

Wag
Continued fragment of his
unpublished notes of 1848

Wag

References

- ① Jo Labadie Collection, U. of M.
- ② Labor Collection, Univ. of Wisconsin
- ③ See also Hist. of Socialism by Ira Kipnis

(October 1954)

Alfred Wagenknecht

Active in the labor movement since 1892. Delegate to the Cleveland Central Bor Council in 1899 from the AFL food workers union at the age of 18.

Went to Washington at ~~the~~ in 1900. Worked in logging camps. Became state organizer of the Socialist Party at age of 20. Became acquainted with Wm. Z. Foster in Seattle in 1905 during the free speech fights. Was elected a member of the national executive committee of the Socialist Party.

Returned to Ohio in 1913. Joined Chas. Ruthenberg in the leadership of the Socialist Party and was elected state secretary of Ohio. Jailed for opposing World War I. Participated in the left wing grouping of the S.P. against its reformist and pre-Imperialist leadership.

One of the founders of the Communist Parties in 1919. District organizer in Ohio, Connecticut, and the ^{Missouri} anthracite. Help in the Pennsylvania-Ohio miners' strike in 1928 a ~~strike~~ ^{also} in the Kentucky miners' strike and the ~~strike~~ Passaic and Gastonia textile strikes.

In Chicago for the last ten years and presently member of the state committee and state organizer of the Communist Party of Illinois.

sets

Russian
Famine
Relief
2 1/2 million

Open up their minds
and let the same kind of
M.L.M. - Its brilliance

Captains theme

Collection of recollections

1915-1917 - SP - 2nd

no idea leadership
from West etc. - I was
a low-ranking base
where tolerating differences
points of view and
all the discussion was
at times, no decisions
as to how in the whole

no clash of
opinions, rebounded
idea development

party - fear of
administrative actions
if it not in agreement
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decide - history formed
to take action

~~Spilose phytos of the~~

Red light spot

you know
the part which failed in 1917
with the rest of the group

even mind. it's the pendulum which
of the system. work, the pointed phase, the
energy, no matter what the rest, which is
concentrated in Sweden

M. Chancey
1312 E. 114 St.
Cleveland, Ohio

Ohio Socialist
Toiler -- anything on Wag in these periodicals

American Workers Alliance

Party org, for short time before CCP & CP org

John Marshall
Leetonia, Ohio

Pavek, P O Box 203, Mendocino, Cal.

**BANQUET and
MEMORIAL PROGRAM**

honoring

Alfred Wagenknecht

August 15, 1881 — August 26, 1956

Saturday - Feb. 16 - 7 pm

MILDA HALL 3142 S. Halsted St.
(Third floor)

Wagenknecht
daughter of Alfred
Mrs. Helen Winter
Guest of honor:



Musical selections



Selections from
autobiographical notes
of Alfred Wagenknecht

PROGRAM



DONATION: two dollars
for dinner and program



*Reservation for
Kunio Sakai
#559 Paid for
2/11/57*

the fund drive making possible
our country's first Marxist daily
newspaper - the Daily Worker - now
in its 33rd year of continuous
publication.

ALFRED
WAGENKNECHT
who among
his many
contributions
to the American
working class
first launched



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Alfred Wagenknecht

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MILDA HALL 3142 S. Halsted St.
(Third floor)

Communist Party of Illinois
36 W. Randolph, Room 80
DEarborn 2-2747

August 26, 1956

For Immediate Release:

Alfred Wagenknecht, 75, veteran Midwestern Communist and Socialist leader, died today at Michael Reese Hospital, following an operation. He was born in Goerlitz, Germany, on August 15, 1881, and was brought to this country at the age of 18 months by his father, a German socialist.

He was an associate of Eugene V. Debs, "Big Bill" Haywood, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, John Reed, Anita Whitney and other pioneers of the American Socialist and Communist movements.

He entered the labor movement at the age of 17, becoming the youngest delegate ever elected to the Cleveland, Ohio Trade and Labor Council. At 20, he was an organizer for the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union in Seattle, Washington. At the age of 21 he was elected State Organizer for the Washington State Socialist Party.

Wagenknecht came to national prominence when, as a leader of the Ohio Socialist Party, he was sentenced to jail for his opposition to U.S. entry into World War I. In 1918, Eugene V. Debs made his historic Canton, Ohio, speech outside the state prison, in protest against the imprisonment of Wagenknecht and two other socialist leaders, which led to Debs' subsequent trial and conviction for "sedition".

He became the first chairman of the Communist Labor Party, founded in Chicago in 1919, which later merged with the Communist Party of the United States. From that date he remained a prominent national figure of that organization.

As the national secretary of the Workers International Relief, he played a leading role in supporting the most dramatic labor struggles of the 1920's - the textile strikes in Passaic, New Jersey, and Gastonia, South Carolina, the National Miners' strike, and others.

He was Chairman of the Communist Party of Missouri from 1938 to 1941, and Chairman of the Communist Party of Illinois from 1941 to 1945.

He is survived by his wife Caroline, a brother Ernest, of Cleveland, Ohio, three daughters, among whom is Mrs. Helen Winters, of Detroit, a Smith Act defendant,

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He is survived by his wife Caroline, a brother Ernest, of Cleveland, Ohio, three daughters, among whom is Mrs. Helen Winters, of Detroit, a Smith Act defendant, and numerous grandchildren.

Memorial services will be held Tuesday, August 28th, 8:00 P.M. at Weinstein Bros. Chapel, 3600 W. Roosevelt Road. He will be buried Wednesday morning,

American - Aug 27 1956

He leaves his widow, Bernice and a daughter, Mrs. Carol Lee Baumann of Van Nuys, Cal.

Alfred Wagenknecht, 75, veteran Midwest Socialist leader, who died yesterday in Michael Reese Hospital, will be buried Wednesday following memorial services at 8 p. m. tomorrow in the chapel at 3600 Roosevelt rd. He was an associate of Eugene V. Debs, "Big Bill" Haywood, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, John Reed, Anita Whitney and other pioneers in the American Socialist movement. He entered the labor movement at the age of 17, when he was elected the youngest delegate to the Cleveland, O. Trade and Labor Council. He leaves his widow, Caroline; a brother, Ernest, and three daughters.

Miss Harriet Errett, 78, of Carbondale, Ill., who formerly lived at 46th st. and Ellis av. and for 42 years worked in the Illinois Central Railroad freight car

WAGENKNECHT DIES; MIDWEST COMMIE CHIEF

Alfred Wagenknecht, 75, communist and socialist leader in the midwest since 1919, died yesterday in Michael Reese hospital following an operation.

A statement from the Communist party of Illinois said Wagenknecht was the first chairman of the Communist Labor party which was founded in Chicago in 1919. The organization later merged with the Communist party of the United States. Mr. Wagenknecht, a native of Goerlitz, Germany, was chairman of the Communist party of Missouri from 1938 to 1941 and chairman of the Communist party of Illinois from 1941 to 1945, according to the statement.

He leaves his widow, Caroline; three daughters, and a brother. Memorial services will be held at 8 p. m. tomorrow in the chapel at 3600 Roosevelt rd.

John Carroll Sons

"Home for Funerals"

Whitehall 4-6060

ERIE AT WABASH AVE.

that will be offered at 10 a.m.

Wagenknecht, Communist

Pioneer, Dies

Memorial services for Alfred Wagenknecht, 75, one of the founders of the Communist party in the United States, will be held at 8 p.m. Tuesday in the chapel at 3600 W. Roosevelt.

Mr. Wagenknecht died Sunday in Michael Reese hospital. As a young man he was a union organizer and later a member of the Socialist party.

Mr. Wagenknecht later became first national secretary of the Illinois Communist Labor party.

That group merged with another in 1923 to become the present Communist party.

EUGENE V. Debs, the Socialist leader, was jailed in 1918 for sedition when he protested the imprisonment of Mr. Wagenknecht who had opposed America's entry into World War I.

In 1949 an undercover FBI agent identified him as telling a Communist class here that "for the workers to take over here, we'll have to have a revolution."

He is survived by his widow and three daughters including Mrs. Helen Winters of Detroit who was sentenced to four years in prison in 1954 as a Communist under the Smith Act.

Ed Furgol

Sees 'Red Squad'

At a Funeral

The several hundred persons who gathered to pay their last respects to the late Alfred Wagenknecht, a friend and associate of Eugene V. Debs, Bill Haywood, and other pioneers of American socialism, were shocked to find that the funeral services were under the surveillance of the "red squad" of the Chicago Police Department.

Perhaps the police commissioner can explain how the security of our country is enhanced by such a callous disregard for human feeling and decency. The names of those attending were no doubt entered in the police files, to be brought forth as "derogatory information" in relation to future applications for jobs, passports, and the like.

This kind of "security" from "the cradle to the grave" is something we can do without, to enjoy genuine democracy in this country of ours.

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San Times - Aug 27 56

Alfred Wagenknecht, 75, Communist Leader, Dies

Alfred Wagenknecht, veteran Communist leader in the Midwest, died after an operation Sunday in Michael Reese Hospital.

Mr. Wagenknecht, who was 75, was a native of Germany. His father, a Socialist in that country, brought his son, then 18 months old, to the United States.

Mr. Wagenknecht was an associate of Eugene V. Debs, Big Bill Haywood and other pioneers of radical political movements.

He entered the labor movement at 17, becoming a union organizer and later a member of the Socialist Party.

He gained national prominence when, as leader of the Ohio Socialist Party, he was jailed for opposition to U.S. entry into World War I.

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Surviving are the widow, a brother and three daughters, including Mrs. Helen Winters of Detroit, who was convicted in 1954 under the Smith Act as being a Communist. She was sentenced to four years.

Memorial services will be held at 8 p.m. Tuesday in the chapel at 3600 W. Roosevelt. Burial will be on Wednesday.

Charles S. Wursch

Manchester, Tenn., while returning from a trip to Florida.

Surviving are the widow, Ruth; a daughter, Mrs. Marlene Pedersen; his mother, Mrs. Mabel Wursch, and a brother, Melvin.

Harold H. Hughes

Services for Harold Hughes, 56, captain of Squad of the Fire Insurance Patrol will be held at 2 p.m. Tuesday in the chapel at 3440 North Central. Burial will be in Green Cemetery.

Mr. Hughes, of Major, died Saturday at the Reformation Hospital.

He had been employed by a private patrol firm and was a member of the American Legion.

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Communist Leader, Dies

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Dr. Charles S. Wursch
vicar for Dr. Charles

Manchester, Tenn., while re

Ex-Legislator

Tinkham

Dies at 86

GRAMERTON, N.

George Holden Tin

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THE jurist was named to

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Communist Party in the United States, was buried Wednesday.

Wagenknecht, who died Sun-

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At a memo-

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Tuesday night

speakers cited

the hardship in

the life of an

American Com-

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But none of

the speakers—

who included

some of the na-

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mentioned

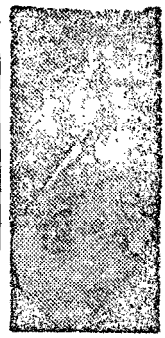
Wagenknecht

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The director of the chapel

said mourners whom requested

from candles at the altar to



ST. LOUIS—(AP)—Illinois Su-

Maxwell Dies;

Illinois High

Court Judge

ban Kirkwood.

at St. Joseph hospital in subur-

Maxwell, 51, died Wednesday

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state's attorney for Washington

Some of Nation's Top Commies

Attend Wagenknecht Rites

Founder Buried

U.S. Red Party

Deaths and Funerals

Some 300 friends, relatives

and comrades crowded the

chapel.

Among mourners and speak-

ers were:

—Claude Lightfoot, Illinois

Communist Party chairman.

—Carl Winter, of Detroit, one of

11 top-flight Reds convicted

in the first Communist con-

spracy trial in 1949, and his

wife, Helen Mary, daughter

of Wagenknecht.

—Mrs. Martha Stone, a member

of the National Committee of

the Communist Party from

New York City.

THE "RED" squad of the

Chicago police department

marked in an unmarked black

Deaths and Funerals

U.S. Red Party

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Deaths and Funerals

Daily News - May 29, 1952

C O P Y

MAINSTREAM
832 Broadway
New York 3, N. Y.

February 18, 1957

Dear Helen Winter:

I'd have written you sooner, except that the manuscript you sent for us was delivered rather indirectly and we were not quite certain what we were intended to do with it. We did, however, read it very carefully and with great interest. The material is so full of promise, and anyone like myself reading it must be tantalized with regret not to have met your father and drawn out of him the thousands of stories that lie buried in his manuscript.

But just there is the problem. As it now stands, the manuscript is really the outline for an autobiography; the anecdotes are not sufficiently dramatized, and even the political material needs more "flesh" on it. Frankly, Milton and I were unable to come up with any suggestions toward the solution of this problem. I know that you will find it difficult to accept this, but I think we could convince you if we sat down together and went over the manuscript in detail. You would find that the stories as told here are not as vivid as when they were told to you by your father. Unfortunately, no one can make them that vivid again.

There is, however, one thing I want to suggest. If you, all of you, children and friends, could work with a competent reporter and writer, the record of your recollections of your father could be made into a splendid book, into which much of the material in this manuscript could be incorporated. This would, of course, involve many interviews, note taking, etc., but there's no question in my mind that something unforgettable could come out of it. Please think of this as a possibility. I would say that a good model for such a book is Phil Bonosky's on Bill McKie, and the early parts of Agnes Smedley's work on Chu Teh, The Great Road. The main thing is to find the writer. I'm sorry not to have any contacts in Detroit, but perhaps you know of someone who would like to work with you.

This letter more or less repeats what I told Morris Childs just before he left New York. I was sorry to miss you, and hope we can meet some time. Milton sends you his very best.

Warmly,
Charles Humboldt

He Got His Strength
From the People

He saw some of his
dreams) fulfilled
ideas)
ideals)

His life was devoted to
the struggle for a better work

Lived unselfishly for
the good of mankind

His memory is a
monument for a better world

His life made possible
a better world

His life ideal.

- - - A Better World

CITY OF CHICAGO—BOARD OF HEALTH
OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT

STATE OF ILLINOIS }
 COUNTY OF COOK } SS
 CITY OF CHICAGO }

I, Herman N. Bundesen, M. D.,
 Registrar of Vital Statistics of the
 City of Chicago, do hereby certify
 that I am the keeper of the records
 of births, stillbirths and deaths of
 the City of Chicago by virtue of the
 laws of the State of Illinois and the
 ordinances of the City of Chicago;
 that the accompanying certificate on
 this sheet is a true copy of a record
 kept by me in pursuance of said
 laws and ordinances.

This Certified Copy VALID
Only When Original BLUE
SEAL AND BLUE SIGNATURE
Are Affixed.

OCT. 11, 1956

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 189

VS & R 200 (1955) Reprint based on the U.S. Standard Certificate of Death

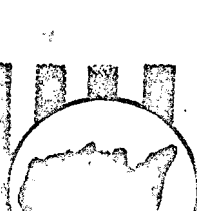
ORIGINAL		STATE OF ILLINOIS		STATE FILE NUMBER	58390
DECEDENT'S BIRTH NO.		MEDICAL CERTIFICATE OF DEATH		REGISTRATION DISTRICT NO. 16.10	REGISTERED NUMBER
1. PLACE OF DEATH a. COUNTY		2. USUAL RESIDENCE (Where deceased lived. If institution, residence before admission.) a. STATE		b. COUNTY	
COOK COUNTY, ILLINOIS		ILLINOIS		COOK	
b. Death took place <input type="checkbox"/> OUTSIDE city limits and in <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> INSIDE city limits and in the city, village, or town named at 1c.		c. Residence was <input type="checkbox"/> OUTSIDE city limits and in <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> INSIDE city limits and in the city, village, or town named at 2d.		TOWNSHIP.	
c. CITY, VILLAGE, OR TOWN		d. LENGTH OF STAY IN 1b or 1c	d. CITY, VILLAGE, OR TOWN	e. LENGTH OF RESIDENCE	
CHICAGO		15 YEARS	CHICAGO	15 YEARS	
e. NAME OF HOSPITAL OR INSTITUTION (If not in hospital or institution, give street address)		f. LENGTH OF STAY IN 1e	f. STREET ADDRESS	g. Did decedent reside ON A FARM? YES <input type="checkbox"/> NO <input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	
MICHAEL REESE		24 DAYS	849 SUNNYSIDE AVENUE		
3. NAME OF DECEASED a. (FIRST)		b. (MIDDLE)	c. (LAST)	4. DATE OF DEATH (MONTH DAY YEAR)	
ALFRED			WAGENKNECHT	AUGUST 25 1956	
5. SEX	6. RACE	7. MARRIED, NEVER MARRIED, WIDOWED, DIVORCED (specify)	8. DATE OF BIRTH	9. AGE (in years last birthday)	if under 1 year MONTHS DAYS
MALE	WHITE	MARRIED	AUGUST 15, 1881	75	
10a. USUAL OCCUPATION (Give kind of work done during most of working life, even if retired)		10b. KIND OF BUSINESS OR INDUSTRY	11. BIRTHPLACE (City and state or foreign country)	12. Citizen of what country?	
ORGANIZER		POLITICS	GERMANY	UNITED STATES	
13. FATHER'S FULL NAME			14. MOTHER'S FULL MAIDEN NAME		
(UNKNOWN) WAGENKNECHT			(UNKNOWN)		
15. Was deceased ever in U.S. Armed Forces? (Yes, no, or unknown) (If yes, give war or dates of service)		16. SOCIAL SECURITY NUMBER	17. INFORMANT a. SIGNATURE		
NO		UNKNOWN	Helen Smith		
18. CAUSE OF DEATH		b. ADDRESS		c. RELATIONSHIP TO DECEASED	
PART I. DEATH WAS CAUSED BY: [Enter only one cause per line for 18A, 18B, and 18C.]		2839 SOUTH ELLIS AVENUE		HOSPITAL	
IMMEDIATE CAUSE, 18A		Ruptured aneurysm of abdominal aorta		INTERVAL BETWEEN ONSET AND DEATH	
				1 day	
PART II. OTHER SIGNIFICANT CONDITIONS CONTRIBUTING TO DEATH BUT NOT RELATED TO THE TERMINAL CONDITION GIVEN IN PART I 18A.					
19. AUTOPSY? YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> NO <input type="checkbox"/>					
20. DESCRIBE CIRCUMSTANCES OF INJURY, IF ANY, WHOSE NATURE IS MENTIONED IN PART I OR PART II ABOVE.					
21. I hereby certify that I attended the deceased from AUGUST 2, 1956, to AUGUST 25, 1956, that I last saw the deceased alive on AUGUST 25, 1956, and death occurred at 11:25 P.M. from the causes and on the date stated above.					
DATE SIGNED		ADDRESS		PHONE	
8/26/56 Charles Shapiro M.D.		29th & Ellis		Cal. 5-5540	
22. DISPOSITION: BURIAL, REMOVAL, CREMATION (DATE)		23. FIRM NAME			
8-29-56		WEINSTEIN BROS. INC.			
CEMETERY: WALDHEIM		ADDRESS: 3606 W. PROSPECT AVE. CHICAGO			
LOCATION: FOREST PARK		C.H. ILLINOIS LICENSE NUMBER 204			
24. Received for filing on		54 West Hubbard Street, Chicago 10 CHICAGO BOARD OF HEALTH LOCAL REGISTRAR			
AUG 28 1956					

USE DEATH 151x

FILL IN WITH TYPEWRITER OR LEGIBLE PRINTING

A. Wagenknecht, Socialist

Champion, Dies at 75



**ILLINOIS
IMMIGRANT
EDITION**

The Worker

THE WORKER, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 9, 1956

An Editorial

CHICAGO. — On Aug. 28, the Daily Worker printed the following editorial:

Alfred Wagenknecht, a founder of this paper, whose lifetime was devoted to socialism, to peace, and to labor, is dead at 75. Countless thousands will gratefully remember "Wag," the dauntless crusader who was a leader of the Socialist Party in Ohio during his youth, later one of the founders of the Communist Party. His vigor, foresight and organizing talents contributed greatly to American labor especially during the 20s and 30s when he headed powerful relief drives to aid strikers and their families.

Champion of peace, he went to jail for his opposition to World War I. Among the many who visited Wagenknecht in prison was his fellow Socialist Eugene V. Debs who delivered shortly afterward, his famous anti-war speech for which he served years in Atlanta.

Wagenknecht was a man of sunny spirit whose bearing and teaching of socialist thought gave light to multitudes. It was characteristic of him that he said, from his sickbed only a fortnight ago: "Here I am at 75, and wishing I was 50. The years ahead will be wonderful and beautiful, though ripe with struggle."

It is an epitaph to a remarkably rich life in which this son of German immigrants gave every

Many Mourn Passing Of Communist Leader

CHICAGO.—Among the many messages of condolences to the family of Alfred Wagenknecht there were the following:

National Committee of the Communist Party: "We extend our deepest sympathy to you on the loss of your husband and comrade. His selfless devotion and leadership has been an inspiration to our Party and the many thousands of workers who knew him. We mourn the loss of our dear comrade who had devoted his entire life to the lolly struggle for a Socialist America."

Norman Thomas, noted Socialist leader and long time co-worker with Alfred Wagenknecht: "I saw in the New York Times a brief notice of Alfred Wagenknecht's death. I want to send each of you in his family my sincere sympathy. I knew your husband and father in the years when we were Socialists together, and I admired the service he gave to the cause around the time of World War I. When he became a Communist our

By SAM KUSHNER
CHICAGO. — More than 350 Chicagoans crowded into the Weinstein Brothers Chapel to hear the tributes paid to Alfred Wagenknecht, outstanding labor and Communist leader, who died on Aug. 26 at the age of 75.

Martha Stone, member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and chairman of the New Jersey Communist Party spoke for the National Committee.

She brought the personal condolences of the members of the National Committee including those of William Z. Foster, chairman and Eugene Dennis General Secretary. In the course of her remarks she stated that she also expressed the sympathies of many textile workers of New Jersey who knew Wag as a strike leader in the historic 1925-6 Passaic strike. Wag headed the relief set up for the 16,000 textile workers. *

THOMAS Slater, secretary-treasurer of Local 1 of the Carpenters union, recalled his long acquaintanceship of 40 years, with Wag in the labor and progressive movements. He stated

America for world peace.

The staff and editors tender their deep condolences to his wife and colleague Caroline, to his daughter, Helen Winter, and others of his family grieving today for a man whose labors for humanity will not be forgotten.

Lightfoot Statement

CHICAGO. — The following statement was issued by Claude Lightfoot in behalf of the Illinois-Indiana District of the Communist Party:

"The death of Alfred Wagenknecht is a great loss to the people of our country, to our entire Party of Illinois. For the past 17 years we have had the benefit of Comrade Wagenknecht's advice and activity. The wealth of knowledge and experience that he personified added richly to our understanding and appreciation of the great struggles in our country.

"Wag was not a man to live in the past. He drew upon his experience in order to enrich the present and the future. He had great faith in the working class. His 55 years' activity in the Socialist and Communist movements marks an historic contribution to the welfare of the American working class and the Negro people."

Mourners Give To Worker

CHICAGO. — Responding to Wag's last letter, which appeared in the Daily Worker just four days before his death, many friends who attended the funeral brought donations with them to be turned over to the Worker Fund Drive. Enclosed with the letter to the Daily Worker Wag had sent a \$50 donation.

A group of AIL workers, a group of Czechoslovak workers as well as many others brought in, as well as pledged, contributions to the paper.

of the working people.

Claude Lightfoot, Illinois state chairman of the Communist Party, spoke of the great contributions that Wag had made to the struggles of the American working class and to the Negro people. He cited Wag's 55 years of devotion to the Socialist cause. He singled out Wag's particular interest in the Daily Worker.

Carl Winter, chairman of the Michigan State Communist Party who recently served a 5 year term as the result of a Smith conspiracy conviction, spoke for the family in responding to the many messages. Carl is married to Helen Winter, Wagenknecht's daughter.

ALSO speaking at the funeral were a number of people from the field of Jewish work, from the Polish people's movements, from Vilnius, Lithuanian newspaper, from the civil rights field as well as others. All in all ten people spoke in tribute in the one hour program.

On the morning of the burial Morris Childs, long time associate of Wag's, addressed the great audience on Wag's great contributions to the people's movement. Childs also spoke at the cemetery before the body was lowered into the grave.

Surviving Wag are his widow and co-worker Caroline, four brothers and one sister, three daughters, ten grandchildren, and a great grandchild. The funeral was held at Waldheim cemetery within the shadow of the beautiful park of the Haymarket square.

A few led from the place where Wag is buried, by the grades of a nearby street, to a place where they were buried. Among them were Hans Borring for many years leader of the Communist Party, Frank Muechi, Illinois Communist Party, first leader and for many years coal miner, and Jack Johnson, one of the leaders of the 1919 steel and packinghouse strikes and national Communist leader.

aware of your loss.

ALEXANDER Trachtenberg, noted publisher and Marxist leader: "Please accept deepest personal sorrow on death of your father and your husband (message was addressed to Caroline Wagenknecht and Helen Winter). His passing was a singular loss to his people and his party. He will remain a shining example of devotion and loyalty to the cause of human liberation and free America. I salute a fallen comrade."

William L. Patterson, outstanding Negro leader and prominent fighter for civil liberties: "The cause of civil liberties and those who fight for respect for human dignity have both sustained a great loss in the death of Alfred Wagenknecht. He was one of those heroic American lovers of equal justice who found their places in the front ranks of struggle for the bill of rights and for the rights and lives of Negroes who were the victims of racist terror. May his memory live always."

FROM THE Ohio State Board of the Communist Party:

"Our most heartfelt condolences on the death of Loveday Alfred Wagenknecht. His name has become an indelible part of labor and socialist traditions in Ohio. His contributions to the cause of the American working people, in association with people like Debs and Ruthenberg, will always be remembered. We join in mourning his passing.

Messages were also received from the Michigan State Committee of the Communist Party, the Minnesota state committee of the Communist Party, Ben Davis, Communist Party, Ben Davis, Ann, Nat and Pat Ganley, The Manewitz family of St. Louis, Stéve and Margaret Nelson, as well as from many national group and industrial workers in Chicago.

ALFRED WAGENKNECHT

Death Ends 55 Years Of Pro-Labor Activity

CHICAGO. — Alfred Wagenknecht was born in Goerlitz, Germany, on Aug. 15, 1881. His father was a shoemaker by trade and a socialist. When Wag was 18 months old, the family migrated to the United States and settled in Cleveland, Ohio. The family left Germany because of the attacks at that time upon all socialists. Wag's father became active in the American socialist movement upon settling in Cleveland.

In the early 1900s Wag went to the Pacific Northwest. In the state of Washington there were many struggles against the exploitation of labor. He became an organizer for the AFL Waiters and Bartenders local of the AFL. He traveled the lumber camps and participated in the organizing of workers in many industries throughout the area.

While in Washington, Wag married Hortense Allison. It was in Washington that three daughters were born, including Helen (now married to Carl Winter). At the age of 20 Wag was already a state organizer for the Socialist Party.

Wag was the major organizer of the tremendous relief campaign that raised more than a million dollars in food, clothing and machinery to aid the young struggling socialist state, the Soviet Union.

As a delegate to the Pan-Cleveland, Ohio, became active.

(Continued on Page 15)

Republican leaders from other states where labor is strong.

The Wayne County Eisenhower Labor Committee elected as its president, Vincent Murry, an employe of the Dodge truck plant planning department and a member of UAW Local 889. Elected as vice-president was Walter Warren, Negro member of Local 306.

According to reliable sources, the real "brain" behind this operation is one Al Bellaire, member of Packard Local 190, and Al Short, reported to be the party's cam-

Civil Rights declaration than the Civil Rights plank of the Republican Party adopted at its recent convention.

It is quite certain that the Republicans will campaign on the basis of Eisenhower's popularity rather than on the national platform, particularly stressing the point made by Sen. Case that the Democratic Party is split into two teams, with the southern conservatives on top" precluding any progress for labor and the Negro people in particular.

Wagenknecht

(Continued from Page 16)

Pacific labor conference in the early 1920s Wag met with Sun Yat Sen and other Asian leaders on worldwide labor problems and the fight against imperialism.

During the 20s Wag was one of the founders of the Daily Worker and for a period of time served as the business manager of this newspaper. In 1925 and 1926 he headed the relief work in the historic Passaic textile strike. In 1927 and 1928 he performed the same herculean task or the striking mine workers and the Gastonia, N. C., textile workers.

*

IN THE early 30s. Wag became the first national chairman of the Unemployment Councils. For a period of time he served as state chairman of the Communist Party of Connecticut. He also served as the state chairman of the Ohio Communist Party. Twenty years ago he became the head of the Communist Party in Missouri, Arkansas and Kansas district and in 1939 came to Chicago where he has lived ever since.

In Illinois he has served as chairman of the Communist Party, has been the candidate of the Communist Party for many public offices, including that of Governor of the state, and has been one of the leaders of the Illinois Communist Party.

During recent years Wag has devoted his main efforts in Illinois towards the advancement of the socialist work among the national group.

*

WAG died on Aug. 26, 1936, 11 days after his 75th birthday, at Michael Reese Hospital in Chicago, 10 days after entering

the hospital. He had been operated on for a kidney ailment.

The immediate family surviving Alfred Wagenknecht, includes his wife and co-worker during the past several decades, Caroline, three daughters, Helen, Margaret Gene (named after Eugene V. Debs) and Gertrude. One daughter Ruth is deceased. Four brothers, one sister, ten grandchildren and five great grandchildren also mourned Wag's death.

Auto-Lite Seeks 30% Wage Cut, Threatens To Use Strikebreakers

TOLEDO. — The Electric Auto-Lite Company here has imposed wage cuts up to 30 percent on workers and has forced a strike vote in one of the most flagrant examples of attempted union busting seen here.

In an ad in one of the local newspapers, "Auto-Lite" threatens workers that if they don't come to work they will be "replaced" by laid off employees or new hires.

Unionists had walked off the job when a member was discharged.

Particulars Sought in Attack on Freedom of Press

DETROIT. — An appeal for a bill of particulars will be sought from the government in Federal Judge Paul Picard's courtroom, Sept. 10 by attorneys for the newspaper *Roussell American* and its board of directors. The liberal newspaper and its board of directors face a frameup count, part of the cold war hysteria. The government is being asked to spell out its vague and imprecise charges about "agents." So far they have revealed little speed in doing so.

against Cobo, virtually single-handed some years ago and scared Cobo by his huge vote, will certainly not allow himself to be pushed out for some "favorite" son.

Lincoln has made some telling hits recently. He has a question to Cobo: Why doesn't Cobo lift his eyes from his flooded basement and tell the taxpayers why he stalled on spending eight and a half millions okayed by the Council for new sewers? Cobo never answers. Everytime a good sized rainfall hits Detroit the backwash of protests from flooded basement waders keeps the City Hall switchboard lit up like a Xmas tree.

Liberal Democrats for some unexplained reason have been sitting on an egg, City Hall politicians, hope will never hatch. That's to start a petition drive for a charter amendment to change methods of electing council members from city-wide to wards. This would be done by setting up 14 wards in Detroit and having candidates run only in a ward, not city-wide.

That and who will be the labor, Negro, liberal people's candidates is worthy of some kind of people's confab.

OLYMPIC FLIGHT PLANS ANNOUNCED

LOS ANGELES.

mass air lifting of American Olympic Games athletes to Australia will begin Nov. 4 via Pan-American World Airways, an airline spokesman said today.

Seven aircraft, including three new Douglas Super 7 Clippers, will be used by the airline to ferry the 380 athletes and 48 officials, trainers, doctors and nurses on the four-day trip from the West Coast to Melbourne. All flights will leave from Los Angeles.

The Olympic Games will open Nov. 22 and close Dec. 8. Schedules for the return flights of the athletes have not yet been announced.

What's On?

CHICAGO "STALIN and After," Anna Louise Strong, Saturday, Sept. 22, 8:15 p.m., Hall B-3, 32 W. Randolph. Admission \$1. Audiences: Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship.

HISTORIAL NOTE
old UAW district council supervision of General M

TRUCE TEAMS from
ing State Senator Cora
make peace and get her s
She polled 24,000 votes in
Gov. Williams came out
ity. He is going to need
peace with someone and

PLUMBERS say that
unit into any bathroom it

TRENDS in relief c
applying for relief are Ne

SEPT. 7 is deadline
road worker will be count
one half cents, workers
for all crafts. Thousands

DSR unionists who w
first time they didn't hav
get the raise.

SINCE last April \$3
General Motors buses for
Curtice, GM president, a
endorsing Mayor Cobo.

WE SEE Henry Ford
about the "great" year th
GM who is still biting 1
year about the 56s, this y
comment. The Business W
the future are loose in De
to be launched along w

QUOTE of the week,
est ebb," Automotive New

PROTEST U AT FUNERAL

CHICAGO. — Caroline enknecht, widow of Alfred enknecht filed a sharp with the Mayor of the C Chicago and with the Commissioner against th decent role played by Ch infamous "red squad" funeral of her husband.

In a letter sent to the can Civil Liberties Union, them to join in the protes Wagenknecht said, "Park rectly in front of the dc the funeral chapel) ment the Chicago 'red squad' w officially known as the S Detail, were busy trying

HAYMARKET

by A. Wagenknecht
compared to holograph draft
ev 5/12/71

H

The nation-wide movement for the 8-Hour day struck deep roots.

The slogan was timely and the laboring masses, gave it concrete consideration, rallied around it, debating its benefits, idealizing it in discussion.

In Chicago, the radical city, 50,000 workers were on strike, McCormick Reaper, Pullman Palace Car, Brunswick Billard, Packinghouse, lumber and others. Police were being prepared for riot duty. There were rumors of federal troops being brought in. The employers' daily press stressed the riot motive. The Chicago Tribune claimed that trade unions were dominated by Communists and should be dealt with as conspirators.

A collision of workers against scabs occurred at McCormicks. Police

Result

were called. Six workers dead. Then came May 4, 1886. The previous days had been quiet, without incident. A mass meeting had been called for Haymarket Square. The organizers of the meeting expected an attendance of several tens of thousands. An audience of 3,000 assembled. Mayor Harrison came to the meeting, conferred with Police Inspector Bonfield, concluded everything was under control. The meeting continued. The audience grew smaller. When about 200 were left, including reporters, and Pinkerton agents, and the meeting was about to adjourn, about 186 police, in military formation marched into the audience. Then a bomb exploded.

Police Inspector Bonfield, so he reported later, gave orders to the police to cease firing. This was proof that the police were shooting up the meeting, and in the hysteria and bedlam were probably also shooting each other. It was reported that there was one killed and about 75 wounded, some fatally. How many worker casualties there were never became known.

Then came the round up. Police stations bulged with prisoners.

Thirty-one were indicted and eight placed on trial. ~~The Chicago Tribune~~

~~found them guilty before trial, a tradition which has been retained to this day~~

~~and that those who are indicted are~~ In the lexicon of the ruling class the exploited class is always guilty, so The Chicago Tribune found them guilty

Haymarket

before the trial, a practice they have retained to this day. It stated: "Public justice demands that the European assassins, Spies, Schwab, Fielden, shall be held and hanged for murder, that Parsons who disagrees; who disagrees with this country, but nevertheless was born in it, shall be seized, tried and hanged for murder."

Editor Melville E. Stone of the Daily News took credit for the wording of the charge brought in by the coroners jury. "Mathias J. Degan came to his death from a bomb thrown by a person unknown, but acting in conspiracy with Spies, Fielden, Parsons and others unknown." This charge was then refined into legal terminology. Judge Gary, the trial judge, admitted this would be "new law."

No shred of evidence was had that the accused had personally any connection with the bomb, or the person who threw it. Yet Judge Gary held that as a result of the defendants "advice" somebody did throw a bomb. No proof was had during the trial that the person who threw the bomb had any connection with, or was influenced by the accused.

Albert Parsons, August Spies, George Engel and Adolph Fischer were hanged by the neck until dead. They were executed not because they were murderers, but because of their beliefs, because of what they thought, spoke, wrote. That is what Parsons said before he died.

Governor Altgeld pardoned Fielden, Schwab and Neeber. The vicious attacks against him reached a high point when he was campaign for William Jennings Bryan in 1896. Harpers Weekly said he was "an ambitious and unscrupulous Illinois Communist who had become the leader of all the disturbing forces in the country." Bryan was but a puppet on the blood-embraced hands of Altgeld. According to the New York Tribune, Theodore Roosevelt said he "would connive at wholesale murder, would substitute the governments of Washington and Lincoln for a red welter of lawlessness as

Haymarket

vicious as the Paris Commune." The Chicago Tribune called him viper Altgeld and the slimiest demagogue of all.

William McKinley was the Republican Party candidate against Bryan. He was running on the promise of a "full dinner pail." The capitalists were threatening the workers with a shutdown of industry and mass unemployment if they failed to vote Republican. Torchlight parades were organized. Workers from the shops were shoved into these parades while on their way home while still carrying their dinner buckets.

The working class faced a veritable tornado of hate, terror, murder, vile charges, foul attacks in the period preceding the Haymarket movement. Charges of conspiracy came in rapid succession following the conviction of the leaders, as for instance charges against striking shoemakers for assembling to raise their wages.

The strikes and struggles of workers were met by the employers with viciousness and disregard for life and human needs. I remember in my childhood days I had watched the Italian sewer diggers eating their noon day meal. Back breaking work it was, shovelling ten to twelve hours a day. At mid-day they would set on the wet soil, open their buckets and devour a half loaf of bread and an onion. In the Polish neighborhood north of us, beds never got cold. The day shift went off to work and the night shift returning tumbled their weary bodies into the beds the day shift left vacant. Workers did have grievances - a basic urge to just live.

In 1873 there occurred what was called "a business slump." In Chicago and other cities police met incoming trains to force the unemployed to travel on. During this period a Chicago paper reported that hundreds of well-born, well-bred, well-informed men were walking the streets without a cent, without knowing where to eat or sleep. And what about the thousands not so well-born or well-bred?

The Chicago Tribune had a remedy. "The simplest plan...is to put a little strychnine or arsenic in the meat and other supplies furnished the tramp. This produces death within a comparatively short time, is a warning to other tramps to keep out of the neighborhood, puts the coroner in good humor, and saves one's chickens and other portable property from constant depredation."

Chicago was reported to be the most radical city in the United States. The strikes of railroad workers, and numerous other strikes for living wages was taking place. The city was in panic. Employers and other leading citizens fled town. Regiments of federal troops marched into the city. Nineteen strikers were killed. The strikers were defeated. They were forced back at lower wages. Marshall Field organized a Citizens Committee to fight Communists. The Chicago Tribune engaged in spying and provocation. Employers and businessmen demanded 5,000 Militiamen to stop "the ragged, commune wretches." Pinkerton Detective Agency profited immensely by labor spying and strike breaking. City police began training as soldiers.

A meeting of furniture workers met with their employers at Turner Hall to discuss wages. Police invaded the hall. They held a club in one hand and a revolver in the other. They beat the workers as they tried to escape down the stairway. A Citizen Association presented a gatling gun to the city.

Such were the conditions in the country while the struggles for the 8-hour a day movement swept the country. The tremendous growth of trade unionism ~~and~~ marked the birth of the American Federation of Labor of today.

From ANN'S MESS
and misc copy

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Artist Brown

Debs
Everett

Split
Rostrom - St. ...
Dance

Hats - Bananas + Pills + ...

Major ...

St ...
... ..
Arthur ...
Tom Lewis

Free Speech
St ...
Literature

Seattle ...
Walter ...
Little ...

Haywood - Bill - Trial - Orchard
Boise Idaho

Appeal to ...
Wilshire ...

... ..
... ..

Spitton ...
... ..

Some years after the event I was informed that I was born in 1881 in Goerlitz, Germany, delivered by a midwife.

This was around the time that I became inquisitive about a sign that hung in front of a house advertising that a Hebamme lived within, that she brought babies to mother ~~and I was of that opinion~~.

So I also had been brought, suckled my mother's breasts for nine months and then introduced to the more solid foods. And it was food that I was my main interest at the time I learned that I had been born. I was just old enough to join the boys in the block in stealing potatoes from the corner grocery and taking them down to the pasture to bake; going to the swamp to whack queer frogs; eating ^{over-ripe, mushy} bananas, ^{peeling} inaluds, bought by the family from the peddler at five cents a dozen. We were always hungry -

no engagement in discussion for
clarity in the party, to lead me.

Free lance anybody could.

Split in Socialist Party could justify
an hour with and distribution
pamphlets.

Let them live and learn.

No center —

1908 - national Com

hat of SP

1. Split in party

2. married

3. Asst. St. Secy —

Debs - Haywood —

1915 - Ohio —

RECORD OF SMITH ACT CASES

INDEX

- 1 - First Foley Square
- 2 - California
- 3 - Second Foley Square
- 4 - Maryland
- 5 - Pittsburgh
- 6 - Hawaii
- 7 - Washington State
- 8 - Michigan
- 9 - St. Louis
- 10 - Philadelphia
- 11 - Denver
- 12 - Ohio
- 13 - Connecticut
- 14 - Puerto Rico
- 15 - Third Foley Square
- 16 - Boston

LEGEND

Federal Prisons:

- LB - Lewisburg
- LW - Leavenworth
- AT - Atlanta
- TH - Terre Haute
- AL - Alderson
- PB - Petersburg
- D - Danbury
- SM - Springfield Med.
Center
- W - West Street

Courts:

- S. C. - Supreme Court
- C. C. - Circuit Court
- D. C. - District Court

Room 810
11 Park Place
New York 7, N. Y.
Tel: BA 7-5952

October 1, 1956

FOREWORD

This is the bare statistical record of Smith Act cases since the first Communist leaders were indicted in 1948. The record shows the status of each case, as of October 1, 1956, the prison terms, the penitentiary in which each imprisoned man or woman is jailed.

The flat record cannot, of course, show the human equation -- the effect on children and families and the courage of those who entered jail for no crime other than agreeing to advocate their ideas.

Nor can the simple figures show the damage to the American democratic process by reason of convicting men and women for advocating the ideas of socialism as they understand them. Perhaps the country will get some picture of the ravages of that process as the United States Supreme Court hears during the week of October 8 the oral arguments on the Yates (California), Mesarosh (Pittsburgh), Lightfoot and Scales cases.

But this record at least shows the scope of the political heresy trial. May it serve to strengthen the growing number of Americans, irrespective of political view, who are determined to have done with McCarthyism and return to the Bill of Rights for all.

Credit for getting out this record is due the Joint Self Defense Committee, 11 Park Place, New York 7, N. Y. The Committee is now preparing an appeal for the latest batch of Smith Act victims. If you wish to help meet the legal expenses of that appeal, your contribution will be gratefully accepted. It will be a step towards ending this kind of dismal record.

SIMON W. GERSON

SUMMARY -- SMITH ACT CASES

October 1, 1956

CASE	Indict- ed	Con- victed	Acquit- ted	Severed	Sentence Served	In Prison	Died	Remarks
First Foley Sq.	12	11		1	7	4		
California	15	14		1				On appeal to U. S. S. C. - oral argument 10/8/56
Second Foley Sq.	21	13	1 (by court)	2	5	6	1	Two others re- leased for new trial.
Maryland	6	6			5	1		
Pittsburgh	6	5		1				On appeal to U. S. S. C. - oral argument 10/8/56
Hawaii	7	7						Appeal argued be- fore 9th CC of Ap- peals. No dec. yet
Washington	7	5	1				1	Appeal argued be- fore 9th CC of Ap- peals. No dec. yet
Michigan	6	6						Appl. for certio- rari to USSC. Not yet acted on.
St. Louis	5	5						Appeal to US Court of Appeals-argued No decision yet.
Philadelphia	9	9						Case before Court of Appeals. Not argued yet.
Denver	7	7						Case before Court of Appeals. Not argued yet.
Ohio	11	6	5 (1 by court)					Case before Court of Appeals. No date for argument set.
Connecticut	8	6	(1)* 1					Case before Court of Appeals. No date for argument set.
Puerto Rico	11							Trial Date - November 26, 1956
Third Foley Sq.	(7)	6	1 (by court)					Indictments from second Foley Sq.
Boston	7							No trial date set.
Totals-16 Cases	138	106	10	5	17	11	2	
Membership - 18 cases	18	4						
Harboring Case (Calif.)	4	4			1			
Grand Totals - 35 cases	160	114	10	5	18	11	2	

* Jury hung on one (1) defendant

STATUS OF SMITH ACT CASES AND DEFENDANTS

CASE & NAME	In- dicted	Con- victed	Acquit- ted	Severed	Died	In Prison	Sentence Served
<u>FIRST FOLEY SQUARE - 12</u>							
Benjamin J. Davis	x	5					x
Eugene Dennis	x	5					x
Wm. Z. Foster	x			x			
John Gates	x	5					x
Gil Green	x	5 + 3*				LW	
Gus Hall	x	5 + 3*				LW	
Irving Potash	x	5					x
Jack Stachel	x	5					x
Robert Thompson	x	3 + 4*				AT	
John Williamson	x	5					x
Henry Winston	x	5 + 3*				TH	
Carl Winter	x	5					x
<u>CALIFORNIA - S. C. - 15</u>							
Frank Carlson	x	5					
Rose Chernin	x	5					
Phil Connolly	x	5					
Ben Dobbs	x	5					
Bernadette Doyle	x			x			
Earnest Fox	x	5					
Dorothy Healy	x	5					
Carl Lambert	x	5					
Albert Lima	x	5					
Al Richmond	x	5					

*Additional time for contempt.

CASE & NAME	In-dicted	Con- victed	Acquit- ted	Severed	Died	In Prison	Sentence Served
William Schnei- derman	x	5					
Frank Spector	x	5					
Loretta Stack	x	5					
Henry Steinberg	x	5					
Oleta O'Connor Yates	x	5					
<u>SECOND FOLEY SQUARE - 21</u>							
Israel Amter	x			x	x		
Marian Bachrach	x			x			
Isadore Begun	x		x (by court)				
Alexander Bittle- man	x	3				AT	
George Charney	x	2 (new trial) see p. 9					
Fred Fine	x						
Elizabeth Gurley Flynn	x	3				AL	
Betty Gannett	x	2					x
Si Gerson	x		x (by court)				
James Jackson	x						
V. J. Jerome	x	3				LB	
Arnold Johnson	x						
Claudia Jones	x	1					x
Al Lannon	x	2					x
Jacob Mindel	x	2					x
William Norman	x						
Pettis Perry	x	3				D	
Sid Stein	x						
Alexander Trach- tenberg	x	3 (new trial) see p. 9					

CASE & NAME	In-dicted	Con-victed	Aquit- ted	Severed	Died	In Prison	Sentence Served
Louis Weinstock	x	3				D	
William Weinstone	x	2					x
<u>MARYLAND - 6</u>							
Dorothy Rose Blumberg	x	3					x
Maurice Braver- man	x	3					x
Phil Frankfeld	x	5				AT	
George Meyers	x	4					x
Roy Wood	x	3					x
Regina Frankfeld	x	2					x
<u>PITTSBURGH - 6 - S. C.</u>							
William Albertson	x	5					
James Hulse Dolsen	x	5					
Benjamin J. Careathers	x	5					
Steve Nelson	x	5					
Andrew Onda	x				x		
Irving Weissman	x	5					
<u>HAWAII - 7 - C. C.</u>							
Koji Arijoshi	x	5					
Dwight Freeman	x	5					
Charles K. Fuji- moto	x	5					
Eileen Fujimoto	x	3					
Jack Hall	x	5					
Jack Kimoto	x	5					
John Reinecke	x	5					

CASE & NAME	In- dicted	Con- victed	Acquit- ted	Severed	Died	In Prison	Sentence Served
<u>WASHINGTON</u> <u>STATE - 7 - C. C.</u>							
Paul Bowman	x	5					
John Daschbach	x	5					
Henry Huff	x	5					
Karley Larsen	x		x				
William Pennock	x				x		
Terry Pettus	x	5					
Barbara Hartle*	x	5					x parole 2/1/56
<u>MICHIGAN</u> <u>6 - S. C.</u>							
William Allan	x	4 1/3					
Thomas DeWitt Dennis	x	4 1/2					
Nat Ganley	x	5					
Phil Schatz	x	4 1/3					
Saul Wellman	x	4 2/3					
Helen Winter	x	4					
<u>ST. LOUIS - 5</u> <u>C. C.</u>							
Dorothy Forrest	x	3					
James Forrest	x	5					
Robert Manewitz	x	5					
Marcus Murphy	x	5					
William Sentner	x	5					

*Now has become government witness; received parole 2/1 /56

CASE & NAME	In- dicted	Con- victed	Aquit- ted	Severed	Died	In Prison	Sentence Served
<u>PHILADELPHIA -</u>							
<u>9 - C. C.</u>							
Dave Davis	x	3					
Irwin Katz	x	2					
Robert Klonsky	x	2					
Joseph Kuzma	x	3					
Sherman Labovitz	x	2					
Walter Lowenfels	x	2					
Thomas Nabried	x	3					
Joseph Roberts	x	3					
Benjamin Weiss	x	2					
<u>DENVER - 7 - C. C.</u>							
Anna Bary	x	4					
Arthur Bary	x	5					
Patricia Blau	x	4					
Lewis Johnson	x	4					
Joseph Scherrer	x	3					
Maia Scherrer	x	2 1/2					
Harold Zeppelin	x	3					
<u>OHIO - 11 - C. C.</u>							
Lucille Bethen- court	x	3 1/2					
Joseph Brandt	x	5					
Robert Campbell	x		x				
Martin Chauncey	x	5					
Joseph Dougher	x		x				
E. C. Greenfield	x		x				
Frank Hashmall	x	5					

CASE & NAME	In- dicted	Con- victed	Acquit- ted	Severed	Died	In Prison	Sentence Served
David Katz	x		x bycourt				
Frieda Katz	x		x				
Anthony Krch- marek	x	5					
George Watt	x	5					
<u>CONNECTICUT- 8 - C. C.</u>							
Joseph Dimow	x	3					
Robert C. Ekins	x	4					
Jack Goldring	x	4					
Alfred Marder	x		x				
Sidney Resnick	x	hung jury					
Martha Stone	x	4					
James Tate	x	(4)*					
Sidney Taylor	x	4					
<u>PUERTO RICO. - II - D. C.</u>							
Jane Speed DeAndreu	x						
Engenio Cuebas Arbona	x						
Ramon Mirabal Carrion	x						
Juan Saez Corales	x						
George Maysonet Hernandez	x						
Cesar Andrew Iglesias	x						
Cristino Perez Mendez	x						
Juan Emmanuelli Morales	x						

*Suspended sentence.

CASE & NAME	In- dicted	Con- victed	Aquit- ted	Severed	Died	In Prison	Sentence Served
Consuelo Burgos DePagau	x						
Juan Santos Rivera	x						
Pablo Garcia Rodriguez	x						
<u>THIRD FOLEY SQUARE - 7 - D. C.</u>							
Marion Bachrach	prior ind't		x by court				
George Charney	"	2					
Fred Fine	"	4					
Sid Stein	"	3					
James Jackson	"	2					
Alexander Trach- tenberg	"	1					
William Norman	"	5					
<u>BOSTON - 7 - DC</u>							
Sidney S. Lipshires	x						
Michael A. Russo	x						
Otis A. Hood	x						
Anne Burlak Timpson	x						
Daniel B. Schirmer	x						
Edward E. Strong	x						
Geoffrey W. White	x						
TOTALS - 16 Cases	138	106	10	5	2	11	17
		431 5/6 yrs.					

CASE & NAME	In- dicted	Con- victed	Acquit- ted	Severed	Died	In Prison	Sentence Served
<u>MEMBERSHIP CASES - 18</u>							
Albert Blumberg Phila. - C. C.	x	not sen- tenced					
Emanuel Blum Chic. - D. C.	x						
Benjamin J. Davis NYC - D. C.	x						
Eugene Dennis NYC - D. C.	x						
Wm. Z. Foster NYC - D. C.	x						
John Gates NYC - D. C.	x						
Gil Green NYC - D. C.	x						
Gus Hall NYC - D. C.	x						
John Hellman Butte - D. C.	x						
Claude Lightfoot Chic. - S. C.	x	5					
John Noto Buffalo - C. C.	x	5					
Mike Russo Boston - D. C.	x						
Junius Scales Greensboro-SC	x	6					
Jack Stachel NYC - D. C.	x						
Robert Thompson NYC - D. C.	x						
Max Weiss Chic. - D. C.	x						
Henry Winston NYC - D. C.	x						
Carl Winter NYC - D. C.	x						
TOTALS-18 Cases	18	16 yrs.					10

CASE & NAME	In- dicted	Con- victed	Aquit- ted	Severed	Died	In Prison	Sentence Served
"HARBORING" - California - S. C.							
Sam Coleman	x	3					
Shirley Kremens	x	1					
Carl Rose	x	2					x
Sid Stein	x	3					out on bail*
TOTALS - 1 Case	4	4 9 yrs.					1
GRAND TOTALS - 35 Cases	160	114 456 5/6 yrs.	10	5	2	11	18

A collateral conviction was that of the five lawyers in the Dennis case.

All were convicted of contempt by Judge Harold Medina.

The five lawyers and their sentences, all of which were served in 1952:

Harry Sacher	- 6 months
Richard Gladstein	- 6 months
A. J. Isserman	- 4 months
George W. Crockett, Jr.	- 4 months
Louis F. McCabe	- 1 month

*After serving 2 1/2 years of 3 year sentence.

The Chicago Conventions

By Max Eastman—Drawings By Art Young

THE convention of the old Socialist Party began with a belligerent apology by the national secretary, Adolph Germer. The convention of the Left Wing began with a great singing of the "Internationale," three cheers for Revolutionary Socialism, three cheers for the Russian Soviet Republic, three cheers for Debs, and three cheers for the I. W. W. The convention of the Communist Party began with an announcement that "the management committee has decided that there shall be no smoking during the convention," followed by an accurate rendition of the "Internationale" with full orchestra and brass.

These different ways of beginning were characteristic. In the old S. P. convention the "parent body" the emotional tone was a little apologetic throughout, a little wan and anxious, and yet at the same time indignant of criticism—about what you might expect of the mother of twins.

The Left Wing convention—which became the Communist Labor Party—had a little of the quality of a revival meeting. The delegates were always singing and shouting and feeling that the true faith was about to be restored in their hearts and homes. At least they were until the Program Committee made its report, training some big guns from the Manifesto of the Third International on them, and they realized that they must either put their names to a program of deliberate, hard-headed revolutionary science, or go back where they came from. They took a long, hard breath then, and most of them "came through," but they did not come through singing.

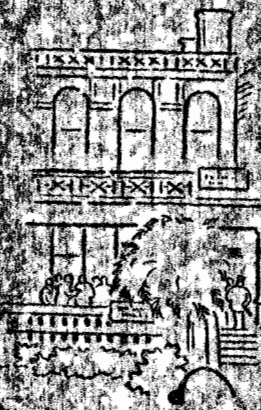
The Communist Convention—more properly called the Slavic-American Communist Convention—was characterized throughout by a spirit of youth-

ful but sophisticated efficiency. It was a conscientiously expert convention. It showed the rest of them what a convention ought to be. It was almost incredibly neat and clean and regular. I was sitting there some time before the formal opening, admiring the way the big sheets of heavy yellow paper were spread over the delegates' tables and folded and tacked underneath; I was admiring the smooth high falling of new wood which divided the delegates' stalls from the audience room at the back; in particular I was admiring the soda-water fountain shine and polish on the white oil-cloth which covered the press-table where I had laid my hat; I was just reflecting that these things had surely been prepared and arranged by an unmarried lady of advanced years, when a young Russian comrade came up with a damp cloth and asked me kindly to remove my hat so that he could "clean" that oil-cloth!

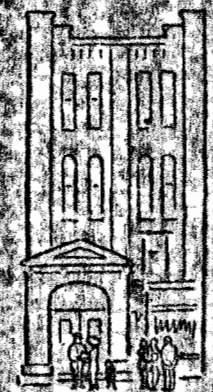
A Little History

In order to understand how these conventions came to be, and what they came to be, it is necessary to apply the mind to some rather complicated history. I will generalize that history as clearly and fairly as I can.

There have always been elements in the American Socialist Party who were more revolutionary than the majority, and in a state of continual protest against the official conduct of the party. They were more devoted to the principle of the class struggle, less willing to waste energy in office-seeking, reformism, and parliamentarism. They believed in the I. W. W. They believed in the Communist Manifesto of 1848. These elements were for the most part distinctly American; they were never very conspicuous in the "foreign federations" affil-



Machinists' Hall, 215 S. Ashland Boulevard



"Smelby" 12-1 Blue Island Ave.

late with the American party. And also they were very strong.

The proletarian revolution in Russia and the surrounding countries—proving the literal truth of almost every word in the Communist Manifesto—gave them their strength. It sent a wave of militant or Bolshevik, or Communist Socialism around the world. And this wave naturally reached the Slavic federations first, and affected them the most. They became almost unanimously and automatically Bolshevik. At the same time their membership increased enormously—the gospel being accepted by thousands of new recruits both through genuine emotion not unrelated to patriotism, and through expediency, it being generally understood that a Russian would not amount to much at home unless he had been a socialist here. This very willing membership was organized into a magnificent political machine by the brainy officials of the Slavic Federations, and it supplied both revolutionary will and revolutionary power to the scattered elements of the American Left Wing.

These officials were able to cast the vote and appropriate the funds of about 40,000 out of the 100,000 members of the Socialist Party. They made Louis C. Fraina's paper, *The Revolutionary Age*, and its wide circulation possible. They made it possible, in spite of the Postoffice censorship, to carry the "Left Wing Manifesto and Program" and the motto, "Capture the Party for Revolutionary Socialism" into the hands of almost every Socialist in the country. No one can estimate the amount that this propaganda accomplished—as compared with the direct effect of the European revolutions upon the party membership—but it is certain that by last May or June an overwhelming majority of American Socialists were committed to the Left Wing Program in gen-



Louis C. Fraina



Isaac Ba Ferguson

eral, and the Slavic Federations formed the solid and well-organized heart of this majority.

That all sounds very simple, but it was not so simple. In the first place the Left Wing took to itself a degree of organization and autonomy which gave the Right Wing officials who controlled the party plenty of emotional, and not a few legal, grounds for expelling Left Wing members. The Slavic Federations were expelled in a body, the State of Michigan was expelled, other states, local branches and members were expelled. The membership of the party was reduced by and during these proceedings—according to the report of its own secretary—from 100,000 to 40,000.

In the second place the leaders of the Slavic Federations—partly as a result of their expulsions, partly through a thinly veiled nationalistic egoism, and partly through a sincere if somewhat theological desire to exclude all wavering or "centrist" elements from the new organization, decided at the national Left Wing conference in June that the idea of capturing the American Socialist party, or even attempting to capture it, was wrong, and that a call should be issued for the immediate organization of a "Communist Party."

In the third place the expelled Michigan crowd—although really too political-minded to be called communists—joined with the Slavic Federations in this particular demand, and the Federation Leaders made use of this increase of their voting power in the Left Wing, although privately condemning the Michigan acts and intending to suppress them when a call was made to adopt a platform.

Even so, however, they were unable to control the Left Wing conference. It decided by a considerable majority to adhere to the original program of capturing the party.

... elected a "Left Wing Council" to carry this out. The Slavic Federations and the Michigan crowd then refused to ignore the decision of the conference and call a Communist Convention, whether the rest of the Left Wing agreed to do it or not.

The majority of the "Left Wing Council," together with the *Revolutionary Age*—the organ of the whole movement—denounced them as "traitors" for a week or two, but then suddenly capitulated in the middle of the summer, abandoned the slogan, "Capture the Party for Revolutionary Socialism," upon which their paper had built up its constituency and joined the American revolutionaries, and joined in the call for an immediate Communist Convention to meet in Chicago on September 1st.

This sudden change of front occurred so late that there was no time left, even if there had been a moral possibility, for those who had united upon the original plan to unite upon the change. For better or worse, the Left Wing was split into two camps.

On the one hand there were the heads of the Slavic Federations and the Michigan Socialists, with the *Revolutionary Age* and all the National Machinery of the Left Wing organization, in the hands of Louis C. Frain of Boston, T. E. Ferguson of Chicago, C. E. Ruthenberg of Ohio, Maximilian Cohen of New York, John Ballam of Massachusetts, Hiltzik of the Left Wing Jewish Federation, Jay Lovestone, Rose Pastor Stokes and a few other non-Slavic delegates.

On the other hand, adhering to the original program of attempting to capture the party, there was the minority of the National Left Wing Council, Ben Gitlow and John Reed of New York, with other prominent Socialists of the Left like Kate Greenhalgh (Kate Sadler) of Washington, Joe Goldwell of Rhode Island, Fred Harwood of New Jersey, Max Bedacht of California, Jack Carey of Duluth, William Gross Lloyd of Chicago, Ludwig Lore, Editor of the *Volkszeitung* of New York, Margaret Prevey of Ohio, Tichenor of St. Louis, Owens of Illinois, Wagenknecht of Ohio, Katterfeld of Indiana, Harmon of Kansas, and 92 other delegates from 22 States. To this group there was also promised the adherence of the Italian Socialist Federation, and the Scandinavian and Left Wing German Federations, together with the Slavic Federations who were expelled from the major organization for resisting the machine.

Each of these groups would like to think that the rank and file of the American Communist movement was represented in its convention. But it is impossible to decide that question now. The rank and file never had time to consider and act upon the issue between them. It was a division among leaders, and a very vague and queer one too. Delegates were wandering from one convention to another under indefinite instructions, or no instructions at all, except the understanding that they were to form a party in accord with the Manifesto of the Third International. Out of this unhappy confusion almost every-

body hoped and strove for a unity of the revolutionary elements, except the heads of the Slavic Federations, whose absolute control would have disappeared if unity had been achieved, and who maintained that their absolute control was necessary to the formation of a pure and perfect party of communism.

The Parent Body

If this confusion of elements represented is exasperating, it is at least a relief to know that the conventions occurred in some historic order. The Socialist Party Convention was convened in Machinists Hall on Saturday morning, August 30. The Left Wing delegates who were seated in that convention, walked out, and joined with the rejected delegates waiting in a room downstairs to form the Convention of the Communist Labor Party, on Sunday afternoon. The Convention of the Communist Party was called to order in "Smolny Institute," a hall leased by the Russian Federation in Chicago, on Monday, September 1st, at about noon.

Art Young and I arrived at Machinists' Hall early Saturday morning—early enough to find Julius Gerber looking like an unsettled thundercloud, and Jack Reed beaming. This is not because Julius was vanquished and Jack Reed victorious, but because Julius doesn't enjoy a fight and Jack does. It seems that some of the Left Wingers arrived early at the building, and decided after a caucus to go upstairs and take possession of the hall, putting their own national secretary, Wagenknecht, in the chair when the time came, and proceeding to organize the Convention. Having elected their National Executive Committee by an overwhelming majority, and having through their committee duly appointed their secretary, they felt justified in this procedure, notwithstanding that the election had been set aside as fraudulent by the old National Executive Committee. So they proceeded upstairs in a rather formidable frame of mind. They were met and opposed at the door by Julius Gerber, the secretary of local New York, and it seems that Gerber in his turn was "set aside." We heard a good many different stories of this incident by eye-witnesses, and none of them were quite so blood-curdling as what we read in the newspapers. It seemed to one of our informers that "Gerber could have licked Reed, if Reed hadn't held him so far up in the air that he couldn't reach down." Another comrade said that Reed acted just like a nice big dog, shaking



Reed Left and Right Gerber



W. B. Wood



Engeloff



Scott
of the Justice



W. C. ...



Fredwig Lore



Mayor ...
of ...



Osar ...



Random Portraits at Chicago

myself. Another reported that there was a little wind-pipe work on both sides. Gerber stated to the convention that he made Reed understand that swinging a sledge-hammer with the proletariat is just as good a preparation for life's battles as playing foot-ball at college. At any rate the "Left Wingers" got in, and there they were and what was the right wing going to do about it? Some of them didn't know what they were going to do, but Adolph Germer knew. He may not have consulted anybody when he arranged to have the police there, but he consulted the membership figures and the record of recent votes for officers, and votes on referendums which were in his possession, and he decided that if the official minority were going to exclude the voting majority from the convention, they would have to do it with the forces of the capitalist state. In that he was entirely right.

Germer never denied that he had arranged to have the police there, although some members of the national committee denied it for him. When he was asked point-blank across the floor of the convention whether the officials of the Socialist Party had brought the police to that building he said, "What officials do you mean?" and withdrew his attention while some interrupter took up the talk. But he did deny that he told the police to "beat 'em rough," as two passionately indignant delegates subsequently informed the convention. He said that he asked the contested delegates two or three times "in a comradely spirit!" to leave the room, before he told the police to put them out, and that he didn't tell the police anything else.

Two women who were among those put out, swore to the truth of the following account, one of them, Mrs. Harmon of Kansas, was later seated in the Convention, and made the convention believe what she said.

"The first thing I saw was that they were trying to eject Reed through the door. Soon after that Germer came up to us where we were sitting, and said, 'You'll have to clear the room.'

"I'm a delegate," I said.

"It don't make any difference," he said, "Clear the room. If you don't I'll call the police."

"I said to myself, 'Well, I have a right to the convention floor, and I'm going to sit here till the police tell me to go.'"

"Pretty soon a policeman came up to me and said, 'You'll have to go, Misses.'"

"I went, but I went kind of slow, and I heard Germer say, 'Officer, clear the hall, and if they don't go, policemen, do your duty!'"



Dan Hogan of Arkansas

So the delegates who were with Berger and Germer stayed in the hall, and the rest of us went out, and our delegate who received the largest vote in the State of Kansas was put out of the Socialist Convention by the police!"

Perhaps these excessively lively preliminaries accounted for the unceremonious opening of the convention. With a beautiful upstairs hall like a little theatre, one whole side a great sunny sky-window, and decorations containing twenty-five American flags, I expected a certain amount of introductory hallelujah of some kind. But Germer simply stood up, looking like a big well-dressed police-sergeant off duty, banged the gavel on the table, and started in.

He stated to a round of applause that "We intend to follow the splendid example set by our comrades in Russia", and added in a severe silence, "By that I want it distinctly understood that we do not intend to adopt the same methods."

He struck the key-note of the convention there. And he struck another key-note when he said, "The St. Louis program and the jail-sentences of our officials prove the revolutionary and non-Scheidemann character of the party."

It is characteristic of old people to attach a great importance to what they have done in the past. And the majority in this convention were old. Even some of the young ones were old. They seemed to think it was personal and impertinent for any one to be chiefly concerned about what they were doing now, or what they were going to do in the future.

"There is no issue at stake!—We are all agreed in principle!—It is all a matter of personal jealousy!—If a few so-called leaders would get out of the way, we could have a united party!"—that was the burden of the talk and feeling in the ante-rooms of the convention. I suppose it will be a rather exasperating thing to say, but I felt sorry for a good many of the delegates. They had served their time, they had borne the heat of battle when some of us were in our cradles, and then to crown it all they had stood up under the bitter test of the St. Louis declaration, going around their home towns for two years, solitary, vilified, whipped with the hatred of their



Germer Explains

neighbors, beaten and worn down by the universal war-madness of a nation, and not flinching. They could not understand why they should be shoved aside. And I could not either, any more than I can understand death. But it is significant that in the conventions of the young, the conventions whose eyes were on the future and their muscles ready for action, there was not a single person to be found who would say that the split was personal, and that there were no vital issues at

stake. They could not think of saying it, they were wholly absorbed in the issues at stake.
Gerner's speech did not sail very clear after he began denouncing the Left Wing leaders as "Harry Orchard and the Socialist movement," describing them as going about "in the dark like midnight thieves sneaking from ear to ear" whispering, indubitably hoping thereby that the comrades may think there is something wrong with those selected by the comrades to manage the affairs of the party. Lines of "Count the Ballots" (is it for the constitution that you have to make a speech) brought his defense to an end, and the balloting for temporary chairman began.
Seymour Stedman, the Right Wing candidate, received 28 votes, and J. M. Coldwell of Rhode Island, the Left Wing candidate, 37. (There were enough Left Wing delegates in the building to have elected Coldwell with a substantial majority, even though 40,000 of their members had already gone over to the Communist Party, but only 27 had trickled through the official sieve. The rest were "contested" and most of them never got through the credentials committee, and many of them never tried.)
The pulse in the convention rose noticeably when Stedman took the chair. His sturdy and winning grace of utterance made the delegates feel a little sure they were not wrong. But his speech like Gerner's was a summing up of the defense. And his defense like Gerner's rested upon a record that is past and in this time of rapid movement, stale and ready to be forgotten. He did not say that the Socialist Party would join the Third International and loyally stand up with our Russian comrades who are spilling and dying and pouring out their blood in battle for socialism and everybody knew that it would not.
Stedman secured a point as chairman when some im-

pertinent delegate "rose to inquire why we should elect a sergeant-at-arms when we have the police force."
"Well," he said, "that election was provided for at a time when it was understood that all the comrades would be gentlemen at least." But the police question would not drop. It would not let itself be forgotten for two hours at a time. Once it was a white-faced anti-socialist comrade in the audience room at the side of the hall, he shouted, "I demand the attention of the delegates." "I just heard one of these policemen threaten to throw a comrade down stairs, and he said 'You won't fight for your feet either, you'll think you came down in an aeroplane.' I ask you, what is the way visiting Socialists are going to be treated by this convention?"
"What kind of Socialists are they?" from the New York delegation.
"From Stedman," I should suggest that it would be a good idea to forget what occurred this morning. At the present time Chicago is under the police department, whether you like it or not.
From George Coebel, "I say anybody who says we invited the police here are God damn liars."
From Gerner, "I'm glad they're here."

And this second storm was no sooner past, and the troubled hearts quivering a little, when an pope a letter from the Chicago Machinists—that one dread sovereign of all political socialists, a real labor union.

Dear Comrades and Friends:
On behalf of the Die and Tool Makers Lodge No. 113, International Association of Machinists, and the Machinists Society of Chicago, we protest against the harboring and use of police in this hall. This hall is the property, as well as the sanctuary of a progressive and militant labor organization, based upon the class struggle. We do not permit our members to work under police protection, we can not conceive how we can let any meeting in this hall be carried on under police protection when we as an organization condemn it and oppose it. While we are not represented in your convention as individual members or representatives of an organization, we nevertheless are with you in spirit. For all these reasons we can not let the police remain as your protectors or perhaps as your invited guests, without submitting our deepest protest. We call upon you to take steps to remove the police or make such arrangements as will satisfy us that you are not responsible for the presence of the police.

We are not asking this to buy safeguards on you, but for the best interest of the Socialist party and the labor movement in general.
Yours for International Solidarity,
Executive Board Die & Tool Makers Lodge No. 113.
L. P. Vance Carl Harp
G. T. Franckel E. Pokarny
Vladar Berger



Seymour Stedman



'Comrade Chairman'

The New York Statesmen—dominant power in the Right Wing Convention—Ex-Assemblyman Waldman, Alderman Algernon Lee, Ex-Assemblyman Sbiplacoff, Judge Panken, Assemblyman Claessens, Alderman Beckerman, Assemblyman Solomon, Alderman Bronstein.

After a serious pause one of the delegates proposed a resolution stating that it is "the sense of this convention" that the police are not here at the invitation of the party officials. Another remarked that such a resolution would prove that the convention had no sense, for they would be stating something that they could not know.

Claessens of New York offered a resolution that the police department of Chicago shall be and hereby is disbanded.

Mayor Hoan of Milwaukee asserted that "they came here under the invitation of Germer for the purpose of protecting our legitimate rights and purposes," and proposed that no apologies should be made.

"We in Milwaukee," said Berger, "would have done it a good deal better than Germer did, because we have our own police." His speech was the straightest one I heard. "I've never tried to be revolutionary," he said, "but I've tried to be honest. If the police weren't here, none of you would be, so what's the use of all this hypocrisy!"

It was finally voted to send a communication to the Machinist union stating the facts, but just what the facts were, nobody knew—unless it was the policeman who told a reporter that Germer had called up the chief and asked that they be on hand early.

In the midst of this storm a telegram arrived from some rustic local. "Peace and harmony will lead us to success—hurrah for International Socialism!"

The Left Wing Delegates—about 30 of them—walked out of this convention after it adopted a motion to consider (but not act upon) the report of the National Executive Committee, before the status of all contested delegates was determined. J. M. Caldwell of Rhode Island simply rose in his chair and said, "At this point I am going to leave this convention and I call upon all delegates of the Left Wing to withdraw."

"That is your privilege," said Stedman, and the business of the convention proceeded.

It was a business largely as I have indicated, of self-justification upon the part of the official machine for re-

using his Left Wing machine up to the point of wrecking the party—although the Left Wing Machine had organized a clear Majority of the members. And this business was made interesting by the fact that a lively handful of semi-Left Wingers, or at least conscientious objectors against tyranny, was left on the floor. They were led by Kruse, who stated that in spite of his disgust at the acts of the officials, he believed it was a question of using Socialism against direct action, and he intended to stick by the party and make it what he thought it ought to be.

Edgar Ranken of New York was less moderate. For him it was a question of tying up with a bunch of anarchists, and he was glad of everything they did.

A delegate from Maryland supported him with the statement that "Every organization has an inherent right to preserve itself." He said "we lawyers" in the course of his remarks, but it was not quite clear whom he meant to include.

Another delegate offered the prudent remark that "We've got to endorse the action of the National Executive Committee, but we've also got to be able to inform our constituents that we gave the N. E. C. hell!"

Barney Berlin of Chicago, for twenty-five years a worker in the Socialist movement, was the old man Nestor of this council, presenting what seems to me the only justification for the National Executive Committee that there is. He reminded the convention of historic instances in which legal and constitutional forms and formulas had been violated in the interest of a deeper principle, and concluded, "I have not heard of harmony and certain tendencies in the N. E. C. but I glory in *split spirit* in having joined the party."

That is a pretty final attitude to adopt toward all the all-activist stories that have accompanied this conflict, and it applies equally to both wings. The people who treated the Socialist party all too often have enough healthy energy in their blood to transgress the forms of law when they are aroused over a principle. There is no doubt that they were so aroused, and did so transgress on both sides. And while I think that the principle of the Left side is the true one, and therefore I can applaud their spirit a little more heartily than that of the Right, nevertheless I recognize a similar moral quality in them both. "Necessity knows no law" is a maxim that lives in the heart of every live man.

Somebody will ask me just what the principle is upon which this split occurred, and which enabled trustworthy people to commit so many moral and legal atrocities. And I answer, in the most general terms, as follows:

It is a question of whether the Socialist theory shall be permitted to recede into the cerebrum, where it becomes a mere matter of creed, ritual and sabbath-day abstinence, as the Christian theory has done, or whether it shall be kept in live and going contact with every-day nerves and muscles of action.



George Goebel

Before parting from the picture of the Right Wing convention, I ought to state that a motion endorsing the action of the old N. E. C. in setting aside as invalid the recent election of a new N. E. C. was passed by those remaining in the convention without a dissenting vote. I ought to record also some of the indignant demands for "justice" to the Left Wing, or what remained of it, which were occasionally voiced by comrades at the right. In particular I preserve a picture of George Goebel's long earnest and excited figure, darting about over the convention like a superintending dragon-fly. "Law comrades, let's take a chance on 'left play'" was one of his characteristic interpellations.

The Left Wing Convention

It was twilight when the Left Wing delegates convened in the billiard room down stairs—twilight that came dimly through ground glass windows into a low room with dull blue walls. But there was more light to be had there—light of a spontaneous coalition—than anywhere else during all the convulsions. It seemed as though a thing with growth in it were being born in that place. In the other places whatever came, was engineered into being by the perceptible workings of an established machine. This may be—in cold reality—either a good one, had sign for the Communist Labor Party. I record it simply as a fact.

Wagenknecht, who had been made National Secretary by that Executive Committee at its first election was declared invalid upstairs, opened the convention here. The sound of his gavel was greeted with a song and those cheers for which all the delegates stood up. Wagenknecht's speech was a simple statement that having done everything else in his power to give the membership a chance to express



The Left Wing Singing "The Internationale"

itself, he had summoned the delegates here as the Regular Convention of the Socialist Party of the United States. He then presided during the election of Owens of Illinois as Temporary Chairman.

Owens is a cripple—pale, but jolly and fearless as crippled people sometimes are. I can remember one sentence of his speech: "We must be ready to back up the revolutionary implications of everything we do here, and if it leads us along with Debs we must be willing to go there."

Margaret Prevey was elected vice-chairman, and soon took Owens' place in the chair. It would have been well if she had stayed there throughout the convention, for she was not prepared in her mind for the actions which were taken on the floor, but she was the most able and good-humored and the best-looking chairman in the place. In its initial mood of exaltation the convention hesitated a little at the election of a sergeant-at-arms, and finally appointed William Brass Lloyd, a son of a page boy. But there was no demur after about three hours of work, when Lloyd asked the chair to appoint two assistant sergeants-at-arms for the purpose of clearing the aisles.

After sending a greeting to Debs and all class war prisoners, and accepting the report of the National Executive Committee, the convention proceeded immediately to attempt to achieve unity with the "Communist Convention." C. E. Ruthenberg of Ohio, who had joined in the call for the Communist Convention, but nevertheless took his seat here for the time, introduced a motion that would have delayed the organization of a party here until after a consultation could be had with those who were to organize the Communist Party the next day. It would have been a humble act on the part of these delegates, leading towards a possible submission to the control of the Slavic Federations. It was vigorously, and at times violently opposed—especially by Jack Carney, who declared "before God," as irreligious Irishmen always do, that if this convention went over to the Federations, he would go home and tell the workers of Duluth that there was no party of communism in existence.

John Reed offered to amend Ruthenberg's motion somewhat to the following effect: "We declare ourselves to be the party of Communism in the United States and we invite all other revolutionary groups to join us."

Katterfeld of Indiana offered a further amendment to this effect: "We declare ourselves to be the official Socialist Party of the United States, we invite all other revolutionary groups to join us, and we will elect a committee of five to confer with



Sergeant-at-Arms Lloyd is kept busy

the Committee of the Communist Convention in order to find a basis for uniting the Communist elements in one party. It was this amendment (I regret to say not accurately quoted) which finally passed with an almost unanimous vote.

The principal points advanced by speakers in favor of sacrificing everything to unite with the Communist Convention were these:

- (1) No principles divide us.
- (2) Our unwillingness to do so is due to the personal spite of a few leaders.
- (3) The whole trouble is that there are too many statesmen in New York.
- (4) The capitalists are buying, and they will be glad to see us divide.
- (5) It is a cheap satisfaction to say that we organized the party of Communism first.

These points were acknowledged by the opposition, who advanced the following points in favor of organizing a party nevertheless:

- (1) The delegates of the Slavic Federations have already made it clear that they will not admit us, except upon terms which leave their machine in control of the convention.
- (2) They are politicians and political bosses.
- (3) They are at heart against industrial union action in the class struggle.
- (4) They were traitors to the Left Wing program, and the decision of the Left Wing conference in June.
- (5) They are incapable of co-operating with American comrades, they will demand autonomy, and another split will follow.



Wageshecht



Owens

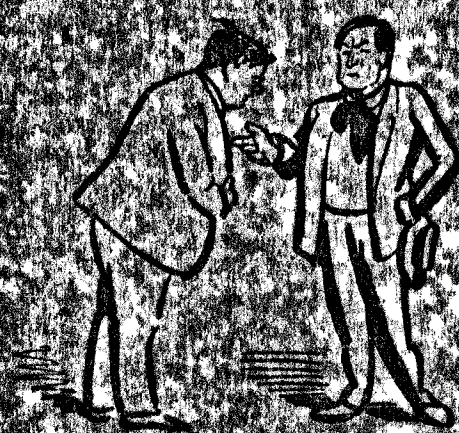
(6) It is impossible to start a Communist movement in the American proletariat with a Russian nationalistic group in control.

It was midnight when Katterfeld's motion was passed and the committee elected. And thus having declared itself to be a party—indeed the party—the convention adjourned that morning, when the election of committees for routine work would begin.

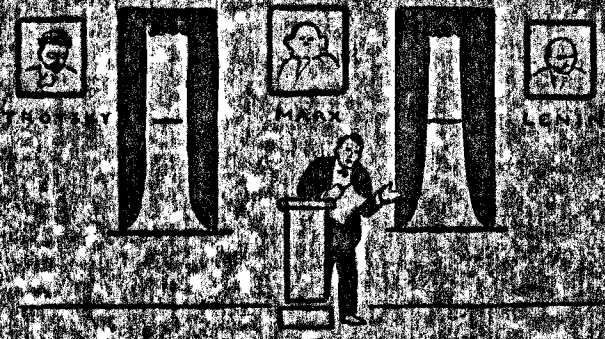
The Communist Convention

The Chicago police supplied the best of all arguments in favor of the Communist Convention. The Right Wing was protected by the police, the Left Wing was ignored, but the hall of the Communist convention was ransacked, photographs taken, decorations and revolutionary placards destroyed, and two men arrested. Perhaps this argument is a little crippled by the fact that one of the men arrested was a lawyer and the other was Dennis E. Batt, one of the leaders of that Michigan group whose excessively political or educational brand of Communism is the chief weakness of the Convention.

A glowing tribute was paid to the female sex by Detective Sergeant Egan when he arrested Batt. Rose Factor stokes called out, "They are arresting our comrade—three cheers for the revolution!" Egan yelled back, "Shut up—it's always a woman that starts the trouble!" Batt was informed of the presence of a detective with a warrant for his arrest just before he went on the platform to open the convention, but he was not much disturbed by it. He stood up there looking very four-square, as he is, with a long cigarette holder in his mouth, and a lighted cigarette—defying the regulations just laid down by his own committee to not the laws of the land—and his speech was brief and quiet. He hoped that the delegates would exercise forbearance in their deliberations and conduct themselves as men and women who have the good of the American working class at heart.



Batt is arrested by a detective dressed up as a stage anarchist. Mr. Batt said "Thanks."



The Platform at the Communist Convention

Louis C. Fraina was elected temporary chairman, and made the "key note" speech. It was the same note that had been sounding all along in the *Revolutionary Age*, with this significant, if somewhat incredible, addition: "We now end once for all all factional disputes. We are at an end with bickering. We are at an end with non-cooperation. We are here to build a party of action."

Considering that the convention was to spend the remaining hours of that day until well after midnight, and all of the next day until late afternoon, in a locked battle between its two factions on the question whether or not it would deign to elect a committee of five to meet the committee elected by the other faction represented in the Left Wing Convention—Fraina's promise seemed a little bit premature.

To anyone interested in "brains for brains" sake, this battle was vividly entertaining. It was brilliant, sharp, rapid, full of poignant contrasts in personality, far more philosophic, more erudite, more at ease in the Marxian dialect, than anything to be heard at either of the other conventions. The points made by those opposing the election of a conciliatory committee was that the elements who had bolted from the old Socialist Party with the Left Wing were not true Communists. They were "centrists," "Kautskivians," in some cases mere socialists who objected to the tyranny of the party officials. All but a few, at least of the true communists had abandoned the Left Wing program of capturing the party and come directly to the Communist Convention.

The point made by those advocating conciliation was that, although undoubtedly some Kautskivians and centrists were to be found in the other convention, they were not predominant, and they were not any more predominant than the centrists in this present convention—the "Michigan crowd" being those alluded to.

Having already attended a session of the other convention and satisfied myself that there were really many delegates there who had no understanding of the Moscow program and whose revolt against the old party was but an emotional reaction against the acts of its officials, I was rather friendly to the opposition in this debate. I cannot divide and classify people and place them

accurately in the various pigeon-holes of the Marxian theory in advance of their acts, as most of these speakers could, but I fully realize the necessity of casting out of the concept of proletarian solidarity, not only the Scheidemanns and Noskes who murder the revolution with machine guns, but also the Kautskys, the Longuets and MacDonaldis, who poison it with passivity and negative thoughts. That peculiar state of mind described by Lenin as the "wavering centre," expressing the fluctuating will of those economic classes not wholly bourgeois nor yet wholly proletarian, is an identifiable thing, and a thing that must be regarded as hostile in the period of the actual breakdown of capitalism.

In spite of my realization of this fact, however, and a prepossession that had been growing in favor of the "Communist Convention," I was discouraged by what I heard in the course of this debate, and when the opposition won, and the Left Wing convention was given the cold shoulder by a vote of 75 to 31, I felt like going back to the Left Wing convention.

It is not easy to tell exactly why, but after I recovered from admiring the mere quantity of abstract intellectual-ity which filled the air, my mind began to grow a little tired, as it does at a game of chess, with so many problems that are unrelated to reality or action. Along towards ten or eleven o'clock a realization stole into my head that there was something a little childish, a little sophomoric, in all this exaggerated statesmanship. I saw in the flesh that academic and rather wordy self-importance which has characterized the official literature of the Left Wing, and made it get so much on my nerves, as well as on the nerves of the I. W. M. editors. The political and educational expression of the class struggle is always excessively loud and distressing, like the racing of a motor when you detach it from the running gear without shutting off the gas, and in this group of self-consciously detached and perfect Bolsheviks that impression was exaggerated almost to the point of burlesque.

"Our purpose is to organize a real, a pure Communist party," said comrade Lunin. "We will allow the delegates of the other convention to come to our credentials committee one by one, and we will examine them thoroughly to find out if they are communists or not. For you can not become a communist in one day—no, nor in two days, nor in three days, nor in a year. Even in Russia it takes plenty of time to make a true Bolshevik. Like most of the Slavic Federation leaders, Lunin was himself a Menshevik only about a year ago.

"Give them the test of humiliation," said another earnest youth. "Demand that they come here and ask admission to this convention. This humiliation will test the sincerity of their revolutionary principles."

"Let them come here and sit in our convention without a voice," said Nicholas Hourwich. "We are perfectly willing to allow them to sit here. They might learn something. They might even learn enough to go next time to

the communist convention." Hourwich is the editor of the Russian daily, *Novy Mir*—a strange, intense and intensely impractical intellectual gnome, with feminine gesture and attitude, but a kind of obdurate insensibility of force. He observed the ruthless workings of his political machine with so infinitely complacent a smile on his features, that I could not help feeling glad he was so happy.

The only effective opposition he received was from Fraim and I. E. Ferguson of Chicago, who made gnashing and spirited attacks upon this machine that was rolling over them, to the added delight of its engineers. "That man is a communist," said Fraim, "who happens to agree with your particular purposes at a particular moment. While you were boasting of the purity of your communism, you have made unholy deals with those whom you know and admit are not communists."

"The real question is," said Ferguson, "Do you want to exclude English speaking delegates from the floor of this convention. It is not whether you want to exclude centrists. The test of a communist for you is when or where one chooses to organize the communist party."

At the conclusion of the same speech he said: "I don't want you to lose control of this convention, because I know that your control means that we will have a real communist party in the United States." I do not know how to reconcile these two statements, and I do not believe Ferguson does either, but he was sincerely convinced of them both.

My impression was—to sum it up—that the heads of the Slavic Socialist Machine are in a mood for the organization of a Russian Bolshevik church, with more interest in expelling heretics than winning converts, and with



Leaders of the Slavic Federations—Mishin, Hourwich and Stakitsky

They fixed upon that although Americans must be allowed to be admitted to the Church they must not be admitted in such numbers as to endanger the machine's hold upon the dogmas and the collection box. (It is their mode, not their conscious intent, that these words describe.) And it seems to me that what has compelled some at least of the American comrades to accept the creation of this machine, and try to form an American proletarian party with so preposterous a handicap, is that all-around dread of not proving sufficiently revolutionary which haunts us all. It haunts us because we are conscious of the continual temptation of respectability and personal prudence, and because we see so many of our fighting Comrades lose their courage and fall by the wayside. It is a wholesome dread. But we ought to be sufficiently sure we are revolutionary, so that we have a good deal of energy left for trying to be intelligent. And it is not intelligent to start the American Communist Party with a mixture of theological zeal, machine politics and nationalistic egoism in control.

Taking Train's and Ferguson's own characterization of these Federations, without adding a word, there is enough reason for desiring that they should function by themselves as a Slavic Communist Party, and that the American party should begin elsewhere, more modestly and more in proportion to the actual state of the revolutionary movement in America. I could not help thinking what Lenin himself would do to this group who are trying to bluff us in the name of our internationalism, into accepting a nationalistic control of the movement.

Some similar thoughts must have entered the minds of the American delegates, for after this session was over and the vote taken, they delivered an ultimatum to the Federations, stating that they would bolt the convention and go home if the vote was not rescinded, and the committee appointed. Accordingly the convention was adjourned, and the next morning and afternoon devoted to repairs of the Slavic machine. Then the convention was called together again, about five o'clock, and the vote rescinded—unanimously. It is a formidable machine that can reverse 75 votes without a slip, without allowing one single individual opinion to record itself. It commands admiration. But I think there is a discouraging lack of realism and the sense of workmanship in a convention that will spend twenty-four hours fighting over the appointment of a committee, when it is clearly obvious all the time that the committee will do exactly the same thing that the convention would have done if the committee had not been appointed.

The committee did, of course, go up to the convention of the Left Wing—by this time already the Communist Labor Party—and hand in a type-written document embodying the will of the Slavic Federations. Beneath a good deal of diplomatic and rather Wilsonian indirectness, this document simply stated that the Slavic Federations would not permit a union of the two elements

upon terms that would endanger their control, which they consider essential to the formation of a party in the communism.

The Communist Labor Party adopted a resolution making a standing offer to the Communists to unite the two parties upon equal terms. That is the end of the matter, until the rank and file of the revolutionary workers take action upon it.

The Communist Labor Party

It was something of a relief to wander down to the I. W. W. headquarters, after all this theoretical striving after wind, and examine the new rotary press they are installing, and hear the clicking of two accomplished line-type machines in the back room. And it seemed a good omen for the Communist Labor Party that when they found themselves too large and busy for the downstairs room in the Machinists Building, they moved over to the I. W. W. Hall on Throop Street.

There a battle was fought and won, which for me seemed to contain the heart of the drama of these Chicago Conventions. It was not a battle between two machines, for there was no time or possibility here for the formation of a machine. It was a battle between those who understood and accepted the Moscow manifesto and wanted to apply it in a concrete realistic way to American conditions, and those who did not understand or accept it, dreaded its practical application, and wanted to take refuge in more vague and old-fashioned socialistic pronouncements. The most powerful figure in the militant group—and the best speaker, I should say, in all three of the conventions—was Ben Gallow. The function of furnishing forth drafts of documents, making motions, drawing up amendments and resolutions, and being ever on hand in general with a wealth of ideas, was filled by John Reed. On the other side Margaret Provey and Louis Budenz were equally prominent and equally definite in their opinion.



Jack Reed hitching up his pants in preparation for a speech.

The convention, being somewhat dismayed by the voluminous and plain-spoken "program" which Reed's committee brought in, and yet feeling in their bones that they were going to have to adopt it, appointed another committee to draw up a "platform." I think they had an idea that they would keep the program as a kind of "esoteric doctrine" to be revealed only to the true disciples, and distribute the platform to the general public, so they put their more tender-minded or "centrist" members on the platform committee, and these members drew up a brief document expressing only a little more vigorously than usual, the time-worn "ultimate demands" of the Socialist Party.

The communist element did not oppose the plan of adopting a brief and highly generalized "platform" in addition to their program of action, but they were determined that this platform should be in fact a *generalization*, and not an *evaporation* of the communist principles. Therefore they assailed the document that was reported to the floor, and succeeded in striking out every one of its vague or unscientific clauses, and substituting amendments in their own language. They succeeded with surprising ease until they arrived at the two final clauses, and here the minority rallied for a last obstinate resistance.

The clauses as reported by the committee, read as follows:

"To this end we ask the workers to unite with the Communist Labor Party on the political field for the conquest of the State and thus secure control of the powers of government.

"We also urge the workers to organize themselves on the industrial field, and thus unite their political and economic power to establish a cooperative commonwealth.

For these clauses Reed offered the following substitute:

"To this end we ask the workers to unite with the Communist Labor Party for the conquest of political power, to establish a government adapted to the communist transformation."

The significance of this change in the "Platform" is made apparent by the following clauses of the "Program" which had been reported to the floor, but not yet at that time adopted:

"The working class must organize and train itself for the capture of state power. This capture means the establishment of the new working class government machinery, in place of the state machinery of the capitalists.

"This new working class government—the Dictatorship of the Proletariat—will reorganize society on the basis of Communism, and accomplish the transition from Capitalism to the Communist Commonwealth.

Not one of the great teachers of scientific Socialism

has ever said that it is possible to achieve the Social Revolution by the ballot.

"However, we do not ignore the value of voting, or of electing candidates to public office. Political campaigns and the election of public officials, provide opportunities for showing up capitalist democracy, educating the workers to a realization of their class position, and demonstrating the necessity for the overthrow of the capitalist system. But it must be clearly emphasized that the chance of winning even advanced reforms of the present capitalist system at the polls is extremely remote, and even if it were possible, these reforms would not weaken the capitalist system.

The political action of the working class means any action taken by the workers to impose their class will upon the capitalist State.

It was an all day debate. I recall a few sentences somewhat at random. The first is from Margaret Prevey, whose friendship for Debs and her consecration to the task of liberating him from prison, gave a special interest to her opinions. "We came here," she said, "to form a political organization to supplement the industrial organization of the workers. If not why are we here? We must use the political power in order to get a hearing for the working class. I want to see a working class judge to pass sentences upon the workers, a working class jury to open the doors of the prisons for the working class. I want to see the working class get control of the police and the United States army, so that they can be used on the side of the workers, instead of against them in their industrial battles.

John Reed answered her in the one burst of oratory that came out of him. He reminded her that when a socialist Mayor of Minneapolis wanted to use the police to protect the meetings of the workers, his policemen were superseded by a body of special deputies appointed by the Governor of the State, when a radical governor of Illinois (Asgold) tried to use the state power to protect the workers in the Pullman strike in Chicago, Grover Cleveland sent the United States army into Illinois to protect capital, and if you had a Socialist president in the place of Grover Cleveland, the Supreme Court would



Dictator of St. Louis



Margaret Prevey

to the convention. Just what kind of a program they wanted, and what they considered communism to be. After some hesitation the answer came that they wanted to go back to the language of the previous Manifestos of the Left Wing. The special significance of this lies in the fact that those more academic and therefore less revolutionary Manifestos were written by the very delegates in the "Communist" Convention who were now scoring this convention because of the presence of Margaret Prevey and these other not sufficiently revolutionary elements.

That makes the reader dizzy, he has the satisfaction of knowing that he would have been a thousand times dizzier if he had actually tried to attend these three conventions.

Kate Greenhaigh said that she had often heard working men in the northwest say that they would never again put their name and address down in a poll book to be used in hunting them out by the master-class, but still she believed in political action as a means of acquiring a "political status" for the revolutionary propaganda.

Jack Carney supported the amendment with the vehemence of one who does not care whether the propaganda acquires a "political status" or not. "I resigned from the Socialist Party," he said, "not because they expelled the members and refused to do their will, but because I want the American workers to get down to the real fight and the real fight is on the job."

Margaret Carvey's position was supported by Baker of Ohio, who said in the course of his remarks that, "The old guard used to be always telling us how they do things in Germany, now we have a crowd that are telling us how they do things in Russia. I thought we were here to decide how we are going to do things in America!"

Ludwig More asserted that the absence of "immediate demands" was enough to distinguish this platform from the reformist platforms of the past.

Zimmerman of Indiana was on the same side, although

come to the protection of capital, and if you had a Socialist Supreme Court, J. P. Morgan would organize a volunteer White Guard, and the interests of capital would still be protected. So it would always be. The struggle is between economic forces and it cannot be settled upon the political field." He asked Margaret Prevey and the others who opposed the program which he had drafted, and who wanted to elect Centralists to the Executive Committee to explain candidly

with a different note. "When the revolution comes," he said, "then we know what kind of methods we are going to use, and we won't have to use any platform."

But the ever-present voice on the side of the Mensheviks was that of Louis B. Boudin of New York. Boudin is a Marxist scholar of great erudition, so great that he was given an honorary chair in the international university established by the Bolshevik Government at Moscow, although he happened to be employing his erudition in an attack on the Bolshevik Government at the time.

Boudin laughed with a learned scorn at one of the phrases which John Reed had embodied in an amendment to the platform. Reed said nothing, but quietly slipped out of the building and pretty soon came back with a copy of the Communist Manifesto in which he showed Boudin the identical phrase at which he had been laughing. The scholarly phrase were bent in perplexity. "It's a very poor translation," he said.

Boudin has learned a great deal about Karl Marx in spite of a busy life, but he has never learned to control those neural conduits which lead from the cerebral cortex to the organs of articulation. An idea no sooner pops into his head than it pops out of his mouth, and this makes it very difficult to conduct a parliamentary assembly in which he sits. Therefore it was a practical as well as a rhetorical triumph for the majority when Ben Gitlow, walking up to the front of the hall like a great somnre mountain, gradually unleashed the crackling thunder of his eloquence to the effect that Boudin had de-



Kate Greenhaigh



Baker

liberately employed his knowledge of Marx to dilute and destroy the scientific integrity of this platform, and Boudin, crying "It's a lie, it's a damn lie!" got up and fled like a rat out of the storm.

Reed's amendment was then soon adopted, and the question whether this should be a communist or a "con-artist" party essentially settled by a vote of 46 to 22. There was clear sailing for the "program" after that. It was adopted substantially as reported by the committee. A kind of anticipatory "St. Louis Resolution" on the war with Mexico was also adopted, and it was cabled to every organization in the Communist International. An executive committee was selected, composed not of public celebrities who will meet once in a while, but of members of the party who are going to work—all of them ultimately, it is hoped, on salary from the party. With these good signs of life the convention closed.

Its program is upon the whole a vital, simple and realistic application of the theories of Marx and the policies of Lenin to present conditions in America. It contrasts with the program of the communist convention in no point of principle, but it applies its principles more

specifically to existing conditions. It is written in a more American idiom, it is written in the language of action rather than of historic theory, it is not abstractly didactic in its attitude toward organized labor, but somewhat humbly instructive and promising of concrete help. In these respects it seems to me superior to the program of the Communist Party, although I have not had time to study and compare them at length.

It would be foolish to pretend that The Communist Labor Party, any more than the Communist Party, is a wholly satisfactory nucleus for the growth of Communism in America. Nothing that happened in Chicago was satisfactory. But the Communist Labor Party has a certain atmosphere of reality, a sense of work to be done, a freedom from theological dogma on the one hand and machine politics on the other, which is new in American socialism, and hopeful. A strong movement of the rank and file of revolutionists to the Communist Labor Party would weaken, convince or drive out its uncertain minority, and at the same time leave the Federations where the attitude of their leaders naturally places them in a separate or autonomous Slavic Party of Communism.

Two Poems

VICTIMA

QUEEN HELEN from the walls of Troy
Had but to lift her hand,
And men would search the sea with ships
To do her least command.

Queen Cleopatra from her couch
Could name no precious thing
So costly that it might not serve
A moment's pleasuring.

What do you know of Num,
Of Rome's Imperial Lord?
Of prows that churned the purple seas
Of wine of mares poured?

What do you know of debts and dues,
Of lazard and defeat?
Of torch and quinquirem, of black
Sails rising out of Crete?

An woman of the subtle lip
And easy-uttered vow,
We will go down to death for you
A thousand years from now.

Leslie Nelson Jennings

KINDRED

I WENT alone among the countless trees
And made a little house of bark and moss.
I sat and watched pale petals on the breeze
Or heard bleak limbs in autumn mourn their loss.

And when the winds made music I made mine,
Blew softly on a reed and learned their tunes.
Then if there were no winds I gave the sign
To buds of April and the flowers of June.

One day I stood upon a Syrian hill
And wondered at the leaves why I had none.
For ours it was one language, ours one will,
The trees' and mine, and our delights were one.

I felt the earth pulse quicken, smiling me,
With sudden horror, oh, ecstatic fear.
I wheeled and fled nor glanced behind to see
If dryad followed, beckoning and near.

But now if at the forest's edge I stand
And view the cool green deep of bough and fern,
Invisible small fingers press my hand,
And footsteps follow me as I return.

Stirling Bowen

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

This data was put in my
hands by Wago and
I was unable to do the
biographic job required at
that time shortly after
Wago's death.

Oakley Johnson

3-1-62

WAGO

WAGO

WAGO

It is 1955.
And I am nearing 75.

What did life mean to me?

(Expand)

Wagenbuecht

3-19-71

Comrades:

This is apparently an
effort at Autobiography by
Welfred Wagenbuecht.

Oakley Johnson

Accidentally, as in countless births before my time, I saw daylight in Goerlitz, Germany, in 1881.

I saw daylight without recognition. And not knowing what was happening around me and to me, I was brought to the United States at the age of one and a half years.

My father was a shoemaker and cobbler. His meanderings as an apprentice, from town to town learning his trade under numerous meisters had ended. He married, settled down in his own little shop, and did not do at all well. To support a family became a problem and the lure of doing better in the U.S.A., the inducement which was causing millions to migrate from Europe to America, became an influence in his day-to-day struggle.

With this went a basic political reason. Bismark and the Kaiser did not agree with his political point of view. In a small town where Socialist comrades were few, forced to salute and assume the attitude of a menial towards the military and anyone who wore the slightest resemblance to a military uniform, even if it was but a braid-decorated cap, he felt himself surrounded by Bismark's agents, mentally hemmed in.

To halt the growth of the Social Democrats, faced with a wave of strikes, to behead the formation of trade unions, Bismark, the blood and iron chancellor, incessantly demanded anti-labor legislation. His opportunity came in 1878, in which year two attempts were made to assassinate the Kaiser. Bismark liquidated the Reichstag. New elections were held. Police terror was initiated against the workers. The new Reichstag passed the exceptional laws against labor and the Socialists that Bismark demanded.

The press of the labor movement was closed down. Leaders were sent to prison and exiled. Organizations were outlawed. Spies had their day. Bebel and Liebknecht were accused of high treason; — sentence two years.

Father packed up his family and the feather bedding and landed in Cleveland, Ohio, the south side, at Jefferson Avenue and Herschel Street. Father, mother, son in arms and me age 1 1/2 years. Maybe he was spotted *man, like many others, he ran away to avoid military service in the Federal Army,* and fled. I do not know. I do know he was the kind of man who would not keep his mouth shut.

It is here where memory begins, with the recognition of the smell and taste of leather. Poor folks populated the neighborhood, so very poor. Irish and Polish Catholics, and German Lutherans, many children, and fathers earning a wage of from 90 cents a day for unskilled labor to \$1.75 a day for skilled.

On one corner a grocery store where we ~~were~~ would lift potatoes and take them a mile to the woods to bake. On the opposite corner a saloon, with beer at a nickle a glass and a glass as big as your head. Families bought it by the can, broke in an egg, added a little sugar and stirred; a lift after a hard days' work of ten, eleven, yes twelve hours, and a luxury. On this corner the teen-age boys gathered to discuss their adolescent problems and spark their campaigns against my father.

There was a candy store, the window of which attracted us like a magnet, and where rather hysterical discussions would take place as to what we would buy with our next penny. And the barber shop, shave five cents, haircut 10 cents.

In this block my father rented a store front, living rooms in the rear, next to a variety store owned by the only Jewish family in the neighborhood.

My father was a good shoemaker and cobbler. Tailors, cabinet makers, bakers, gunsmiths (machinists) and others who learned their trade in the "old country" were good at it. Father knew how to select a side of leather. No ready cut soles and heels in those days. Buying leather meant buying a whole tanned hide. He would cut soles with a trained eye, so that they would equal each other in thickness and texture, avoiding flaws, soak them in water and then pound them on an iron on his knees to solidify

the leather's cells until they were tough.

In a neighborhood peopled with poor folks the shoes brought in for repair were usually in poor shape, worn until the soles were nearly non-existent. These were days when paved streets were not yet generally in fashion and a planked or brick sidewalk in front of a home was a sign of affluence. In rains and winter thaws with soles worn through, the shoe became a suction pump, and with dirt inside and outside, cobbling was a dirty job.

No gentlemen's boots, or ladies fine shoes ever reached him for repair. He did turn out tough, wearing work shoes for the railroaders on the Nickle Plate. With cinder roadbeds and continuous walking due to hand coupling, railroaders shoes had to be built to wear. He hand-made them at \$4.50 a pair.

He was a free thinker, which meant, as I remember, being a mixture of an agnostic and infidel. He brought his understanding of heaven and hell along with him from Germany. He would give his opinion on the after-life to anyone who would give him an opening in the course of any conversation.

In the early 1500's great resentment developed against the Catholic hierarchy. The Pope, rapacious for money and even more riches, sent his traffickers into Germany with their array of indulgences. For givenness of sin, religious relics and insignia, even church offices could be bought at a price and compulsion to buy was usual. The peasants, under feudal class rule, oppressed and exploited as land slaves, the plebians, the feudal princes and the developing merchant class raised opposition to these salesmen of religion. The peasants' hatred stemmed from the additional social stress and exploitation they were subject to. The rich wanted all their profits in their own coffers and not exported to Rome.

Martin Luther, in 1517 posted a declaration on the church door in Wittenberg, protesting ~~and~~ against the Pope's indulgence business: The reformation was on.

It was in this period of the birth of capitalism, at first as a merchant class, that free thinking developed. Judgement was that Luther may be some better than the Pope but both were no good for the people. Germany was torn, in turmoil based on conflicting interests, devastated by wars and the only unity apparent was that the exploiters in combination with the religious interests, were all stomping on the necks of the poor folks and slaughtering them in their internecine wars.

Luther, after encouraging the rebellious mood of the people turned his back upon them and ~~never~~ gave his support to the princes who used the Reformation to increase their possessions. When the peasant revolts occurred in which hundreds of thousands of peasants and plebians sacrificed their lives, he advocated "that they should be knocked to pieces, strangled and stabbed, by everybody who can do it, just as one must kill a mad dog. And if thou diest, thou art blessed".

In this gory situation Luther also had a taste for blood. Said he, "Why do we not seize, with arms in hand, all those ~~and~~ evil teachers of perdition, those popes, bishops, cardinals, and the entire crew of Roman Sodom? Why do we not wash our hands in their blood?"

Princes, Kaisers, Emperors, Devine right to rule.

Their rule pamperized the population.

Devine right lost its meaning.

Devine right: God-given right to rule.

Free thinking developed in Europe, opposed to both Catholics and Lutherans, denouncing the religious dogmas of both camps and their thievery and thirst for blood. As a Free Thinker, father was loaded with a constant urge to explode religious concepts.

Living among Catholics and Lutherans, ~~with~~ he the only one of his kind in the community.

These were days of the vengeful God - heaven and a harp, or burn forever in hell were the two choices. Lightning and thunder constituted a warning to the sinners from an angry God, and children and grown folks would hide in dark corners or underneath the bed to avoid God's wrath. A clap of thunder was God's voice, warning all those who failed to go to church, who forgot to pray.

Father was aggressive and in command of logic. He did not bother much with a tactical approach. His interest was in laying his adversary low with well-aimed blows at superstitious conceptions, at every pronouncement that was contrary to his materialistic viewpoint.

Did you ever see an angel, or the devil, he would ask? Do angels ride the pure white clouds playing their harps, as religious pictures portrayed? Must be millions of them up there, he would say, and then would drift a little to the vulgar and add that in all his life he had never seen any of their droppings in the street or on the roofs. Angels are souls, they do not eat? Do they breath, do they see, do they hear, and the harps? I hear no music. Are the harps also souls, and do good harps die here below and go to heaven? And if angels are the souls of those who died below while on their good behaviour, then it is the souls of sinners who are condemned to hell to burn everlastingly. But there is nothing combustible about a soul, it cannot burn, and the good God would never burn any of His children forever, would never burn them at all, would never allow them to become sinners. This is how it would go, with plenty of variations.

Not that he failed to hold forth on the topic of the poor versus the rich. In the struggle to provide for his family, in the conditions of the working-class families around him, how to get butter for the bread, or how to get bread at all, was a problem.. He was one of the "old country" free thinkers who probably thought that religion and capitalism had to be fought against equally, or that before workers could effectively struggle against capitalism

they would have to throw their religion overboard. He was to learn better in the panic of 1893.

Those with whom he argued in his shop would go out into the neighborhood and repeat these blasphemies and become highly provoked. The teen-age youth picked it up and would gather at the corner of Brown's saloon, and encouraged by adults a little loaded with beer, planned campaigns against him and us, his sons, four of us by that time.

There was another count against my father in this proletarian neighborhood. He was a radical. On the wall of our home there hung the pictures of the Haymarket martyrs, the name of each under the photograph of each — Parsons, Spies, Engel, Fischer, Fielden, Schwab, Neebe.

The budding labor movement experienced its first round in fighting the charge of conspiring against ~~the~~ employers in the Shoemakers strike, Philadelphia, 1806. The workers had assembled because of discontent with their wages and had decided to demand an increase. Their leaders were arrested and charged with not being content to work at the usual prices, and that they combined, conspired, unlawfully agreed that they would work only for higher prices, this caused damage and injury to the masters employing them and did unlawfully meet and corruptly conspire. The strike was lost. The jury found them guilty of combining to raise wages.

Down the following years, struggles of ^{the} labor movement were defeated through force and violence by the capitalist class and by prosecutions for conspiracy by its courts.

Charges of labor "conspiring" were galore in the years that followed. When in the 1880's the demand for the 8-hour day electrified the labor movement, a period when ~~the~~ organization of workers into unions began to strike deep roots, workers by the dozens had been shot. Terror in its manifold application had been used by the capitalists to crush strikes, to halt the organization of the workingclass.

In 1886, at a meeting in Haymarket Square, which was about to adjourn, a bomb was thrown by someone to this day unknown. Parsons, Spies, etc., who spoke at the meeting were arrested and charged with conspiracy to commit murder. Seven men were sentenced to die. Judge Gary admitted that no evidence existed that these men, anarchists in philosophy, had personally any connection with the bomb, or anyone who threw it. But the charge of conspiracy can cover ground that is not there and make connections with the non-existent.

Judge Gary held that these labor leaders, agitators for the 8-hour day, had influenced somebody by advice, somebody not known, to throw the bomb that caused Degan's (a policeman's) death.

The evidence at the trial did not and could not prove that the unknown person who threw the bomb was influenced by the speeches of the 8-hour day advocates. They were not convicted because a bomb was thrown. They were convicted because they fought for trade union organization, for the 8-hour day, for the rights and needs of labor, and against rapacious and terror inciting employers.

Parsons truly said that if he is executed it will be because ^{damn} he is an Anarchist, not because ^{damn} he is a murderer; because of what I have thought and spoken and written in the past, and not because of the Haymarket ~~bomb~~ bomb.

~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~

Four had been hanged. Sentences of three had been commuted. The names were German and reading them and studying their photographs ^{on the wall of our home} I experienced a measure of pride. Here were fighters whose lives were ended because they led struggles for better lives for the poor. Displaying their pictures in our living room required a boldness that comes from an abundance of courage. They were Anarchists. My father was a Social Democrat. Yet in struggle against the exploiting employers they were joined.

These were days of struggle. The cruelty and viciousness of the capitalist class seemed boundless. Incessantly the workingclass stormed the front of capitalism. Lashed by the whip of poverty, deeply hurt by the misery and suffering of their families, bulwarked by the conviction that their cause was just, there developed a militancy which made the employers fearful of maintaining their hold on their system of robbery of the poor for riches for the few.

This was the climate of 1886-1896, and father, unsupported by organization of any kind in his neighborhood, economic or political, braved the opposition of the neighborhood by displaying the photos of the Haymarket martyrs in the living room. And he was a FreeThinker. And he wouldn't keep his

mouth shut.

He was incessantly attacked. The corner gang called him vile names, stole money out of his shop, spread a boycott against having shoes repaired by him, threw stones through his shop windows, attacked us, his sons, if we were caught some distance from home. They pushed my brother and I off a steep bank into the river one day, into water over our heads. We couldn't swim. We nearly drowned.

Father would leave his bench numerous times during the day and stand in the doorway looking up and down the street, on guard and also wondering what next would happen. I remember a day when he was deeply angered, arose from his bench with his last strap in hand, jumped the back yard fence, walked to the saloon corner, caught the gang of grown youngsters unaware, rushed them and lashed them mercilessly. These "gang" members ran blocks in all directions to save their hides.

And I remember trying to emulate him when one day a group of husky grammar school boys, all of Irish parentage, meandered up the street towards the shop. My next oldest brother and I were standing in the door-way. We held a hurried "battle" conference. In a fist fight we were outnumbered and would suffer defeat and a good beating. I remembered a blackjack hidden in the kitchen. Father had found it at a picnic we had attended where Anarchists and Socialists had engaged in physical combat over their respective philosophies, after a day of socialibility with beer. With this weapon in hand we stood our ground, in fact, brother and I managed an offensive. The leader of the group reeled across the street into the arms of a Jewish storekeeper who asked me what hit him; and that ended the fight. Ended it until an hour later a policeman came from the precinct station, collared me and marched me to jail. Ten fists against our four and a blackjack may have seemed that we had unfair premacy? But down these years our family had always gotten the worst of it and a little pride swelled the immature heads of brother and I. We were for days the subject of neighborhood discourse.

I must have included myself as a partner in the constant defensive activity we were forced into. The opposition was numerous and we were only one family. We two older brothers had enrolled in the Free Thinkers' Sunday School. We walked to the Social Turner Hall, one hour's travel west, each Sunday, where we were instructed in astronomy as an antidote to the heaven of the clergy. We were conditioned by the years of persecution, sparked by the clergy, fortified by the lessons in astronomy to fight on father's side and to view all expressions of superstition as in the classification of fairy tales.

My friend Jake lived on "Dutch Hill", about three blocks from our house towards the lowlands, the pasture - the Cuyahoga river valley. "Dutch Hill" consisted of a row of rotting and shakey shacks, painted by the soot of soft coal smoke from passing freight trains. The shacks backed up into an embankment in the rear and in a rain or thaw the dirt and filth would wash from the rear of the yard to the front and down a ditch to the gully. That is the reason the outdoor privies on "Dutch Hill" were all erected in the front yard, otherwise the excrement would flood the yard and be dragged into the shacks by the feet of waves of children who lived there.

Going to visit Jake was always an experience in pungent odors, especially when the bucket brigade and the tank wagons delayed the emptying process. The privy at our house was far into the backyard and here we did not have so much connection between what we had eaten a day or two ago and what we were about to eat. About five blocks from Jake's home, on the highlands overlooking the Cuyahoga valley, a big square brick house, with a very large yard, and a barn full of cows, excited the constant interest of neighborhood boys and girls. Here was where ^{the poor folk's children} they brought potato peelings and other edibles for the cows, and in return were paid one cent or two cents, depending on the amount. And this was candy money.

It was rumored that the elderly lady to whom we merchandized the peelings

was related to John D. Rockefeller. However, this may have been a false deduction arrived at because there were a cluster of oil storage tanks in the path leading to her pasture. Yet it may have been true. She constantly admonished us to save the pennies she gave us.

Jake was a romantic and talkative sort of boy. With him we made expeditions, off and on, to Jennings Avenue, a mile or more inland, out of the bounds of our poverty stricken neighborhood. We would travel west, through a public park, and there, on the other side of the woodsy park were the mansions. Here ladies were to be seen riding in carriages drawn by spans of spirited, glossy horses, imbibing the sunshine and fresh air. No "Dutch Hill" stench here.

We would press our faces between the pickets of the high wrought iron fencing to see what we could see. ^{Through} The fancy edifice porches and gables and windows all around the beautiful landscaping we would watch the stableman curry and brush the horses as they were brought out of a building that harmonized in architecture with the mansion. To Jake the horses did not live in a barn or stable. He said, "that horse-house is a better house than our house is". And we wondered on which of these estates Rockefeller lived.

Rockefeller and oil were of interest to many in these years. The smell of oil from the Cleveland refineries, which were predominant at the time, mingled with the odor of Rockefeller's unscrupulous manipulations by which he ~~rose~~ rose to ^{predominance} predominance.

*Took coal oil as medicine
internally & externally*

Oil first received attention in the area of Titusville, Pennsylvania, in the early 1850's, gathered from the surface of creeks it was bottled and sold as a remedy that had great curative powers. Good as a liniment, taken by spoon internally, it was advertised to cure many ailments, including cholera and consumption. *In our home coal oil was a household remedy. For a sore throat it was taken by spoon. For aches and pains it was put over an*

Then the drilling for oil began and its accompanying land speculation; drawn out by horse and wagen, shipped out on barges, piped to the railroads, yet in ten years only 1200 of the 5500 wells dug produced. The country swarmed with brokers, speculators, stock companies. Bogus oil companies used the names of Civil War generals to sell shares, and Philadelphia was in top place with hundreds of these fake companies operating.

The oil diggers wanted their own refineries at the point of production. A combination between the existant refineries and the railroads opposed this. Sharp struggles ensued.

When 13-years old Rockefeller's father moved from a farm in New York to onenear Cleveland. It is recorded that his first job was with a produce commission house as bookkeeper at \$50.00 for three months' work. He became a partner and increased his savings by sales to the army in the Civil War. He sold his share of the commission business and invested in oil, with a man who had discovered a more economical method of refining.

There were about 26 independent refineries in Cleveland. Rockefeller approached each of them with a proposal for a combine. This proposal demanded that each refinery be appraised by him, He would pay cash or issue stock. In collusion with the railroad barons who were granting him a 25% to 50% kickback in freight rates, he held the winning hand. Even Scoffield and Company, with refinery interests worth \$150,000 was compelled to sell at 50 cent on the dollar.

With this auspicious beginning in chicanery and ruthless ~~organ~~ acquisition the Standard Oil Company was born in 1870 with Rockefeller as president. It

came out on top, through foul weather and fair, despite all the attacks against it, the legislation aimed to control it, the court actions against it, and charges of conspiracy.

And so there appeared upon the scene, in this growing capitalist country, growing also in workingclass protest, and indignation, the richest man, along with him we had Carnegie, Gary and Morgan in Steel, Vanderbilt, Harriman and Gould in railroad and J. Pierpont Morgan, the bankers, all travelled the same path of theft and usurpation, all grabbing the country's land and natural resources, all getting rich no matter how, all filching from the workingclass the product of their labor power, from where through profits, from labor's arduous and long hours of toil, their riches originated.

My mother died of tuberculosis at age 28. She had borne four sons. Aunt Emilie, who lived nearby, shared the household tasks with father and under their supervision the older sons learned how to do the dishes, scrub the floors and wash clothes on the scrub-board, by hand, in a wooden tub of hot soapy water. These days come vividly to mind because, besides going to school these new house-keeping tasks were thrust upon me and took hours away from my play-time.

Father was the buyer for the family, and due to a lessening income from cobbling, and the expense of feeding four always hungry, growing sons, he shopped and bargained for everything he bought. A barrel of flour from the grocers, out of which we would sift the maggots; a side of veal from the butchers, smelly enough to nauseate us, which he would bathe in vitriol for ^{and} cleansing ~~the~~ germ annihilation; plucks from the small slaughter house two miles distant — the whole innards of a pig; heart, lungs, liver and all else, from which we also made sausage — at five cents a pluck; heads of animals for head cheese; herring from Holland in little barrels, and cheap; and coffee he made from roasted grains.

On very rare occasions we had butter in the house quite stale and rancid. Father buttered all of the bread. He knew how to butter it lightly and when we complained that we could not taste the butter he told us that we did not understand how to eat buttered bread. Buttered bread, he said, should always be eaten by turning it upside down so the butter ^{side} would hit the tongue.

Then also, there was the constant war against bed bugs, flies and rats. Between ten and eleven each night father would visit our beds and carry on a massacre of bed bugs. And weekly we boys would transport bedsteads and mattresses to the back yard and soak their hiding and breeding place with coal oil. We spread poison for the rats, but the rats in the neighborhood were too numerous for the poison we could afford. And the flies — the swarms

of them remained constant. We would darken the house and chase them towards the light of the open kitchen door and out. But in an hour they were back. Screens had not yet been invented.

The 1893 panic came down upon the workingclass and other segments of the population with a dull thud. Shops, mines, industry big and little, closed up,— thousands of them. Hundreds of banks locked their doors. There were an estimated 15,000 commercial bankruptcies. Railroads and other industries went into receivership. Millions of workers were jobless and endlessly on the hunt for a chance to earn a dollar at anything. They froze in long charity soup lines.

To the rich the panic was an Act of God. They advised the starving families to commune with God about it - they were not to blame. When Jacob Coxey's Army of tattered jobless arrived in Washington, D.C., the rulers of the country arrested the leaders for walking on the grass of their own capital city.

For the last 50 years the capitalist, consolidating into combinations and trusts had fattened from the productivity of the workingclass and what they confiscated of the national domain. The panic had the result of temporarily curtailing their profits, but they still possessed their millions, their riches, and it was said that Rockefeller had become the first millionaire billionaire.

Discourses and discussions on foreign trade, silver or gold standards, the tariff, an income tax, increased the overcast of the already clouded sky. Henry ADAMS SAID: "Society here, as well as in Europe, is shaking". Bishop Lawrence declared: "Godliness is in league with riches."

Cleveland, our neighborhood, seemed in the direct path of this economic tornado. Father disappeared from home for days at a time. We moved into an alley, a saving on rent. The sharp staccato sounds of his hammer beating sole-leather on an iron last had ceased as had the more subdued sound of soling a shoe with wooden pegs. There were no shoes to fix. Some bread to eat was the stupendous problem every family faced.

Once a week we two older boys walked to the ^{west} side of the city, to Wilhelms print shop on Pearl Street, to fold a German Socialist paper father edited. He travelled on a belt that reached from Buffalo to Chicago. This was where the German immigrants and refugees had settled, those who left were homeless after the 1848 war, those who came later because of Bismark's anti-Socialist laws, several million of them. He made speeches, organized, sold papers and literature. Arriving home from time to time he would now and then bring a few groceries, but mostly he came empty-handed and empty in pocket.

We children would visit this aunt or that uncle, there were six of them, for a mouthful of food. Or one or another of them would visit us and bring a few bites to eat. A rumpus arose, relatives demanding that father stay at home and take care of his family. Uncle Herman, father's brother and a tailor, ^{and father} actually shook each other by the hair one night at a conference of relative held to convince father to stick to his last. This happened because the relatives had learned that father's family had gone without food for two days. I remember this incident clearly. Father was away making speeches. We were sitting in the kitchen, growing colder by the minute on a zero night and debating whether to spend the last dime we had on a loaf of bread or a bag of coal. Coal won, and I took the home-made bobsled to the valley, a mile away, to buy it.

1848 -
Socialist
from across - their
contribution to Socialism
in U.S.A. - well-mannered Book
Military - Trade
First International
Weydemayer
Letters to Americans - willing
August 1848

Emp. P. 257-263
1848 - decline
of movement in U.S.A.
Appendix

Fortune blessed us that same night. Father came home and we were soon sitting at the kitchen table with six links of garlic sausage and two loaves of bread.

Children, and men and women trekked down the hills towards the railroad in these bitter days of 1893-94 picking coke and unburned bits of coal from the ashes of emptied locomotive fire-boxes dumped near the roundhouse. They walked up and down the tracks, here and there ~~sixking~~ finding a lump of coal jarred from a coal car in switching operations. They became bolder, posted lookouts and pried coal off of the cars with long sticks. Chased by railroad detectives occasionally, they never-the-less increased in numbers (and I was there). ~~^~~ Hundreds of cars of coal standing on the tracks and families blue with cold? And no money to buy. They all understood there was something wrong here, and that it was not they that were out of step, and they were not stealing - --?

To me father grew in stature during these days. People, the poor neighborhood families began to talk about him, not as formerly, denouncing him as a heretic and sinner, and a radical and anarchist. He had included Cleveland's public square in his schedule of activity. First in the German language, then in all the English he could command, and he tried to clarify the masses of all nationalities who gathered there on the basic problem of why no work and who is guilty. Masses of workers had surged through the Cuyahoga Valley, through the flats containing nut and bolt shops, factories of varied kinds, all closed and dark. In their wrath they broke hundreds of windows and smashed down doors. The air seethed with protest and denunciation. They flocked to hear speakers at the public square in the center of the city. Trade union speakers and politicians and those who counselled faith in God.

few repairs / 12 years old / class struggle

Father placed heavy emphasis on the Socialist solution. Strikes and strikes, and unemployment down the many years, and who clubs you, shoots you, jails you? The capitalists say no when you demand a living wage, and then they put into action their lackies, their politicians, and they issue orders to the police, the militia, the courts and - defeat. The solution was to elect workers to office by casting ballots for the party that stands for Socialism and depose the capitalist ~~rank~~ class and institute the Cooperative Commonwealth.

He burned the thieving rich to a crisp in the heat of his attacks. He had a voice that carried. His quick, firm movements among the thousands that came to the public square meeting always seemed challenging. He reasoned to a conclusion in a positive way. The unemployed found his name hard to pronounce. He became known as "the little shoemaker from the South Side," and they would ask "is the little Socialist shoemaker going to speak today?" because there was a juncture, a solidarity of sentiment between what he said and what they thought. He expressed their mass mood.

Many nationalities gathered at these meetings, varied in their religion, Catholics, Lutherans, Protestants. It was here that father learned with some finality, that making all workers Free Thinkers, abolishing their belief in God ~~was~~ a first essential to develop in them enough intelligence to recognize their class position was not a prerequisite to the struggle for food, clothing and shelter. The preachings of priests and ministers advising the families of the poor and unemployed to suffer here below, bear your poverty and misery, and when you die you will enter the golden gate into heaven and be an angel, was an admonition that contradicted nature. The unemployed just had to have something to eat now, this side of heaven, and

gathered for struggle to get it. And many devout Christians began to develop comradeship with father and he with them.

It was during these years, at the age of twelve, that I took part in my first labor struggle. The horse drawn street cars on a feeder line that served the South Side, had been replaced by electric cars. Stable men, drivers, repair crews, who lived with their families at the end of the line, lost their jobs. The rage of the neighborhood increased daily. The union had no remedy. A crowd of men, women and children went into action one day, attacked the electric street car, broke windows, tore down the trolley and then overturned it. The two policemen assigned to this trouble spot rushed in to protect the motorman and marched him, between them, away from the enraged demonstrators. A group of children followed them down the street shouting and taunting the police. Then I threw a half a brick at the trio. The police turned to attack us, and I ran. The police changed their minds and returned to guide the motorman to safety.

My South Side environment did not have within it any content that would lead to thoughts of raising myself about it. I was a replica of all the youngsters around us and no one ever encouraged me to be something big when I grew up and to lay the groundwork for it now.

When then, graduating from grammar school in 1894, at the age of 13, I was praised by those close to me for being a smart youngster because most pupils graduated at 14, and after; no suggestion came forward that I ~~might~~ ought to go to high school and college. All the boys in our neighborhood who graduated from grammar school went to work. There were those who did not graduate at 14. They went to work without obtaining a diploma. These were parents living in circumstances such as made them long for the day when the oldest in the family

would be able to earn a dollar to help buy food.

I cherished my diploma. I exhibited it to those who wanted to glance at such an important document. I got a job and went to work.

I got a job at \$1.50 a week, pushing a delivery cart in the downtown area of the city. I carried the morning Plain Dealer in the "low down" tough "Whiskey Island" section of the city, near the lake waterfront. I worked in a stove foundry mounting gas burners which took their toll among the poor because they were made cheaply, assembled carelessly and exploded. I worked in a lithograph shop and learned accuracy in color press feeding. Here I picked up typhoid fever from the filthy rags used to wash ink from the rollers. I carried it into the family and soon all four brothers were in bed.

My father, at the time, was a follower of the water cure fad, as many thousands of others were, who took to walking in the dewy grass of the morning, and believed in hot ~~xxx~~ or cold applications for aches and pains, and who had lost their faith in ~~xxx~~ and respect for the men of medicine. Father soaked a bed sheet in cold water, wrapped it around us, put us to bed, piled bedding on top of us, and we sweated in a total fashion for an hour. Then a luke-warm bath and to bed. None of us died.

I worked on a farm, - a poor farmer's farm, at \$5.00 a month. The farmer would collect butter, cottage cheese, other odds and ends from other poor farmers around him. He would mix the farm butter with an equal part of creamery butter from the dairy and would mold it into pound bricks and sell it as a pure farmer's product. Twice a week he would drive 25 miles to the Cleveland farmer's market to sell his wares. I got into an argument with him, I contending that four weeks constituted a month, he holding to the calendar month. I held to my under-

standing that \$5.00 was due me every four weeks, and quit.

(Insert)

Neue Zeit

S.D. Gather at our home.

long heated discussions.

Revisionism - Bernstein, etc.

Would listen.

Progress of Socialism in Germany.

The hard times of 1893 stretched in 1896. Landing a job equalled a miracle. Out of work my father tried to teach me the cobbler's trade. He had very little shoe repairing to do. Families had to have bread before they thought of soles and heels. And my helping to cobble did not bring in any extra money, what with not enough work to keep father busy. Also, I missed my ten cents a week spending money.

I got a job on the iron ore docks shovelling dumped ore into buckets. Muscled Negro and Slavic workers shovelled in a steady rythm. I had to strain my whole body to lift the large scoop shovel of ore to the height of my neck to get the ore into the bucket. I remember the workers closest to me cautioning me to take it easy or I would not last the day. A few days of this, my back and muscles stiff and lame, and I ~~was~~ had to quit, having developed a hernia as big as my fist.

Several sallies into the restaurant and saloon industry captivated me because of the opportunity for a good meal. There were jobs open

off and on, working a few hours during the noon-day period. And a meal here was a drastic change for the better from the noon lunch I used to carry from home - two whole wheat jelly sandwiches for months on end and nothing else.

Here I learned how to clean spittoons and wash floors with brush and squeegee; how to wait on table; how to draw beer.

In one spot I worked there was served noonday lunch - a bowl of soup, a plate of meat with a mound of potatoes and rye bread stacked high on the tables, all for 15 cents, a big stein of beer five cents extra. And at five came the free lunch, fried liver, stewed lungs, tripe, headcheese, blood sausage and always large stacks of bread. The rules of etiquette were that a customer had to buy a beer before he could partake of the free lunch. The boss kept a sharp eye on his trade because many times two hungry workers would share one beer, and eat their fill. My weekly wage was \$5.00 and I worked from 5 a.m. to 7 p.m.

In time I progressed into eating and beer emporiums in a higher classification - meals 25 cents, 35 cents - where what was called a merchants lunch was served. I never could distinguish any merchant that compared with my mental picture of how a merchant should look and act. I probably visualized them as very affluent.

I joined the Hotel and Restaurant Workers Union. / Business Agent Goldsmith was a leader in the A.F. of L. in Cleveland, and he recruited me, against that I gave as good reasons for joining as he gave me. I took my membership to be an earnest responsibility and attended meetings regularly. This few members did, and a union meeting of a dozen was an accomplishment.

After attending a few meetings it was announced, in the course of

a session, that a delegate to the Central Labor Body needed to be elected. I was elected to the post, wholly unaware of my duties. I went to the meeting of the Central Body, and listened intently. I felt honored at being elected and took pride in being among so many older trade unionists who had given many years to the struggles of labor. I then became aware that there was a division of opinion among the delegates. This centered around the question as to whether the working class and trade unions should remain on good terms with the employing class, collaborating with it, agreeing with those who invested and risked their riches in industries which gave employment and wages to millions of workers had the right to get returns from their investments; that the super-intelligence they had shown in accumulating wealth entitled them to further accumulations; or should labor conduct a determined, constant struggle for the many demands that would improve its standard of living and learn that these efforts must culminate on the political field through a Social victory and the abolition of capitalism.

John Bandlow and Max Hays led the grouping that believed in Socialism. John Bandlow would quote Marx and Engels and point to the historic role of the working class. Hays, as editor of the union paper, the Cleveland Citizen, which printed articles and editorials on the Socialist solution, gave attention to floor leadership in the discussions. The consequences of the 1893 panic, the suffering army of jobless, the miserable condition of their families was in the consciousness of the delegates, and Bandlow and Hays ^{His later} mastered a majority for their point of view. ^{and} I became part of this majority, but not for long. My business agent, Goldsmith, had me removed as delegate. So ended my membership in the Central Body, up to that time, at 17 years of age, the youngest delegate ever elected to that body.

INSERT

1890- to 1900

a) the formation of trusts

their lawlessness, theievery, briber y

b) The trust busters.

Stop growth of combines, turn back to
free competition.

c) McKinley, Bryan, 1892 - 1896 - 1900 elections.

1893 Panic; 1894 Full dinner pail - 1929 chicken
in every pot.

d) Greenback Party, Populists, etc.

e) Labor struggles

Now 11 in family

Buy home

Arguments re syndicalism - shor t cut O why get into rotten politics

Bought legislators and courts.

Out to the west.

My father had married again and five more children had been added to the family to make it eleven mouths to feed. In the later 1890s, father asked me if I would cooperate with him in buying a home, would I stay steadily at work and help pay for it. We obligated ourselves for \$1250, a tremendous sum it seemed to me. We moved west, near the farms, and we busied ourselves at once seeding down the deep back yard with vegetables. Every economy was put into force, every nickle and dime we could earn and save went into monthly payments. Having decided one day that we could afford a

pound of butter, father took the buttering of our bread out of our hands with the remark that we lacked skill. Pressing the butter into the bread was an error. Butter should be stroked lightly over the surface, which he then did, buttering the bread for all of us. When we complained that we could not taste the butter, he told us we must learn how to eat a slice of bread and butter, and the way to eat it was to turn the slice of bread so that the buttered side would be next to the tongue.

I I became quite efficient as a server of food and dispenser of drinks. I was speedy and accurate in billing, and also I was honest. Low wages had driven many restaurant workers to make a little extra on the side, which meant a loss to the proprietor, or even short-changing a customer who had a few drinks too many. This helped me to several good jobs. My wages were \$13.00 a week.

In 1900, approaching 20 years of age, my father engaged me in a discussion about my future. A letter had arrived from a relative of my step-mother, offering me a good job at the Central Hotel, Port Townsend, Washington. The eastern air was still filled with talk of the Klondike gold rush. Also it was generally accepted that wages in the west were high and jobs plentiful. Probably with some ~~nostalgia~~ nostalgia for his wanderings in his apprentice days in Germany, and also an earnest desire to help me towards increased earnings, I boarded a tourist railroad car and left home.

Arriving in Port Townsend^d was immediately disillusioned about the big west. The job offered me consisted of mopping floors, cleaning spittoons, meeting the boats to solicit customers for the rooms in the hotel, a square wooden structure/veranda all around. The town had enjoyed its boom as a port of call for sailing vessels coming down the Straits of San Juan de Fuca from the Pacific Ocean

with cargoes from the coast and the orient. Seeing a full rigged ship or a schooner sail into the bay was wonderous. My disappointment overshadowed this beauty, and the beauty of the water and land. My wages were to be \$25.00 a month.

With no money in pocket to go elsewhere, with a promise of promotion, I went to work. Actually there was nothing to be promoted to. The hotel, the few other retail stores, the town of 5,000 souls, was alive only in the sense that it was not yet quite dead. The boom had left it dying while being born. Three story new brick buildings, only with walls completed, windowless; empty stores; a little steel mill around the bay - a stock selling gamble, never in operation. Property, building lots and acreage selling for taxes, and no buyers.

If I advanced in no material way my education was promoted in Port Townsend. As disgusted as I felt by being shoved back five years in my earning capacity, shining shoes on the side to earn a few extra dimes, quartered in a dark depressing room, the worst in the decaying hotel, I learned more than I had known about the misery of others.

The sailor's boarding house, where the abused and terrorized men of the sea lived, existing from day to day hoping to be shipped out, actually enslaved because the sailors lived on credit and owed large amounts for board. And how they were shanghai'd, by blows and whiskey to ship out against their will on ships with rotting bottoms or rotten captains! And there were skeletons of sailors who had drowned on the trip to the ship, or jumped overboard to get back to the shore, thumping the rocks on the bay's shore, picked clean by beautifully colored star fish.

Siwash Indian mothers peddled their daughters to soldiers and

some of the "top crust" of the town for fifty cents. And there was the general degradation in the red light district.

Soldiers from Fort Warden and Fort Flagler, lonely and dejected, looking for a little socialability, a friendly conversation, and at times going out into the pasture lands chasing sheep to satisfy their sex impulses.

Loggers from the lumber camps usually took the boat for Seattle, but some stopped over in this port city with their hundreds of dollars in big shiny gold pieces, were rolled for their money and had to borrow enough from the hotel owner to get back to a camp.

Such were the effects of capitalism - its demolition of human values.

I left these dismal surroundings (after two months) and went to Seattle. I wandered through skid row and found what was called the labor market. Here in numbers were dingy store fronts with "wanted" placards. What kind of workers were wanted; what were the wages? The jobs were for the lumber camps. But I was not a faller or trimmer, nor could I run a donkey engine, nor was I a cook, or even a second cook. There was a job for a flunky. When I asked what kind of work a flunky had to perform, I was told that it was a dining room job, waiting on loggers. This appealed to me and was in my line of experience. The \$30 a month wages did not, but I signed up.

A good logging camp was one which was not crummy, infested by lice, and one in which food was good and plentiful. This camp was good. For breakfast, pancakes, ham and eggs in gigantic portions were piled high on large platters. There was also an endless flow of strong coffee. Later meals consisted of steaks, roasted meats, vegetables for the reaching; and reaching as many times as you pleased. I set

the tables, carried in the platters of steaming food, cleaned the tables, cleaned up. But it was a hemmed in life, just working, eating and sleeping. The only activity that had any content of social-ability was the nightly games of poker. I tried to learn the game. AFTER LOSING EACH MONTHS WAGES FOR THREE months I gave up by giving up the job.

Back in Seattle I looked up the headquarters of my union and ran into a strike of waitresses and waiters. They were in meeting, not many of them. The discussion gave me a thought or two and I made so bold as to take the floor. My suggestion had to do with broadening the strike. Only two restaurants were involved. I was invited to the platform by the officers. The result of it all was that I was asked to become the business agent and organizer of the bartenders.

I took occupation of a desk in labor headquarters, got a list of about twenty-five cafe workers paying dues, and twenty-five more who had lapsed. I felt myself challenged by this first post as a union official. I found that most of the twenty-five dues paying members worked down in the red light district. In attempting to collect dues I was constantly faced with the argument that the union was not of any use to them, was not getting them anything, and they wanted to know what happened to the dollars they paid in dues. Being a novice in labor policy and organization, and being but a grown kid to those world-wise veterans of the trade, I had difficulties in keeping the members we had and getting new ones seemed a distant objective.

Seattle was an open town, - really open. Anything could happen and just about everything did. It was a city of men. The Klondike gold rush had multiplied the male population, just as years before mining and the building of railroads had populated the west coast with men. Their experience with women was quite restricted to those who

came west to commercialize sex. Prostitution was a part of big business, as was gambling. It was a phase of the culture of the times. Men socialized with the women of these most colorful social centers, and they did not have to sneak in to spend an evening. An open town was not open only because of the absence of interference by the law, but open also because it was acceptable by those who peopled the towns.

Girls and women were recruited from all areas towards the east where they had little gainful employment, with promises of good jobs and high income. Arriving at their destination they either accepted what was offered them, there being little other choice, or they were broken in by the application of liquor and blows. Recruiting women was a business with its own policy and practice.

In Seattle, in the red light district, large two story wooden frame structures containing hundreds of small rooms, with a girl at each door, waited for the promenade of loggers and other workers, which took place each evening. The service charge was one dollar. For the better class of citizens parlor houses were available which had a homey atmosphere and where for \$5.00 the patrons could linger longer among well dressed ladies.

All the degradation of Barbary Coast, all the cruelty visited upon the California wage earner, all the disappointments and death suffered by the pioneers in the quest of gold, the whole backwash of the wild west, born of and stimulated by the rapacious grabbing for property and riches by the railroad tycoons and land barons, all this seemed to flow into Seattle.

In the houses for loggers competition among the girls was keen. It took many hours to score a \$5.00 income. They augmented their earnings by dancing with men in the large dance hall on the lower floor

at ten cents a dance, the house getting a large percentage of this. They devised various side-shows; nude dances, lesbian performances, sex orgies with a Shetland pony, picking up silver coins from corners of tables with their vagina, a room with peep holes where for money a sex act could be watched. They were bossed by pimps who secured the spot they worked and who could take it away; some pimps having a dozen girls in hand taking away their earnings.

The loggers were preyed upon by ruthless characters. To the large gambling halls which they patronized, and where ^{with pride and a challenge} they would stake up two hundred ^{to} five hundred dollars in twenty dollar gold pieces before the dealer - money saved after months of work in isolation in a camp, - every logger was a sucker. And, as occasionally happened, if a logger would leave a gambling device with gold in pocket to visit the girls, he was rolled for it. When unconscious he was dumped into the tide flats where he would drown in the tide.

This is in my memory because it was my first experience in the degradation which the seeds of poverty grew. I was ridiculed by my few union members because I did not drink, and they were against when I occasionally ventured a humane expression that expressed sympathy with the girls. The situation became one where I began to fear for my own safety.

When then a weather beaten, gnarled, rheumatic old man came to the labor center one day looking for the union, he was referred to me. He said he was looking for a man who would help him run his boarding house. I had no one to recommend, whereupon he gave me a visual once-over and in a fatherly way invited me to take the job.

I left my union business without giving notice, and actually, so it seemed to me, fled with him to Port Hadlock across the bay from

Port Townsend. At wages of \$50.00 a month, I was doing better now than at any time since leaving home to go west to earn big money. In the union work I barely existed on the dollar a month dues I collected. No one from the central leadership ever contacted me for per capita to the local or national. Now I again had a stipulated wage, meals and room free. I was rolling in wealth. I bought a horse and saddle for \$25.00.

However, the little village was also on the downgrade. The logging and lumber camp was running out of timber. When it would close down became a daily conjecture by the dwindling number of workers boarding with us. Yet I felt at home, enjoyed a measure of security and found the surroundings friendly. The workers were a jolly lot, and my employer was a witty Irish humorist.

I lasted as long as he could afford to pay me. Then back to Seattle with a determination that I would try to find some Socialists and give some time to help fight against the vulgarity and filth I had rubbed up against in that big town. Here people were made bad and lived a horrible existence. The beauty of nature was grandiose. Puget Sound and the tall firs, hemlocks, pines and cedars around the shores, the Cascade Mountains and their sentinel, Mt. Rainier, kissing the sky. There seemed to me a contradiction here, and there must be some good souls in Seattle who labored to induce people to harmonize with nature.

It is apparent, from all this, ^{with the time} that there was as yet no connection between me and the workers as a class force. I was motivated by humanitarian impulses. Just before leaving Cleveland I had engaged in discussions with a good friend of mine, Adolph Altenbend, whose family and youthful experiences paralleled mine. His father and mother had

migrated from Germany in the 1880's. His father was a Social Democrat, well-versed in the writings of Bebel, Liebknecht, Kautsky. Adolph argued for the organization of a Social Party which would eventually become strong, win a majority in the elections whereupon the workingclass would take over. I held that strong labor unions were the primary essential to win power. The unions, calling a national stoppage in all industries would force the capitalists to abdicate. This was the limit of our understanding.

My syndicalist leanings had their origin in my background. I had belonged to unions. I had not become a member of the Social Party. My father had never belonged to a union. He was an organized Socialist. The weight of my total experience, what with my father's years of activity and struggles was on his side. Parential influence being predominant, I decided to find the Socialists/as I walked down the gang-plank to shore.

A leaflet handed me on Yesler Way advertised a lecture on Surplus Value at a Socialist forum. The meeting place was a small room in a decreed building near Skid Row. The audience was small and all of them more than twice my age. Here I was informed that the workingclass was robbed by the capitalists at the point of production. The lecturer who had the appearance of just having arrived from a logging camp, held that all value was produced by labor; that if a worker produced \$10 in value as the result of a day's work, \$5.00 could be credited to material and overhead, the worker would receive \$2.50 in wages for his labor power, the balance of \$2.50 was pocketed by the owner of industry as his profit. This profit originated at the same source as the worker's wages and rightfully belonged to the worker, and would be given the worker if the full value produced by his labor power were

paid him. The capitalists rob him because they own the industries. The way out was the abolition of the capitalists private ownership and the institution of common ownership of all the means of production and distribution.

I was impressed by the language used, the phrases which flowed as fluently; surplus value, labor power, commodity, value and price, labor power as a commodity. Here was something deeper and more complex than I remembered hearing at the discussions I had occasionally overheard between my father and his Socialist comrades over a glass of wine. Karl Marx teaches us ~~is~~ was constantly on the tongue of the speaker. Learn your Marxian economics.

I loafed around this little hall for days. Workers would come to it all times of the day and discuss. They would gather in groups and argue then go out for a dish of pork and beans and come back for a night session. Nearly all of them chewed tobacco and their accuracy in hitting the spittoon was a thing to admire. I learned subsequently that uptown middle-class Socialists had dubbed them the spittoon philosophers saying all they did was gab and spit. Yet my interest was aroused. Can the capitalist class be unseated by voting in the elections for Socialism? Can it be abolished by the general strike?

I was to learn later that the entire Pacific Coast was afire with these discussions. Marx was being quoted. A dogmatic Marxism as I later learned. How to replace capitalism with Socialism was a topic that furnished plenty of fuel to heat the participants who grew loud and furious at times as they trimmed their utterances with colorful invectives. Yet all agreed that the wage workers must somehow come into their own and that Socialism was the answer.

my student (in the)
All this sparked in me a revolution in my existence. It awake

in me the need for an aim in life above and beyond just a job, wages, and whatever material needs they could satisfy, and which in the past had never been above a shabby day to day existence. My father's determined, courageous and unwavering way of life, his firm conviction that workers would eventually fashion the solidarity necessary for the big change, came back to me in memory of my boyhood days. I saw light ahead.

The Seattle Socialist introduced me to the organized Socialist movement. Its editor, Herman F. Titus, had given up his practice as a physician to give his time to this weekly. His wife, Hattie, from the income of a worker's rooming house, covered the weekly deficit.

One day Dr. Titus asked me whether I had a fondness for Boston baked beans. I replied in the affirmative, although I did not know why Boston was associated with Beans. I have never devoured a more savory dish of beans, or brown bread. And out of that supper came the suggestion that I become the manager of the Seattle Socialist. What did I know about managing? Nothing. But I accepted and was given lodging in the rooming house, \$5.00 a week, and an occasional supper of delicious Boston baked beans and brown bread.

I wrote an article for the paper on the life of the lumber jacks, and received praise for style and content. But I am afraid I made no contribution of any value in increasing the circulation or bringing in more income for the paper. However, my connections with the paper did propell me into the field of active Socialists more mature in years and knowledge.

There was E.E. Martin, State Secretary of the Social Party who labored all hours and untiringly, writing letters to a never ending list of members and sympathizers. His elegant Spencerian handwriting,

with all its flourishes captivated me. Emil Herman, strong and willing who toured the state with a heavy load of literature. He went everywhere, mostly on foot, to carry the message to the workers and poor farmers. McCorkle, Downey, McSlarrow, Wells, Kate Sadler and Burns, who was looked up to as a comrade with a good grasp of Marxism. And there was Mattie Allison, who travelled 30 miles to assistⁱⁿ the state office whenever she could spare a day or two. There was her father, Johnson, in his 70's, who, when I visited him now and then, would sit me down on the porch of his shack on an acre berry farm in Puyallup, and ask, "Did you ever read the Communist Manifesto," or "Have you read Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," and who would then read and discuss paragraphs from the two brochures. He regarded them of special importance.

Then came the big day! The day I was elected state organizer of the Social Party. It was decided that I be paid one dollar a day while on the road. Places to sleep and getting something to eat was left to my ingenuity. I was told that I would meet Socialists wherever I went who would be glad to feed and house me. On the road, with a weighty suitcase of literature, I found this to be true. The loggers, shingle-weavers, stump farmers were sincerely glad to meet me. They enjoyed talking with the Socialist organizer. They showed exceeding warmth for the common cause. Sentiment, sympathy, 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, all this was a fire within them. They were were happy to have someone with whom they could unburden their hopes and anger. Trade unions and Social Party branches were very weak; mostly non-existent. How to establish movement and organization around immediate demands.

of masses of workers and poor farmers had not been learned. To establish Socialism was their dream, and always vividly in mind. They seemed to live in an aura in which the Co-operative Commonwealth was the only objective. I was in the same boat.

Up and down the roads and wagon trails I wandered, and constantly wondered what lay ahead. I was surfeited with enthusiasm and this increased day by day, being inoculated by the enthusiasm of the workers I met. I had a list of Socialists and sympathizers who had contacted the State Secretary of the Socialist Party ^{by mail.} A few names of readers of the Seattle Socialist. And I gathered many more names. Everyone I talked to knew of another Socialist some miles away.

I met:

"stump farmers" who had promoted themselves out of the woods onto a couple of acres of logged off land and were at work digging, dynamiting, and clearing the land with block and tackle, to clear the acres for the first cultivation and seeding. With them I ate unleavened bread and sow belly. I contacted gandy dancers, section hands on the Great Northern Railroad. Then over spurs I ^{went to} ~~met~~ the logging camps and walked up skid roads to lumber jacks working in the woods. Day after day I walked and walked and talked and talked; and always I opened my suitcase to sell the literature. My report on my first month on the road showed an expense for railroad fare of about three dollars.

I had now entered the organized Socialist movement as a pioneer with a crusader's spirit. I was a pioneer in knowledge, and in practice and organization. I learned much from the Socialists I met. Above all I learned that there were many points of view as to how to obtain Socialism. I had become an agitator, pure and simple.

Then Dr. Titus organized a class for public speaking, to train street corner speakers, I joined. He admonished the class to 1) know what you are going to say; 2) say it so the listeners will understand you; 3) stop speaking when you are through saying what you had in mind to say. I selected as my topic an explanation of surplus value. I confused myself, ~~so~~ confused the audience, got shaky in the knees and dismounted from the soapbox in shame.

Street speaking, "soap boxing" was part of the activities of the Socialist Party. The more active Socialists in Seattle were enamored with the size of the audiences and their attentiveness. This was especially true of the first visit of Arthur Morrow Leura of San Francisco. He had the diction of an educated man. He would begin his meeting by telling those who gathered in front of him about the greatest man in history; the greatest because he was a social scientist and had ^{spent} ⁱⁿ many years ~~of~~ study of the human race and how it lived. He had discovered why there are rich and poor, workers and capitalists. He had analyzed the methods of production and distribution ~~and~~ of commodities under the capitalist system and had exposed the robbery of the workers by the owners of industry. This man, with whom hundreds of thousands like you are standing here, have joined in his thesis, is Karl Marx. The development of Science in all other fields takes second place to that of Marx, because it 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 education and good health.

He spoke about Karl Marx and Das Kapital for an hour, in a fundamental yet picturesque way. Then abruptly he would say, "Das Kapital is a big book and requires heavy thinking and costs \$3.50. But if you want to learn ^{what} ~~about~~ Marx, whom I consider to be the greatest scientist, has to say about our future, the future of humanity, here is his Communist Manifesto. It will start you in the solving of the major problems we all face." He announced the price as 10 cents a copy and asked all those who wanted a copy to raise their hands. He would sell 250 copies to an audience of 300. He would then take a collection to pay for copies given free to those who could not spare a dime.

Other "soap boxers" from California toured the coast, all as free lancers. They had a message for the common folk and the urge to deliver it. They made their way as best they could. Through the sales of literature and collections they could buy something to eat and ~~have~~ ^{get} a place to sleep. Osborne, the blind orator ~~who~~ 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 ^{his} its victims got across to ~~the~~ audiences. He was of the workingclass, and the bond of solidarity that developed between him and his audience, because he knew how to say the things they ~~would~~ ~~likexkx~~ felt. He talked with them, not at them. He was witty, satirical, and had an abundance of humorous stories with class content.

We developed our own speakers and initiated a program of regular street meetings. Audiences were big and responsive. Night after night

we would tear capitalism to shreds and portray the advantages and beauties of Socialism. Came the day when our speakers were arrested for obstructing traffic, for taking collections, for selling literature without a license. We had begun to give some attention to capitalism in Seattle; The graft and corruption under the roof of City Hall, skid row, the unemployed, the crooked gambling halls and loggers found dead in the tide flats.

The fight for free speech was on. Our speakers manned the street corners every night and were arrested. The audience was dispersed by a dozen police. The speakers were bailed out and would again try to speak the following night. We rotated ten speakers at a meeting. All were jailed. Mothers with babies in their arms mounted the soap box. They were kept in Chief of Police Wappenstein's office awaiting bail.

(came from surrounding states. Filled jails. Had to release some to let more in - with babies in arms - make room for more.)

One day Dr. Titus climbed to a third story roof and for a 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. The 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 to involve the labor unions and others who had no Socialist concept, in the fight for ^{the} 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 see that by attacking the rights of free speech and assembly the rights of every American was being violated, so we did not ask for a united front struggle against this outrage.

We lost the struggle. We did help to bring Wappenstein, the Chief of Police, a little closer to the end of his corrupt reign. Wappenstein, the bloated denerate, 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. Hoquiam and Aberdeen, near the ocean coast, where a big colony of Finnish Socialists worked in the largest saw mills making lumber, and from which point cargoes of it was shipped in sailing vessels into all parts of the world. We visited Renton and its coal miners. 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 called on educational activities steadily and determinedly 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, 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.

We were then, 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. Without a clear and united understanding how could we win the workers?

Walter Thomas Mills, a bearded, professorial lecturer, small in size but known as the little giant; spoke to large audiences advocating the abolition of the class struggle. He was for Socialism, he claimed but it should be attained not through struggle of the working class 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 its editor Dr. Titus challenged him to a debate. We advised him to take his dream to the capitalists and convert them and leave the workingclass to us. We accused Walter Thomas Mills of class collaboration, of trying to behead the struggle for Socialism by surrendering the workingclass to an endless and unlimited exploitation and persecution by the capitalists. We accused him of being an enemy masquerading as a Socialist.

We engaged in polemics with the Appeal to Reason, with post office Socialism, the contention here being that if the government can conduct so huge an enterprise as a national mail service then it also can institute national ownership of industries.

There was the growing into Socialism of the municipal ownership advocates. Win municipal ownership of the street car systems, of the gas and electrical services, and little by little Socialism will come.

We had those who wanted to take a short cut, holding the government should be induced to issue interest bearing bonds to all capitalists for all their holdings, and take over from there.

Gaylord Wilshire, with his 10 cents a year magazine, varied this somewhat by buying a gold mine, selling stock in it at 10 cents a share, and telling his readers that the road to Socialism lay in the direction of eventually buying one gold mine after another until there was so much gold concentrated in the stock holders hands that they could do anything.

The Milwaukee Socialists also had its day in this heterogeneous thinking and advocacy. Cheaper milk Socialism we named it. It consisted of a long list of immediate demands and reforms, with less than a gesture for Socialism as such and no mention of the class struggle or the coming revolution. It was a vote catching device, fooling the people to vote the ticket instead of making Socialists of them. Here there was displayed the other extreme. Our sectarianism was countered by crass opportunism.

It was during these days that I met big Bill Haywood. He went to a saloon in skid row, which we referred to as the "slave market", and over a mug of beer engaged in an exchange of thoughts. My recital of our activities did not seem to impress him. Although he did not wash them away as of no value, he wanted to know where our program of agitation and education, our campaign for Socialist candidates, came to grip with the capitalists the employers and exploiters of the workingclass. He wanted to know what we were doing to protect worker's wages and working conditions, to increase their living standards. He wanted to know at what point we Socialist actually engaged real live capitalists in combat. He thought us quite a dis-

tance removed from the heart and heat of the class struggle doing nothing but advocating and voting.

Looking down at me, his one eye piercing my complacency, I wilted a little. Maybe what we Socialists were accomplishing deserved credit, but were we really in the conflict with the enemy class or were we engaged in a measure of shadow-boxing. After all, Heywood was a leader in the Western Federation of Miners, famous nationally for its militancy, for its tough battles in behalf of its members. He must be weighted with experience and with the lessons derived from struggles.

We did not occupy the sidelines in the trial of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, charged with assassinating the governor of Idaho. The Seattle Socialist covered the trial, round by round, issuing editions of eight pages of testimony of the trial, exposing Orchard the stool-pigeon, denouncing the attempted frame-up by the mine owners. Dr. Titus was constantly in Boise, Idaho, and with others giving daily assistance to the procedure and conduct of the case. I was in Seattle in charge of the paper's distribution to an ever widening circle of readers.

Haywood case. Get what attorney. Name of
Gov. outcome of case.

1880's increase TU membership

Recovering from terror of the 1870's

1878 Election Socialist Alderman in Chicago and 4 to State
legislature.

Chicago Tribune - "The Socialists a lazy lout ... a pestilent
petrification, a long haired, brawling idiot"

Livid newspaper stories, scare headlines.

Repetition of Paris Commune in America.

Thousands are already under arms.

~~Ex~~

Coal Oil #7

In early 1850's oil was found floating down creeks in Pennsylvania .
Gathered it was peddled as a patent medicine, a cure for many ills,
cholera to consumption if taken internally, aches and pains if
rubbed in. Thirty years later it was still considered as a remedy
for sore throat and I gulped many teaspoonfuls.

From a patent medicine to the great Rockefeller fortune, to the
great automobile industry which oil powered.

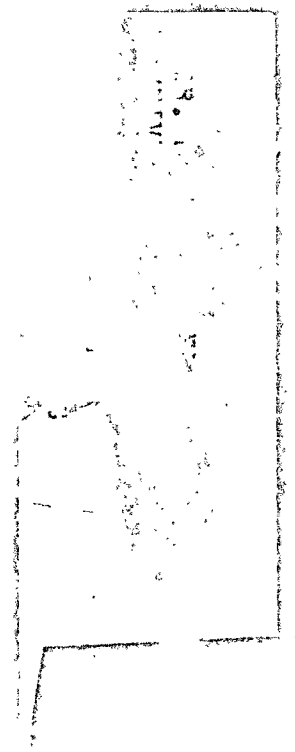
RETURN POSTAGE GUARANTEED

APR 19 1955

Handwritten address:
Mr. C. Johnson
140 W. 104th St.
New York, N.Y.

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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.

1/1
INSERT

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

1/1

1/1

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.
Learn
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 ~~saxxxxif~~ could the workingclass ignore the class struggle and renudiate 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...fight...which...occurred...~~
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 ~~incident...which...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 propaganda 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, ~~and it was possible to~~ He would tell how ~~the~~ ~~issue~~ 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 ~~when it was possible to~~ 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 was possible to~~ ~~buy~~ ~~sell~~ ~~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

o 249

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 will 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 this paper on
 credit or for a longer time than paid for. It is published as
 an advocate of International Socialism, the only movement which
 saves the membership of the world by ALL the people—not by a
 few of the few.



JAIL AND GALLOW'S EDITION



JOHN BROWN, HISTORY'S GREATEST HERO

BY THOMAS W. WARREN
 The most pitiful, beautiful, heroic, noble and self-sacrificing life and death since the days of Christ.

"The man is conquered until he
 conquers failure. Sargent, not
 Warren, is the only doer."—Fris

"Looking Backward"
 BY E. W. WARREN
 Shows the history of the Republic
 from the time of the first settlement
 to the present day.

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

1837—SEVENTY YEARS: A PARALLEL—1907
 BY THOMAS W. WARREN
 Twenty years ago this month, the paper store of which is
 now of more men and more men.

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

GIANT OF JOURNALISM

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

THEY HAD to go into the
 basement of the State Libra-
 ry at Sacramento to find the
 dust-covered files of The Ap-
 peal to Reason.

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
 Lindbergh massacre. "Rockefeller's Gun-
 neren 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.

There was, to cite one of the most
 redoubtable supporters, Louis Kiam-
 roth, 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.

John Augustus Wayland, a roving
 printer from Versailles, Ind., who con-
 ceived Appeal to Reason, bore it and
 nursed it through adversities that have
 rich parallels in the struggles of to-
 day'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, 1893. He was

Appeal's circulation. There always re-
 mained 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 through-
 out 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 adver-
 sity in 1901 that Wayland, after sev-
 eral 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.

"Not Gully," started a red line

While former of the Aug. 3, 1907, edition celebrating the acquittal in Boise, Idaho, of Big Bill Hayward, 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.

4 MAGAZINE

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 insane 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."

Friday, March 18, 1955

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. Heirz. 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 ~~zk~~ 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~~, ~~who felt that it was not necessary to~~ knew 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 not the middle class or idealists} 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~~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
been
by
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 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.

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, ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ 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

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~~ 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. ~~Wag~~ 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 ~~were~~ ^{left to use in} for his proposed ^{Contemplated} autobiography ~~was~~ ^{tate} ~~says~~ ^{the}

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 ailes 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 ^{all} visited ^{and made a tour of} 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 organ-

izations 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, ~~xxxxxxx~~ only ~~xxxxx~~ 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 ~~xxxxx~~ 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 ~~xxxxx~~ 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 ~~xxxx~~ 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.

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

the actively ~~Progressives~~ did not/continue the struggle. ~~Their~~ Their 'kiss of death' He ~~felt~~ 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'. Bag believed the American people could see right when it was shown to them, and that although McCarthy was silenced McCarthyism 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~~ 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

~~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~~ 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 comoromise 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 ~~xxxx~~ 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

XXXXXX

At the end of November 1926 the Botony 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 Botony announcement was accompanied with the comment that Botony 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 Botony 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, possibly including the words "We want union")

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

~~conditions~~ (((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 ~~what~~ much needed food. Alfred Wagenknecht ^(fresh recent in Passaic asked) ~~from~~ his vast experience was ~~invited~~ by ????? to come and take charge.

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

This situation was different. The headquarters were in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and the ~~strikers~~ strikers were scattered in various coal towns within a radius of _____ miles. Later ^{when} 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 were as work progressed} and have lodgings and food provided, ~~which was done as the work progressed. However,~~ there was no trained office worker among the ^x 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

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".

25-P

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 strike was organized by~~ 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

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.

FUNCTIONING 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.

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."

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!

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!

#

minus 1222

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 as a whole

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 Seger.

"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 X-rays of the day
state and local organizing
them printed and distributed
that about an additional
10 million copies
the 1942 campaign was
first meeting over in a
country of political protests
company in the United States
the 1942 Special
1942 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 notes, possibly "P/158-169", with a diagonal line through them.~~

P/158-169

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 (entry) and client

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 (entry) and client

and the party's (entry) and client

and the party's (entry) and client

P118 Hubbard (unrecorded)

Jan 1903, 22 copygrams and

Letters were sent from the
national office for arranging
periods or a salary of \$3000

pay \$100 to stop - letters

were sent in the field,
warning only what they need

from the date of socialist

pamphlets, letters, and news -

paper publishing firms. Article

written was re covered to

conduct that was being

done of and propaganda

campaign with the national office

regarding the part of the work

and was in the process of publication

P119 Wasserman (unrecorded)

News SR

P 114 Wasserman & Wasserman

WABC of Association

P119

Gaylord Tribune,

the million are socialist,

add it as part currently

WABC Association

August 1954

Deborah

1953 Avenue F Tower

Gravite

1964 Convention Eng

Wallas Kerman

had active part

in the platform

1959 while the Kerman

participated by them

also on May 15 - the

and in front of us in 1954

at the end of

the 1954 convention

of the 1954

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1954 Convention of the

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1954

left Am. Trade Union
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work in. Represent by
that from Kenyon F. Plus
The Socialist (Leath) may pass
it at the "left" of this
family predicted that
its "triumph" at the
convention would be
an end to "pully" years
of "obeyentific" Social
ism or jokes about
"Browling" and "credit
Browling" and "credit

P 176 - Part II

John S. Williams, Middle
Road through
Road through
Road through

P 279

P 279 - Victor -
P 280 -

was prepared to
was prepared to

P 280 -
was prepared to

when he found out
when he found out

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.

