No. 3
Socialism: A Historical Sketch

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Socialism: A Historical Sketch

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THE NEW APPEAL
Girard, Kansas
The pamphlets in this series are composed, in the main, of selections from the published work of Socialist writers, mostly of the present day. In some of them, particularly "Socialist Documents" and "Socialism and Government," the writings used are mainly of collective, rather than individual authorship; while the Historical Sketch is the composition of the editor.

To the selections given, the editor has added explanatory and connecting paragraphs, welding the fragments into a coherent whole. The aim is the massing together in concise and systematic form, of what has been most clearly and pertinently said, either by individual Socialist writers or by committees speaking for the party as a whole, on all of the main phases of Socialism.

In their finished form they might, with some appropriateness, be termed mosaics: each pamphlet is an arrangement of parts from many sources according to a unitary design. Most of the separate pieces are, however, in the best sense classics: they are expressions of Socialist thought which, by general approval, have won authoritative rank. A classic, according to James Russell Lowell, is of itself "something neither ancient nor modern"; even the most recent writing may be considered classic if, for the mood it depicts or the thought it frames, it unites matter and style into an expression of approved merit.

For the choice of selections the editor is alone responsible. Doubtless for some of the subjects treated another editor would have chosen differently. The difficulty indeed has been in deciding what to omit; for the mass of Socialist literature contains much that may be rightly called classic which obviously could not have been included in these brief volumes.

The pamphlets in the series are as follows:

1. **The Elements of Socialism.**
2. **The Science of Socialism.**
3. **Socialism: A Historical Sketch.**
4. **Socialist Documents.**
5. **Socialism and Government.**
6. **Questions and Answers.**
7. **Socialism and Organized Labor.**
8. **Socialism and the Farmer.**
9. **Socialism and Social Reform.**
10. **The Tactics of Socialism.**
11. **The Socialist Appeal.**
12. **Socialism in Verse.**
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PREFACE

This pamphlet is an exception to the rule in this series in that it is the composition of a single writer. The lack in Socialist literature of brief historical sketches of the various periods renders impossible the making of a collection which would give a connected view of the development of the movement. Yet for such a series a treatment of the history of Socialism is essential; and since the matter was not at hand in available form, it had to be specially written.

Obviously, this sketch is not a classic. Moreover, it does not profess to be more than a condensation and redrafting of the material given in certain well-known Socialist volumes. Independent research has been made only for the filling in of certain minor details. The works which have been most freely used are the following:


“History of Socialism in the United States,” by Morris Hillquit.

“Socialism in Theory and Practice” (Appendix), by Morris Hillquit.


Other works which have been used are John Spargo’s “Karl Marx” and Herman Schlueter’s “Lincoln, Labor and Slavery.”

The task of condensing within 64 pages the history of this great world-wide movement is one before which any one might hesitate. The amount of material is stupendous; the smallest details are often significant both of current conditions and of later developments; and the temptation is always to include more than can possibly be used. The work as it stands, though including some biographical details and though here and there touching upon matters of theory and tactics, is simply an attempt to give the material facts in the development of the organized Socialist movement.

W. J. G.
SOCIALISM: A HISTORICAL SKETCH

I.

EARLY HISTORY.

THE FIRST ORGANIZATION.

The modern Socialist movement may be dated from the organization by Ferdinand Lassalle, at Leipsic, May 23, 1863, of the Universal German Workingmen’s Association. This body was the first organized political expression of Socialism. The League of the Just, organized in Paris in 1836, and reorganized in London in 1847, under the influence of Karl Marx, as the Communist League, was hardly more than an agitation club, and it had passed out of existence some years before Lassalle’s association was formed.

But though as a political organization the movement dates only from 1863, in its larger sense it has origins further back which can hardly, in a historical sketch, be slighted. The German Workingmen’s Association could not have been formed without a long chain of causes.

THE FRENCH SOCIALISTS.

BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

The difficulty is in fixing a starting point. There are some Socialist concepts and ideals that can be traced back to antiquity, there are others that can be traced back no further than Marx. Yet such is Socialism’s debt to at least its immediate forerunners, that in even the briefest sketch some mention must be made of those who prepared the way.

Hillquit, in the Historical Sketch appended to his “Socialism in Theory and Practice,” gives first mention to Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-1774), “who as early as 1754 denounced private property as the cause of all crimes.” This sentiment can, however, be traced further back. Baron de Lahontan (1666-1715), who had traveled among the Huron Indians, wrote in his “Voyages” (published in
London in 1703 from an earlier continental printing): “I take it that a man must be quite blind who does not see that the property of goods . . . is the only source of all the disorders that perplex the European societies.” Perhaps even Lahontan was plagiarizing some earlier writer.

Hillquit instances more particularly Jean Morelly (—?—), the author of “The Code of Nature” and “The Shipwreck of the Floating Islands, or Basiliade,” 1753; Gabriel Mably (1709-1785); Francois Boissel (1728-1807), author of “Catechism of Mankind,” 1789, and Francois Noel Babeuf (1760-1797) as among the early French Socialists. They are all deserving of record; and certainly Babeuf, who paid with his life for his revolutionary effort in behalf of the proletariat, must be included in any chronicle of those whose labor and thought form a part of the historic chain of Socialism.

HENRI DE SAINT-SIMON.

Kirkup begins his history with Charles Henri, Count de Saint-Simon (1760-1825), a voluminous writer, whose first work appeared in 1803. “As a thinker,” says Kirkup, “Saint-Simon was entirely deficient in system, clearness and consecutive strength. His writings are made up of a few ideas continually repeated.” Nevertheless, his disciples, and particularly Armand Bazard (1794-1851), grouping themselves as a school, developed and systematized their leader’s principles, and for a time made Saint-Simonism a considerable factor in French thought.

Saint-Simon had no notion of a contest between labor and capital; he pictured a completely reorganized society in which the industrial chiefs should govern, and he appealed to Louis XVIII to set his projected system in motion. The fundamental precept of his philosophy was that the whole of society ought to strive towards the amelioration of the moral and physical existence of the poorest class and that society ought to organize itself in the way best adapted for attaining this end. Much of what he
taught became incorporated in the Positivist philosophy of Auguste Comte.

**CHARLES FOURIER.**

Francois Marie Charles Fourier (1772-1837) published his first work in 1808. His system is both too complex and too comprehensive (for it included a theology, a cosmogony, a psychology and a sociology) to enable it to be summarized in brief space. His projected social state was fantastically utopian—a grouping of phalanxes, each phalange to consist of four hundred families or eighteen hundred individuals, living on a tract of land three miles square, and operating within itself all the industries necessary for its own existence. A comfortable subsistence was to be guaranteed to each of the members of this phalange, and the overplus of production was to be divided in the proportion of five-twelfths to labor, four-twelfths to capital and three-twelfths to talent.

Fourier’s faith in the acceptance of his system was such that during the last ten years of his life he waited in his room every day at noon for some wealthy humanitarian to come and advance the money for an experiment. Needless to say, no one came. “His works,” says Kirkup, “found few readers and still fewer disciples.” This statement, though true enough regarding Europe, ignores the very remarkable tribute paid to Fourier in the United States during the eighteen years preceding the civil war.

**SOCIALISM AND THE FRENCH WORKERS.**

With the revolutionary strike of the starving workmen of Lyons in 1831, Socialism in a crude form began to permeate the French proletariat. Paris became a center of working-class agitation. In 1839 Louis Blanc (1811-1882) published his “Organization of Labor,” which won an immediate popularity among the workers. Denouncing the evils of competition, it declared that the working class must have access to the instruments of labor and demanded a democratic state and the establishment by the state of social
workshops which should take the place of those owned by individuals. The workers should choose their own directors and managers, arrange the division of the profits and extend the enterprises.

In the same year Etienne Cabet (1788-1856) published his utopian novel, "A Voyage to Icaria." It had perhaps an equal popularity to Blanc's work. It served, however, to turn the minds of thousands of workers from the redressing of grievances at home to the establishing of a community in the United States. The experiment, after a long series of disasters, failed utterly.

PIERRE PROUDHON.

In the following year (1840) Pierre J. Proudhon (1809-1865) published his work, "What Is Property?" answering the question with the declaration that "property is theft." In 1846 he published "System of Economic Contradictions, or Philosophy of Misery," a work which drew a caustic reply from Karl Marx. "It would be impossible," says Kirkup, "to reduce the ideas of such an irregular thinker to systematic form." The groundwork of his teaching is; however, according to the same authority, clear and firm. In one sense he was not a utopian; he did not believe that society could be made to accept offhand a cut-and-dried scheme of reorganization. But the form of society which he urged, even though it was to be reached gradually, instead of in a single bound, was inherently utopian. Each man was to be a law to himself, and the ideal was the union of order and anarchy. "His 'Economic Contradictions,'" says Hillquit, "may be said to be the father of 'communist anarchism.'"

THE NATIONAL WORKSHOPS EXPERIMENT.

The revolution of February, 1848, forced Louis Phillipe from the throne and made France for a brief time republican. A place in the provisional government was given to Blanc. To quiet the masses of unemployed, a pretense was made of adopting Blanc's scheme of social workshops. A
number of such establishments, known as "national work-
shops," were started. Some other and private associations,
more nearly on the plan proposed by Blanc, were also begun
under government subsidy. But of the sum voted, $600,000,
the greater part was diverted to other uses, and even the
whole of it would have been pitifully inadequate for such an
undertaking. As all students of the subject now agree, it
was the intention of the government that the project should
fail, and it did. The workshops were closed in June. The
proletariat rose in revolt, but were suppressed. Henceforth,
until the last years of the regime of Louis Napoleon, Social-
ism hardly appeared as a factor in the political and indus-
trial life of France.

THE ENGLISH SOCIALISTS.

GODWIN AND HIS SUCCESSORS.

English Socialism appears first in the writings of
William Godwin (1756-1836), whose "An Inquiry Concern-
ing Political Justice" was published in 1796. His Socialism
is, however, inextricably blended with anarchism. Follow-
ing him came Charles Hall, William Thompson, John Gray,
Thomas Hodgskin and John Francis Bray. Marx was
familiar with the work of all of them except perhaps that
of Hall. They were, however, well-nigh forgotten until
Anton Menger, in his "The Right to the Whole Produce
of Labor," and H. S. Foxwell, in his introduction and notes
to the English edition of that work, 1899, again brought
them to notice. There is some evidence that they exercised
an influence on the Chartist movement, but its degree can-
not be definitely stated. Some of the poems and essays of
Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792-1822) must also be included
with the Socialist writings of this time.

ROBERT OWEN.

The most vital force in early English Socialism was
Robert Owen (1771-1858). A manufacturer of cottons, he
early interested himself in the living conditions of his
operatives. His humanitarian zeal led him further, and subsequently he came to devote his entire time to schemes of amelioration. "Every social movement, every real advance in England on behalf of the workers," says Engels, "links itself on to the name of Robert Owen." The model colonies that he founded all failed, but the impetus that he gave to the education and protection of children, better housing, factory legislation, labor organization and co-operation has borne notable results. A utopian, with but an imperfect sense of social evolution, he believed that the ideal society could be founded at any time and place; yet as his experiments failed he gave himself more and more to practical measures of radical reform. He was, says Liebknecht, "by far the most embracing, penetrating and practical of all the harbingers of scientific Socialism."

**DECLINE OF ENGLISH SOCIALISM.**

Toward the end of his life Owen's influence had greatly diminished. Then for a time flourished the school of Christian Socialism, under the leadership of Charles Kingsley and Frederick Denison Maurice. By 1852, says Kirkup, this, too, had come to an end, leaving no result of any importance. Twelve years later, with the organization of the International, there was some revival of Socialist thought in England, but after the collapse of the Paris Commune it rapidly evaporated. The French revolution had been used eighty years before, as a Tory warning to divert the stream of republican tendency in England, and now, with like results, the Commune was used to picture the terrible results of Socialism, anarchism and communism.

In 1873, John Stuart Mill, in his "Autobiography," declared himself in complete sympathy with the objects of the Socialists. His words, however, despite his eminence and his earlier influence, went for nothing. After his death, which occurred the same year, "for nine years," says Pease, "the very name of Socialism appeared to have perished in the land of its origin; for the little group
around Marx in his London home was an outpost of the continent rather than a part of English life and thought.”

THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS.

KARL RODBERTUS.

With the decline of French and English Socialism in the fifth and sixth decades, German Socialism came into the foreground. The first of the Germans to be mentioned is Karl Johann Rodbertus (1805-1875). “Everything characteristic of Rodbertus,” says Kirkup, “is an express contradiction of one’s notion of a Socialist.” He was a monarchist and a nationalist; he warned the German workers against associating themselves with any political party, and the Socialist society that he pictured was one that he hoped would be brought into being by a Prussian king or a German emperor. Yet, as the historian continues, “it is impossible to give any reasonable account of Socialism” that will exclude him.

It is only on the economic side of his strangely complex character that Rodbertus may be classed as a Socialist. Accepting the labor theory of value, he held that wages, rent and profit are all produced by the toil of the laborers, and that the possession of land and capital enables the possessors to force from the workers the greater share of their product, leaving them only enough with which to sustain life. His explanation of economic crises and of pauperism is closely Marxian; and his theory of social development culminates in a future collectivist state, in which each person who renders service is rewarded according to his work. His teachings have had great influence among non-Socialists, greatly modifying the older economic and social conceptions. What influence they may have had on Marx is a subject that has been widely and vigorously debated, but with no certain verdict.

WILHELM WEITLING.

Wilhelm Weitling (1808-1871) is characterized by Hillquit as the “connecting link between primitive and modern
Socialism.” He was by trade a tailor, but his chief occupation was that of an agitator. In 1838 a secret revolutionary society of German workingmen in Paris published his first important work, “The World as It Is, and as It Should Be.” His better known work, “The Guaranties of Harmony and Freedom,” was published in 1842.

“His ideal of the future state of society,” writes Hillquit, “reminds one of the Saint-Simonian government of scientists. . . . His state of the future is a highly centralized government, and is described by the author with the customary details.” Though an advocate of labor unions and of an independent political labor party, and though his appeals were principally addressed to workingmen, he seems not to have expressed the concept of a class struggle. Yet he was for many years an active part of that struggle, both in Europe and America—carrying his message far and wide and constantly aiding in the work of agitation, education and organization. Some further mention of him will be found in the section on the United States.

FERDINAND LASALLE.

Though born five years later than Engels, and seven years later than Marx, Ferdinand Lassalle (1825-1864) had finished his work before either of the others had begun to exercise a real influence on the world of labor. He is therefore usually regarded as a forerunner of the two Titans of Socialism. Lassalle was the son of a prosperous merchant. Intended for a business career, he chose instead a university. Completing his university studies at the age of 20, he went to Paris, where he came in contact with French Socialism. Returning to Berlin, he became a favorite, by reason of his remarkable gifts, in some of the most distinguished circles.

In 1848 he attached himself, though only in a casual way, to a group of revolutionists—Marx, Engels and the poet Freiligrath among them—in the Rhine country, whose organ was the New Rhenish Gazette. It was not, how-
ever, until 1862 that his Socialist work began, when he took up the cause of the German workers, and made himself their tribune.

He had tried to act with the Liberals, or Progressists, but his speeches during that year completely alienated them from him. Then came his lecture on "The Workingman's Program," by which he made himself the leader of a new movement. The government, however, at once proceeded against him. He was tried and convicted on the charge of exciting the poor against the rich and sentenced to four months' imprisonment. On appeal, however, he secured a commutation of sentence to a fine of $60.

Early in 1863 he wrote his "Open Letter," containing a political and socio-economic program, in response to a request for advice from a workingmen's central committee at Leipsic. The favorable reception given him and his program at several mass-meetings thereafter prompted him to organize, as has previously been mentioned, on May 23d, the Universal German Workingmen's Association. For the next fifteen months his life was an uninterrupted exercise of every activity which he could summon in behalf of his cherished movement. Then came the duel, on August 28, 1864, and the wound from which he died three days later.

Lassalle was one of the most remarkable men of all time. Volumes have been written about him and his marvelous career. There is no space here to dwell upon his character or attainments or to do more than give brief mention to his teachings and influence. In the main he differed little from Marx in his economic and social theories. Neither the economic interpretation of history nor the class struggle is clearly expressed in his writings, and yet both are implied in all of the utterances of his last fifteen months. Quite as surely as Marx, if not as clearly, he insisted upon the interpretation of social phenomena as a historic process of development. He showed capitalism as an outgrowth of evolutionary processes, which in turn was to be overthrown by the working class as the makers of a regenerated world.
What surplus value is in Marx's economic analysis, the "iron law of wages" is in that of Lassalle. They are, as Kirkup says, two aspects of the same economic concept. On the subject of the state, however, Lassalle is more modern than either Marx or Engels. He did not see in the state a moribund institution certain to die out with the advent of Socialism, but rather an institution capable of thorough transformation and of an infinite extension to serve the interests of mankind. There is doubtless an intimate connection between his concept of the state and the demand in his practical program which, among other things, for a number of years divided the Lassalleans and the Marxians into two bitter factions. That was the demand for state help for his projected co-operative productive associations. Whatever might be said of the validity of the demand of itself, so the Marxians charged, the practical effect of the emphasis that was given to it in the program was to keep the Lassalian party in a constant attitude of compromise with the Liberals in the hope of winning them to its support. Nevertheless, when the two factions united at Gotha, in 1875, the Marxians consented to include the demand in the unity platform. There it remained for sixteen years. But no emphasis was given to it, and in the Erfurt program of 1891 it was omitted.

KARL MARX.

Karl Heinrich Marx was born at Trier (or Treves), in Rhenish Prussia, on May 5, 1818. His parents were Jews who about 1824 renounced Judaism and adopted a nominal Christianity. Karl studied law and philosophy first at Bonn and afterward at Berlin. He early associated himself with the radical group known as the Young Hegelians. At Jena, on April 15, 1841, he received his diploma as a doctor of philosophy. He had intended to settle down at Bonn as a teacher of law, but the appointment as minister of education of the reactionary Eichhorn rendered an academic career impossible, and he turned instead to journalism. In the spring of 1842 he joined the staff of the Cologne
Rhenish Gazette, a radical democratic newspaper, and in October he was made editor-in-chief.

The paper was suppressed on March 23d following. In the summer of that year (1843) Marx married Jenny von Westphalen, and in the autumn the young couple removed to Paris. In the fall of the following year (1844) Marx became editor of a new paper, the Vorwärts, which though published in Paris was intended mainly for German readers. From this time (September) dates the beginning of that life-long friendship with Friedrich Engels which has inseparably linked these two names in history. The Vorwärts was suppressed in January, 1845, and Marx was expelled from France. With his wife and child he removed to Brussels, where he was shortly afterward joined by Engels and where he remained three years. In March appeared "The Holy Family," published at Frankfurt, a fragment of a larger projected work, bearing the names of Marx and Engels as authors. Here, also, two years later (1847), Marx published his "Misery of Philosophy," a caustic and searching review of Proudhon.

In November of the same year, at the invitation of the Communist League of London—a newly reorganized body which had grown out of the League of the Just and the London Communist Workmen's Educational Club—Marx and Engels visited London and agreed to prepare a general manifesto expressing the policies of the organization. The result was the immortal "Communist Manifesto," which was published in the German language in London in January, 1848.

After the February revolution Marx and Engels were for a time in Paris, but in May removed to Cologne, where on the 1st of June the New Rhenish Gazette, with Marx as editor and Engels as assistant editor, made its first appearance. It lasted until May 17, 1849, when it was suppressed, and Marx was expelled from Prussia. He had previously been the defendant in two prosecutions, but in both cases had been acquitted.
Marx returned to Paris, but after a month's stay was again expelled. Toward the end of June he reached London, where his family shortly afterward followed him. For the remainder of his life London was to be his home. He would probably have returned to Prussia to live in 1861, but an application by Lassalle for a naturalization certificate for the exile (Marx's absence for ten years placing him in the status of a foreigner) was emphatically refused.

His subsequent career, which is so important a part of the whole revolutionary movement of Europe, is fairly well known to the average student. His teachings, too, are a part of the equipment of millions of earnest men and women throughout the world. Persecuted and driven from one country to another until he found a lasting refuge in England; hampered for most of his life by the bitterest poverty and afflicted during his later years with constantly recurring spells of illness, he doggedly and imperturbably fought the good fight to his last day. "His sincerity, his courage," says Kirkup, "his self-abnegation, his devotion to his great work through long years of privation and obloquy, were heroic. . . . Many men are glad to live an hour of glorious life. Few are strong and brave enough to live the life heroic for forty years with the resolution, the courage and consistency of Karl Marx." He died in London on March 14, 1883.

FRIEDRICH ENGELS.

Friedrich Engels, whose life and activities were so closely bound up with those of Marx, was born at Barmen, Rhenish Prussia, November 28, 1820. His father was a part owner of a large cotton mill at Manchester, England. Young Engels was educated for a commercial career, but found time for extensive studies in literature and philosophy. He early became attached to a group of Young Hegelians and is said to have contributed occasional sketches to the Rhenish Gazette.

In the forepart of 1842 his father sent him to Man-
chester, where he remained about eighteen months. Here he became acquainted with Robert Owen and other radicals, and here also he made careful studies of industrial conditions. Returning home by way of Paris, in the autumn of 1844, he met Marx and at once associated himself with Marx's work.

He followed Marx to Brussels in the early part of 1845. "The Holy Family" had already appeared, and in the same year appeared his own "Condition of the Working Class in England in 1844." He remained with Marx, going with him to London in November, 1847, to attend the gathering of the Communist League, accompanying him also to Paris in the spring of 1848 and thence to Cologne. When, in May, 1849, Marx was exiled from Prussia, Engels went to Bavaria, where as a private soldier he took part in a fruitless rebellion. Escaping to Switzerland, he rejoined Marx in London in August.

About this time (perhaps in the following year) Engels' father, exasperated at the revolutionary activities of his son, gave him the alternative of returning to the Manchester mill or shifting for himself. There being nothing else to do, Engels accepted the former. Here, for a period of nineteen years, for a long time at a meager salary, he was forced to remain. In 1869 he returned to London and resumed his old activities, closely associated with Marx to the end. After Marx's death he edited the second and third volumes of "Capital." Of his independent work "The Origin of the Family" and "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific," the latter a fragment from the elaborate reply to Eugen Duhring, are the most noteworthy. Engels died on August 5, 1895.
II.

THE FORMATIVE PERIOD.

THE GERMAN WORKERS' LEAGUES.

The Universal German Workingmen's Association grew but slowly, in spite of Lassalle's energy and zeal. The German workers seemed sunk in an apathy from which they could not be roused. On his death, on August 30, 1864, the association had but 4,610 members. Lassalle was an autocrat: he ruled his followers absolutely, and before his death he named his successor. This man, Bernhard Becker, says Kirkup, was "totally unqualified for such a difficult post." He was succeeded, after a short time, by Tolcke, a much abler man, under whose leadership the party gained some strength.

In the same year (1863) in which Lassalle's organization was founded, there was formed at Frankfurt the Union of Workingmen's Associations. Its constituent bodies were a number of workers' educational circles, some of them attached to Lassalle, but most of them antagonistic. It was intended as an anti-Lassalle organization, under middle-class guidance. Two men, of whom we shall hear more, Wilhelm Liebknecht (1826-1900) and August Bebel (1840-1913), became actively associated with it. Liebknecht, who came from a cultured middle-class family, had been a refugee in London and was a disciple and friend of Marx. He had also joined Lassalle's association, though he seems not to have won that leader's favor. The other man, Bebel, was a workingman who had been left an orphan and who, after a partial education in charity schools, had set out to educate himself. His convictions at the time were merely those of a radical, but his study and associations brought him, within a few years, to Socialism. Under the leadership of these men the union gradually progressed toward Socialism.
THE INTERNATIONAL.

THE LONDON MASS MEETING.

The International Workingmen's Association, the molder and guide of the Socialist movement, was founded in 1864. Among the visitors to the International Exhibition in London, two years before, were delegations of French and German workmen, elected by their comrades, and sent partly at government expense, to view the industrial displays. On August 5, 1862, these delegates were entertained at a “festival of international brotherhood” at the Freemasons' Tavern by a number of English working-men and radicals. More than a year later, in April, 1864, an international demonstration against the suppression of the Polish uprising was held in London, and to this mass meeting came a working-class delegation from France. Here the idea of an international association was developed, and during the next few months it took tangible form.

Accordingly on September 28, 1864, an international mass meeting of workingmen was held at St. Martin's hall, London. Professor Edward Spencer Beesly presided. The meeting resolved to form an organization and selected a committee of representatives of different nationalities, among them Karl Marx and Giuseppe Mazzini, to draw up a set of rules and an address. At the first meeting, a week later, the committee was enlarged to fifty, of whom twenty-one were Englishmen, ten Germans, nine Frenchmen, six Italians, two Poles and two Swiss. Both Marx and Mazzini submitted drafts of an address, but Mazzini's was rejected. Both the address and the rules, with their preamble, as written by Marx, were adopted almost unanimously. The name chosen by the committee for the organization was the International Workingmen's Association.

FORM OF THE ORGANIZATION.

The rules provided for a general council (or "central" council, for both terms are used in the manifestoes), having its seat in London, to be composed of a corresponding
secretary from each nation, and a president, treasurer and
general secretary, who were to be Englishmen. The gen-
eral council was to call a congress every year and to have
control over the general affairs of the association, local
societies being left free to deal with purely local questions.
Provision was also made for national bodies, with national
central committees.

The preamble, as the first collective declaration of inter-
national Socialism, is of great historical value. The full
text will be found in No. IV of this series, "Socialist Docu-
ments." In the same number will also be found the text
of doubtless the first public address issued by the central
council—a letter congratulating Abraham Lincoln on his
re-election. It was dated November 29, 1864, and was
written by Marx.

ADDRESS ON LINCOLN'S ASSASSINATION.

After the assassination of Lincoln the central council
expressed its horror of the act and its sympathy with the
American people in a letter to President Andrew Johnson,
dated May 13, 1865. It is presumed that Marx was the
author of this document also. The following paragraph,
taken from Schlueter's "Lincoln, Labor and Slavery," is a
characteristic passage:

We shall not seek for words of mourning and of horror
when the heart of two continents is throbbing with emotion.
Even the sycophants who year after year and day after day
were busily engaged in morally stabbing Abraham Lincoln and
the great republic of which he was the head—even they are dis-
mayed in the presence of this universal outburst of popular feel-
ing and vie with one another in strewing flowers of rhetoric upon
his open grave. They have at last come to recognize that he was
a man whom defeat could not dishearten, nor success intoxicate,
who imperturbably pressed on toward his great goal without
ever imperilling it by blind haste, who advanced deliberately and
never retraced a step, who was never carried away by popular
favor and never discouraged by the subsidence of popular en-
thusiasm, who answered acts of severity with the sunbeams of
a loving heart, who brightened gloomy exhibitions of passion by
the smile of humor, and who accomplished his titanic task as
simply and as modestly as rulers by divine right are wont to do trifling things with great pomp and circumstance; in a word, he was one of those rare men who succeed in becoming great without ceasing to be good. So great, indeed, was the modesty of this great and good man that the world discovered that he was a hero only when he had died as a martyr.

THE FIRST CONGRESS.

The International was to have had its first congress at Brussels in 1865, but the gathering was forbidden by the Belgian government. Instead, a conference of the council was held in London. One of the acts of this meeting was the dispatching of an address, dated September 25, 1865, to the American people, summing up the results of the civil war and urging the people, now that they had sundered the chains of chattel slavery, to "sunder all the chains of freedom."

In September, 1866, sixty delegates met at Geneva. The session lasted from the 3rd to the 9th. The rules and address written by Marx two years before, and which had been printed and circulated, were adopted. Chief among the proposals agreed to was one for an international agitation for an eight-hour day. A recommendation was made for a comprehensive system of education, intellectual and technical, "which would raise the workers above the level of the higher and middle classes." At this congress also appeared the first contest over the question of whether or not "intellectuals" should be allowed to become members. It was of course raised by one set of "intellectuals" against another set, including Marx. The proposal to exclude them was defeated.

The influence of the International was now gradually extending throughout Europe, though the first evidences are revealed among the conservative trade-unions of England. In this same year a conference of union delegates, which met at Sheffield, recommended their organizations to join the new body.
The second congress met in Lausanne, September 2-8, 1867. A keynote declaration, which subsequently became useful in the controversy with Bakunin, was made in the resolution that “the social emancipation of the working class is inseparable from their political emancipation.” The meeting also declared in favor of state ownership of transportation and communication. Ownership by the state was thus regarded as a means to an end, even by those who believed that under Socialism the state as then known would cease to exist. “State ownership of the productive forces,” Engels subsequently explained in his “Socialism, Utopian and Scientific,” “is not the solution of the conflict, but concealed within it are the technical conditions that form the elements of that solution.” The congress declared further in favor of co-operative societies and organized efforts toward raising wages, but pointed out the danger of too exclusive a devotion to these efforts, insisting that the struggle for emancipation must be made in behalf of the whole mass of exploited labor.

The International had this year given effective support to the locked-out bronze-workers of Paris and had thus considerably strengthened itself among the French toilers. Its principles were also slowly permeating the proletarian ranks of the United States and England and more particularly Germany. In the latter country, however, the Lassalle party, now under the leadership of Schweitzer, still maintained a conservative attitude. Its policy was not to be seriously altered for several years.

An event of this year, insignificant at the time but afterward to become memorable, was the publication, in July, of the first volume of Marx’s “Capital.”

The third congress was held in Brussels, September 6-13, 1868. Ninety-eight delegates, representing England, France, Germany, Belgium, Italy, Spain and Switzerland,
were present. A more explicit and comprehensive declaration of Socialist principles than had before been given was now formulated. The need of education for the workers and of a reduction in the hours of labor was again emphasized, and a plan was proposed for the better organizing of strikes. The impending struggle between France and Germany called forth a strong protest against all war, and a universal strike was recommended as a preventive.

During this year sections of the International appeared in New York, Chicago and San Francisco. In the same year the German Union of Associations, which had gradually been moving toward Socialism, declared in its annual congress at Nuremberg, its adherence to the International.

THE STRUGGLE WITH ANARCHISM.

The fourth congress was held at Basel, September 5-11, 1869. This year dates the beginning of the turmoil created by Michael Bakunin (1814-1876). He had formed, about 1864, a secret order of revolutionists, though its numbers were probably exceedingly small. By 1868 this organization had dissolved, and on September 28th of that year he founded a new body, the International Alliance of Social Democracy. Shortly afterward this body applied to the general council of the International Workingmen's Association for membership as a constituent group. The application was denied, though the applicants were told that they could join as individuals. Thereupon Bakunin and his followers, professing to have dissolved the Alliance, joined the International and prepared to capture the congress to be held in Basel.

Bakunin was what would now be termed a physical-force anarchist. But at that time the terms "anarchist," "collectivist," "communist" and "Socialist" were used without any clear differentiation. The Bakunin group ridiculed direct legislation, denounced the ballot and rejected authority of every kind, including even that of a general council. Conspiracy and armed force were the means they advocated,
and a loose form of communism was the social state at which they aimed.

BAKUNIN SCORES A VICTORY.

From the opening to the close of the congress there was a bitter contest on every question that was brought up. Though Marx was not present, his views were ably represented by Liebknecht, Eccarius and others. Bakunin was, however, almost uniformly triumphant. "Although the Marxists were reluctant to admit it," says Hunter, "the Bakuninists had won a complete victory on every important issue."

The irritation among the Marxists was extreme; but it was mitigated to some extent by the fact that in the same year the Union of Workingmen's Associations, under the leadership of Liebknecht and Bebel, at its great congress in Eisenach, had founded the Social Democratic Workingmen's party, the first outright Marxian party in the world.

THE COMMUNE AND THE INTERNATIONAL.

The fifth congress had been called to meet in Paris. The Franco-German war, however, rendered the meeting impossible. No congress was attempted during 1871, though a conference of the leaders was held in London in September. In the meantime the controversy between the Marxists and the Bakuninists was being carried on throughout Europe with unflagging energy and the most intense bitterness.

The spring and summer of 1871 saw the rise and fall of the Paris Commune. Though the International, as such, had no part, in Kirkup's words, "either in originating or conducting the Commune," this assertion of working-class power was watched with the liveliest satisfaction by members of the International everywhere. The Commune was primarily a movement for local self-government as against the incompetency and fraud of the national government; but it soon came under the control of the revolutionary
leaders of the working class, some of them members of the International. It was suppressed, in one of the bloodiest episodes in history, by the Versailles government; but "history," wrote Marx, in a manifesto of the central council of the International, "has already nailed its destroyers on the pillory, from which all the prayers of their priests are impotent to deliver them." He commended the Commune as substantially a government of the working class, and said that "it will ever be celebrated as the glorious herald of a new society."

THE FIFTH CONGRESS.

Sixty-five delegates, including Marx, were present at the fifth congress. It met at The Hague, September 2-7, 1872. The campaign for control had been strenuously fought, and the Marxists had won. After a long and angry discussion Bakunin was expelled. Of forty votes present, twenty-seven were for expulsion, six against and seven non-committal. A resolution, "that in the militant state of the working class its economic movement and its political action are indissolubly united," was passed by thirty-six votes against five, in a total of forty-one.

On a close vote, twenty-six to twenty-three, the seat of the central council was removed to New York. The action was taken at the instance of Marx, though strongly opposed by some of his followers. Perhaps, as Hunter suggests, Marx had concluded that the International had done its work, and that to prevent any further invasion by the anarchists, the removal of its seat to a remote country, even at the risk of ending the existence of the organization, was the only possible action under the circumstances. It held one more congress, in Geneva, September 8-13, 1873, and was formally dissolved in Philadelphia, July 15, 1876.

THE WORK OF THE INTERNATIONAL.

The direct effect of the International upon the economic and political organization of labor was small. Even when
the press and the chancelleries of Europe were regarding it with grave alarm and suspecting it of vast revolutionary designs, it was impotent. "Its prestige," says Kirkup, "was always based more on the vast possibilities of the cause than on its actual power." But "as the melting pot," says Hunter, "in which the crude ideas of many philosophies were thrown—some to be fused, others to be cast aside, and all eventually to be clarified and purified—the International performed a memorable service." Its lasting heritage he sums up as follows:

During its entire life it was a battlefield. In the beginning there were many separate groups, but at the end there were only two forces in combat—Socialists and anarchists. When the quarrel began there was among the masses no sharply dividing line; their ideas were incoherent, and their allegiance was to individuals rather than to principles. Without much discrimination, they called themselves "communists," "internationalists," "collectivists," "anarchists," "Socialists." Even these terms they had not defined, and it was only toward the end of the International that the two combatants classified their principles into two antagonistic schools, Socialism and anarchism. Anarchism was no longer a vague, undefined philosophy of human happiness; it now stood forth, clear and distinct from all other social theories. After this no one need be in doubt as to its meaning and methods. On the other hand, no thoughtful person need longer remain in doubt as to the exact meaning and methods of Socialism. This work of definition and clarification was the immense service performed by the International in its eight brief years of life. Throughout Europe and America, after 1872, these two forces openly declared that they had nothing in common, either in method or in philosophy. To them at least the International had been a university.

THE GERMAN MOVEMENT, 1867-90.

FIRST Successes FOR SOCIALISM.

"Though the International was dead," says Kirkup, "the forces which gave it birth were still alive." In Germany Socialism had become a political force. Bebel was elected to the first North German Diet, which met in 1867, and subsequently six Socialists sat in that body. Both the
Lassalle association, with its membership chiefly in Prussia, and the Social Democratic Workingmen's party, with its membership chiefly in Saxony and South Germany, were represented.

"Patriotism" came near to engulfing Socialism at the time of the Franco-German war (1870-71). Of the Socialist deputies, Bebel and Liebknecht alone refrained from voting the war credits. On the fall of Napoleon, however, all of them voted against a further loan and advocated peace without seizure of French territory. As a consequence, several of them, including Bebel and Liebknecht, were imprisoned. Their following, too, declined in numbers. At the first election for the Reichstag, in 1871, with full manhood suffrage, the vote was only 124,655, and but two deputies were elected.

**UNION AND GROWTH.**

Three years later the vote rose to 351,952, and ten deputies were elected. In the meantime the attacks of Bebel and Liebknecht on Schweitzer, for several years the head of the Lassalle association, on account of his relations with Bismarck, had forced him to resign. A factional warfare between the two parties continued for a time, though all the while irresistible forces were bringing them closer together.

Bismarck now threatened (1874) a general prosecution of the Socialists as enemies of the empire, a menace that disposed of all further obstacles to union. At Gotha, May 22-27, 1875, representatives of 9,000 members of the Marx party, 15,000 members of the Lassalle party and 1,000 members of smaller groups met and organized the Socialistic Workingmen's Party of Germany. The platform adopted there, known as the Gotha program, though crude in many respects and though sharply criticized by Marx, remained for sixteen years, till supplanted by the Erfurt program (1891), the accepted political doctrine of the German Social Democracy. Two years later (1877) the vote increased to 493,288, electing thirteen deputies.
EFFORTS AT SUPPRESSION.

Bismarck had treated with Lassalle on the question of state aid for workingmen's associations. But the Social Democracy of 1875 and 1877 was a very different thing from that of 1863, and the Iron Chancellor became alarmed. An attempt on the life of the emperor by Hodel in the early part of 1878 gave Bismarck his opportunity. His bill outlawing the Socialists was, however, rejected by the Reichstag. Then came the attack on the emperor by Nobiling. Both the assailants were weak-minded; neither was a member of the party; nor did the party, of course, in any way countenance such acts. But the occasion was one not to be neglected by the government. The Reichstag was dissolved, and a new election ordered. In the campaign that followed the Socialists were everywhere denounced as the enemies of the state and the abettors of assassination. Though in the election they polled 437,158 votes and elected nine deputies, the government won a large majority favorable to suppression. Severe laws were at once passed, which went into effect in October of the same year.

A TWELVE-YEAR PERSECUTION.

For three years the laws were to run, because that was the limit, under the constitution, for which any body of citizens could be excepted from the "equal justice" guaranteed to all. But at the end of March, 1881, they were again enacted, and so again in 1884 and 1887.

Under these laws newspapers were suppressed, unions and locals broken up and individuals imprisoned. Yet after the first confusion and dismay, the strength of the movement constantly increased. In surreptitious ways the party maintained its organization and sowed the land broadcast with printed matter. The government sought to goad the victims of these savage laws into outbreaks; but the sturdy sense and unflagging patience of the Socialists withstood all temptation. "We shall not, now or ever," declared Lieb-
knecht in 1886, "go upon the bird lime . . . we shall never be such fools as to play the game of our enemies."

VICTORIOUS AT LAST.

In the end they won a brilliant victory. The vote, which in 1881 fell to 311,961, giving them thirteen deputies, rose in 1884 to 549,990, with twenty-four deputies. In 1887, though they elected only eleven deputies, they polled 763,128 votes. But all this was merely preliminary. In 1890 they staggered their enemies by polling 1,427,298 votes, or one-fifth of the total, and electing thirty-five deputies. Bismarck, infuriated, pleaded for the enactment of even more stringent measures. The Reichstag, however, reading the handwriting on the wall, refused. At the end of September, 1890, the anti-Socialist laws expired by limitation.
III.

THE NEW INTERNATIONAL.

During this twelve-year period Socialism overflowed from Germany into the other countries of Europe. In the United States it had already made a beginning. Indeed, the organized movement here, which has a continuous existence from the Social Democratic Workingmen's party of 1874, is, with the exception of the two German parties which united at Gotha, the oldest in the world. If, as suggested by Hillquit, it be dated from the formation of the General German Labor Association in New York (1868), it outdates the Bebel-Liebknecht wing of the German party (1869), leaving only the Lassalle wing (1863) with an earlier origin.

EARLY CONGRESSES.

The beginning and growth of the national movements will be sketched later. For the remainder of this chapter we shall deal with the movement only in its international character.

The old International expired with the Geneva congress in 1873, though its formal dissolution was not declared until 1876. The new International was some years in forming. Unlike the old, which has been compared by Vandervelde to a general staff without an army, the new is a representative body, and it could not have developed except as a consequence of the development of the Socialist party in the various nations. From 1873 Socialist, as well as labor, organizations from time to time sent delegates to international conventions, such as that at Ghent in 1877; but these were heterogeneous gatherings, made up of radicals of many schools, and not to be classed as formally Socialist.
THE FIRST SOCIALIST PARTY CONGRESS.

The congress from which the Socialist movement as an organized international party rightly dates was that which convened in Paris, July 14-20, 1889. There were, in fact, two congresses which met in that city at that time. It was the smaller of these, with 395 delegates representing strictly Socialist bodies, which is recognized as the parent of succeeding Socialist congresses.

Two years later (August 16-22, 1891) the second congress met in Brussels. Anarchism had again begun to show itself in the Latin countries, and it was reflected to some extent in the Brussels gathering. The Zurich congress (August 6-12, 1893) was somewhat more harmonious; but at the London congress (July 27-August 1, 1896) considerable turmoil was created by a group of Italian and French anarchists and semi-anarchists, who were finally expelled.

The Paris congress of 1900 was characterized by measures relating to a reform of the mechanism of the organization and the creation of the permanent international bureau at Brussels.

THE AMSTERDAM AND STUTTGART CONGRESSES.

The Amsterdam congress of 1904 was largely taken up with the question of Socialist participation in liberal or radical governments. The acceptance of the ministry of public works by Millerand in the cabinet of Waldeck-Rousseau in 1899 had caused a break in the co-operation of the various French Socialist groups. Jean Jaures, the most prominent of the French opportunist Socialists, defended Millerand's action, while Jules Guesde, the acknowledged leader of the French Marxians, denounced it. At this congress Jaures appeared as spokesman for Millerand, while Bebel appeared for Guesde and his following. After a long debate the action of the Jaures-Millerand group was emphatically rejected.

The Stuttgart congress (August 18-24, 1907) revised
the method of representation, putting it on a proportional basis. Under the new system Germany, Austria, France, Great Britain and Russia now have twenty votes each, Italy fifteen, the United States fourteen and other nationalities from twelve down to two votes. Twenty-six nationalities were represented, with 886 delegates. Among the subjects to which particular attention was given at this congress was that of immigration.

THE COPENHAGEN CONGRESS.

At Copenhagen (August 28-September 3, 1910) twenty-three nationalities were represented by 896 delegates. The main subjects discussed were the relations between co-operation and Socialism, trade-unions, international arbitration and disarmament and unemployment legislation. The congress formally approved of consumers' co-operation and urged more friendly relations among Socialists, co-operators and trade-unionists. It reiterated its approval of trade-unions and demanded state relief for the unemployed by means of insurance, the extension of public works and other measures. The proposal of a general strike in case of war, introduced by Hardie and Vaillant, was rejected by a vote of 131 to 51 and referred to the bureau for a report to the next congress.

THE OUTBREAK OF WAR.

The 1913 congress was to have been held in Vienna. The breaking out of the Balkan war in 1912, however, produced such a menace of a general European war that the international bureau voted to postpone the congress and to call at once a special conference. On November 24-25, 1912, this conference, consisting of 555 delegates, met at Basel. The haste with which it was assembled precluded representation from the United States. A resolution pledging the Socialists to use all possible means to prevent the war, to make protests in every parliament and to do their
utmost to unite labor in one solid body against the war, was unanimously passed.

The postponed congress was to have assembled in Vienna on September 23, 1914. The imminent threat of war brought the international bureau together on July 29th, and the place and date of the congress was changed to Paris on August 9th. Hope was still entertained that the war could be averted. At the instance of the international bureau mass meetings of protest were held on July 29th, 30th and 31st in Austria, France and Germany and on August 2nd in London. It was all in vain. On August 2nd German troops invaded Luxembourg and France, and Europe was plunged into the greatest of all wars. As this struggle drew upon virtually the entire adult male strength of the nations involved, it included inevitably the Socialists of those nations.

THE INTERNATIONAL BUREAU.

The official agency of the International Socialist movement is known as the International Socialist Bureau. Until the capture of Brussels by the German army it was located in that city. Thereupon it was removed to The Hague. During the war its functions are necessarily restricted. It still represents, however, the Socialist parties of the neutral nations, and it even serves as the medium of transmission for messages between Socialists of the warring states. It is a delegate body, with representatives from each of the nationalities which have organized Socialist movements. A nationality is not regarded as necessarily a nation, since in addition to the sovereign nations, representation is given to such provinces or states of limited sovereignty as Australasia, Canada, Finland, Poland, Lettonia, Bohemia, Bosnia and Herzegovina.
IV.

THE MOVEMENT BY NATIONS.

UNITED STATES.

COLONIES AND COMMUNITIES.

Socialism made its first appearance in the United States, during the revolution, in the form of religious communities. The earliest of these was founded by the Shakers at Watervliet, N. Y., in 1776. Later, under the influence of Robert Owen, and beginning with the experiment at New Harmony, Ind., in the fall of 1825, eleven communities were established. They were all short-lived. During the same period a considerable Socialist literature appeared, based largely upon Owen, but influenced somewhat by the earlier English school. Books by L. Byllesby (1827) and Thomas Skidmore (1829), the Free Enquirer newspaper of New York and the several newspapers published by Frederick W. and George Henry Evans expressed the somewhat crude Socialism of the time.

Under the influence of Albert Brisbane, Horace Greeley and other disciples of Fourier, no less than forty-one communities were established during the period between 1843 and 1849. Of these Brook Farm, near Boston, founded in 1841 as a Transcendentalist colony, and converted to Fourierism during the winter of 1843-44, was the most famous. By 1854 the last one had disappeared. On March 27, 1848, the first of several colonizing groups inspired by Cabet's "Icaria" arrived in New Orleans from France, and after long delays established a community at the abandoned Mormon location at Nauvoo, Ill., in 1849. A remnant of this community survived until 1895.

THE GERMAN SOCIALISTS.

German refugees during and after 1848 brought in a new type of Socialism. The first propagandist among these
was Wilhelm Weitling, who first came to the United States at the end of 1846. Returning to Germany to take part in the revolution of 1848, he again came to America in 1849. As agitator and organizer, he associated himself with the recently formed German labor bodies in New York and vicinity and for a time published a periodical, the Republic of the Workingmen. He was instrumental in assembling the first national convention of German workingmen, which was held in Philadelphia, October 22-28, 1850. Disagreement with his associates caused Weitling to withdraw, after a few years, from all connection with the movement.

Joseph Weydemeyer, a personal friend of both Marx and Engels, came to New York about the time of Weitling's second arrival. He was perhaps the first exponent of outright Marxian Socialism in the country. He settled in Chicago in 1856, removing to St. Louis in 1865.

GERMAN ORGANIZATIONS.

The German Gymnastic Union, or Turnvereine, of that period were more or less permeated with Socialism, though there is some question as to the degree of their connection with the advanced labor movement. Other bodies, however, were more definitely Marxian. An outcome of the convention already mentioned was the formation of the General Workingmen's League, which appears to have continued for several years. There was an organized Marxist circle in Richmond, Va., as early as 1852, and in 1857 there was organized in New York the Communist Club. The voluminous manuscript minutes of this club are now in the library of the Rand School in New York, but they appear not to have been studied for data on contemporary history. It is known, however, that the club arranged a mass meeting in 1858 in commemoration of the Paris insurrection in 1848, and that in the winter of 1864-65 it protested against the congratulatory message sent by the general council of the International to Abraham Lincoln. Its evident attitude was that in the matter of the abolition of slavery the adminis-
tration had not moved with sufficient force and promptness.

The civil war, however, swallowed up for the time all Socialist (and in the main, trade-union) activity. The German Socialists were almost wholly on the side of the union, and many of them, including Weydemeyer, August Willich, Robert Rossa and Fritz Jacobi, served in the Federal army. Willich, who enlisted as a private, became a brigadier general of volunteers.

NATIONAL LABOR UNION FOUNDED.

The Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union, at its annual convention in 1863, appointed a committee to act with representatives of other organizations for the formation of a "national trades' assembly." In March, 1866, a preliminary conference of trade-union representatives, held in New York, called a convention to be held in Baltimore in the following August. This convention, composed of representatives of more than sixty organizations, marked the beginning of the National Labor Union. A Lassallean Socialist, Edward Schlegel, a delegate from the German Workingmen's Association of Chicago, proposed, in a spirited address, the formation of an independent political party. No action, however, was taken, the convention giving its time almost wholly to the discussion of purely industrial questions. In the same year a number of German trade-unions in New York organized a central body called the Workingmen's Union.

POLITICAL ACTION AND THE N. L. U.

The matter of independent political action was again presented at the convention of the National Labor Union held in Chicago in August, 1867—this time by William H. Sylvis, president of the Iron Molders' Union, then the most prominent and influential figure in the American labor movement. On a close vote, however, the proposal was defeated. At the same convention a proposal to affiliate with the International was compromised by the passage of
a resolution expressing sympathy and a promise of co-operation with the European workers.

At the next convention, which was held in New York in August, 1868, the proposal of independent political action was adopted with great enthusiasm, and the National Labor Reform party was organized, with Sylvis as president. It proclaimed itself a workingmen's party, and its manifestoes expressed a recognition of the class struggle.

BEGINNINGS OF THE INTERNATIONAL.

In January of the same year a mass meeting of German workers in New York had organized the Social Party of New York and Vicinity. Very likely it absorbed the German organization previously mentioned as having been formed in 1866. Its platform, says Hillquit, "was a sort of compromise between the declaration of principles of the International and the platform of the National Labor Union." For the fall elections of 1868 it nominated a ticket, but its vote was insignificant. The National Labor Reform party fared quite as badly.

After the election the Social party dissolved, whereupon some of its members organized the General German Labor Association. "This," says Hillquit, "was the first strictly Marxian organization of any strength and influence on American soil, and the latest phase of the Socialist movement in this country may be said to date from the organization of this society." In February, 1869, it joined the National Labor Union, and in the fall it joined the International, becoming known as "Section 1 of New York." In the following year it withdrew from the former body. A German section of the International had previously (1868) been formed in San Francisco, and another was organized in Chicago in 1869.

THE DRIFT TOWARD SOCIALISM.

Some time in 1868 a newspaper, the Arbeiter Union, representing the German trade-unionists, was established
Dr. Adolph Douai, who took editorial charge of it shortly after it began, was a German refugee who had come to Texas in 1852. His interest in the cause of the slaves resulted in his being driven out of San Antonio about 1858, when he came east. Though not then a Socialist, he was soon to become one and for nearly twenty years to be one of the most influential men in the movement. His newspaper, during its existence, reflected the gradual drift of the workers toward Socialism.

Through correspondence with foreign members of the International, Sylvis had also become strongly indoctrinated with Socialism. Through Sylvis, as the president of the National Labor Union, the general council, on May 12, 1869, issued an address to the workers of America. In the main it was a warning against the attempts then being made by jingoes to incite war between America and England. It also acknowledged the formation of an independent labor movement in America as the inauguration of "a new epoch in the annals of the working class," and requested that delegates be sent to the convention to be held in Basel.

**DECLINE OF THE NATIONAL LABOR UNION.**

The fourth convention of the National Labor Union and the National Labor Reform party (for the distinction between the two was not usually apparent) was held in Philadelphia in August, 1869. It elected as delegate to the Basel convention A. C. Cameron, who carried to Europe the preposterous statement that 800,000 American workers had already accepted the principles of the International. Possibly one per cent of this number would have been a fairer estimate; but whatever the number, it was not to be rallied under the banner of the National Labor Union. On the 27th of July, only a short time before the convention, Sylvis had died. He was the only man who could have given vitality to the organization. Its disintegration began with his death.
At the fifth convention, held in Cincinnati in August, 1870, a resolution was passed declaring adherence to the principles of the International and the intention of joining it. The proposed action, however, was never taken. The union held but two more conventions, though it participated in the Rochester labor congress of 1874.

**GROWTH OF THE INTERNATIONAL.**

But as the National Labor Union declined, the International for a time prospered. In New York, in 1870, a French and a Bohemian section were organized, and in December of that year the three New York sections were empowered from London to form a provisional central committee for the United States. By 1872 more than thirty sections, with 5,000 members, had been organized. A national convention, with twenty-two sections represented, was held in New York on July 6th of that year. It adopted the name of the North American Federation of the International Workingmen's Association. Toward the end of the year, in accord with the action of The Hague congress, the seat of the general council was moved to New York. F. A. Sorge, who came to America in 1852, and who was a personal friend of Marx and Engels, was chosen as general secretary, and for a time a vigorous campaign of agitation and organization was waged.

In 1873 occurred the great panic. In the agitation of the unemployment problem that year the International played a conspicuous part. It arranged the great demonstrations of December 21st and 22d in Chicago, of January 13, 1874, in New York, and other lesser demonstrations. The New York event was characterized by an outrageous police attack on the paraders in Tompkins Square.

**FIRST SOCIALIST PARTY ORGANIZED.**

The second national convention of the International was held in Philadelphia on April 11, 1874. A controversy had arisen over a threatened change in the policy of the organization, making it more opportunistic. The attend-
ance was small, and factional feeling was strong. Though the convention reiterated the International policy of opposition to all fusion, the controversy was not healed. In Chicago the Socialists organized a separate political party, the Labor Party of Illinois. In New York several sections which had withdrawn from the International met, on July 4th, with representatives of a number of other radical labor organizations from Williamsburg, Newark and Philadelphia, and organized the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party of North America.

SOCIALISTIC UNITY.

This party, which grew rapidly, sapped the strength of the International, which as rapidly declined. Its second convention was held in Philadelphia July 4-6, 1875, and was well attended. Attempts were now begun to bring about a union of all the Socialist organizations in the country. At a convention held in Pittsburgh, April 17, 1876, composed of representatives of various bodies, among them the remnants of the National Labor Union, the Socialists, though in the minority, scored an easy triumph and prepared the way for a general Socialist unity.

In a succeeding convention, held in Philadelphia July 19-22, the union of the various Socialist bodies was accomplished, and the reorganized body adopted the name of the Workingmen's Party of the United States. Chicago was made the headquarters. A national executive committee of seven was elected, and Philip Van Patten was chosen national secretary. Though calling itself a party, the organization took the position that its main mission was education and agitation; that participation in elections was for the time useless and that the workers should "turn their backs upon the ballot box." The Greenback ticket of that year, with Peter Cooper and Samuel F. Cary as standard bearers, no doubt received some Socialist votes.

Four days before this unity convention opened, repre-
sentatives of the old International had met in the same city and formally dissolved that historic organization.

**INDUSTRIAL DISTURBANCES.**

The year 1877 was characterized by a number of labor disturbances throughout the country. The effects of the panic of 1873 still lingered, the pressure of the great mass of the unemployed had lowered wages, and destitution was widespread. Social and industrial questions were again being agitated as they had not been since the collapse of the Fourierite movement before the civil war. The principles of Socialism were beginning to emerge from the little groups of German workers and in a somewhat watered form to find acceptance. By this time also the Knights of Labor, which had been organized in 1869 as a secret order of garment cutters of Philadelphia, and which in 1871 had begun to include other trades, had become a widely extended body.

The chief labor disturbance was among the railway workers, and the immediate cause was the announcement in June by a number of the eastern lines, which had already reduced wages by about one-fourth, of a further reduction of 10 per cent. Strikes, with attendant disorders, occurred at Martinsburg, W. Va., on July 16th and at Pittsburgh on the 19th. They spread rapidly to as far west at St. Louis, where for a week there was an almost total stoppage of work. Soldiers with Gatling guns occupied Pittsburgh, and the strike was “quieted” on the 23d, though it lingered for some time longer in other places.

**SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.**

When the Workingmen’s party assembled in Newark on December 26th for its second convention it faced a very different situation from that of eighteen months before. A part at least of the working class was now aroused, and the need of independent political action had become more apparent. The constitution and platform were therefore altered to accord more closely with the aims of a political party. The name of the organization was changed to the Social-

**A MUSHROOM GROWTH.**

The party had grown to thirty-one sections by the time of the convention. It now developed a more rapid growth, which continued for about a year. At the beginning of 1879 there were more than 100 sections, with approximately 10,000 members. The number of papers directly or indirectly supporting the party had greatly increased, no less than twenty-four having been established between 1876 and 1877, of which eight were published in English. The *Volkszeitung*, the New York daily which for so long a time has been the leading exponent of German Socialist thought in America, was founded in the early part of 1878. The fall elections of 1877 and the spring elections of 1878 in Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis and several other cities showed a remarkable vote for the new party and the election of a number of its candidates.

By the fall of 1878, however, the Socialist wave had begun to recede, and by the following summer little indication of its effect was left. The Greenback party, by affiliating with a number of labor leaders and changing its name to the Greenback Labor party, had taken most of the radical vote in the fall elections of 1878; while in the following year, more prosperous times drew most of the discontented element back to the old parties.

**FUSION WITH THE GREENBACKERS.**

When the second convention met in Allegheny, on December 26, 1879, instead of the thirty-one sections that had been represented at the previous convention there were but twenty sections represented. The membership had in the meantime declined to less than 2,600. The question of taking part in the presidential campaign of the following year caused heated discussion. Finally it was decided to make independent nominations, and Caleb Pink, who had been the party's candidate for governor of New York in the fall elections just held, was nominated for president. On a
referendum to the party, however, the proposal to nominate candidates was rejected.

Then followed a temporary fusion with another party. At a national Socialist conference held in Chicago on August 8, 1880, an agreement was reached that the delegates assembled should apply for admission as a body to the Greenback Labor convention which was to assemble in the same city on the following day. This application was made and granted, and a number of the party leaders, including Philip Van Patten, the national secretary; Adolph Douai, Thomas J. Morgan and A. R. and Lucy Parsons, took part in the work of the convention. The gathering was one of many and diverse representatives of the various schools of radical thought, but the Socialist influence was strong enough to bring about the adoption of a plank for the collective ownership of land and to exert a considerable influence on the remainder of the platform. Socialists throughout the country were divided as to the policy to be followed, though it is likely that a majority of them cast their votes for the Greenback candidates, James B. Weaver and B. J. Chambers.

AID FROM SOCIALISTS OF GERMANY.

The speaking tour of F. W. Fritsche and Louis Viereck, Socialist deputies of the Reichstag, who arrived in America in February, 1881, gave a temporary stimulus to Socialist agitation, but within a few months interest declined. The Socialists took no part in the elections that year. When, in December, the third convention met in New York, only seventeen sections were represented, and the outlook was admitted to be most depressing.

The organization, on January 30, 1882, of the Central Labor Union in New York City, to some extent advanced the cause. The German Socialist element predominated; a Socialist, Matthew Maguire, was elected the first secretary of the body, and the platform adopted was strongly Socialist. In the local elections of 1882 and 1883 the Central
Labor Union took an independent part, and the Socialists acted with them. No candidates were nominated for the presidential elections of 1884. It is probable that some Socialists voted for Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, the candidate of the People's party, the renamed Greenback Labor party, but most of them kept away from the polls. The Socialists were not again to take an active part in politics until 1886, and then in combination with another party.

BEGINNINGS OF THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT.

Anarchism had begun to show itself before 1880. The lessons learned in the contest between the Marxists and the Bakuninists from 1869 to 1872 had evidently not penetrated to the radical element among the American workers. It was in 1879 that a number of groups calling themselves Lehr und Wehr Vereine, or "Educational and Defensive Societies," were organized in Chicago. They practiced military training and more or less openly proposed an armed revolution. The Socialist national executive committee repudiated them, and the matter furnished the theme for an angry debate in the Allegheny convention of that year. A year later a number of members of the party in New York, including Justus Schwab and Wilhelm Hasselmann, withdrew and formed a Revolutionary Club. Another club was founded in Chicago with August Spies, A. R. Parsons and Paul Grottkau (the last two withdrawing from the Socialist Labor party) as members, and similar bodies were formed in Philadelphia, Milwaukee and Boston. A national convention of these clubs, in Chicago in October, 1881, organized the Revolutionary Socialist Labor party.

FORERUNNERS OF SYNDICALISM.

About the same time an organization in some respects similar began on the Pacific coast and spread eastward. Under the name of the International Workingmen's Association (identical with that of the old International), this body carried on a propaganda which discountenanced the ballot but at the same time deprecated the use of violence.
Education and organization were its watchwords and autonomous groups its form of organization. Its organ was for a time *Truth*, a weekly periodical founded by Burnette G. Haskell in San Francisco in 1882, and later the *Labor Enquirer*, of Denver, published at one time by Samuel H. Laverty and afterward by Joseph R. Buchanan. Except that it did not tolerate violence or sabotage the movement was, in a sense, a forerunner of present-day American syndicalism.

**INFLUENCE OF JOHANN MOST.**

The eastern revolutionists, on the other hand, not only discarded the ballot, but in more or less open ways advocated force. Their movement was greatly stimulated by the arrival in this country in December, 1882, of Johann Most. He was an agitator with an international reputation, had twice been elected to the German Reichstag and had served prison terms in Austria, Germany and England. His coming was warmly welcomed, and his speaking tour during the early part of 1883 created intense enthusiasm. One result of his agitation was the organization of a number of professedly anarchist groups.

In October of the same year (1883) representatives of the Revolutionary Socialist party and of the anarchist groups met in joint convention in Pittsburgh and formed a national organization, under the name of the International Working People's Association. Chicago was chosen as headquarters, and a central body, known as the information bureau, without executive powers, was established there. A general declaration of principles of a communist-anarchist nature was adopted. It came afterward to be widely known as the "Pittsburgh Proclamation."

**SOCIALIST CAUSE AT LOWEST EBB.**

The growth of this movement for a time paralyzed the activity of the Socialist Labor party. By 1883 its membership had shrunk to about 1,500. On April 22d of that
year Van Patten, who had served the party with great energy and faithfulness since its origin, left it under somewhat dramatic circumstances, and accepted a government office. His loss was keenly felt, and the end of the party seemed near. Later in the year, a number of New York members, attracted by the somewhat moderate tone of the "Pittsburgh Proclamation," proposed to the information bureau an amalgamation of the two organizations. The proposal, however, was rejected, and instead the negotiators were advised to dissolve the Socialist Labor party and to organize autonomous groups for admission to the new body. The advice was not accepted.

The fourth national convention of the party was held in Baltimore, December 26-28, 1883, and was attended by only sixteen delegates, who represented only four or five sections. The platform was reconstructed in the attempt to satisfy some of the more radical elements, but it included an emphatic declaration against violence. There was no further attempt at compromise.

A TURN FOR THE BETTER.

Though the anarchist movement had not yet spent itself, the spring of 1884 showed a marked revival of the cause of Socialism. By March the party again numbered thirty sections, and a campaign of propaganda was being energetically carried on. The discussion in the Baltimore convention and elsewhere had served, as had the discussions in the Bakunin-Marx controversy, to make clear the distinction between Socialism and anarchism, with the result that a number of former members of the party were regained and new converts were won.

About the same time the lecture tours of Alexander Jonas, F. Seubert, H. Walther and O. Reimer, arranged by the party's national executive committee, carried the Socialist message far and wide, and their work was supplemented by the circulation of thousands of pamphlets. The chief note in all the propaganda of the time was a criticism of
the anarchists. The industrial crisis of this year, especially following the election of Grover Cleveland, had created an unrest which made the workers eager listeners to any kind of social propaganda; and the Socialists were prompt in using it to advantage. Though they took no part in the elections of that year, their agitational work continued. When the fifth convention of the party met in Cincinnati, in October, 1885, forty-two sections were represented.

ANARCHISTS AND THE EIGHT-HOUR MOVEMENT.

The anarchist movement hurried on to a tragic climax. By 1885 the International Working People's Association numbered some eighty groups, with about 7,000 members, and its press comprised seven German, two English and two Bohemian papers.

Attaching itself to the eight-hour movement, it made more rapid headway. The Federation of Trades and Labor Unions (later the A. F. of L.) had in 1884 revived the agitation for an eight-hour day, and the first day of May, 1886, had come to be fixed upon as the time for enforcing the change. The movement became general throughout the country, but it was in Chicago that it attained its greatest strength.

Until it had developed to a predominating interest among the workers the anarchists either ignored it or treated it with ridicule. Then their attitude changed, and, by the beginning of 1886 anarchist orators were taking a leading part in all the eight-hour demonstrations in Chicago. Following a mass meeting addressed by August Spies in front of the McCormick Reaper Works on May 3d, a street battle occurred between strikers and strike-breakers. The police intervened and were met by a shower of stones. They then fired into the crowd, killing six persons and wounding many more.

Spies hurried back to the office of his newspaper, the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, and wrote a circular headed "Revenge!" calling upon the workers to arm themselves and avenge the
slaughter of their brothers. Five thousand copies were printed and distributed.

THE HAYMARKET TRAGEDY.

The next evening (May 4th) a mass meeting of about 2,000 workers gathered at the Haymarket in response to a call to denounce "the murder of our fellow-workers." It was addressed by Spies, Parsons and Samuel Fielden. Toward the close of the meeting, while Fielden was speaking, and after Mayor Harrison had left the place, a squad of 176 police charged on the crowd and ordered it to disperse. A moment afterward a bomb was thrown at the police from an adjoining alley. It exploded, killing one policeman and wounding a number of others. There followed an outburst of firing from both sides. The total number of casualties was seven policemen and four civilians killed and sixty-six policemen and fifty civilians wounded.

An indescribable excitement, lasting for months, followed this tragedy. Scores of arrests were made. After a trial lasting from June 21st to August 20th, Albert R. Parsons, August Spies, George Engel, Adolph Fischer, Louis Lingg, Samuel Fielden and Michael Schwab were sentenced to death and Oscar W. Neebe to fifteen years' imprisonment. Both the supreme court of the state and that of the United States affirmed the judgment and on November 11, 1887, Parsons, Spies, Engel and Fischer were hanged. Lingg had committed suicide in his cell, while Fielden and Schwab, who had petitioned for executive clemency, were granted a commutation to imprisonment for life.

A TRAVESTY OF JUSTICE.

The trial was throughout a most fraudulent example of judicial procedure. Hillquit calls it "the grossest travesty on justice ever perpetrated in an American court." A like judgment is given in the two contemporary pamphlets written by Gen. M. M. Trumbull. But the most exhaustive review and the most forceful arraignment was made by a
governor of Illinois—John P. Altgeld—who in 1893 pardoned Fielden, Schwab and Neebe and in a remarkable state paper gave his reasons for doing so. The victims had not been punished for the throwing of a bomb. Indeed, the culprit himself was never found, and no connection of the anarchists with the act was ever established. They were punished for holding extreme views and for using intemperate speech.

But the tragic climax caused a complete collapse of the anarchist movement. Not until twenty-five years later, under another guise, did anarchism again invade the ranks of labor.

LABOR IN POLITICS.

The strike at the McCormick works, out of which the Haymarket tragedy emerged, was of itself but a minor incident of the industrial upheaval of that year. There were numerous strikes, some of them involving great numbers of men; and the inrush of membership to the A. F. of L. was considerable and to the Knights of Labor enormous. Recourse to independent political action was taken on a scale unexampled before. Under various names, but usually that of the United Labor party, workingmen and radicals of all schools and orders massed themselves together.

The most dramatic campaign and the one involving the greatest number of workers, was that in New York. A conference of labor representatives held on July 5th declared for independent action and at a further meeting organized the United Labor party and adopted a platform. Socialist labor men took part in these conferences, and the platform was largely Socialistic. On September 2d the party nominated Henry George for mayor and revised the platform to accord more closely with his views. The Socialists, though opposed to George's theories, supported the movement solidly. In a three-cornered contest totalling 218,000 votes George polled 68,000, or nearly one-third. It
is generally agreed that he polled a plurality over the Tammany candidate, Hewitt, and that he was counted out.

THE PARTY MAKES PROGRESS.

The general Socialist movement had been greatly benefited during the fall of 1886 by the lecture tours of Wilhelm Liebknecht, Dr. Edward Aveling and Eleanor Marx Aveling. Some fifty meetings were held, and the prominence of the visitors gave a wide hearing to the Socialist message.

At the sixth national convention, held in Buffalo in September, 1887, the number of sections was reported to be about seventy, of which thirty-two were represented. A proposal to unite with the Pacific Coast International was favorably acted upon, but nothing further came of it, and that organization soon disappeared. Straight-out Socialist political action was still considered premature, and a resolution was adopted declaring it the duty of Socialists "whenever one or more labor parties are in the field to support that party which is the most progressive."

THE END OF FUSION.

During the municipal campaign in New York the Socialists had avoided a criticism of single tax theories. After the election a controversy began, which by the following summer had awakened strong antagonism and which determined George and his following to rid themselves of their Socialist allies. At the state convention of the United Labor party, which met in Syracuse on August 17, 1887, the Socialist delegates, after an eighteen-hour debate, were denied seats. The Socialist Labor party in New York thereupon took the lead in forming, under the name of the Progressive Labor party, an organization for the pending campaign. A state ticket was named, and in the November election some 5,000 votes were polled, almost wholly in New York City.

This episode marked the end of fusion. In the presi-
dential campaign of the following year the party nominated a full ticket, from presidential electors down. But as the party platform then included a plank demanding the abolition of the office of president, the candidates for electors were instructed that, if chosen at the polls, they should vote for "no president." The total vote that year, as compiled by Lucien Sanial, was 2,068. Most of it was cast in New York City.

The following year witnessed a factional controversy in the party which for a time diminished its strength. The poor showing at the polls created a sentiment, chiefly voiced by the New York Volkzeitung, that political action was premature. This view was energetically opposed by another element in the party, and in the struggle that ensued the national secretary, W. L. Rosenberg, and the national committee were deposed.

A PERIOD OF PROGRESS.

The seventh national convention, held in Chicago in October, 1889, though controlled by the Volkezeitung faction, sustained the policy of participating in elections. Thirty-three sections were represented, though a total of seventy was reported. A new platform, written by Lucien Sanial, was adopted. The faction following the deposed officers maintained for a time an independent organization, but in a few years dissolved.

From then on until 1899 the growth of the party was steady. By the time of the eighth national convention, which was held in Chicago in July, 1893, there were about 150 sections in twenty-one states; by the time of the ninth convention (New York, 1896) there were more than 200 sections in twenty-five states, and by 1899 there were 350 sections in thirty states. At every election, where possible, the Socialists nominated tickets, and their vote, though small, showed a constant increase. In 1890 it was 13,704; in 1892, 21,512; in 1894, 30,020; in 1896, 36,275, and in 1898, 82,204. In 1892 it nominated for its first presidential
ticket Simon Wing and Charles H. Matchett, and in 1896 it nominated Charles H. Matchett and Matthew Maguire. The demand for the abolition of the office of president was stricken from the platform in 1893.

INTERNAL TROUBLES.

Despite the party's growth, internal conditions were developing for a final struggle between two elements. The causes were many, as the voluminous printed matter on the subject amply shows. The chief cause was a difference of attitude toward the trade-unions. With these bodies and with the Knights of Labor the Socialist party had borne varying relations over a number of years. Socialist unionists had aided in the formation of the New York Central Labor Union in 1882, and had remained with it until February, 1889, when they withdrew. Reuniting with it in December of the same year, they again withdrew in June, 1890, and revived the Central Labor Federation, which had been formed at the time of the previous secession. For the next ten years their attitude to the older body was antagonistic.

The Detroit convention (1890) of the American Federation of Labor, in refusing a charter to the Central Labor Federation on the ground that it admitted delegates from the Socialist Labor party, caused an intensification of the feeling between the Socialists and the stand-pat unionists, which was constantly fanned by attacks published in Socialist papers. Socialists, however, generally continued their membership in the unions, and from time to time in the national conventions of the Federation raised the issue of indorsing the Socialist principles.

In 1894 members of the Federation unions all over the country discussed and voted upon a set of eleven socio-economic planks introduced in the Chicago (1893) convention by a Socialist, Thomas J. Morgan. There is small doubt that the result of the vote was a large majority instructing the delegates to approve these planks. The Denver conven-
tion (1894) approved, one after one, the first nine of them, but during the discussion of the tenth, which called for the collective ownership of the means of production and distribution, a substitute was introduced and carried, affirming use and occupancy as the only title to land. The passage of this substitute, with two additional planks, was regarded as a desperate trick of the Federation officials, and increased the antagonism between the two elements.

OPEN BREAK WITH ORGANIZED LABOR.

Socialists had affiliated with the Knights of Labor as early as 1881, but it was not until 1893, when they won control of District Assembly 49, in New York City, that they became a power in the organization. A controversy between General Master Workman J. R. Sovereign and Daniel DeLeon, editor of the People, and leader of the faction of Socialists in the Knights of Labor organization, resulted in the refusal of the Washington convention (December, 1895) to recognize DeLeon as a delegate.

DeLeon immediately repudiated the order, and his followers did likewise. On December 6th, delegates from the Central Labor Federation and from the seceding membership of District Assembly 49 met and organized the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and on the 13th, at Cooper Union, the new body was formally proclaimed. Its organization was a virtual challenge to both the Knights of Labor and the American Federation of Labor. Assurances were made on its behalf that it did not intend to interfere with existing organizations; but while these assurances served for a time to quiet apprehension within the Socialist Labor party, they deceived no one outside. The 1896 convention of the party indorsed the new body by a vote of 71 to 6, and the war was on. Henceforth Socialist attacks, particularly in the People, multiplied in number and increased in bitterness.
THE PARTY DIVIDES.

A reaction from this attitude on the part of a large section of the membership was met by dictatorial and oppressive action by the party administration. Two factions developed, one contending for a continuance of the party's policy and one contending for a more friendly attitude toward the non-Socialist labor unions as well as for a general revision of the party's tactics. Matters came to a crisis at the meeting of the newly elected central committee of Section New York on July 8, 1899. According to the constitution Section New York had power to recall the national officers. The election of delegates had been hotly contested, and the opposition had won a majority. Nothing was accomplished, as the meeting broke up in disorder. Two nights later, however, the opposition delegates held their own meeting, deposed the national officers and elected others in their stead.

The old officers refused to abide by this action. The separation of the two factions was now complete. Each maintained an organization, national as well as local, and a weekly organ, each nominated a ticket for the forthcoming election, and each declared itself the Socialist Labor party. The contest was taken into the courts, which decided in favor of the faction headed by the old officers.

The opposition thereupon called a national convention, which met in Rochester in February, 1900, and reorganized. A new platform and new by-laws were adopted, and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was emphatically repudiated. A presidential ticket—Job Harriman and Max Hayes—was nominated. The most important thing done, however, was the sending of a message to the Social Democratic party, proposing a union of the two bodies, and the election of a committee to promote that union.

THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

The Social Democratic party grew out of the Social Democracy of America, organized in Chicago on June 18,
1897, which in turn had sprung from a union of the remnants of the American Railway Union and a Socialist colonizing organization known as the Brotherhood of the Co-operative Commonwealth. At the second convention of the Social Democracy (Chicago, June 7-8, 1898) a sharp controversy over the question of the work of the party caused a secession of the thirty-seven delegates, headed by Eugene V. Debs, who favored political action as against colonization. They immediately organized the Social Democratic Party of America.

The progress of the new movement was rapid—particularly in New England and the middle west, and a number of its candidates were elected to office. At the time of its first national convention, which met in Indianapolis, on March 6, 1900, it claimed a membership of 5,000.

To this convention came a committee composed of Max Hayes, Job Harriman and Morris Hillquit, elected by the Rochester convention to propose unity. After a long debate and the rejection of certain terms submitted, a committee of nine was elected to meet with a committee from the Rochester party to consider further terms. Eugene V. Debs was nominated for president and as an earnest of a desire for union with the Rochester party, Job Harriman was nominated for vice president.

THE SOCIALIST PARTY.

The joint conference of the two bodies met in New York, March 25-26, 1900, and drafted a plan of union which was submitted to a referendum of the members of both parties. A long and somewhat bitter controversy over the details was patched up by a truce which permitted common action during the presidential campaign. The election resulted in a vote of 96,116 for the presidential candidate of the two co-operating organizations, and a total of 96,931, including the result in Oklahoma, then a territory.

Co-operation during the campaign hastened the work of amalgamating the two bodies. At the memorable Unity
convention, which met in Indianapolis on July 29, 1901, the union of all the Socialist organizations in the country, except the DeLeon faction of the Socialist Labor party, was made permanent. The new body took the name of the Socialist party.

LATER HISTORY.

The subsequent history of the movement in the United States is a matter of more or less common knowledge and can be only briefly touched upon here. The faction which remained with the old officers at the time of the division in 1899 has continued its existence as the Socialist Labor party. It has a membership of approximately 3,000, and at the presidential election of 1912 polled 30,344 votes. Suggestions of a union of the two parties have from time to time been made by individual members or local organizations on either side, but without result.

The Socialist party, on the other hand, has grown greatly since its origin. Its estimated membership in 1901 was 10,000; the largest membership (117,984) was reached in 1912; the average for the first nine months of 1916 was 85,380. In 1912 the party polled 901,062 votes. The 1916 vote has not as yet been computed.

GERMANY.

After 1890 the history of the German Social Democracy becomes one of uninterrupted growth and progress. In 1891, at the Erfurt congress, the platform and statement of principles underwent a thorough revision in the famous Erfurt program, which is still the supreme declaration of the party. In 1893 the Socialists polled 1,786,733 votes, or 23.2 per cent of the total, and elected forty-four representatives. Five years later the vote rose to 2,107,076, or 27.2 per cent of the total, and fifty-six representatives were elected.

In the following year (1899) Eduard Bernstein's famous book on the Socialist program (Englished under the title "Evolutionary Socialism"), raised a storm of controversy, which developed two strongly opposed factions in the movement. Nevertheless, the party integrity was not disturbed, for at the next election (1903) the vote went to 3,010,771, or 31.7 per cent of the total, with the election of eighty-one representatives.
The remarkable growth of the party prompted, four years later, a powerful anti-Socialist campaign in which the government took a leading part. The Socialist representation was reduced to forty-three, and although the popular vote increased to 3,259,020, the percentage fell to 28.9. The anti-Socialist concert was less active and effective in the following election (1912), when the vote rose to 4,250,329, or 34.8 per cent, electing 110 representatives.

The German party is not only the strongest political organization in its own country, but is also the strongest Socialist organization in the world. In 1913 it had 982,850 members, of whom 141,115 were women. It had at that time ninety-three newspapers and journals, with a circulation of 1,800,000. Vorwärts, the leading organ of the party, had a circulation of 170,000 copies daily. The national income was about $486,000 a year, exclusive of the income of the locals and branches. The war has of course greatly unsettled the party's activities and perhaps threatened its unity.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY.

The Austrian movement was at first closely connected with that of Germany. It lagged, however, by reason of the industrial backwardness of the nation, the heterogeneous character of its population and the repression of radical activities by the government. The imperial council in 1867 granted a partial right of assembly and association, and after a demonstration on the streets of Vienna, December 13, 1869, revoked its ban against Socialist propaganda. Until 1888-89, however, the movement remained weak, torn by dissension and demoralized by anarchism.

At the beginning of the latter year the present party was formed. In 1901 ten Socialists were elected to the Reichsrath. The grant, in 1905, of a constitution in Russia awakened throughout Austria a demand for the extension of the suffrage. Beginning with November 28, when parliament met, demonstrations were held in all parts of the country. In July, 1906, preparations were made for a general strike, when the government yielded. In the following January the vote was given to all men over twenty-four, and at the election in May, the Socialist vote rose to 1,041,948, nearly one-third of the total, and eighty-seven out of 516 deputies were elected.

In 1911 the vote slightly increased to 1,053,627, but although the Socialists doubled their representation in Vienna, they lost seats in the rural districts, and elected a total of but eighty-two.

In the other half of the dual empire, Hungary, trade-unions
The New Appeal Socialist Classics

are permitted only as friendly societies, and political associations are unlawful.

ITALY.

The Socialist movement in Italy began before the International. Sentiment was with Bakunin, however, and the movement became predominantly anarchistic. In 1882 several Socialist groups united for the ensuing elections, nominated candidates and polled some 50,000 votes (about 4 per cent of the total), electing two deputies. A national party was organized in 1885, but as it was demoralized alike by internal dissensions and by government persecutions, it made little progress.

At the Congress of Genoa, in 1892, a complete severance with the anarchists was made, and a straight-out Socialist party was organized. In the following election, though it polled but 26,000 votes, it elected six deputies. In 1900, through an alliance with the Radicals and Republicans, the vote went to 175,000, and thirty-two deputies were elected. In 1904 320,000 votes were polled and twenty-seven members elected, and in 1909 the vote was 338,865, with forty elected members. An extension of the franchise in 1913 resulted, in October of that year, in a Socialist vote of 997,000, and the election of seventy-nine out of 508 deputies. Fifty-three of these are known as Revolutionary Socialists.

The party has passed through many factional troubles. At the congress of 1906 the regulars defeated the syndicalists by a five-to-one vote, whereupon the latter left the party. Four years later, at Milan, the revisionists, under Turati, enforced their program with 21,994 votes, against 6,054 for the revolutionists, led by Lassari, and 4,624 for the integralists, led by Enrico Ferri. Fresh discord was introduced by the Tripolitan war. Bissolati and a few others were expelled, whereupon they organized a reformist party of their own. Ferri, who supported the Tripolitan policy, resigned his seat in 1912 and was re-elected as an independent. The present war has created new divisions throughout the movement. The organization known as the Italian Socialist party, in a manifesto of May 22, 1915, de-

FRANCE.

The suppression of the Commune in 1871 paralyzed the French Socialist movement for a number of years. In 1877 Jules Guesde, who as a youth had been exiled for participation in that tragic episode, returned to France and started a paper, Equality, in support of Marxism. The trade-union congress of Lyons, in 1878, pledged its support to some Socialist candidates, and in the following year the congress at Marseilles adopted
Guesde's Marxian program and also adopted the name Socialist Labor. In the same year Guesde and thirty-three other labor leaders were arrested and tried for participation in a political labor conference. Guesde's brilliant defense served to spread the propaganda of Socialism, and the movement grew.

At the Havre Congress of 1880 the delegates divided into two organizations, calling themselves collectivists and co-operative socialists. The party made small headway at the election of 1881, and at the congress of 1882 the Marxians, led by Guesde, Paul Lafargue and Gabriel Deville, withdrew and formed the Labor party, while the faction led by Paul Brousse and Benoit Malon, though opportunists, formed the party known as the French Federation of Socialist Revolutionary Workingmen.

Successive splits and realignments took place for a number of years. At the election of 1893 Jaures, who had first been elected as a radical in 1885, was elected as a Socialist, and with him thirty-nine other deputies belonging to various Socialist groups. The vote polled was 440,000. In 1898 the Dreyfus affair divided not only France but the Socialist movement as well. There was still some measure of co-operation among the groups; but when, in 1899, Millerand joined the cabinet of Waldeck-Rousseau and Jaures approved the action, this co-operation came to an end. The vote, however, continued to increase. In 1898 it was 700,000, and in 1902, 805,000.

The Millerand question was threshed out at the Amsterdam Congress of 1904. Jaures and the "ministerialists" lost, whereupon he and his following joined (1905-6) with Guesde in the formation of the present United Socialist party. The vote in 1906 was 877,999, with fifty-four elected representatives, and in 1910 1,125,877, with seventy-six elected representatives. In 1914 it rose to 1,388,771, and 102 deputies were elected.

French Socialism has for many years scored its greatest successes in the municipalities.

ENGLAND.

The modern English Socialist movement may be dated from 1884. On January 4 the Fabian Society, which had been a rather nondescript body of youthful enthusiasts, gave itself its present name and began to work out its program, and in August, H. M. Hyndman converted his non-Socialist Democratic Federation into the professedly Marxian Social Democratic Federation. *Justice*, which for so many years has been the party organ, had already begun to appear in January.

The Federation's first electoral campaign, in 1885, waged at a time when all believed that its propaganda had made a powerful impression on the masses, resulted in the polling of 598 votes at Nottingham and of twenty-seven and thirty-two
votes, respectively, in two London districts. In the same year William Morris, Balfour Bax and Edward Aveling separated from the Federation and formed the Socialist League, which, however, soon developed anarchistic leanings, and which began to disappear when Morris resigned in 1890.

The Federation, in 1900, joined the Labor Representation Committee (composed of delegates from all the Socialist and trade-union bodies), but withdrew in August, 1901. Later it changed its name to the Social Democratic party, and in 1911 it united with a number of small groups into the British Socialist party. In 1913 it had 11,313 members. It has one representative in Parliament, Will Thorne, though he was elected as a candidate of the Labor party.

The Fabian Society has from the beginning followed the policy of "permeation." It has sown England broadcast with economic and administrative questions. Though giving only a nominal adherence to some of the Socialist principles regarded as fundamental, it is allowed representation in the International Socialist congresses, where it has two votes.

In 1892 J. Keir Hardie, secretary of the Ayrshire miners, was elected to parliament for Southwest Ham, London, as an independent. He had already instituted a movement for the formation of a labor party, with the result that at Bradford in 1893 the Independent Labor party was organized. It began to take on a Socialist tinge soon after its formation. Hardie lost his seat in 1895, and for a time the party was without representation.

At a conference held in London in February, 1900, which was attended by representatives of 545,316 trade-unionists and 22,861 Socialists, the Labor Representation Committee (now known as the Labor party) was formed. In the election of that year only two of its fifteen candidates—Hardie and Richard Bell—were elected. In succeeding by-elections, however, three more—David Shackleton, Will Crooks and Arthur Henderson—were added.

By 1906 the Labor Representation Committee numbered in the organization affiliated with it 921,280 members. It nominated fifty candidates that year, and twenty-nine of these were successful. In the summer of the following year, at by-elections, two more, one of whom was Victor Grayson, were elected. In January, 1910, forty members were elected, and in December two more. Three of these seats have subsequently been lost.

The Labor party has "no formal basis or formulated policy." Its policy, however, according to Pease, is always Socialist, though on this matter there is a never-ending controversy.
BELGIUM.

The Belgian movement may be said to have begun during the period of the International, but it divided between Marxists and Bakuninists, and for a long time was without influence. In 1885 the present Labor party was formed. In 1893 it led the general political strike for universal suffrage, which resulted in the grant of a considerable extension of the franchise. In 1902 the strike was repeated, but resulted in a complete failure. In 1913 it was again ordered and resulted in a governmental promise, which, however, had not been fulfilled at the time of the outbreak of the war.

The Socialist movement has been strongly and effectively opposed by the clerical party, and political progress has been slow. In 1900 the party had thirty-three seats in the lower house, out of a total of 166. In the five succeeding biennial elections it held approximately this number. In 1912, in the elections for the enlarged chamber of 186 members, the Socialists combined with the Liberals on the franchise question. The vote, which cannot be separately computed, is estimated at 600,000. Forty deputies were elected. In addition, there are seven senators out of 120. At the outbreak of the war the Socialists united with the government for the national defense, and Vandervelde, the reorganized leader, joined the ministry.

HOLLAND.

The Socialist movement began in Holland as early as 1869, but for a number of years failed to make headway. In 1878 Domela Niewenhuis, a former Protestant clergyman, founded the Social Democratic Union and a Socialist paper, Recht Voor Allen. He was elected to parliament in 1888, serving till 1891. After a time Niewenhuis became an anarchist revolutionist and later a mild sort of anarchist-communist, and the Socialists gradually drifted away from him.

The Social Democratic League, a more Marxian organization, was formed in 1889. There was still dissension with the anarchists, however, and not until 1893 were they finally cleared out of the movement. The organization of the Social Democratic Labor party followed in 1894. The progress of the movement since then is best told in the following figures of the vote for members of the lower house (which has 100 members) and of the number of deputies elected: 1897, 13,000 votes, three deputies; 1901, 38,279 votes, seven deputies; 1905, 65,743 votes, seven deputies; 1910, 82,494 votes, seven deputies; 1913, 145,588 votes, eighteen deputies.

The party has also two senators.
DENMARK.

The present Social Democratic party dates from 1878. In 1889 one Socialist was elected to the lower house. In 1901 42,972 votes were polled and fourteen members elected. Two more were added in 1903. Twenty-four candidates were successful at each of the three following elections (1906, 1909 and 1910). In May, 1913, the Socialists polled 107,412 votes, a greater number than that polled by any other party, and elected thirty-two representatives. The king accordingly invited the party leader, M. Stauning, to form a ministry, but he declined because of the lack of a party majority.

The Socialists have also four senators (out of sixty-six) and 1,060 municipal councillors. In Copenhagen, in 1912, twenty-one out of forty-eight seats in the lower chamber of the council were won and three out of nine seats in the upper chamber. The party has thirty-three daily papers, with a total circulation of 170,000 copies.

NORWAY.

The Norwegian Labor party was organized in 1887, and two years later it became definitely Socialist. It grew but slowly, and in 1894 its total vote was only 732. Nine years later (1903) it polled 24,526 votes and elected four deputies to the Storthing. In 1909 it polled 91,268 votes and elected eleven deputies, and in 1912 the vote rose to 124,594, or 26 per cent of the whole, and twenty-three out of 123 deputies were elected. It has also, in the municipal councils, several hundred representatives, some of whom are women. There were, in 1912, 891 branches, with 43,500 members. The party has eight daily papers and eighteen weeklies.

SWEDEN.

Socialism as an organized movement in Sweden began with the formation of the Social Democratic party in 1880. Five years later the party was joined by the trade-unions as a body. H. Branting, the present parliamentary leader, was first elected to the House of Representatives in 1896, but no further representative was elected until 1902. In 1905 some 30,000 votes were polled and fifteen deputies elected. In 1911 the vote rose to 172,980, and sixty-four out of 230 members were elected. Thirteen out of 130 members were also elected in the upper house. Three years later (1914) 229,339 votes were polled, and eighty-seven representatives and fourteen senators (the upper house now having 150 members) were elected.

Two general strikes have been conducted in recent years
in Sweden, with both of which the party was in some degree connected. The strike of 1902 was one in favor of universal suffrage. It failed of its full object, though it gained some important concessions. On August 4, 1909, a general labor strike for shorter hours and better wages was called. It lasted a month, but was defeated by a general co-operation of the other classes in volunteering to perform the tasks abandoned by the workers. The party had 57,721 members in 1913.

RUSSIA.

Socialism got a belated start in Russia because of the unique social conditions prevailing there. What Socialist thought first penetrated into the country applied itself to the agitation for the emancipation of the serfs. Later (1863-70) it expressed itself in the skeptical and iconoclastic school of thought known as Nihilism.

In 1878 Vera Sassoulitsch, a young woman of education and "good family," assassinated General Trepoff, commandant of St. Petersburg (now Petrograd). From that moment Russian revolutionism underwent a complete change. A small group of revolutionists, organized as the Will of the People, began a campaign of terrorism, which culminated in the assassination of Alexander II, March 13, 1881. The revolutionists were ruthlessly hunted out, imprisoned, banished or executed, and their organization crushed.

In 1901 some surviving members of the old revolutionary group organized the Socialist Revolutionary party. Student disturbances broke out in the same year, participated in by the workmen of Petrograd and Moscow. These disturbances were put down with force. The disastrous war with Japan followed, and demonstrations were renewed on a gigantic scale. In July, 1904, Plehve was assassinated. In December a national congress of county councils, by a vote of 102 to 2, demanded a constitution.

In August, 1905, the Czar granted a constitution with a limited suffrage. The first Duma met in May, 1906, but lasted only seventy days. The Socialists had put forward no candidates, but the Group of Toil was represented by 107 peasants and workmen. In the election for the second Duma, in January, 1907, both the Social Democrats and the Revolutionary Socialists took part, electing 132 out of the 524 members. This Duma was dissolved in June, immediately after that body had referred to a committee the premier's proposal to arrest sixteen Socialist members and indict fifty-five others for carrying on revolutionary propaganda.

The Government then violated the constitution by promulgating a new electoral law, greatly limiting the franchise,
giving officials an undue power over the balloting and reducing the membership of the Duma from 524 to 442. A new election was held, and the third Duma met on November 15, 1907. Only fourteen Socialists and fourteen members of the Group of Toil were elected. A policy of brutal repression was now begun. In 1912 the fourth Duma was elected, which included sixteen Socialists and ten members of the Group of Toil. Two of the three main factions of the Socialists have protested vigorously against the war.

FINLAND.

The Finnish Labor party was organized in 1899, and it led the movement which six years later forced the Russian government to restore the constitution, and on a more democratic basis. The new constitution, which provided for a large measure of home rule, a single legislative chamber and for universal adult suffrage, went into effect on January 1, 1907.

In that year the Socialists elected seventy-one men and nine women members, out of 200, to the Chamber. In 1916 they elected 103 members, of whom twenty-four were women. There are five parties in parliament, and though the Socialists are in a minority, their strength is more than that of any three of the other parties combined.

The party organization had 48,406 members in 1912, with an income of about $445,000. It had six daily and ten weekly papers.

OTHER COUNTRIES.

The limitations of space make impossible a sketch of the movement in other countries. Switzerland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Servia, Greece, Spain, Portugal, Turkey, Persia, Japan, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, Argentina, Chile and Mexico—all have Socialist parties with a record of achieved results. There are no doubt other branches of the movement which might be mentioned. The little seed sown by Marx in "The Communist Manifesto" has germinated growths in almost every part of the globe. "Only in Abyssinia, Afghanistan and perhaps Hayti," writes Pease, "is it still possible to escape wholly from the all-pervading influence of this world-wide movement." Nor is any people so far untouched by Socialism immune from its approach. Everywhere it moves with a relentless pressure.
BOOKS

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