 100 men and women. Printing costs and payroll each amounted to more than \$1,200 a week.

The Appeal in its great days required 10 barrels of ink, six carloads of newsprint, 3,000 mailbags and 10 U.S. mail cars for a single regular edition. There stands in Girard today a turn federal building built with The Appeal's \$25,000 a year postage bills.

LOOKING at those yellowed pages one cannot but regard with reverence the organized army of more than 80,000 workers and farmers who gave this paper at the peak of its prestige the biggest circulation of any Socialist paper in the world at that time.

In 1901, for example, 1,200 readers of The Appeal pledged five new subscriptions a week for an indefinite period of time. Fourteen years later there were still 19 of that original group who never failed for a single week to deliver at least five new subscriptions. It was not unusual for farmers to consign the proceeds of say, an acre to The Appeal.

In 1912 The Appeal had 59,000 subscribers in industrial Pennsylvania, 44,000 in Ohio, 43,000 in Kansas, 33,000 in Texas, 26,000 in California and at least that many in Oklahoma.

world! Our soldiers invade every city, town and hamlet in the land. They solicit subscriptions, sell and distribute booklets on economic topics on every highway. They work without money and without price . . ."

IF ONE of the less spectacular editions of The Appeal were delivered to your door today you might be somewhat puzzled to understand the extent of its popularity. Its small type and crowded columns, typical of

This is another in a series of articles published in connection with the 17th anniversary of The Daily People's World and the current campaign to increase its circulation. Next: The People's World and the Labor Movement.

a more leisurely day, might be as difficult to understand as the informality of its content.

Take, for instance, this news item from the Jan. 20, 1912, edition:

"Comrade O. C. Wilson has been thrown in jail in Muscatine, Iowa. It is just what he deserved. He had helped the striking button workers, and if this was not sufficient reason to jail him, what further crime must he commit to merit imprisonment?"

Having indulged in irony and presumably brought a smile to the lips of the reader, The Appeal then delivered the body blow: "The authorities at Muscatine are simply making asses of themselves."

You don't hardly ever see that kind of journalism any more.

Or where today would you find a quarter page advertisement from the Burlington Watch Co. headed, "Fighting the Trusts! A Socialist Watch at an Anti-Trust Price!"

Or where, in 1955, would one find a publisher who won his fame penning epigrams such as the following from Appeal's issue of Jan. 13, 1912?

"The new census shows a rapid increase in insanity in the United States. An insane system is sure to make in-sane people."
Such was the stock in trade of

using venture from . . . the included thence printing, real estate, several other publishing ventures and an all-faded experience with a cooperative colony at Fuskun, Tenn.

Debs' name first appeared over an article, "Money Power Exerts Bar-bare Sway," in the edition of Oct. 26, 1895.

The William Jennings Bryan enthusiasm of 1896, which saw the Populist movement swallowed up in the Democratic party, almost swallowed Appeal to Reason also. Wayland suspended

publication briefly, moved to Girard, and resumed publication on April 3, 1897. Girard was from that point on The Appeal's home.

Circulation had reached 45,000 when the Spanish-American War resulted in what one of The Appeal's historians, George Allen England, calls a "stamping of public opinion into jingoism and national insanity." Circulation dropped to 22,000.

Wayland, however, was a man who could survive adversity. England tells of the earlier time when Wayland was publishing a Republican paper in a Democratic section of Missouri:

"Carpet-bagger was the mildest of many terms of abuse applied to him . . . Many a time he was threatened with personal violence and even death. Once a mob roped him around the neck and talked lynching. At another time, utterly unarmed, he stood off a sheriff and a mob by merely reaching for his (empty) hip pocket and coolly announcing he would perforate the first man who should advance a step."

CIRCULATION of The Appeal was on the climb again at turn of the century. The 96,878 votes Debs polled for President on the Social Democratic ticket in 1900 was just short of The

journeyed to Chicago and persuaded an audacious young Hearst reporter, named George H. Shoaf to abandon a promising career on The Chicago American and become a correspondent for The Appeal in the violence-ridden mining towns of Colorado and Idaho.

Appeal circulation climbed to 150,000 and kept on going. A columnist named E. N. Richardson, writing under the name of Hot Cinders, caught on. Debs for a period became a full time contributing editor. By 1905 circulation was up to 250,000.

In 1905 The Appeal made journalistic, and publishing, history by serializing Upton Sinclair's novel, "The Jungle."

Two U.S. Presidents, William Howard Taft and Theodore Roosevelt, took healthy swats at The Appeal during their administrations. In 1912 Wayland, Warren and Debs found themselves charged with sending "impover matter" through the mails. The "matter" was a series of articles exposing "vile conditions in the federal penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas."

This was typical. Coupled with a Mann Act frameup (subsequently confessed as such), it proved too much for Wayland. He committed suicide Nov. 12, 1912. The Appeal noted he was "hounded to death by the relentless dogs of capitalism."

THE APPEAL lived for another decade, but 1912—the year Debs polled 900,000 votes—remained the high point. The various prosecutions and repeated efforts to revoke its mailing privileges failed, but the impact of World War I proved the death blow.

After a period as The New Appeal, it passed from the U.S. scene on November 23, 1922, being replaced by The Haldeman-Julius Weekly.

The Communist leader William Z. Foster describes it as "a very aggressive organ, with a mixed policy of opportunist socialism, populism and militant unionism."

The National Guardian says it "gave American socialists, populists and progressives just about the greatest run anybody ever got for his money in the press."

Kipnis

p 249 cont'd

the entire back page of one issue:

don't be a wage slave

While you may earn from \$3,000.00 to \$5,000 a year

Simply send the coupon for this free book -

"How to become a mechano-therapist"

Be independent, throw off the bonds of slavery.

You have but your chains to lose - you ~~may~~ have

An honorable and profitable career to gain"

(all in caps...cd)

"..." The Appeal was sharply attacked...part to jealousy... and for its lack of publicity of the Socialist Party, its "Ultra capitalistic business ~~xxxx~~ methods", /its use of the party to build the Appeal instead of vice versa, its reformist approach to socialism, and its employment of salesmen who brought the socialist movement in disrepute. The criticisms were frequently justified, but no other paper brought the first inkling of socialism to so many, or mobilized party members in as many campaigns against labor frame-ups and government and business corruption.

(Note: In the 1910 Congressional election, the five states which polled the high socialist vote of 47,000 to 60,000 each also had Appeal circulations which ranged from 24,000 to 41,000 (W.J. Ghent, " The Appeal and Its Influence", The Survey XXVI, April 1, 1911, 25) "

P 339 (put in somewhere above)

550 local unions bought subscriptions to the Appeal for their 40,000 members.

~~Speaking at Wag's memorial service~~ A co-workers related the following story at Wag's memorial service. He had met Wag in Connecticut in . He was very much interested in the Jewish . Wag gave him a copy of The Appeal to Reason and spoke with great enthusiasm of the paper and the issue that was raised. He found Wag's sentiments so sincere that he later got interested in socialism, joined the ~~Socialist~~ Socialist Party and became one of its Left-wing.

(Muckraking and Lincoln Steffens)

Other papers and magazines with wide circulation were the Jewish Daily Forward, 200,000, National Rip Saw, 200,000; Wilshire's Magazine, 270,000.

There were many penny, nickle and dime pamphlets. Practically every platform speaker of the Socialist Party got out his own pamphlets. (INSERT *SEE BELOW)

The following excerpts show the degree of confusion in Socialist thinking. They are from "The Truth About Socialism" by Allan L. Benson, copyrighted in 1912, published by B.W. Huebsch of New York. The author ran for Presidential candidate in 1912 on the Socialist Party ticket, when Eugene V. Debs declined the honor. This 188 page book, which sold for 25¢ with a paper cover, and \$1.00 with a cloth cover, was first printed in February 1913. These quotations are from the tenth, Campaign Edition, printed September 1916.

INSERT

"It is estimated that from 1904 to 1907 Charles H. Kerr and Company in Chicago, and The Appeal To Reason, had printed and distributed more than one hundred million pieces of propaganda." (Kipnis P 166 his reference from Socialist Int'l Congress Report)

On the cover is a quotation from Eugene V. Debs, "The very clearest and cleverest of all.", and one by Victor L. Berger, "The best statement of Socialism for non-Socialists that I have ever read."

This 188 page book sold for 25¢ with a paper cover and \$1.00 for a cloth cover. The contents covered: I. To the Disinherited; II. What Socialism Is and Why It Is; III. The Virtuous Grafters and Their Grave Objections to Socialism; IV. Why Socialists Preach Discontent; V. How The People May Acquire The Trusts; VI. The "Private Property" Bogey-Man; VII. Socialism The Lone Foe Of War; VIII. Wilson and Hughes; IX. The Truth About The Coal Question; X. Deathbeds and Dividends; XI. If Not Socialism - What?; and at the end/^{as} an Appendix, Socialist Platform for 1916.

On page 18 we find "The purpose of Socialism is to give the workers all they produce. And,

(Note: Marx never agreed with such a statement.
/He said in (G otha Program???) then quote)

when Socialists say "workers" they do not mean only those who wear overalls and carry dinner pails. They mean everybody who ~~was~~ does useful labor.

Socialists regard the general superintendent of a rail road as quite as much of a worker as they do the man on the section. (Note CD check what superintends get and show how workers would disprove this) But they do not regard the owners of railway stocks and bonds as workers. They regard them as parasites who are living off the products of labor by owning the locomotives, cars and other equipment with which the workers work. And, since the ownership of machinery is the club with which Socialists say capitalists commit their robberies, Socialists also declare that the only way to stop the robberies is to take away the club. It would do no good to take the club from the men who now hold it and give it even to the individual workers, because, with the principle of private ownership retained, ownership would soon gravitate into a few hands and robbery would go on as ruthlessly as ever. Socialists believe the only remedy is to destroy the club by vesting the ownership of the great machinery of produc-

~~tion-topm and dostronitopm om tje seps,e. tjrpigj tje gov-~~
 tion and distribution in the people, through the government.

" Such is the gist of Socialism -public ownership of the trusts, combined with public ownership of the government. Gentlemen who are opposed to Socialism - for what reasons it is now unnecessary to consider -lose no opportunity to spread the belief that there are more kinds of Socialism than there are varieties of the celebrated products of Mr. Heitz. This is no so. There are more than 30,000,000 Socialists in the world. Not one of them would refuse to write across this chapter : 'That is Socialism,' and sign his name to it. Every Socialist has his individual conception of how mankind would advance if poverty were eliminated, but all Socialists agree that the heart and soul of their philosophy lies in the public ownership, under democratic government, of the means of life. And, as compared with this belief, all other beliefs of Socialism are minor and inconsequential. Public ownership is the rock upon which it is determined to stand or fall.

"Socialists differ only with regard to the means ~~at~~ by which public ownership may be brought about. A handful of Socialists, for instance, believe that in order to bring it about it is necessary to oppose the labor unions. All other Socialists work hand in hand with labor unions.

"Also, there is a difference of opinion among Socialists as to how the government should proceed to obtain ownership of the industrial trusts, the railroads, telegraph, telephone and express companies, etc. Some Socialists are in favor of confiscating them, on the theory that the people have a right to resort to such drastic action. In a way, they have excellent authority for their position. Read what Benjamin Franklin said about property at the convention that was called in 1776 to adopt a new constitution for Pennsylvania:

'Suppose one of our Indian nations should now agree

to form a civil society. Each individual would bring into the ~~st~~ stock of the society little more property than his gun and his blanket, for at present he has no other. We know that when one of ~~them~~ has attempted to keep a few swine he has not been able to maintain a property in them, his neighbors thinking they have a full right to kill and eat them whenever they want provisions, it being one of their maxims that hunting is free for all. The accumulation of property in such a society, and its security to individuals in every society, must be an effect of the protection afforded to it by the joint strength of the society in the execution of its laws.

'Private property is, therefore, a creature of society, and is subject to the calls of that society whenever its necessities require it, even to the last farthing.'

"But one need quote only the law of self-preservation to prove that if any people shall ever become convinced that their lives depend upon the confiscation of the trusts that such confiscation will be justified.

....."The trend now is all towards compensation.... They are coming to see that compensation is the easier and quicker way....In short the differences in the Socialist party upon the question of compensation are not unlike the differences which once existed with regard to the best means by which the Negroes might be emancipated." ~~XXXX~~

itself
~~that~~ Life/show why ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Marxism-Leninism ~~always~~ believes that theory is no dogma, but must be applied to basis itself upon ~~xxxxxxx~~ cold sober facts. In the

end the south seceded from the union, the Civil War, Lincoln claimed was first to preserve the union, and in time Negroes who were most concerned with their freedom were permitted to ~~xxxx~~ enlist in the Union Army, and still later the Emancipation Proclamation was signed. After the Civil War the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments were adopted to the Constitution and still the Negroes do not enjoy freedom. The N.A.A.C.P. at their

Convention raised the slogan Free by '62, which ~~wixxx~~ gives a perspective of freedom one hundred years after it was won. The placing of states rights above the Supreme Court desegregation decision in many Southern States, the killings of Negro leaders, the attacks of the White Citizens Council against Negro and white ~~p~~ individuals who want to see the laws of the land for ~~Negx~~ civil rights for Negroes made realities, shows this wont be easy.

German Peoples Republic (check name)
In East Berlin the ~~wixxxxx~~ took over the factories and other property left by the defeated and fleeing Nazis. In China, where the banks, ~~xxx~~ big industries and wealth was owned by a small (get exact figures if possible) clique of Koumintang leaders supporting Chiang Chi Shek (check spelling) the new government took it over when they fled to Formosa.

by 1916 when this edition was printed, the
Actually ~~the~~ differences between the Socialists had developed to the point where it made new history, which will be dealt with later.

Alfred
~~Even though~~ Socialists like ~~Wagenknecht~~, ~~xxx~~ felt that it was not necessary to know that ~~although~~ the differences ^{in the SD} were not so minor. Even though every i need not be dotted, ~~xxx~~ or each t crossed, they knew that the political party which claimed to represent the workers and offered to create a better society must ~~be~~ not be muddled in its thinking. They realized the seriousness of (Marx or Lenin ~~????~~ look up) statement, that you can't play with revolution. Revolution used only in the sense of replacing one form of society with another, i.e. Socialism for capitalism. At least ~~the~~ ^{such} basic principles ^{must be clear as} why workers were the potential leaders of a Socialist society, ~~and must be its leaders~~, even if they themselves did not understand or have faith in their power. Who were the allies of the workingclass, and the foreseeable needs of these allies, and at least the first difficulties which will arise as a result of replacing individual with collective ownership of the mines, mills, factories and land.

The type of organization work which Wag did for the Socialist Party varied. When he was Washington State organizer he packed up two suit cases with literature and trudged from lumber camp to lumber camp speaking to the loggers, selling them literature, getting some to join the Socialist Party. He helped in the big free speech struggles of the IWWs.

When he was Ohio State Secretary years later he still went out among the people. However, Ohio was a more industrial state with so he had different problems. to deal with relating to workers' struggles. different problems from the west. He helped edit The Ohio Socialist. He directed the group of state organizers. Ohio at that time had elected _____ Socialists to office.

We can get a good idea of Socialist Party functioning from a pamphlet they put out in 1914. "Are There Classes in America, sold for 10¢ and was written by a National Lecturer of the Socialist Party.

The pamphlet first explains what the Socialist Party is and ~~xxxx~~what its aims are as follows:

!..In order to be victorious in the class struggle, labor must possess itself of political power. This can be done only by means of a political party controlled, managed and financed by labor. Such a party is the Socialist party. Its aim is the abolition of the capitalist system; its immediate purpose is to wrench from the capitalist class every possible advantage for the workers; its organization is such as to make it peculiarly adapted to achieve these ~~aims~~ ends.

....."The control of the organization is vested in the membership by means of the initiative, referendum and recall, ~~and xxxxxxxx~~ The organization proper is composed of some sixty-five hundred locals with a total membership of about one hundred and twenty-five thousands. These locals are scattered over every state in the Union. Each member pays twenty-five cents monthly dues, save in a few states where dues are somewhat higher. This twenty-five cents is usually divided as follows: ten cents remains in the local treasury; five cents goes to the county organization, five cents to the state and five cents to the national organization. In the absence of a county organization the state office receives ten cents.

"Each state has a state secretary, elected by a referendum of the members of that state, and as a rule, a state committee and a state

executive committee, similarly elected. In proportion to its membership every state elects a number of national committeemen, who in their turn elect an executive committee of five members, and an executive secretary. The executive committee transacts most of the current business of the national party, but its acts are reviewed, and may be nullified, by the vote of the national committee. If any dissatisfaction exists with the acts of the national committee or the national executive committee, a final appeal may be taken to the party membership. A national party referendum may be proposed by the state committee or state executive committee of any state and the membership of any state may order its committee by a referendum to take such action. Of this, this procedure changes somewhat from time to time when the membership decides to change or amend the party constitution.

"The national office of the Social Party publishes a weekly bulletin, "The Party Builder," in which an accurate account is given of all funds received and expended, and of all important developments in the party. Each state office is supposed to keep its membership informed of developments in the state and from time to time give a financial account. Anyone over eighteen years of age declaring himself a Socialist and subscribing to the platform and constitution of the party may become a member of the organization. Women are eligible to any party office.

"The Social parties of the various nations are united into an international organization with headquarters in Brussels, Belgium. An international congress of the Socialist parties of the world is held every three years. This insures unity in all important matters.

"We see from the foregoing that the Socialist party does not merely ask the workers to vote for the party, but rather to step in and be the party. The Socialist party does not merely come with the promise to do something for the workers; it tries to teach the working people to make use of its organization to do something for themselves. "

(last three lines in italics by author)

Mr. Kipnis in "The American Socialist Movement" describes Socialist Party functioning as follows:

"Most Socialist locals...activity was to sell books and newspaper subscriptions; distribute leaflets; hold business meetings twice a month; hold public meetings and an occasional 'social session', recruit new members and get all Socialist sympathizers to the polls, and keep a committee at the polls until all the votes were counted."

(p 166)

"Members were to devote an hour or two a month to distributing socialist literature and selling newspaper subscriptions from door to door. Almost all Right-wing locals, restrict themselves to ~~the~~ election activities, and between elections their organization 'languished'."

(p 243)

activities by each state organization had great autonomy

should add here number of socialists in t.u. and t.u. leaders also role of iww who were sp members. participation in large labor struggles and defense of those framed up during this period as additional SP activity of Left-wing.

*last
written
in 1916
write up
later*

Wag's experience during the Socialist Party days in touring speakers was later used in the Anti-Nazi campaigns he directed.

(develop this point after getting more material on SP tours who, where, number attended, what purpose, etc. Then during days of Lord Marley, other tours. // Karl Leibknecht tour in Cleveland, Ohio -1912 or 14 - Ruthenber & Wag on platform??)

Its editor, Herman J. Titus, had given up his practice as a physician to devote his time to this weekly newspaper. His wife Hattie, covered the weekly deficit from the income she learned running a worker's rooming house.

One day Dr. Titus asked me if I was fond of Boston baked beans. I replied in the affirmative, although I was always puzzled why Boston was associated with beans. I can still remember that night and feel I have never devoured a more savory dish of beans, or better brown bread. At supper came the suggestion that I become the manager of "the Seattle Socialist". What did I know about managing a newspaper? Nothing? But I accepted, and was given lodging in the rooming house, \$5 a week, and an occasional meal of delicious Boston baked beans and brown bread.

I wrote an article for the paper on the life of the lumberjacks. I received praise for its style and content. However, I am afraid that for a long time I made no contribution of value in increasing the circulation or securing more income for the paper. My connections brought me in contact with active Socialists, more mature in years and knowledge.

I met E.B. Martin, State Secretary of the Socialist Party who labored all hours. Untiringly he wrote letters to a never ending list of members and sympathizers. His elegant Spencerian handwriting with all its flourishes captivated me. I met Emil Herman, strong and willing, who toured the state with a heavy load of literature. He was the kind of state organizer who went everywhere, mostly on foot, to carry the message of Socialism to the workers and poor farmers. I met McCorkle, Downey, McClarrow, Wells, Kate Gadler and Burns, who were all looked up to as comrades with a good grasp of Marxism. I met Mattie Allison, who travelled 30 miles to assist in the state office whenever she could spare a day or two. I met Mattie's father, Johnson, who was in his 70s. When

I visited him now and then he would sit me down on the porch of his shack located on an acre berry farm in Puyallup, and ask, "did you ever read the Communist Manifesto", or "Have you read Socialism, Utopian and Scientific"? He would then read and discuss paragraphs from the two brochures. He regarded both as having special importance.

Then came the big day! I was elected state organizer of the Socialist Party. I was to be paid one dollar a day while on the road. Getting something to eat and a place to sleep was left to my ingenuity. I was told that I would meet Socialists everywhere I went, and they would be glad to feed and house me. I found this to be true when I was on the road with a weighty suitcase of literature. The loggers, shingle-weavers, stump farmers were sincerely glad to meet me. They enjoyed talking with the Socialist organizer. They showed great warmth for the common cause. Concern for the exploited wage earner, hatred of capitalism and all the iniquities it was guilty of, the poverty and misery of workers and their families, the cruelty and terror invoked by the rich upon the poor, burned as a fire within them. They were happy to have someone with whom they could unburden their anger, and to whom they could express their sentiment, sympathy for the workers, and hope for the future.

Trade unions and Socialist Party branches were either very weak or non-existent. How to establish movement and organization around immediate demands of workers and poor farmers had not yet been learned. To establish Socialism was a dream that burned vividly in Socialist's minds. But how to achieve it, how to bring about the Co-operative Commonwealth which was their objective was a big question. They could get out the vote, buy and spread literature. What more was a question for them and for me.

Up and down the roads and wagon trails I wandered, constantly wondering what lay ahead. I was surfeited with enthusiasm. It increased day by day being inoculated with the enthusiasm of those I met. I had a list of Socialists and sympathizers who had contacted the State Secretary of

of the socialist party. We were enamored with the size of the Seattle audiences and their attentiveness. All visiting speakers praised our good work in this field.

I remember the first visit of Arthur Morrow Leurs of San Francisco, and his "soap boxing" technique. Leurs had the diction of an educated man. He began his meeting by telling those who gathered in front of him about the greatest man in history. The greatest, he said, because he was a social scientist who had spent many years in the study of the human race and how it lived. He had discovered why there were rich and poor, workers and capitalists. He had analyzed the methods of production, and distribution of commodities under the capitalist system, and had exposed the robbery of the workers by the owners of industry. This man, he said, was Karl Marx, and hundreds of thousands like you who are standing here, have joined in his thesis. The development of science in all other fields takes second place to that of Marx. ~~xxxxxx~~ Only Marx's science has to do with all of humanity, how it lives and suffers, how you who are listening to me live a life of hard toil and disappointments, without a measure of happiness or sufficient food, education or good health.

Leurs spoke about Karl Marx and Das Kapital for an hour in a fundamental and yet picturesque way. Then abruptly he said, "Das Kapital is a big book and requires heavy thinking and costs \$3.50. But if you want to learn what Marx, whom I consider to be the greatest scientist, has to say about our future and the future of humanity, here is his Communist Manifesto. It will start you solving the major problems we all face." He announced the price as only ten cents a copy and asked all those who wanted a copy to raise their hands. He could sell 250 copies to an audience of 300 every time. After selling the copies he would take up a collection to pay for copies he gave free to those who could not spare a dime. I saw him successfully repeat this ^{literature} sale a number of times.

Other "soap boxers" toured the coast. All were free lancers. They felt they had a message for the common folk and the urge to deliver it. They made their way as best they could. Through the sale of literature and collections they could buy something to eat, and get a place to sleep. I remember Osborne, the blind orator would say, "I am blind yet can see things so clearly. But you can see, then why are you blind?"

Tom Lewis, a worker agitator, who became a favorite, won his audiences with his sharp indictment of the capitalist class. There were no ends to the crimes he accused it of, and his sincere and heartfelt sympathy for its victims got across to his audiences. He was himself a part of the workingclass, and a bond of solidarity developed between him and his audiences. He knew how to say the things they felt. He talked with them and not at them. He was witty, satirical, and had an abundance of humorous stories with class content.

In time we developed a corps of speakers and held regular street corner meetings in Seattle. Audiences were large and responsive. Night after night we would tear capitalism to shreds and portray the advantages of Socialism. Then came the days when our speakers were arrested for obstructing traffic, for taking collections, for selling literature without a license. This happened when we began to give attention to what capitalism was doing to Seattle. We exposed the graft and corruption under the roof of City Hall. We laid bare the conditions on Skid Row. We told about the miseries of unemployment. We gave details of the crooked gambling halls. We told of loggers found dead in the tide flats.

The free speech fight was on. Our speakers manned the street corners every night and were arrested. The audience was dispersed by the police. Speakers were bailed out and would speak the following night. We rotated ten speakers at a meeting. All were jailed. Mothers with babies in their arms mounted the soap box and took the place of the arrested men.

One day Dr. Titus climbed to a third story roof and for an half hour, before the police could reach him, explained to those who could hear him why we were so tenacious in the struggle for freedom of speech and assembly. I, along with others, was jailed every night for a month. City Hall did not have enough cells to hold all of us. We were shifted to the County Jail. Dozens at a time were imprisoned for want of bail.

The basis of the struggle was Socialism vs Capitalism. We did not understand the necessity of involving the labor unions and liberals in the fight for constitutional rights which were being violated. The capitalist class was attacking us - Socialists - and we had to stand our ground and remain loyal to our beliefs. We did not understand that the Bill of Rights which guarantees freedom of speech and assembly to all Americans was being violated, and was, therefore, the concern of all Americans whether Socialists or non-Socialists.

We did not call for a united front struggle against the outrages being committed. We could not battle alone, so we lost the struggle. We did, however, help to bring Wappenstein, the Chief of Police, a little closer to the end of his corrupt reign. Wappenstein was the bloated degenerate, who in orgies in parlor houses in the red light district, would toast the ladies by pouring champagne down their vaginas.

We hugged the west coast in our quest for Socialism, in our agitation for the coming of THE DAY. We worked in Hoquiam and Aberdeen, where big colonies of Finnish Socialists worked in the largest saw mills making lumber. From these points cargoes of lumber were shipped in sailing vessels to all parts of the world.

We visited Renton and spoke to the coal miners there. We travelled north to Everett, Sedro-Wolley and Bellingham. The accusation that the Socialist Party was apparent only during election campaigns was true in one sense. During an election we participated in a mass way to get votes for our candidates. Between elections we carried on educational activities, steadily and determinedly.

activities, steadily and determinedly. We tried to make more Socialists. We felt that an organized movement around issues fell into the field of opportunism. It was the opinion of many of us that to advocate reforms created illusions among the workers and would tie them more closely to capitalism. Since capitalism was doomed to failure why patch up its weaknesses. We were opposed to compromise and political trading.

About two years before the Seattle free speech fight, I had married Hortense, daughter of Mattie Allison. I shall always remember Mattie Allison not only as my mother-in law, but as typical of the thousands of forgotten, unsung heroines who make rich contributions in the struggle against capitalism. Without them the socialist movement could never progress.

When we needed women to carry on the free speech fight, Hortense was the first to step forward. Hortense was pregnant with Helen at the time. She mounted the soap box with Gertrude, our first born in her arms, and led off the participation of women in the fight for free speech. I was indeed proud of her.

Members of the Industrial Workers of the World and other Socialists road the rods, hitchhiking from north, south and east to join the free speech fight. The depression of 1907 had stimulated the militancy of the workers in the west. Seattle to Spokane, Missoula, Montana to San Diego, California, became a battleground for free speech. The migratory workers, those on the road and those in camps, had grievances and were in a fight mood. They found only rotten food, lousy and stinking bunks and low wages when they got a job in a logging, mining or railroad camp. They ~~xxxx~~ were charged extra high fees for the jobs, only to find that grafting employment agencies and slave-driving bosses were collaborating to cheat them in a new way. They were kept on the job long enough to cover the fee, which was taken out of their wages in installments. Then they were laid off or fired so a new batch of workers

could begin paying the fee.

The employing class in the west seemed determined to silence all those they called agitators. They terrorized, clubbed and jailed those who fought for their constitutional rights. The Chicago Tribune spoke for the employers when it referred to the workers as "lazy louts, pestilent putrefactions, long haired brawling idiots."

It was during this period of struggle that I first met William Z. Foster. He was passing through Seattle on his way to Spokane. I was in an old abandoned little church, which I was sizing up for possible use as a Socialist headquarters. I can see how now walking down the rotting wooden steps into the basement which was flooded with sewer water. We exchanged notes and experiences for a short time before he went off to catch a freight for Spokane and more struggle.

The Socialists in Seattle were rather suddenly involved in a great debate. In fact, we created it by taking the offensive. From points East and South we saw an advancing score of speakers and writers advocating differing beliefs of what constituted Socialism and how to get it. We felt that without a clear and united understanding we could never win the workers?

About that time Walter Thomas Mills, a bearded, professorial lecturer, small in stature, known as the little giant, spoke to a large audience. He advocated the abolition of the class struggle, but said he was for Socialism. He claimed Socialism should be attained not through struggles of the workingclass against the capitalist class, but by friendly cooperation. The capitalists could be educated to see that Socialism would benefit all of humanity, to understand the brotherhood of man had within it advantages for them far above the dog-eat-dog capitalist system.

"The Seattle Socialist" denounced his theory, and Dr. Titus, the editor, challenged Walter Thomas Mills to a debate.

*Passaic
Spinning Co.*

Although every child knows that big oaks from little acorns grow, ^{(bother to find out,}
~~many do not stop to remember, or know~~ how our present organized labor

movement of close to million grew. In ~~1925~~ 1925 only 3,500,000 workers
out of a labor force of 20 million were organized in the A.F. of L, ~~and~~ which
~~there was~~ ^{the} only ~~and~~ major labor organization in the U.S.A. ~~There was~~
~~no organizational drives except from~~ Only the left, around the T.U.??

raised the slogan Organize the unorganized, ^{was the crying need of the}
time, ~~especially~~ ^{especially} in such industries ^{as} textile and coal,
where conditions were far worse than average, as is true in those depressed
industries today. In spite of the \$2 ^{per} day which the Mine Workers under
John L. Lewis recently won, its still hard to feed a family when there is ^{only}
one, ~~only~~ two or three days of work a week. ~~And when the mills in New England~~

Mill ghost towns in New England dont give work to skilled ~~at~~ weavers,
spinners, ^{etc.}, and the chances of older workers ~~leaving~~ uprooting themselves
and following the mills south to compete ^{(with ~~xxxxxx~~ low paid unorganized/}
southern mill hands is ~~xxx~~ quite slim. So what to do? ^{the case}

The answer ^{was given when on} ^(textile) on October 5, 1925, when the mill owners in Passaic,

N.J., announced a 10% wage cut to their unorganized workers, ~~was organize.~~

* Following the wage slash, the United Front Committee began to organize
in the Botany mill. By January, 1,000 had joined the union." When the
union committee ~~xxxxxx~~ presented their demand for a return of the wage
slash they were fired. Then "the Botany mill went on strike nearly 6,000
strong led by the 1000 organized workers.

"Before the week was over, the Garfield mill and the Passaic
Spinning Company went out. Nearly 3,000 more workers had joined the
Botany strikers."

* The Botany mill is one of the chain of rich textile mills operated
in central Europe. (Held under the Alien Custodian Act during World War I).

It was located here to escape the high tariff on woolens which averaged

*and most of the factory material was
all quota from Passaic*

whose ~~these~~ workers soon
 79% in those days. Forstmann-Huffmann mills, ~~which~~ ~~(text)~~ joined ~~the~~
 the strike) managed to escape the Alien Custody Act with some difficulty.
 According to investigation, ^{the mills} they made enormous profits, paid low wages,
 which was accompanied by poor living conditions, night work in the mills
 especially for women workers who had to help the family budget ^{by working} at nights
 and taking care of the ~~family~~ children and doing housework by day.

As espionage, ^{and} to see that a union did not get a foothold, ^{and} blacklisting those
 who dared to organize or ^{secretly} ~~even~~ join a union, ^{were blacklisted} the denial of all civil rights, ^{to}

" Once the strike was declared the workers issued new demands: 1)
 10% increase over the old-wage scale; 2) Return of money taken from them
 by wage-cut; 3) Time and a half overtime; 4) A forty-four hour week; 5)
 Decent sanitary working conditions; 6) No discrimination against union
 workers; 7) Recognition of the Union, ^{They were} and determined, in spite of the
 police brutality which existed, to spread the strike.

~~A ~~clear~~ description of what followed~~

~~A vivid ~~ex~~ description~~

A vivid description written at the time said; "With half of New Jersey
 Spinning Company out they resolved to ~~get~~ try to get out Forstmann-
 Huffmann. They came the fight on Ackermann bridge. This bridge divides
 Clifton from Passaic. The picket-line tried to cross the bridge and here
 the police rushed them. Men and women were beaten. Many arrests were
 made. The picket-line of peaceful men and women were charged by the
 police. There is something terrible in the charge of police with clubs
 on peaceful people. There is a terror in watching singing people turned
 into a ~~fx~~ fleeing mob. They fled, but they returned to try and cross
 the bridge. Again the police charged and again the clubs fell on heads
 and backs, on upraised, defenseless arms - and the cameras clicked. Next
 day the papers were full of pictures of policemen with upraised clubs.

The eyes of the country were turned on Passaic fighting its desperate and isolated fight - without funds in the face of tremendous odds.

"The men and women beaten one day returned the next. They returned 3000 strong, carrying banners, and swept over Ackermann bridge..... the weavers and spinners came out of Forstmann-Huffmann. Ten thousand ~~more~~ people were on strike by the end of the fourth week. Then on the plea of protecting his workers the Forstmann-Huffmann plant closed down!"

Since ~~Wag~~ moved around the country ~~from~~ to help in many struggles, he could not keep notes, ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ clippings or other material. When he thought of writing his autobiography (which ~~he~~ had barely begun ~~by~~ Aug. 26, 1956) he wrote to a number of co-workers:

(or he wrote to F.R. a former Passaic relief co-worker)

quote from letter about when I got there little - etc.

the Since ~~Passaic strike~~ was the forerunner of a number of strike struggles in the ~~ways~~ task to organize relief campaigns in the late 20's and 30's.

A number of tremendous labor struggles which stirred the nation and in which Wag organized relief campaigns, were to follow Passaic, in which Wag organized ~~it~~ a description will of the activities in Passaic, of ~~xxx~~ thousands of strikers, and tens of thousands of strike sympathizers all over the country ~~xxx~~ organized in strike relief, which served as a

model for all ~~xxxxx~~ such activities, and laid the basis for the Workers International Relief ~~later~~ organized and headed by Alfred Wagenknecht, will portray a method of work.

simultaneous

You can only organize relief ~~on the basis of what the~~ workers are ^{when} ~~bringing~~ help themselves and improve their conditions was Wag's belief.

You dont get help for strikers who go fishing. He, ~~therefore~~, took a ~~keen~~ interest in every phase of the strike, and an active part in helping to formulate policy ~~and based his activities in the strike on~~ ^{and based his activities in the strike on} ~~and~~ When people are hungry and in need of every comfort of life, let them elect their own people in charge, people who ~~so as to minimize friction, fight~~ stop greed and corruption, are in the same boat, was another basic principle.

~~and~~ dont take much for ~~you~~ yourself, ^{of this} ~~which~~ meant minimum wages - actually a token payment for his family to live on. ~~No one every found any~~

~~in~~ ~~there~~ (bring in smart saying of Moscow gold here?)

The following is ^{written} at the time ^{of the Panau strike} ~~of the Panau strike~~ a description of the relief machinery and how it ~~was~~ ^{functioned}

"A remarkable relief machinery had been built by Alfred Wagenknecht.

The strikers' relief committee supported weekly five thousand families for which Wagenknecht considered himself truly responsible. ~~No wonder,~~ he said, as he w... ~~xxxxxx~~ /he said, as he watched a procession of strikers...: "All I can think of is that each one has a stomach which I must fill."

* (1) "There were nearly one hundred and thirty people engaged in all the various relief departments. None of them received pay except for the expert bookkeepers, all work is done by the strikers themselves. If they needed it they received relief cards or meal tickets.

"They opened the vast piles of mail from all parts of the country and from every kind of Union. Sums were received varying from a few cents collected from some impoverished Union of the United Mine Workers, to the thousands of dollars sent by the International Ladies' Garment Workers or Furriers. Every donation was acknowledged. The working of the morning mail and the acknowledgment of it was in itself a mammoth piece of work."

*(1) "The bosses relied upon starvation to win the strike. They ~~xxx~~ stated:
'They (the workers) will come
~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ ~~xxx~~ crawling back within a week.'

Appeal to prison

~~Kidnapping Edition~~
(on Moyer, Pettibone
Haywood trial)

4 million ~~copies~~

Ex Governor

Steunenberg of
Idaho killed
by a bomb at his
home in Caldwell

Dec. 30, 1905

Arrested Feb 17, 1905
Chas Moyer, George Pettibone
Bill Haywood
trial May 1907

The letter which accompanied the receipt ~~for~~ was most important. It was not just another piece of mail. Oh, no, it was designed to be a personal organizer, to get the individual or organization, to continue to work for relief until the ~~the~~ ^{always} need was over. Wag ~~with~~ wrote or supervised this work, ~~and~~ ^{Here} usually his genius for knowing the common denominator to reach the heart as well as the head ^{found expression,} ~~was evident.~~ ^{was} Never a believer in "dry as dust theory," he was not ashamed of being emotional about the sufferings of the workers.

~~Many of the~~ ^{his} notes ~~exist~~ ^{to use it} for his proposed autobiography ~~can~~ ^{Contemplated} ~~say~~ ^{tate}

quote a few

The question for ~~theoreticians and~~ ^{theoreticians and} history to answer is ~~can we~~ ^{whether} ~~we say that~~ ~~developed if he neverthe-~~ ~~less shows that he can reach people with wh~~

~~theory can also be demonstrated in getting people to~~ ^{only the individual formalize?} whether a theoretician is ~~one who can write and explain action,~~ or also ^{Put theory} one who can ~~get it to work.~~

"The strikers also ran the stores. Each store had a manager and a crew of eight clerks. The buying for the stores was done by a striker ..who became a first class purchaser, taking advantage of the changes of the wholesale market. As it was not necessary to make a profit, staples could be bought for a lower price in the strike stores than they could elsewhere. Two warehouses were maintained. These warehouses were manned by strikers. * Strikers drove the trucks used for the hauling of food. During the strike the relief department developed bookkeepers, office workers, buyers, storekeepers, warehouse managers.

It also trained the corps of investigators, for it was necessary to see that the relief was given only to those needing it.

"When a striker applies for relief, he comes to the office where he fills out a small questionnaire, telling the number of children he has, how much he pays for rent, what wages he receives, what mill he worked in and what room in the mill. ...A striker, in charge of this work assigns the case to one of the twenty investigators and after the investigator has determined the striker has no other resource, a food card is issued. This food card represents a value of five to ten dollars, according to the size of the family. The striker takes the card to any of the relief stores and buys groceries to the amount of the card which is punched out as he gets the good. The stores carry a good line of groceries, bread, meat, vegetables, and some fresh fruit. Stores are stationed in five parts of town so none of the strikers had to walk very far to market. Early in the morning the stores are crowded with women coming with market baskets to buy the day's provisions. There they meet and exchange news of the strike while their fellow strikers waited on them. They are being supported not by charity but by the solidarity of their fellow workers all over the country. Sometimes so much bread would be sent by the bakers (A.F. of L.) that there would be bread enough for all the strikers to get a loaf free.

"To feed five thousand strikers is a tremendous task. A circular letter with an illustrated folder showing dramatic moments of the strike were sent to various lists of Unions all over the country. Special letters and folders were sent out for the children's campaign. A special pamphlet was arranged by Wagenknecht, with help.. called "Hell in New Jersey" (circulated in copies) ~~andxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ which told the story of the strike in pictures...Daily releases were sent to the labor press of the country....Through circulars, new releases, "Hell in New Jersey", and

(c)

"A Support of the Passaic Strike ~~for~~ Relief Conference was called by Relief Director Alfred Wagenknecht on Saturday, May 29, 1926, at Kanter's Auditorum, Passaic, N.J.

"Five hundred thousand workers, through their elected delegates, ... numbering nearly two hundred attended. .T...They came from all over the east, including Detroit, Boston, Philadelphia, Lawrence, Mass., Katonah, N.Y., New Haven, Conn., New Jersey Cities, as well as from New York City.

Letters and telegrams of greetings and assurance of moral and financial support were read to the Conference. These came from as far west as Los Angeles, Cal, and Milwaukee, Wisc., to the eastern points of AUBURN, and Maine, Keen, N.H.

"The largest hall in Passaic was packed with delegates and strikers who ... ~~Strikers~~ crowded the balconies and aisles to welcome the del. .."The 'Support the Passaic Strike' Conference decided that \$100,000

of the \$200,000 to be raised in the Victory Relief and Defense Campaign should be spent for the following child relief purposes:

- 1) to buy milk for the strikers' babies;
- 2) to open more children's kitchens. (1000 children are now being fed daily at the two kitchens in operation. The Relief Committee plans to feed 5,000 a day shortly.)
- 3) To organize playgrounds in the strike area to take care of the thousands of strikers' children during the school vacation period;
- 4) to establish summer camps where the youngsters can be given a chance from the drab, unsanitary environment forced upon them by the bosses' refusal to pay decent wages to the parents.

constant appeals the Passaic struggle was kept before the workers of this country".

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ The urge to see that everything went forward smoothly and ^{in a teasing vein,} /correctly caused one of the publicity co-workers to write/the following, with regard to a circular which she was helping to get out:

(quote from what Robt. Dunn gave me)

Caroline

~~and~~ wife and

/his/co-worker used to tease him ^{because he did not accept the} about not ~~wanting to accept the~~ two

invitations he had to visit the Soviet Union, ^{before} 1932, when he came

over to join her, because she said "he was afraid he would miss the

revolution", actually ^{she knew} ~~seeing~~ he did not want to lose any time away from the work at home. He visited ^{all} the Soviet Union in 1932, when he

came to join her. Then he decided to stay ^{and} (see the November 7th

celebration from Red Square, ^{when he was offered} ~~having been offered~~ a ticket by the organizations equivalent to the W.I.R. and workers defense organizations

in the U.S.A. He was ^{not being} not prepared with warm clothing ^{or a warm coat} to withstand the ^{early} Moscow

cold weather so he ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ had to wear/Caroline's long winter under-wear, and sweater. ^{some of} Clothes were ^{from the} ~~not plentiful~~ in the U.S.

To help raise relief a motion picture was made of the strike and "was shown to enthusiastic audiences all over the country...This picture brought in many thousands of dollars for relief.

textile
At a recent showing of this film/workers recognized themselves; ~~children~~ grown folks recognized themselves as children. Strike and relief leaders, including Alfred Waganknecht are seen addressing hundreds of strikers at outdoor meetings. Since what the picture says and shows (it was made in the ~~XXXXXX~~ days of silent movies ^{and has written} with titles) is part of

the American labor heritage, and tells a story which ~~can xxxxxxxxxx~~ ^{arouse us} will be followed through ~~xxxxxxx~~ today, it is hoped that the decision to put it on 16 millimeter film, so it can be shown ~~xxxxxxx~~ again in halls across the country, The new generation then ~~who~~ difficult ~~xxx~~ and at what sacrifice labor was organized. can see how different strike are led, participated in and carried on today, then judge foreign It can see how ~~naively~~ the Communists - reds - are, and their sincerity in helping better the workers conditions, even while they dream of a Socialist and feeling America, ~~knowing xxxxxxxxxx~~ only ~~xxxxxx~~ permanently better conditions.

They will see many ~~who were~~ ^{who are} labor leaders today who were then called Communists. They will

see former strike leaders who have since turned against the Communists, ~~and some of who even~~ no longer ~~xxxxxxx~~ helping the worker's struggles, and Alfred Wagenknecht ^{who believed that in Socialist America there would be a better place for workers as in the job} who remained true to his dreams, that even ~~while~~ you labor in the ~~xxxxxx~~ vineyards of helping improve the life and conditions of the workers, you dream of their understanding, that only Socialism can make a permanent change for the better in their ~~xxxxxx~~ lot.

"Passaic Relief Conferences were set up in over a hundred of the larger cities in America." ~~xxxxxxx~~ Ella Reeves Bloor ..(and other labor organizers)..together with committees of strikers, toured the nation, telling about the strike and gathering funds.

"A clothing store was opened to the strikers. Sympathizers from all over the country sent clothes of every description. There was even a wedding dress with veil and white shoes complete. The women took home the clothes given them, ripped them apart, ~~xxx~~ dyed them, and made them over into clothes that looked like new. Not a rag was wasted.

"Shoes were the great problem. And how shoes wore out on the picket line! Much was given in this respect by the Shoe Makers' Union who donated shoe leater and maintained a repair shop for the strikers. A sign in Strike Headquarters read: "Ladies and Men Free Haircut ~~xxxxxx~~ Fridays". This meant

that the Bakers' Union sent over a corps of barbers Fridays. Free medical attendance was given the strikers. Many of the sympathetic store keepers advertised per centage reduction to anyone carrying a Union card. All this work of publicity in its many forms, of conferences, mass meetings, originated with Alfred Wagenknecht. A solid backing of workers was built around the textile strikers. Through newspapers, news releases, folders, conferences, mass meetings with speakers direct from the strike zone, the workers of the country were kept informed of every phase of the struggle, and they supported this intricate relief machinery which in the beginning of June branched out into a campaign for the children which was to result into ^a huge milk fund, summer camps in vacations and the Victory Playground.

(d) "Beside the stores, the warehouses, the clothing store, the shoe repair shop, the barber shop, throughout the winter five coffee stations where sandwiches and coffee was given to everyone on the picket line had been maintained.

"1,000 children were being fed daily in the kitchens operated and maintained by the Council of Working Class House Wives,. Their kitchens were not supported by money from the General Relief Fund...but through the effort of that organization. "

A TOTAL of \$ _____ was collected for the strike;

? clothing

etc.

in a strike that lasted from January 25, 1926 until February 28, 1927.

This picture would be incomplete without some understanding of how the strike was organized. An account of the organization and functioning written at that time states:

"The program of the Central Bureau of the United Front Committee was first to organize the unorganized, then to join all existing organizations in one union within the main stream of American labor. Its

(d)

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

The police often attacked relief that was being brought. The following are accounts of such attacks: "Three members of the Bakers' Union, Local No. 100, of New York, who had come with a group of men to bring four truck loads of bread to the strikers, were arrested with their truck, and the bread left at the police station. Three other loads were ~~There was more~~ were delivered. The men/arrest ed on a charge of speeding. than ten thousand pounds of bread in the entire donation, A second such amount came from the same source within a week. At that time only one truck was arrested."

...."A delegation of 400 ~~New York furriers~~ members of the Furriers Union, affiliated with the A.F. of L., came with a contribution of \$12,000. When the nine bus loads of visitors arrived at the open air park and started to march into the meeting, the police objected to their signs, attempted to break their ranks, and clubbed several. The entire police department of Passaic seemed to have been assigned to the meeting, and itching for trouble. On the pretense of "Keeping traffic moving," all the busses carrying the furriers were ordered to find other parking places.....When the meeting was about to disperse the furriers did not know where to go. When they finally attempted to leave the park, they were set upon by the police and more than forty badly beaten....Arrests were made.

"It was one of the worst disorders of the entire strike...The furriers, deprived of their vehicles, were shut into the park by the police and clubbed as they attempted to march to the strike headquarters. Unaccustomed to Passaic streets, it was impossible for them to scatter out ^{of} the way of the clubs.

slogans were the United Front of the Workers against the United Front of the Bosses. Second, Organize the Unorganized, its Third, Unity in the Labor Movement. The United Front Committee of Passaic was known as the General Strike Committee, and, except for the few organizers and strike leader, were all workers in the Passaic mills.

"The General Strike Committee met every day. Each room of the mill elected a delegate - by the time Lodi was out there were over 100 delegates. Each delegate wore an orange brassade with the initials of the mill in white. ...By this time sixteen thousand workers were out on strike.

...rain or shine, rain, snow, hail or sleet, hot or freezing cold... "In the morning by four o'clock the organizers and the strike committee were on the picket line. The members of the committee were the picket captains. They were always in the front together with the Organizers.....(2 English, 3 Italian and 1 Polish)....who were very often arrested, beaten, fined imprisoned as was the strike organizer.

"During the day each member of the committee had duties. Some worked in the relief office, some in the halls. Many good local speakers *(1) The way the Lodi Piece Dye Workers came out is beautifully described as follows: "One of the most beautiful demonstrations of labor that any country has ever seen, occurred ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~....when the Passaic strikers marched ..to the Lodi Piece Dye Works. They marched ...four thousand strong... two by two, /singing as they went. Lodi is four miles from Passaic." ~~xx~~

.... as well as labor organizers and leaders. were developed/ the work of house-to-house visiting, of investigating the cases apply

"...In the evening, after the day which began at 4 a.m. the General Strike Committee meet with the/strike organizer. An agenda was chosen from the floor of fifteen or twenty points and the strategy of the next day xxx worked out in every detail. "

When important decisions had to be made involving the membership meetings were called where upwards to ten thousands would attend.xxx They would vote on questions by ~~xxxxxx~~ holding up their union cards.

Almost from the start of the strike when the picket lines were attacked by the police, and the police did not like to see/ pictures in the newspapers. ~~weilding clubs on the head of women and children~~ ^{their} newspapers using their clubs to beat the police did not like to see/ pictures of themselves in the newspapers clubbing women and children. They turned upon the camera men, beat them. They clubbed nearly a dozen press photographers, and destroyed about \$4,500 worth of cameras and moving picture machines.

This gave national promence to the strike, and proof ~~that~~ of police brutality, showed policemen jumping on cameras, clubbing reporters, using tear gas, and/ ^{in mid-winter} sending streams of water from fire hoses on strikers.

It brought such authors as Fanny Hurst and Rebecca West and a host of strike symoathizers ~~whixxxxxxxdxx~~ Katherine Wiley, ⁻³ ~~RabbixxxkexhenxxxxxKixeyxxxxxhisxwifexandxlaughtexxxxxrxxxxhxxxxmanxKxxxx,~~ from trade unions, pulpits, colleges, consumers organizations, the American Civil Liberties Union, the International Labor Defense, the League for Industrial Democracy, the Workers (Communist) Party. Later when the Communist - red - issue was raised, these people did not desert the strikers or refuse to work ~~withxxxxxxkexxxxkex~~ with anyone so labelled.

~~xxxxxxkxxkexxxxxkexkex~~

12-P

This support

During the recent difficult days of the Cold War and the Korean War, when Communists were being arrested and jailed under the Smith Act, and the F.B.I. was hounding thousands of people ~~whom~~-- (anyone who had given their signature to permit any (anyone who in their opinion (including many who had helped to bring ~~about~~/~~what~~/~~they~~/termed Creeping Socialism) (including many who in their opinion had helped to bring Creeping Socialism)

The fact that people

This lesson in American

These facts made a deep impression on Wag, which he never forgot. Years later, during the ^{years of the} difficult Cold War and Korean War, when Communists were being arrested and jailed under the Smith Act; and the F.B.I. was visiting, threatening and hounding thousands; including many who in their opinion had helped to bring about Creeping Socialism, he would often say: "Something is wrong with this slogan 'the Kiss of death'. People who think that if the Communists participate in an activity they give it the 'kiss of death' don't have faith in the decent democratic traditions of the American people. Then he would go into a long discourse, even if it were only to Caroline, about what was wrong with this talk about 'the kiss of death' and give examples to show why. His favorite example was how people in all walks of life, from the Pope to the ordinary Joe, from ~~xxxxxxx~~ some, unfortunately all too few workers and labor leaders, to intellectuals and middle class people supported the Rosenberg's fight.

Exe

It was especially around the struggles against McCarthy that this 'kiss of death' ideology bothered him. He felt that after the progressive

to expose movement correctly helped to launch the struggle, and show the people of American the dangerous direction to prove that McCarthy force fear of

and as ~~many~~ McCarthyism ~~was~~ a system of fear, conformity of thinking, ~~the~~ the use of nameless and faceless informers, which would lead to the discard of the Bill of Rights and bring fascism to the U.S.A. Later, ~~McCarthy~~ McCarthy became so bold as to ~~have~~ attack leading sections of the Republican Party, ~~and~~ Then even the President was forced to take a strong, but

Wag felt that ~~when~~ even when then Later/liberals, and/even the President was forced to take a strong against McCarthy when he began to attack those sections of the Republican Party ~~which~~ which did not fully agree with him, ~~but~~ ~~the~~ ~~Progressives~~

the actively ~~Progressives~~ Progressives did not/continue the struggle. ~~Their~~ Their 'kiss of death' He ~~felt~~ said they did so because they felt that the movement against McCarthy would not win because it would be labelled a "Communist movement", ~~and~~ and they would thereby give it 'the kiss of death'. Wag believed the American people could see right when it was shown to them, and that although McCarthy was silenced McCarthyism ~~remained~~ remained because the forces who could have defeated what it stood for withdrew from the struggle.

Handwritten notes:
...
...
...
...

and the Governor of the State,
 A number of committees/ tried to settle the strike, but the mill
 owners always refused, ~~xxxxxxx~~ The General Strike Committee accepted
 the proposed offers.

prominent Clergymen, then local clergymen, then merchants,
 A number of Committees, / then the Governor of the State, tried to
 settle the strike. The mill owners always refused, the General Strike
 Committee accepted. The issues were taken to Washington, D.C. ~~The~~
 President Coolidge did not see them, but Senator Robert LaFollette presented
 a resolution requesting an investigation of the textile industry, which
 was later ~~xxxxxxx~~ conducted under Mr. Jett Lauck, noted Washington
 economist. ... Four kinds of depositions were made: 1) On police brutality;
 2) For those who have been threatened with deportation; 3) About pay
 and night work; 4) On conditions in the mills.

When the strike was six months old the newspapers carried a state-
 ment from the Executive of the American Federation of Labor, then in
 session in Cincinnati, ~~xxxxxxx~~ which stated in part that they:
 "gave serious consideration not only to the communistic activities
 among the working people in many sections of the country, but also
 to the formations assuming to speak for labor and which the executive
~~council~~ council believes are communistic in make up, in principle and
 in purpose.

That the leaders of the United Front Committee which organized
 and is carrying on a strike in Passaic, N.J., are "prominently identified
 with the communistic movement in the United States. It is reasonable
 to conclude, because of their relationship to the Communist Par ty, that
 they are interested in advancing the cause of communism.

They then went on to take note of relief contributions being sent
 by AFL locals on the basis of the sympathy the strikers aroused, but then
 asked ~~xxx~~ that all contributions be made to the Passaic, N.J. secretary
 of the Trades and Labour Council. They asked ~~that~~ labor not to

contribute funds "for the purpose of advancing the cause of a dual organization or to pay the salaries of Communist leaders who are seeking the destruction of the American Federation of Labor..."

At a strike meeting 10,000 union cards ~~were~~ waved their approval of a reply which in part stated:

"The statement...is a blow aimed at the hopes and aspiration of over 16,000 textile workers...under the leadership of the United Front Committee ~~xxxxxxx~~...^{one of the} carrying on a most heroic and determined struggle in the history of the American labor movement.

These hitherto unorganized workers have earned the respect and admiration of the rank and file of the American ~~Feder~~ Federation of Labor and

"We were amazed that the statement does not deal with the issues of the strike...(it names them)....."We have been able to take care of the needs of our x 16,000 strikers and their families during the 24 weeks of struggle, through the generous support of workers's organizations and sympathizers. ~~xxxxxxx~~There is no form of relief of which the textile strikers are in need that has not been provided. Now, after six months of struggle, the need for relief becomes a more serious problem, for more and more strikers' families are applying for relief. It is at this stage of our struggle that the organized labor movement of American should stand staunchly by us instead of lending discouragement of ill-advised criticism.

"To prevent continuous support and relief for the strikers and their families would amount to starving these workers back into the mills at the bosses' terms.....We do not see it fit or necessary to enter into any lengthy discussion relative to the false charge ~~xxx~~... that the strike...is a Communist strike, or "a strike for Communism." In a recent public statement you, yourself, declared that the demands

of the Passaic textile strikers were just demands....The country-wide support...by workmen of all political beliefs and affiliations, and the help given by the church groups which not even the blackest open-shop er have yet dared to call "Communists" show that this allegation is groundless....Our strike is a bona-fide one and the struggle is wholly in line with the best traditions of the American labor movement.

"The committee conducting this strike, the United Front Committee, is charged with being a dual union. We have always indicated our readiness to affiliate with the A.F. of L. It is a matter of public record that on our own initiative, we addressed ourselves ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~...to the A.F. of L. to bring about the unity of all textile unions under the A.F. of L. ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ pledged itself to render every assistance to bring our workers under the banner of your orga

"Our unsolicited approach..was evaded and we were referred to.. the United Textile Workers of America. Negotiations were entered intoand blocked by the President of the United Textile Workers, who declared that until the strike was ended, no action along these lines could be taken.

....."We pledge ourselves to disregard theunwarranted attacks..against us... We have no quarrel with the great body of organized labor as represented by the A.F. of L. Our quarrel is with our employers. We greet the ideal of unity of all labor in America under the banner of the A.F. of L. and herewith publicly repeat our offer to enter into negotiations with the United Textile Workers and the A.F. of L. for the complete affiliation.....

~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

[Handwritten notes and signatures in the bottom right corner, including "The United Front Committee"]

~~xxxx~~ This letter did not bring the desired results. It ~~xxx~~ came
 the strike leaders ~~asked~~ asked
 only after Senator Borah had ~~been asked~~ ~~to help bring~~
 about unity, ~~and~~ was able to indicate to the A.F. of L. leaders
~~xxxxxxx~~ He saw
 that he had some assurance from the ~~xxxx~~ Botany mill owners that they
 were willing to settle with them, that and brought the A.F. of L.
 leaders ~~xxx~~ assurance that they ~~xxx~~ indicated a willing/ness to settle
 with them, and also have about ten thousand new members.

A meeting of about 12,000 strikers ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~
 known as the Lauck Committee,
 voted to ask a disinterested committee of citizens to bring about
 their organization into the A.F. of L. The committee consisted of
 W. Jett Lauck of Washington, D.C., Henry, T. Hunt of New York, Helen
 Todd of New York and F. P. Walsh, their attorney, as member in absentia,
 and were successful.

~~xxx~~ An administrator was appointed by the ~~xxx~~ United Textile
 Lauck Committee which ~~xxxxxxx~~ made unity a reality ~~xxxxxxx~~
 Workers of America to take over. ~~and~~ The ~~xxxxxxx~~
 in a public statement said,
~~xxxxxxx~~ "the new union will not compromise on the fundamental
 question of recognition". And when the mill owners refused to settle
 the strike with the A.F. of L. they declared that "funds will be raised
 to support the new Passaic union, mass meetings will be held throughout
 the country to protest against the autocratic attitude of...the mill
 owners, and ...Congress will be requested to withdraw the tariff favors
 from the mill owners.. "

Lauck

The mill owners refused to deal with the ~~xxxxxxx~~ Committee ~~xxxxxxx~~
 or the A.F. of L. and stated: "as far as we are concerned the strike is
 over".

~~xxxxxxx~~

A statement written at the time sums up the situation. ~~xxx~~ "It was a
 move calculated to break strike morale. Let the workers believe that

there will be a settlement. Indicate that if their leaders will step aside the mill owners will deal with the A.F. of L. Bring the strikers to a high pitch of hope and enthusiasm, then as victory approaches snatch it away. Snatch it away as they are about to change leadership. Separate them from the leaders they love and trust on the pretext of settlement and don't give them a settlement. That ought to break the workers' spirit, especially workers who have been on strike seven months."

But the workers are not shaken. They join the A.F. of L. by the thousands to become the largest single group of organized textile workers. At a big mass rally they say good-bye to the two leaders who stepped aside so that unity could be achieved with the A.F. of L. Penny by penny enough money was collected to buy small gifts, flowers, a watch and a loving cup to those who were leaving.

The strike continued as before with the same organizers, the same local leaders, and with the U.T.W. vice-president helping. An ever greater amount of relief ^{was} needed. Director Alfred Wagenknecht, who despite the attacks on the Communists, stays, and continues to be accepted by the strikers and the U.T.W. At ~~xxxxxx~~ The A.F. of L. Convention

(a) ~~xxxxxx~~ A statement issued by the new UFW. unprovoked local at the time shows the police attacks, ~~and~~ arrests, abuses continued.

~~xxxxxx~~ session he attended he heard ~~the~~ ^{discussed} steps ~~taken~~ for immediate financial help for ~~the~~ Passaic. He counted on the co-operation of the Emergency Strike Relief in New York which was doing an outstanding job, the International Workers' Aid, the Council of Working-Class Housewives.

On December 13, 1926 - 323 days after the strike began - the ~~any~~ mill agreed to the following terms:

XXXXXX

At the end of November 1926 the Botany mills sought to break the strike by a new manoeuver. "They announced that the wage cut, which had precipitated the struggle but was not the only cause for the dissatisfaction of ~~we~~ the workers, was to be restored at once....The announcement was made on a Friday...and included threats that after a certain date no striker would be re-employed, etc. This Botany announcement was accompanied with the comment that Botany had all the workers she needed, and no others need apply. (Scabs were in the mill at the time).

This was a sure test of whether the ~~workers~~ strikers had learned and lessons the need of a unionism. The test would be Monday morning. ~~xxxx~~ "The strikers proved that they fully understood that the fight was for something more than the restoration of the wage cut. The Botany manoeuver had failed to break their solid ranks." They shouted ~~WE WANT UNION~~ at the rally. They wanted a union.

(Faint handwritten notes and scribbles at the bottom of the page, including a large 'C' and some illegible text.)

1. Right of workers to organize in a legitimate organization;
2. If a grievance should arise, the right of collective bargaining;
3. Closed shop not demanded;
4. If any other demand made, not agreed on by both parties, the workers to continue working and the question to be arbitrated between these parties: Mill- Workers - Third Party;
5. Help taken back without discrimination;
6. No outside help employed after date of settlement until strikers re-employed.

Actually the first settlement had taken place five weeks ~~xxx~~ earlier, on November 11, 1926, with the Passaic Worsted Spinning Company. But it was not until the powerful Botany made an agreement that victory could be assured.

"The eight-day New Jersey State Strikers' Relief Bazaar...running at Kanter's Auditorium...was turned into a spontaneous celebration of victory. Hundreds of trade unionists and labor sympathizers rushed over from New York, Newark, Paterson, and other near-by cities to ~~xxxxxxx~~...congratulate the strikers upon their victory. They pledged their continued support until victory was assured in all the mills.

"Enthusiasm ran high...leader after leader was roundly cheered, ~~and~~... *in previous* was especially jubilant ~~for~~ those who had been with them from the very first.

According to a report made at the time Alfred Wagenknecht ~~xxxx~~ said: ~~xxxxxxx~~ "I will be brief for there are many speakers and it's a big night for you. But I will say this at the outset. The Botany letter to the U.T.W. means only one thing- that we have won a victory. From this moment on the union becomes a union in fact. For the past ten and a half months we have had a union on strike, and that is very well but the important thing is to have a union ⁱⁿ the mills. It means protection and better conditions. And that is what we have won."

workers in
In 1927/another depressed industry were to come out on strike.

Although the miners had for years been organized in the United Mine Workers of America, John L. Lewis at that time was not troubled about

~~xxxxxxxx~~ (((FIND OUT CONDITIONS AND DEMANDS OF STRIKE -LOOK UP. -
SEE TONY MINERICH.))))

? months later hunger was the constant companion of men, women and children in the coal fields and there was no functioning relief committee and no money for ~~xxxx~~ much needed food. Alfred Wagenknecht ^{(fresh) (recent) (in Passaic asked)} ~~xxxx~~ his/vast experience/was ~~xxxx~~ by ????? to come and take charge.

~~Once again he started xxx with a room a typewriter~~

This situation was different. The headquarters were in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and the ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ strikers were scattered in various coal towns within a radius of _____ miles. Later/coal towns in Ohio and Southern Illinois joined the strike they, too, had to be supplied with relief.

There ~~xxx~~ were no strikers in Pittsburgh who could be put to work ~~xxxxxx~~ getting out the appeals, typing, sorting/mail, and the many other ~~xxx~~ jobs. They all had to be brought in/and have lodgings and food provided, ~~which was done as the work progressed. How~~ ever, there was no trained office worker among the Only men worked in the mines, and among the women folk in the families there were no trained office workers.

Wag wrote to his daughter Helen to come and help out. Since she was engaged to Carl Winter (whom she later married) at the time

she did not want to leave New York City where the family was living. Instead she asked her friend Caroline, who was working with her in the Timmie Higgins Bookstore at the time, if she would go. She consented, and so began a work relationship ~~between Caroline~~ which ~~lasted throughout~~ throughout the balance of Wag's life, and which some years later also turned into a wife-husband relationship.

~~XXXXXXXX~~

Helen wrote her father about the arrangements, and sometime later he wrote back that since there was no money to pay an office workers it would be best not to send anyone.

Two factors influenced Caroline's decision to go to Pittsburgh whether or not there was money for wages. ~~The first~~ Her ~~belief~~ the American ~~belief~~ belief that ~~the~~/capitalist system had ~~although it had been~~ progressive when it when it was established by the colonists in 1776 after the Revolutionary War had been in Lenin's words " quote the most revolutionary in the world

((((LOOK UP DIRECT QUOTE))))

had outlived its usefulness. Her belief that Socialism was a better system, and that the working class, especially those in the mines, mills and factories had to believe and be in the forefront of those who brought about the change from ~~Capitalism~~ Capitalism to Socialism, Her desire to help to improve the miserable conditions which capitalism had imposed upon the miners, and to get to know these workers in what she considered a very basic industry. Feeling that she could get a job and volunteer her spare time to help in the relief work, she bought a return excursion train ticket from New York to Pittsburgh for one dollar, and ~~with~~ with a packed suitcase set forth on a Sunday afternoon arriving in Pittsburgh about 4 a.m. Monday morning.

Excursions are the poor man's way to travel and see America. There are still /train excursions to such wonder spots as Niagara Falls, to the baseball ~~xxxxx~~ and world series games, to big cities. ~~xxxxx~~ The fare ~~is~~ usually the equivalent of a few dollars less than one way fare. The people were ~~xxxxxxx~~ always in the happy good mood of excursionists. There was singing and dancing, the first night, but everyone was tired and sleepy on the way home and had to get some rest before reporting to work the next morning.

~~xxxxx~~ Since the fare ~~xx~~ for the roudp trip was usually the equivalent of a few dollars less than one way fare some people would take the ride one way and sell their return tickets for a dollar or two and ~~xxxxx~~ be ahead.

After checking her bag and washing Caroline waited until 9 a.m. went ~~xxxxxxx~~ out and secured a job on which she was to report the next day, and then report to the relief office to volunteer her services. She was put to work and at the end of the day told that somehow some money would be found so she could pay her rent and have something to eat. Wages nominally were set a \$25.00 a week (a cut ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ for her).

Money raising methods ~~were~~ similiar to those used in Passaic were resorted to. In addition miners equipped with their hats and ~~the~~ lamps attached, which lit their way in the dark tunnels and in the coal rooms, toured the country as speakers and fund raisers.

Since the life in a coal camp is more concentrated, and usually had a predominance of Italians or some Slavic group, the miners and their wives organized soup kitchens. They would request the type of food they desired - spaghetti, beans, etc., - and would cook up some dish, or a thick rich soup which everyone ~~wouldxxxxxxx~~ eat. They took pride in their cooking and ~~wouldxxxxx~~ Slavic miners would say that even if they were second generation Americans, they were still called "hunkies".

The strike lasted _____ and finally were forced back under the same conditions. ?????? _____ ? was collected in relief.

In 1933?? When the miners were again on strike, Wag once again headed the ^{unorganized} relief work. ~~This xxxxxxxx xxxxxxxx~~ A group of miners from Halan County, Kentucky, who had been out on strike against miserable ^{company} conditions, which included attacks from/hired gun thugs came to Pittsburgh and asked to ~~be~~ affiliate

PASSAIC

add to section after winning at Botany Mills

In
~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ "Labor and Textiles" by Robert W. Dunn and Jack Hardy,
~~xx~~
~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ (copyrighted 1931)

say the following about the strike settlements:

"On December 13 the Botany and a subsidiary mill agreed to the same conditions and a small silk mill later fell into line.

"But other mills including the big Forstmann and Huffman Company held out, refusing to have anything to do with the union except to write a letter to an outsider giving a vague promise of no discrimination. Workers in these mills finally called off the strike. Because of discrimination and the depression that hit the industry later, many of them failed to get back their jobs.

"Many of the more active Botany workers were also discriminated against, the personnel staff of the company exercising the right to choose the workers to be taken back. U.T.W. officials confined themselves to mild negotiations with the mills and made no efforts to keep up the militant spirit of the workers. ~~They~~ This was further dampened by the introduction of A.F. of L. "Educational" methods and the holding of a "Labor Chautauqua" addressed by local Chamber of Commerce officials and other Open Shop advocates.

"Gradually the workers ~~now~~ saw they had been "let down," and that the promised rewards of going into the "main stream of the labor movement" in the hope of a good settlement had not been realized. The four U.T.W. locals continued to function for a time under local leadership but the national office of the union did nothing to help or encourage them. Their membership dwindled. They withdrew from the U.T.W. in 1928 when some of their young leaders were expelled by the national union for their Left

The fact that some of these points and others were not clear to the ~~Socialist~~ Spartacus (Left-wing section of the Socialist Party of Germany) drown the workers movement in blood and cost the lives of such of their leaders as Karl Leibknecht, with whom Wag appeared on the same platform in Cleveland, Ohio in _____ and Rosa Luxemburg. Cause the downfall after World War I of revolutions in Hungary, (((name others???) and the victory of Mussolini's fascism in Italy.

functioning
The pamphlet "ARE There Classes in America, byblished by the Socialist Party and written by a National Lecturer of the Socialist Party, copyrighted in 1914, ~~by the National~~ and selling for 10¢, gives a good picture of the way the Socialist Party functioned.

FUNCTION OF PROFITS.

socialists did their most intense work around the election campaigns in the country. When they ran Eugene V. Debs for President in _____ he polled _____ votes. They hired a train and named it The Red Special, from which they conducted their 1908?? and 1914?? presidential election campaigns. Wag ~~took~~ road the 1912 Red Special.

The Socialist Party ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ left their organization
to the _____ language federations. Each printed a Socialist paper in
their own language, meetings, ~~and~~ social and cultural affairs were carried
on in their own language. The mistake of separation - not bringing these
workers into one big organization with American workers had been pointed
out years ago by Karl Marx.

((((Give examples in letters. First where he chastizes the
Germans for being too much 'above', then pointing out
weaknesses in such organization.))))

There was a gap between ~~the~~ radio and TV program. *American children*
First generation children would rather accept their ideas from ~~their~~
school teachers, American books, or the great success stories in the
popular ^{paper} "Alger" books. ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ No ~~XXXXXX~~ "short cut" comics had been dreamed up
in those days.

There were a few Socialist Sunday Schools in the big cities. ~~XXXXXXXX~~
Some Socialists felt ^{that} perhaps it would be better for their children not
to have. Not all Socialists sent their children. Some were too busy
with their own problems; others did not think the children would understand.

a few too busy teaching Socialism to everyone else who would listen and believing the children would ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ automatically follow their parents. In some families -- too often the wife -- was no Socialist, and did not want the children to suffer from the persecution, blacklisting, self-sacrificing life of a Socialist. ~~Not too many families can claim~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ three generations of active Socialist workers as is the case of Hortense and Alfred Wagenknecht. *For this reason* Not too many families in America can be ~~xxx~~ added to those of Hortense and Alfred Wagenknecht, who can claim three generations of active Socialists.

is the case of Hortense and Alfred Wagenknecht
Not too many families in America can be added to those of Hortense and Alfred Wagenknecht, who can claim three generations of active Socialists.

In _____ Wag became ~~the~~ the Socialist Party organizer for Washington State.

~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ He had written about the circumstances of his going as follows: here bring in why -- background in Cleveland--

He said the circumstances leading towards his going west were.

Washington State was the gateway to the great Alaska gold fields which ~~xxxxxxx~~ thousands ~~xxxxxxx~~ white wilderness ~~xxxxxxx~~ in _____ had lured hundreds to the ~~xxxxxxx~~ camping, without our modern water proof, heat insulated equipment, in ~~xxxxxxx~~ of ice and snow.

Perhaps he, too

ask Hortense if he ever thought of going.

If he joined _____ for a short time, ~~xxxxxxx~~ the German Lutheran church/ during this ~~xxxxxxx~~ before he came. ~~xxxxxxx~~ period or/ in Cleveland.

Wag described his work and activity during ~~xxx~~ as a Socialist Party organizer in Washington State.

Sections from the Anti-War Resolution of the S.P. adopted in

St. Louis -1917

(from New Masses of July 10, 1934- a quote

"The only struggle which would justify the workers in taking up arms is the great struggle of the working class of the world to free itself from economic exploitation and political oppression, and we particularly warn the workers against the snare and delusion and so-called defensive warfare.

"They (the Socialists) will meet war and the detailed plans for war already mapped out by the war-making arms of the government by massed war resistance, organized ~~so far as practicable~~ in a general strike of labor unions and professional groups in a united effort to make the waging of war a practical impossibility and to convert the capitalist war crisis into a victory for socialism.

Declarations ends

"The Socialist Party proclaims anew its faith in economic and political democracy, but it unhesitatingly applies itself to the task of replacing the bogus democracy of capitalist parliamentarism by a genuine workers' democracy. Capitalism is doomed. IF it can be superseded by majority vote, the Socialist Party will rejoice. IF the crisis comes through the denial of majority rights after the electorate has given us a mandate, we shall not hesitate to crush by our labor solidarity the reckless forces of reaction and to consolidate the Socialist state. If the capitalist system should collapse in a general chaos and confusion, which cannot permit of orderly procedure, the Socialist party, whether or not in such a case it is a majority, will not shrink from the responsibility of organizing and maintaining a government under the workers' rule. True democracy is a worthy means to progress; but true democracy must be created by the workers of the world.

check think this while Wag in jail. Hoptense acting

from The Ohio Socialist, April 9, 1919

after Wag came from jail.????

paper Ohio, Kentucky, Virginia
West Virginia and New Mexico

Report of State Secretary Alfred Wagenknecht at quarterly meeting of
The State Executive ~~meeting~~ Committee, SP of Ohio, held in Galion,
Ohio, Sat & Sun March 29 and 30. The committee had voted to meet in
Galion in response to an invitation by Comrade Wm. M. (Bishop) Brown,
who desired to offer the state organization a state headquarters
free ~~Wag ends his~~ (in Wag he)
~~for~~ of expense. ~~After an~~ introduction/which/tells ~~us~~ what the workers
in Europe are doing ~~xxxxxx~~ by saying "our comrades of the Social Party,
~~talking lessons~~ from the experiences of our European comrades, are
learning that the only hope for the workers lies in uncompromising
tactics and in proletarian control. His organizational report says:
"The majority of locals in Ohio have increased their activity two-
fold since the first of the year. Reports from locals prove that the
methods used by the ruling class to suppress our activities but whet the
appetites of the workers for a knowledge of socialism. As a result,
larger meetings have been held in Ohio. ~~since~~ halls have been crowded
to the doors. ~~xxxxxxx~~ ...Two and three halls have had to be rented to
hold the crowds...not only for the Debs' meetings, ...but others.

"Many local s that were inactive during the last year of the war have
now reorganized or paid their arrears in dues. Threats of persecution
are always more effective in small towns. Our smaller locals suffered
severely....but a wonderful change has taken place since the signing of
the armistice.

~~xxxxxxx~~ For the paper Wag says "our state paper is fast becoming
one of the best liked papers in the United States", which shows its
circulation reached more than ~~xxxxxxx~~ Ohio residents. "The 6,000
subscription list in February has been increasing at the rate of 150
new subscribers a week."

"After all, there is no secret formula by which a powerful organization can be effected", said Mag. "The main attribute necessary is to be capable of working hard along well-outlined plans and carrying these plans to a successful conclusion.

In the same issue is a call signal by A. [unclear] for 5,000 meetings on May 1st to protest Debs' imprisonment, and demanding the release of all political prisoners. The call says "Even if you can not secure a speaker, the speeches which Debs and other convicted Socialists made ~~which~~ which we will send you, will give you an inspiring, enthusiastic meeting. ...Select a good reader...follow the instructions we will send for the full meeting program....Copies of posters to advertise your meeting; protest" postal cards, a new kind of application blank for (Socialist) membership..will be sent.

~~xxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ On the back page of the ~~xxxxxxx~~ paper is a mast head "News and Views - A Weekly Survey, Edited by C.E. Ruthenbege ^{erg.}"

Years later ~~Mag~~ ~~xxxxxxx~~ it was a mistake not to have accepted Bishop Brown's offer. The reason ^{was} given at the time ~~that Gallion was too small a town from which to carry on the State activities~~ ^{and} ~~that Gallion was too~~ Prevaling opinion at the time held Gallion was too small a town from which to carry on Socialist state-wide activities.

Foster - list of

Without any formal split, many thousands of socialist workers soon followed Haywood's example.

The effects of the split provoked by the right wing were almost catastrophic for the Party. In May 1912, the party had numbered 150,000 members (although the average for the same year was 120,000) but in four months' time it had dropped by 40,000.

P 133-134

Aug. 1914 anti-war resolution by 2nd Int'l

FIND OUT YEAR WAG WENT BACK TO OHIO
WAS DELEGATE FROM OHIO TO ST. LOUIS

p 134 - St. Louis convention - Anti-war stand
1917??

Insert somewhere

Wag's attitude towards the contribution of those he felt/^{became}the victims of factual struggles in the Party ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~

is exemplified in these remarks he made in a letter to William

Wag felt we lost many ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ sincere, capable and hard working former leaders ~~xxxxxx~~ through factional ~~xxxxxxxx~~ methods of worked the Party used. In correspondence with William Z. Foster in 1951, when In 1951 William Z. Foster was ~~collecting~~ checking factual material of the early Party history and wrote ^{many letters} to Wag.

That some old timers were wronged in the factional fighting in the Party can be seen in his correspondence with William Z. Foster. In 1951 Foster was checking factual ~~xxxxxx~~ material relating to early party history and wrote Wag a number of letters. Since these were underground days not much material was written or ~~xxxxxx~~ kept. Wag wrote: "As to Katterfeld. You will remember that I suggested that I get in touch with him first. I have more of an understanding about his frame of mind than others. He was mortally wounded ~~when~~ Lovestone expelled him from the Party and no one stepped forward to defend him- and no one stepped forward to reinstate him after Lovestone was expelled. I have not seen him for six years or more. Send me his address if you have it." Later Foster wrote "Today we located Katterfeld and called him up. When he was told that I wanted to speak with him about Party historical matters, he said he was not interested. So that's that. So have the mighty fallen." Wag answered Foster saying: "As for Katterfeld, I thought I made the most practical approach. However, that is water over the dam now and nothing can be done about it." ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ Even though Wag knew there was nothing to be done at this late date, he chalked it up as one he hoped that the Party would learn to have a ~~xxxxxx~~ more human approach to what it theoretically considered its most ~~xxxxxx~~ precious possession --

written for his 50 year of active work in the labor and progressive movement.

A TOAST TO WAG--

By Fred Blair

Here's to Wag,
Who'll never lag
No matter how some others drag!

Here's to the first great fifty years
Which set the capitalists on their ears!
Here's to the next brave fifty years
Which'll bury the capitalists, eyes and ears!

minus ears

As to Truman,
Who's hardly human,
And Mellon and Morgan,
And every organ
Of Wall Street and the bourgeoisie--
Here's infamy,
And forgetfulness!
They don't deserve any more;
I wouldn't wish them less!

#

as critical of methods of work whereby
 national Committee members, district organizers,
 and full time forces would spend their time
 telling others how to do the job. He was es-
 pecially critically of those who were too busy
 to see the membership, often feeling ~~it~~
 it was not busy but snobishness.

He lamented the fact that an entire genera-
 tion of Young Communist League leaders, ~~who~~ ~~later~~ ~~became~~ ~~C.P. leaders~~ ~~—~~ ~~***~~

~~XXXX~~ regarded themselves as theoreticians, and
 had little experiences in mass work, brought
 their

separated their own participation
 felt that such methods lead to further
 bureaucracy. But his dreams

He would never permit any subjective reactions
 He never carried a grudge. He was always

ready to work with everyone. When he was dis-
 istrict secretary in he was accessible to anyone
 as he was in ~~XXXX~~ Mo., Ark and
 Kans from 1939? to 19 ~~MS~~

Wag was unhappy when he came across ~~XXXXXX~~
 such
~~XXXX~~ writings of Communist Party history which
 left out his own role, or glossed over the
 formation of ~~XXXXXX~~ Communist Labor
 Party and his election as secretary of that
 organization. He ~~XXXX~~ not ~~XXXX~~ permit
 himself to be subjective for any length of
 time. He got satisfaction from such writings
 as

quote from Mae Ts

from

Wag always felt that the American/Party
 Communist

underestimated the importance of practical work.
 He felt that the leaders talked about "organization
 deciding everything" after the "line" (policies)
 had been decided on, but actually disregarded the
 slogan in life when they ~~XXXXXX~~ failed to tie
 theory to practice by having those who made theory
 also become its leaders in practice. Wag

INSERT:

Wag loved the people. When he found the following Ancient Chinese proverb he copied it in longhand, typed a dozen copies and began distributing a copy to each active worker he met.

Go to the people

Live among them

Learn from them

Love them

Serve them

Plan with them

Start with what they know

Build on what they have!

(Ancient Chinese)

man in a hole

The Communist, Oct. 1939.

"Some Remarks On The Twentieth Anniversary of the C.P.U.S.A." by Earl Browder. (Written at a time when the party was united, Browder was its National General Secretary, and the expressions of the magazine ~~was~~ ^{officially} in which it appeared/those of the national leadership.)

"In the beginning of the modern organized Socialist movement in the U.S., its relations with the trade unions were close and harmonious. Even Smauel Gompers, who later became the traditional "socialist eater" as head of the A.E.of L., was trained in a Socialist environment, and for a time worked in harmony with the Socialists/...I...Under the inspiration of Daniel De Leon,...the Socialist-Labor Party demanded the party's direct representation in trade union councils. It was largely this issue ~~was~~ that precipitated the split in the Socialist-Labor Party which gave birth to the Socialist Party of America, under the leadership of Hillquit, Debs and Beger.

"But if the Socialist-Labor Party, under DeLeon, had committed fatal mistakes of rigid, doctrinaire, sectarianism, the Social Party, under the dominating influence of Hillquit, adopted an equally disastrous policy of "neutrality" on trade union questions, a policy which liquidated the influence of the Socialist Party. in the "The Socialist Party attained a relatively stable influence primarily in those unions which it had been ~~was~~ primarily instrumental in founding-the needle trades unions in New York, where the workers had brought a socialist consciousness and training from their lands of origin, to a great extent from Russia.

... ~~"The pre-war Socialist movement failed for lack of Marxian theory"~~

"The Socialist Party did produce strong individual leaders, but they failed because they were not closely bound into a collectivity, ~~based upon~~ ..Strong leaders tended to create divisions and factional tendencies, ~~instead of a monolithic p~~ ...The problem of unity became a problem of unprincipled compromises between conflicting leaders, and of blocs of special interests.

(over)

Thus, when the Socialist Party began to grow rapidly just before and during the World War, its ranks became a veritable ~~xxxx~~ Babel of confusion in ideology, and the stronger it grew in numbers the weaker it became in inner cohesion. It tended more and more to become a mere electioneering combination of the most disparate and ideologically conflicting groups and tendencies. That the Socialist Party, even in its heyday, produced not a single piece of literature of lasting significance is sufficient commentary upon the sterility of its inner political life, which is the inevitable consequence of lack of Marxian theory.

"Such was the condition of the socialist movement in America when the World War and then the Russian Revolution struck it with stunning force, transformed overnight the political situation in which it operated, and revealed the inevitable helplessness of any working class party in a revolutionary situation when it is not equipped with Marxism-Leninism. The old Socialist Party never recovered from the blow; the most it could contribute to history was to give birth, through a split forced by its dominant leadership, to the Communist Party, in September 1919.

.. The American Socialist Party did not attempt to answer the question of its war policy until 1917, in the same month the U.S entered the war. In special convention in the city of St. Louis, it patched up a compromise resolution opposing American entrance into the war, but failing to indicate any line of action for the masses.Its opposition to the war remained without any special influence upon the working-class, nor indeed did it give direction even to the Socialist Party itself.

"At least four distinct ideological currents combined to determine the anti-war resolution at St. Louis. The pro-war Socialists, headed by John Spargo (today a rock-ribbed Republican reactionary in Vermont); Chester Wright (then editor of the New York Call, Socialist daily) and William English Walling (shortly before a super-Leftist) had dramatically made their exit from the SP under the direction of Gompers, without much

influence among the Socialist Party membership. The St. Louis Convention, therefore, had no open pro-war influence to speak of. But the anti-war delegates were far from any unified opinion.

"There was, first of all, the tendency of American isolationism, the middle-western Populist influence, which on purely empirical and separatist grounds, opposed American intervention. Secondly, there was a strong trend of Christian-Socialist pacifism, which later came to dominate the SP through the person of Norman Thomas. Thirdly, there was a pro-German influence, which, from long dependence upon the leadership of the German Social-Democratic Party, concluded that German victory would best serve the world Socialist movement. And, fourthly, by no means the dominant tendency, was the revolutionary socialist influence, striving toward but not yet clearly understanding the position taken by Lenin and the Bolsheviks in Europe.

"Two outstanding figures in the Socialist Party tried heroically to lead their party into a revolutionary struggle against the war. They were Eugene V. Debs and Charles E. Ruthenberg. Just before going to prison for his anti-war struggle, Debs dramatically declaimed, in a public speech: "I am a Bolshevik from the crown of my head to the tip of my toes." Ruthenberg later became a leading figure in the formation of the Communist Party and was its first General Secretary until his death in 1927; and with him went most of those who actively fought against the war.

"The October Revolution in Russia brought a wave of mass enthusiasm among the workers and of rapid growth of the Socialist Party. The writings of Lenin began to appear in English in imperfect and sometimes even distorted translations, but of a most profound influence. A period of intense study and furious discussions ensued. ~~Theory~~ A revolutionary wing took shape within the Socialist Party, quickly obtaining the allegiance of the great majority of its membership. The call for the founding of the Communist International appeared. The Left-wing in the S.P. organized itself

into a National Conference early in 1919. At first the Socialist leadership maneuvered with the issue; but, finally, under the influence of Hillquit, it took its stand against the Russian Revolution and against the Communist International. Abandoning all pretense of majority rule within the Socialist Party, it expelled the organizations representing the majority of the membership, right on the eve of the national convention called in Chicago. Thus, the split in the Socialist Party was forced by its leadership, and the Communist Party was born in Chicago, on September 1, 1919, with little preparation, very chaotic organization, and a minimum of mature and tested leadership or program.

"It is convenient to deal with the first decade of Communist Party history as a single period, because the entire ten years was dominated by the basic problem of the creation of a "party of a new type", basing *(italics)* itself on Marxism-Leninism, beginning the mastery of theory and its independent application to American problems and conditions."

Wag would
Dey cannot
Quick understand
ing from your
throat

notes on menu

connection with Fosters History CPUSA

39 -- CP Cleveland

85 Labor Party - Engels

96 - Impossibilists

77 DeLeonism

Growth in value of Marxist theory

Polemics

Contradiction - 120-121 re role B intellectuals

123 C. E Rutherburg - ~~chief~~ chief

124-125 Kerr pop. Marxists books

141 - War - Cleveland Hdqts. Anti-Draft

Tech Aid - USSR

Famine Relief

145-148 U.F. support

250- Passaic

UF support

251- Gastonia

KKK

256- Miners strike

UF

Page 158-59 Referendums in SP
2 left on Executive

162 - Ref on conf. Moscow. Delegates elected - left

162- Ruth & Wag? Kat.

163 W & K unseated. Nat Ex not called to meeting. Took no part
in expulsions

171 - No campaign for left W delegates to SP convention. Confusion
in L.W.

171 CP held CLP Convention had many Mensheviks

174 - CP The only Bolsh All in SP who refused Hillquit leadership

(over)

were Mensheviks and not fit for CP membership. CP fearful of charge
by CP that it was M failed to mobilize the thousands
of LW sympathizers dropping out of Sr so as not to
become ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ impure in eyes of CP.

178- Action of the masses - or mass action - Ruthenberg dubbed Centrist.

207- Friends of Soviet Russia as a united front.

343 - Browder Pl
Foster last P

1st P 2-3

351- steel CP

7-P

others))) spoke to thousands and helped to raise funds for victims of Hitler fascism. The illegal booklets which started out with Goethe's poems, or a story, and then turned into an anti-fascist tract, were brought to America and distributed on these tours.

5) The Socialists were great propagandists. They helped in the great "muck raking" days. The success of such papers as "The Appeal to Reason", which circulated _____ copies at its peak in _____ was ~~XXXX~~, Wag said, due to their crusading character. He would explain how they took up one issue (find such an issue in some of the back and numbers) explain it, ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ write in such a popular manner as to arouse its readers. The next issue, and the next AND next would continue on the issue. The readers would not only look forward to receiving their paper, but would order a bundle to ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ sell and distribute.

Insert

"

Possibilists: (definition P 155 Letters KM FE

the petty -bourgeois, reformist wing of the French Parti
Ourier, which split off from the party in 1882. The possibilists confined
the activity of the working class within the framework of what is
"possible" under capitalism. In 1902, they organized the opportunist
French Socialist Party, together with other reformist groups as a
counterpoise to the Socialist Party of France. The two parties merged
in 1905."

In the Preface

Preface to the Russian Translation of Letters by V.I. Lenin

"A comparison of the comments by Marx and Engels on the Anglo-American and German labor movements is highly instructive. This comparison acquires all the greater importance when we remember that Germany on the one hand, and England and America on the other, represent different stages of capitalist development and different forms of domination by the bourgeoisie, as a class, of the entire political life of these countries. From the scientific standpoint, what we observe here is a sample of materialist dialectics, of the ability to bring out and stress the different points and different sides of a question in accordance with the specific peculiarities of various political and economic conditions. From the standpoint of the practical policy and tactics of the workers' party, what we see here is a sample of the way in which the creators of the Communist Manifesto defined the tasks of the militant proletariat in accordance with the different stages of the national labor movement in various countries.

"What Marx and Engels most of all criticize in British and American socialism is its isolation from the labor movement. The burden of all their numerous comments on the Social Democratic Federation in England and on the American Socialists is the accusation that they have reduced Marxism to a dogma, to a "rigid orthodoxy," that they consider it "a credo and not a guide to action," that they are incapable of adopting themselves to theoretically helpless, but living, powerful, ^{the} ~~ass~~ labor movement marching past them.

"Had we from 1864 to 1873 insisted on working together only with those who openly adopted our platform," Engels exclaims in his letter of January 27, 1887, "where should we be today?" And in an earlier letter (Dec. 28, 1886), in reference to the influence of the ideas of Henry

George on the American working class, he writes:

"A million or two of workingmen's votes next November for a bona fide workingmen's party is worth infinitely more at present than a thousand votes for a doctrinally perfect platform."

~~"These are very interesting passages. There are Social Democrats in our country."~~

...".L. rs. Mischnowetzky asked him (Engels), as may be seen from Engel's reply, to make a thorough criticism of Henry George. Engels writes (December 28, 1886) that the time has not yet come for that,

(referring to a desire of some to build a "labor congress" "a broad labor party", a "left bloc") for it is better to let the workers' party begin to consolidate itself, even if on a not altogether immaculate program. Later on the workers ~~xxxx~~ will themselves come to an understanding what is at stake, will "learn from their own mistakes", but "anything that might delay or prevent that national consolidation of the workingmen's party - no matter what platform-I should consider a great mistake...."

"Engels, of course, perfectly understood and frequently pointed out all the absurdity and reactionary character of the ideas of Henry George from the Socialist ~~xxxx~~ standpoint.

through

a distinct workers' party."

.....

Angels to Mrs. Florence Kelly Wischnewetzky

London, Feb. 9, 1887

"The movement in America, just at this moment, is I believe best seen from across the ocean. On the spot personal bickering and local disputes must obscure much of the grandeur of it. And the only thing that could really delay its march would be the consolidation of these differences into established sects. To some extent that will be unavoidable, but the less of it the better." ... Our theory is a theory of evolution, not a dogma to be learnt by heart and to be repeated mechanically.... The less it is drilled into the Americans from the outside and the more they test it through their own experience - with the help of the Germans - the deeper will it pass into their flesh and blood. When we returned to Germany, in Spring 1848, we joined the ~~xxxx~~ Democratic Party as the only possible means of gaining the ear of the working class; we were the most advanced wing of that party, but still a wing of it. When Marx founded the International, he drew up the General Rules in such a way that all working-class socialists of that period could join it-- Proudhonists, Pierre Lerouxists, and even the more advanced section of the English trade unions; and it was only through this latitude that the International became what it was, the means of gradually dissolving and absorbing all these minor sects, with the exception of the anarchists, whose sudden appearance in various countries was but the effect of the violent bourgeois reaction after the Commune and could therefore safely be left by us to die out of itself, which it did. Had we from 1864 to 1873 insisted on working together only with those who openly adopted our platform, where should we be today? I think all our practice has shown that it is possible to work along with the general movement of the working class at every one of its stages without giving up or hiding our own distinct position and even organization, and I am afraid that if the German-Americans choose a different line they will commit a great mistake."

100
The responsible officer

Agreed printed and distributed
the million copies of S. S.
brochure containing the special
provision on Green Cross of the day
state and local organizing
then printed and distributed
that about an additional
10 million copies
the 1960 campaign was
first meeting over in a
country of political protests
company in the United States
the 1960 Special
1960 Special

100
Special Program

P 256-7
Special Program
P 256-7
Special Program

Handwritten notes at the top of the page, including the word "quartzite" written vertically.

P/158-169

used for
change location

Handwritten notes on the right side of the page, including the word "quartzite" written vertically.

Del. change

~~Handwritten text, possibly a date or reference number, crossed out with a diagonal line.~~

Jan 21

on 1904

quartzite

1908 P

The reason for

The left wing's support

loss of power in the

SP between 1908 and

1909 was that the

1911 first line

11 Every officer of the

1908 observed at the convention

for 1908 but there were

and the party's history and clearest

1908 P
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1911 first line

11 Every officer of the

1908 observed at the convention

for 1908 but there were

and the party's history and clearest

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and the party's history and clearest

P118 Hubbard (unrecorded)

Jan 1903, 22 copygrams and

letters were sent from the
national office for organizing
periods or a salary of \$3000

pay \$100 to stop - letters
were sent weekly in the field

warning only what they need
from the date of socialist

manifesto, letters and news -
paper publishing firms. Article

written was re covered to
conduct their own printing

line of and propaganda
campaign with the national office

Asking for part of the cost
and was in the process of release

P119 Wasserman (unrecorded)

News SR

P 114 Wasserman & Wasserman

WABC of Association

P119

Gaylord Tribune,

The million are socialist,

add it as part of our

WABC Association

August 1954
Deborah

1953
Bernice F. Tabor

Grace

1964 Convention by

Walter

had active part

in the platform

1959 while the platform

was being prepared by

the committee

1961 on May 15 - the

and in front of the

at the time of the

at the time of the

1954
Deborah

1953
Bernice F. Tabor

Grace

1964 Convention by

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had active part

in the platform

1959 while the platform

was being prepared by

the committee

1961 on May 15 - the

and in front of the

at the time of the

at the time of the

left Am. Trade Union
with representation
from Am. Republics
that from London & Paris
The Socialist League
at the left of them
fully predicted that
its "triumph" at the
convention would be
an end to "pully & corn"
of "obeyentific" Social
ism or jokes about
"Browling" & "credit"
to the "left"

P 176 - Part II

John S. Williams, Middle
Road through
describes
P 281 - 282

P 279 - Victor
P 280 -

W. Johnson & Charles
L. Johnson

was found out
P 280 -

when he found out
P 281 -

ibid Muckrakers
p 178 Labors Untold
Story
Richard
Bryce

It was expressed in the
exposures of those whom
Theodore Roosevelt had derisively
dubbed "muckrakers",

journalists like Ida Tarbell,
Lincoln Steffens, & Ray, Samuel Baker,
who demonstrated again
and again to millions of
readers that American industry
and American government had
the common denominator of
colossal graft.

179

Received of
John Smith
the sum of
Ten pounds

172

John Smith
has received
of me the sum
of Ten pounds
for the year
1720
and has
acknowledged
the same

John Smith