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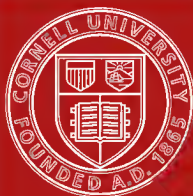
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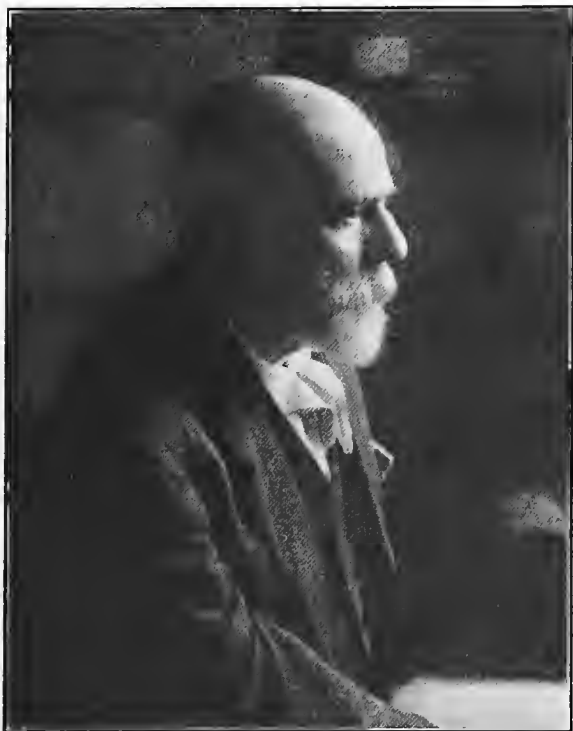


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J. P. Keeton

1912

THE GREATEST SOCIALIST FIGURE IN THE
WORLD SINCE KARL MARX AND FREDERICK ENGELS

DANIEL DE LEON

THE MAN AND HIS WORK

A SYMPOSIUM

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National Executive Committee
Socialist Labor Party

45 Rose St., New York

1920

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IN MEMORIAM

BY RUDOLPH SCHWAB.

Let not the muffled drum, nor slow and solemn knell,
Mourn for our comrade who has passed away;
Nor rain hot tears upon his mortal clay.
Furl not the flag, nor let your sorrow swell,
Let not your dull and dismal doleour dwell;—
The International! Come comrades, play!
Salute! The scarlet standard raise today!
He served, he led; he served and led us well.
Catch up his flaming torch and hold it high!
Forward! The dizzy heights are yet unscaled;
Roll drums! Close ranks! March on! Resume the road!
We cry not out for help, we need no goad;
Ere ebon night to silver dawn has paled
Our scarlet standard from the peak shall fly.

BOOK I.

The Working Class is **THE** thing. It must effect its own emancipation. Whoever is not of the Working Class owes to that Class whatever advantages of education he has enjoyed. It should be his pride to bestow such acquisitions upon the Working Class. If he affects disdain for it, then his acquisitions are worthless, and he is in the Movement only to exploit it.

—DANIEL DE LEON.

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REMINISCENCES

OF
DANIEL DE LEON

LEADER -- TEACHER — PATHFINDER

BY

HENRY KUHN

Former National Secretary, Socialist Labor Party of America

INTRODUCTORY

When, on Saturday, September 14, 1918, our National Secretary, Arnold Petersen, urged upon me that I undertake to add to the present volume such of my reminiscences during the period of my close association with our late comrade, Daniel De Leon, as I considered of value as a contribution to the history of the Socialist Labor Party, I was at first taken aback. I knew what that meant in point of research, in gathering again the mass of material that had passed through my hands during the formative and most stressful period of the Party's existence and I also felt that, not being able to give to so important an undertaking a measure of time ample enough to insure painstaking performance, I would have to rely, extensively, upon the indulgence of the reader, the more so since I can not, by any stretch of the imagination, be considered an historian, either by others or by myself.

However, the idea once implanted did not let me rest, but continued to revolve in the mind. I realized that the time is, perhaps, not far distant when that which I can say now, as well as the material I can yet gather and preserve in print, for such use as our movement might be able to make of in the future, could not perhaps be said and gathered any more and might be thus lost forever. Accordingly, I made an effort to free myself, for a short time at least, from all other work and bend to the task, hoping that, wherever I might fall short in regard to the manner and form of presentation, the reader might find compensation in the substance presented.

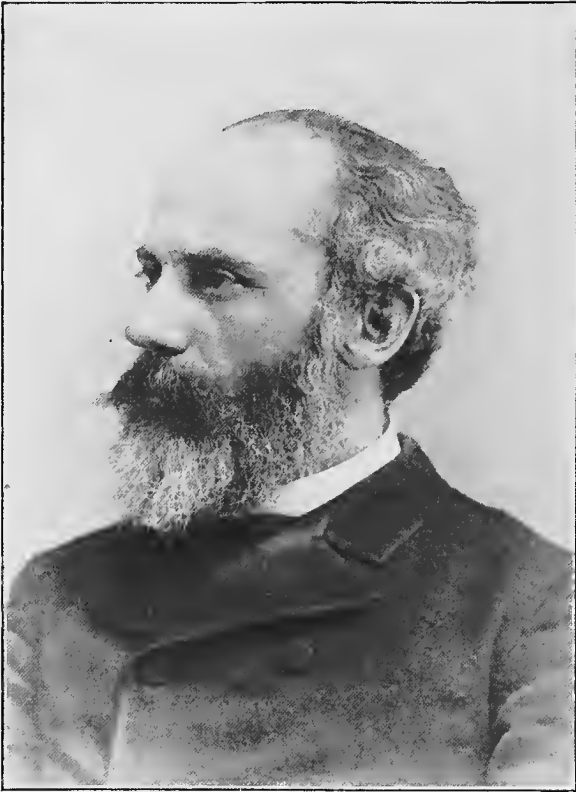
Inasmuch as this is to be, chiefly, a narrative of the activity in our movement, and of the effect produced upon that movement, of the most notable man the movement has produced, and only incidentally a narrative of the intimate association that existed for so many years between him and myself, I have endeavored to adhere closely to the text, deviating

therefrom only when considerations of historic accuracy made it necessary to refer to matters on which we were fated to differ in spite of otherwise undisturbed and harmonious relations, both official and personal.

It has not been an easy task to do justice either to the man or to the subject. For one thing, De Leon has not gone hence long enough to give all of us the proper perspective of his life and of his work; and, for another, the men and women of his own generation can not, in the nature of things, perceive always the full effect his life and his work have had and yet will have upon conditions, political, industrial and social. As the imposing figure of De Leon recedes into the past, and as the further evolution of our social system will add to mankind's experience and produce new viewpoints, in that measure will the effect of De Leon's work come out clearer and ever clearer. Today, we may be prone often to fail in distinguishing between cause and effect. A more distant historic perspective will bring out the one and the other, and, when that time has come, an abler hand may undertake to present to the world the true worth of the man as well as the true significance of his work. But such as this present effort is, it must needs be accepted, and it is herewith submitted to the jury of the readers.

Brooklyn, N. Y., October 15, 1918.

HENRY KUHN.



DANIEL DE LEON

WHEN HB FIRST ENTERED THE LABOR MOVEMENT 1886

PART I

From 1886 to 1896.—Make-up of Early S. L. P.
De Leon's Entrance into the Party.—"Boring
From Within".—Formation of S. T. &
L. A. and Endorsement of Same by S. L. P.
Forerunner of Industrial Unionism.

My earliest recollection of De Leon dates back to the year 1886, the days of the Henry George campaign and of the "Nationalist" movement, a collectivist movement that had sprung up after the publication of Edward Bellamy's "Looking Backward," a book that stirred up not a little interest in those days and that was industriously spread by all who took a more than passing interest in Socialism. De Leon delivered a lecture on some subject connected with that Nationalist movement and I had gone over to New York to hear him. Of the lecture itself I have today no recollection whatever, but the lecturer, how he spoke and how he looked, all that I can conjure up before my mind's eye as distinctly as though it happened yesterday. A portrait of De Leon, published in the 25th anniversary souvenir of the Weekly People, depicting him as he looked at the time of his entrance into the Socialist movement, corresponds precisely with the mental picture I have of him when he delivered the aforesaid lecture; if that portrait be made part of this volume, it will greatly enhance its value and be an aid to the reader. It will be observed that, on this picture, De Leon wears a stiff collar; when I got to

know him better, a few years later, he had emancipated himself in that respect and he remained in that state ever after, while the rest of us continued the slaves of convention in the matter of wearing collars.

In 1889, the seat of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party having been transferred from New York to Brooklyn by the national convention held in Chicago that year, the Party's agitation was, naturally, directed from that point. The then National Secretary was Benjamin J. Gretsck, a young Russian law student, and I remember well the day when Gretsck, at one of the meetings of the body, proposed that we arrange an agitation tour with De Leon as the speaker. This tour, undertaken in 1891, and extending as far west as the Pacific coast, brought De Leon over to our meetings, first before he started and again when he had returned, and we had, besides, his frequent and comprehensive reports while en route.

An Exotic National Committee

To my mind, that tour was the beginning of the change that was to transform the Socialist Labor Party from the body it was then, into the body it became later, the two becoming more unlike each other as time went on. With the advent of De Leon, a powerful intellect and a masterful and commanding personality was brought to bear upon what was at first a decidedly peculiar situation. Looking backward over these many years, in the light of all that has happened since, and in the light of all I myself have learned, I can not today help thinking that we, the then N. E. C., and the entire Party for that matter, must have looked rather quaint to a man like De Leon. Gretsck and I were, sometimes (as the composition of the body happened to change), the only ones on that committee able to speak English. Correspondence in that "foreign" tongue, unless dealing with simple routine matters, had to be "explained" to the rest of the members. They were full of devotion to the cause as they conceived it, many of them were excellent men in point of character, but they were strangers in a strange land, called upon to handle a situation the potentialities of which they had no

way of understanding or of meeting. It is true, they understood their own organization, because 99 per cent. of that was composed of men like themselves, but what could be done with and could be made of that organization, all that was to them a book with seven seals.

S. L. P. Chooses "De Leonite" Secretary

A few months after De Leon had returned from that tour, Gretsck resigned his office to take up the practice of law and, for the reasons outlined, the mantle descended upon me. There was hardly any one else in sight; it was a case of being the "logical" candidate. Well do I remember the misgivings I entertained as to my ability to fill the office creditably, but all reluctance was finally swept aside by the urgings of my co-members on the committee. Little did I know then what the coming years would have in store for me and how the condition of comparative complacency, then prevailing, would change to one closely resembling a running battle with scarcely a breathing spell between different actions. I took office in September, 1891, and, from that time on, came into ever-closer personal contact with De Leon, learning to know him perhaps as intimately as one man may know another. I was then just beyond 32 and De Leon was 7 years my senior. He a man of broad education, of much experience in life, of great intellectual force, whose active and comprehensive mind rapidly digested the new experience he was gaining through his connection with the Labor movement and, who, thereupon, forcefully reacted upon his environment. I, on the other hand, a proletarian, taken from the workshop and put into an office, still plastic, eager to learn, with some practical experience in the Labor movement, both in its economic and in its political phases, having gone through the Knights of Labor during the palmiest days of that order as a member of the Bookbinders' Union and having been, for several years past, a member of the S. L. P. A voracious reader, I had, since 1883, read what Socialist literature I could get hold of, in both English and German, and I shall never forget my first reading of the Communist Manifesto and the impression it made upon me.

De Leon Instrument of Providence

Naturally, the influence upon me by a mind like De Leon's was great and did much to shape the entire course of my life, the more so since that influence was constant for over 20 years of close co-operation through the storm and stress, the endless difficulties and the incessant struggles of the Socialist movement of America. Indeed, no sentient human being could have escaped being influenced by a personality such as De Leon's. His vast knowledge, made mobile and available by a virile mentality, the purity of his motives engendering a flawless devotion to the movement, his absolute fearlessness and steadfastness in the face of whatever might befall, never wavering, never faltering, never perturbed, no matter what disappointments, setbacks and difficulties the troubled waters of the Labor movement might cast ashore, he was, indeed, a tower of strength. It was as though Providence had first shaped and then selected him as an instrument to hold aloft the banner of the Social Revolution at a time and during a period when, seemingly, no one else could have so held it. And, coupled with these rugged characteristics of the leader, the forerunner, the pioneer of a new Social Order, were the more human characteristics of the man, the friend, the companion, the husband and father. Sunny of disposition, kindly, vivacious, always ready with an anecdote or a jest, which latter he had to "get out of his system or 'bust'", as he often used to say, Daniel De Leon, the man, certainly was a being far different from the horned and hooped fiend his enemies used to depict him when, in their incessant assaults, they could find no vulnerable spot in his armor and were compelled to resort to that style of warfare. The maxim, "If you can't beat your foe, call him names," is as old as the human race and is always new; perhaps it always will be.

Still "Boring From Within"

But, even to an intellect like De Leon's, the Labor movement was a new problem wherein he had to get his bearings, more especially as to its economic phase. Thus, during the next few years, 1891-1894, we see that strenuous efforts were

made to inoculate the trade unions of the land with Socialist revolutionary principles by means of a method designated in those days as "boring from within." These efforts were made in the local unions, in the local central bodies and, through these, it was sought to carry the revolutionary propaganda into the national conventions of the American Federation of Labor, as well as of the Knights of Labor. In regard to the former organization, these efforts culminated, in the early 90's, in the election of Lucien Sanial as the delegate of the New York Central Labor Federation to the annual national convention of the American Federation of Labor, at Detroit, Mich. It must here be borne in mind that Section New York, S. L. P., was represented in the C. L. F.; that Sanial was the Section's delegate to that body; that the C. L. F. chose him as its delegate to the Detroit convention of the A. F. of L., with the openly understood and expressed purpose of carrying the propaganda of Socialism into the latter body. The capitalist henchmen, dominating that body, knew precisely what he had been sent for and the issue was clear. Sanial made a memorable fight in that convention on the question of his admission as a delegate, but his credentials were rejected.

K. of L. Invaded

De Leon, on the other hand, carried the fight into the Knights of Labor. To the present generation of readers, some brief explanation must be made to make the situation intelligible to them. The Order of the Knights of Labor was an organization originally quite different from the American Federation of Labor, in organic structure as well as in underlying principle. It was founded by a set of men who, however deficient in understanding of our social fabric according to present day standards, had a purpose higher and purer than the A. F. of L. ever laid claim to. They really wanted to organize the working class as against the capitalist class, not only the skilled crafts but all of the working class, skilled and unskilled, with a decided tendency to go after the unskilled first on the theory that they needed organization most. There existed in the Order a distinct revulsion against the craft union spirit and, in a crude and groping way, they had hold of the

germ of the idea of industrial unionism, as far as that was possible in those days. I remember well the zeal and devotion of some of these men and their earnestness, being myself a member during the 80's and coming in contact with some of the leading spirits in the then famous D. A. 49, the most radical of the "District Assemblies" as the local central bodies of the Order were called. A healthy class instinct animated them and, to paraphrase a familiar saying, "They were on the way, though they didn't know where to go." Often have I mused what might have been had the S. L. P. of 1899 existed in 1883, had it been possible to instil into that fermenting mass the spirit and the knowledge the S. L. P. of 1899 possessed, backed by the power and material resources then at its command enabling it to transmute class instinct into class consciousness.

At one time the Order had a membership far beyond the million mark, but capitalist influences, scenting the rising danger, had provided the antidote by the formation of the American Federation of Labor, in 1881, and the incessant fight it had carried on against the Order had told. But that alone would not have mattered so much had not these same capitalist influences carried the corroding poison of corruption into the Order. Its management had slipped out of the hands of the element that had founded it and a set of crooked politicians, headed by one Terence V. Powderly, as General Master Workman, was at the helm. Thus, when De Leon entered the order, via D. A. 49, the organization had long ago passed its zenith and was on the downward part of the curve. But it still had respectable numbers and, with all the vim of his energetic personality, De Leon set to work to clean out that nest of fakers. He beat Powderly and made him quit, only to see him rewarded with a political job by the capitalist class he had served so well. He beat Powderly's successor, a fellow named James R. Sovereign, but it was found in the end that the whole fabric of the organization was rotten to the core and nothing could be gained by capturing what had been reduced to a nest of crooks.

S. T. & L. A. Formed

Then came the next epoch in the development of the So-

cialist movement of America, the formation of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

Right here, it is necessary to note, for the sake of historic accuracy, that in all this prodigious work, from its very beginning back in 1889, down to the year 1902, De Leon had been ably and chiefly assisted by two men; Hugo Vogt, a former student of jurisprudence, whom the Bismarckian anti-Socialist laws had exiled from Germany; and Lucien Sanial, in his younger days a French naval officer, who had long been active in the Socialist movement, first in France and, later, for many years in America. Sanial was De Leon's senior by about 18 to 20 years, while Vogt was about 7 years younger than De Leon. Of the two, Vogt was perhaps the more able and certainly the more efficient, partly because of mental attributes and also because, being himself a German, he was in a position, up to 1899, to wield considerable influence within and upon the many German trade and other labor organizations which, in the very nature of things in those days, had to serve as a fulcrum whenever the S. L. P. lever had to be applied to dislodge some obstruction in the path of the revolutionary movement. Sanial, lacking this advantage of position, was, nevertheless, a valuable man. An effective and fluent speaker in English, despite his atrocious French accent, a writer of clear and forceful English, a man who had quite a reputation as a statistician, in physique broad-shouldered, heavy-set, of venerable appearance, he was the very antithesis of the rather undersized, frail and youngish-looking Vogt. Sanial certainly was a good third of the De Leon-Vogt-Sanial team. Vogt, cool, calculating, logical, and wielding a forceful tongue and pen; Sanial, though old enough to have been Vogt's father, more mercurial in temperament, optimistic often to a fault, often inclined to be visionary, easily impressed with this scheme or that to advance the cause, but for all that always stable in his fealty to that cause.

This rapid sketch of the two men is here inserted for the reason of the part they will play in these pages up to a certain point, and, for the further reason of preparing the reader's mind for the astounding later developments, in the course of which both gave way under the terrific strain the movement

imposes upon men who have to stand in the breach, so to speak. These two of the tri-partite team succumbed; the third, De Leon, like a rock jutting out into a raging sea, breasted the dash of the angry waves until the grim reaper, death, laid low the mortal part of him; his other part, that which in the language of Sam French can not, will not and did not die, is immortal and will be with us as a living force as long as the struggle for human emancipation will go on, is influencing our thought and action today and will continue to influence countless other human beings yet unborn.

Factors Three

Returning from this digression to the subject in hand, and taking up again the thread of the narrative when the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was about to be formed, several factors must now be borne in mind. One is that the backbone of the new organization was D. A. 49, K. of L. This District Assembly pulled away from the rapidly crumbling parent body and helped to form the S. T. & L. A. It furnished perhaps the best and the cleanest element of its component parts, the one least affected by tendencies to be described later. It was largely an English-speaking element.

Another factor that entered into the situation was the Central Labor Federation of New York, a local central body largely composed of German "progressive" unions and these often dominated, overtly or covertly, by influences not always friendly to the new departure and becoming less so when, in the course of time, the revolutionary posture of the S. T. & L. A. became more marked and, correspondingly, more inconvenient to this element. The origin of the Central Labor Federation goes back to the year 1886, and was the result of a breaking away from the utterly corrupt and faked Central Labor Union, a body so rotten and stenchful and so honeycombed with capitalist political influences that, to use a phrase of Artemus Ward, it was entirely "2 mutch" even for the none too clean "progressive" unions which had fakers of their own aplenty. But the membership in these unions, still to an extent under the influence of the traditions of the movement in Germany, made it advisable and even

necessary for the "progressive" faker to be more careful and not ply his dirty trade as openly as did his prototype in the C. L. U. In the C. L. F. fakerism was still an excrescence, to be hidden if possible, and to be explained and apologized for if it came to light; in the C. L. U. it was innate, shamelessly open, part and parcel of its very being. Moreover, the material interests of these two sets of fakers often clashed, the C. L. U. set being prone often to disregard entirely those of the "Dutchmen."

To the two foregoing factors must now be added a third, somewhat loosely connected with the other two, namely, that swarm of "progressive" organizations, forming a sort of comet's tail to the "progressive" movement, singing societies, sick societies, burial societies, cremation societies, fire insurance societies, athletic societies (so-called Turn Vereins), and so on ad infinitum, their membership partly middle class but chiefly working class, the latter portion dovetailing closely into the various unions of brewers, bricklayers, waiters, musicians, framers, carpenters, cabinet-makers, pianomakers, bakers, etc., etc., that made up the C. L. F. De Leon's fertile mind invented and added thereto the pretzel varnishers and the horse-tail scrubbers and, while these had no real existence, they nevertheless were instrumental in causing a near-assault upon him at one of the later meetings of the New Yorker Volkszeitung Publishing Association, after the fight was in full swing and the temperature had risen rather high. An irate "progressive," deficient in sense of humor, shook his first in De Leon's face, was shoved back none too gently by him and, rushing back at him again with evil intent, had to be tapped on the nose by an innocent bystander.

No one can understand the situation then prevailing, unless aware of the existence and understanding the significance of these three factors and then adds to them a fourth, the New Yorker Volkszeitung, a daily newspaper professedly Socialist, and serving as the bond that connected the factors two and three. For the sake of historic accuracy it must be noted that there were three other bodies that joined the new organization, a small central body in Brooklyn, called the Socialist Labor Federation, a sort of offshoot of the New

York C. I. U., the United Hebrew Trades, located in old New York, and a small central body in Newark, N. J., but these did not materially affect the general situation here depicted, neither of them being "factors" in the sense described. The Brooklyn and the Newark bodies were composed of the same elements as was the New York C. L. F. and ran in the same rut in a different locality. The U. H. T., on the other hand, was not strong enough in those days greatly to affect the complexion of the Alliance as a whole. Immediately upon the formation of the S. T. & L. A., opposition began to raise its head, at first rather undefined and impalpable, but taking shape and coming out into the open after the national convention of the S. L. P., held in 1896, had endorsed the S. T. & L. A. What is here rapidly sketched embodied, of course, an enormous amount of work of which De Leon had an ample share. He was indefatigable, speaking, lecturing, organizing, both in the trade unions and in the Party, both locally and elsewhere, aside from his work as editor in chief of *The People*, the official Party organ, his efforts ably seconded by the two men already mentioned, Sanial and Vogt.

Labor Faker An Indigenous Product

At this juncture, it is well again to digress a little and throw a backward glance at what the Party organization had been doing and how it had been faring in the meantime. This was my specific field and to it I had devoted almost my entire attention, taking a hand only now and then in the work on the economic field. The Party organization had developed wonderfully, the number of local "Sections" having increased from 113, in 1893, to 200 in 1896, with a membership increase that sent us close up to the 6,000 mark. The Party's vote showed marked increases where we had been in the field before, and newly-formed Sections, in many parts of the country, had raised the political standard and had added to the total figures.

The strikingly able manner in which De Leon conducted *The People*, attracted to the movement many strong men who, in turn, reacted upon the building up of the organiza-

tion. The People had become a paper admired, respected—and feared by such as had reasons to fear it. De Leon knew the American labor faker to be one of the most serious obstacles in the path of the revolutionary Socialist movement and he dealt with him accordingly, camping on his trail, exposing his crooked capitalist connections and thus conveying to the duped rank and file the needed warning. The capitalist atmosphere in the United States, productive of rich pickings in politics and in industry, breeds the labor faker as a swamp will breed mosquitoes. During an election campaign, the capitalist politician will “shell out” in exchange for labor organization “endorsements” even if he knows them to be worthless as vote producers, while on the industrial field strikes may be threatened, may be called and may be settled; labels and union “stamps” may be granted and may be withheld, all of which furnishes endless opportunities for the labor crook to feather his own nest at the expense and over the back of his rank and file. All of this is rather self-evident and would scarcely deserve mention were it not for the baneful effect that condition has upon the general Labor movement and, necessarily, upon its revolutionary wing as well.

New York City has, during the last thirty years or so, furnished another striking example of the indigenous growth of the American labor faker. At the time when, due to the industrial expansion of Germany the immigration of workers from that country began to slow up, a heavy Jewish immigration began to set in, tending to transform or at least to affect, vitally, the character of the city's population. Jewish unions were formed in great number and numbers, a Jewish central labor body arose, the United Hebrew Trades, which body became the incubator of a set of labor fakers second to none the country over.

De Leon understood this condition, he knew what it meant and that it must be fought day in and day out, mercilessly, without let-up, never balking at reiteration if reiteration would drive the important lesson home to the rank and file. With the labor faker as an American “institution,” De Leon has dealt exhaustively and scientifically in his “Two Pages from Roman History,” a pamphlet based upon two

lectures delivered by him in New York, one that no serious student of the American Labor movement should be without and, indeed, should know by heart.

S. L. P. Endorses S. T. & L. A.

Under such conditions did the S. L. P. enter upon its ninth national convention of 1896. That convention marked another milestone in the Party's development towards an ever clearer perception of its true mission in the Labor movement of this country. Having grown to a state of maturity, it took a step which, in 1893, would have been impossible. The newly-founded Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was endorsed with the clear understanding of what this step implied; that it meant a declaration of war against the "pure and simple" trades unions of the land, typified by the American Federation of Labor, the erstwhile powerful Knights of Labor having in the meantime almost vanished from the field. At the convention, the subject was introduced by Vogt, leading off, on Monday, July 6, with a carefully prepared speech which, in substance at least, is to be found in the "Proceedings of the Ninth Convention of the Socialist Labor Party," and De Leon then followed by introducing the resolution of endorsement, the "Resolved" part of which read: "That we hail with unqualified joy the formation of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance as a giant stride towards throwing off the yoke of wage slavery and of the robber class of capitalists. We call upon the Socialists of the land to carry the revolutionary spirit of the S. T. & L. A. into all the organizations of the workers, and thus consolidate and concentrate the proletariat of America into one class-conscious army, equipped both with the shield of the economic organization and the sword of the Socialist Labor Party ballot."

The opposition, what there was of it in the convention, did not put up as much of a fight as might have been expected; it was overwhelmed, not alone in numbers, but also in point of ability and forcefulness displayed on the side of the this time truly progressive element. When the vote was taken, it stood 71 in favor of the resolution and 6 against, with one

delegate not voting. It is interesting to note that even such a dyed-in-the-wool labor skate as one G. A. Hoehn, of St. Louis, caved in and voted in favor of taking that revolutionary step forward, though, no doubt, never for a moment intending to live up to his vote. But for all that it had been a battle royal, the speeches made setting forth clearly the new road the Party was to journey on. Sanial and Vogt took a very prominent part in that debate and De Leon's effort, closing the same, was particularly brilliant.

Gold and Silver in 1896

The political situation of that day was interesting and was also decidedly hot. The capitalist forces had, at the outset of the Presidential campaign, divided along the line of the creditor and debtor divisions of capitalist interests, the former waving the "full" dinner-pail, while the latter allegedly objected to the crucifixion of mankind "on a cross of gold." The Republicans, headed by McKinley, stood for the maintenance of the gold monetary standard, objecting strenuously to the cheapening of money, which they clearly saw would result if the Democrats, headed by Bryan, were successful in foisting upon the country the free coinage of silver at the proposed ratio of 16 to 1, i. e., at the ratio of 16 ounces of silver to 1 ounce of gold. The Populist Party had, incidentally, been swallowed, hide and hair, by the Democratic Party when Bryan raised the free silver standard and became their joint nominee for President. The free silver craze, an economic absurdity flying in the face of the very cornerstone of Socialist economics, the law of exchange value, had to be combatted by us and we had thus to occupy a rather difficult position, appearing to the ignorant as though we were supporting the position of the pro-gold-standard Republicans. The work of that campaign imposed heavy burdens upon De Leon who, with speech and pen, had to maintain the Party's position under these difficult conditions, in addition taking upon himself the candidacy for Member of Congress, in the old 9th Congressional District, where he conducted a very vigorous campaign and polled a vote of 4,300.

PART II

From 1896 to 1906.—Enemy Machinations against Party Policy.—Kangaroo Outbreak. Kanglets Imitation of Same.—Formation of I. W. W. Formulates Policy of Industrial Unionism.

The election over, the internal situation of the Party organization again required attention. The opposition against the Party's trade union policy began to show signs of possessing some degree of organization in a greater measure than had been the case theretofore. In a country like ours, where, to a greater extent than elsewhere, the capitalist class is dependent for its political dominance upon working class votes, it is by virtue of that fact and by the very instinct of self-preservation impelled to watch closely any attempt, on the part of any portion of the working class, that may be menacing to capitalist interests. We may safely take for granted that the steady growth of the S. L. P. did not escape its attention; likewise we may take for granted that the potential dangers of that growth were fully understood and appreciated; and, ditto, we may take for granted that appropriate steps were taken to dispel that potential menace as far as could be done. What dark lantern work was resorted to in engaging the leading actors of the conspiracy against the Party, and to egg on their semi-conscious or wholly unconscious camp-followers, will probably never be known.

The conspiracy soon took shape, however, manifesting itself, at first, in more or less concerted assaults upon the

Party's policy in local organizations, then in ever more concerted attempts to have that policy reversed by forcing one general vote after the other upon the Party organization, and, when all this failed, by an open attack in the editorial columns of the New Yorker Volkszeitung, which paper, quite naturally, became the rallying point of the conspirators. By the time the Volkszeitung editorial attack was made, things had already come to a head and the fight was on in earnest.

Tommy Morgan at Buffalo

Concurrently with this work of mining and sapping within the Party organization, the same kind of work was carried on in the C. L. F., the rather rotten filling in the warp of the S. T. & L. A. Open conflict with the C. L. F. was hastened when, in a Labor Day souvenir issued by that body, advertisements of capitalist politicians appeared, and when the body itself could not be made to take a decided stand against the enterprising fakers who had engineered that sort of thing, the fight was carried into the national convention of the S. T. & L. A. held, in 1898, at Buffalo, N. Y. Both De Leon and I were delegates. To have some sort of counterweight against De Leon who, as the fakers well knew, was after their scalps, they had secured Thomas J. Morgan, of Chicago, a man who had evolved from a machinist into a lawyer, a rather queer personality, as vain as a peacock and known all over the country as Tommy I. I. I. Morgan, which modification of his name he had earned by the constant reiteration in his speeches of the personal pronoun, first person, singular. He had some reputation as a speaker and writer and had acquired further fame as the introducer of the famous "Plank 10," embodied in the program of the A. F. of L. at the Detroit convention, utterly disregarded by the officialdom of the organization and then knocked out at the next convention, at Denver, Col. Morgan was a Socialist "too." His "Plank 10," calling for the collective ownership of the means of production, was to transform the A. F. of L. into a Socialist body, not all at once but bye and bye, which explains that Tommy Morgan was the possessor of a robust optimism and withal a rather unsophisticated man, provided

we assume that he believed what he professed to believe.

Mr. Morgan did not cut a very heroic figure at Buffalo. He had a bad cause (or case) to defend and he knew it; moreover, he had De Leon to contend with, as a counterweight to whom he was rather too light in the head. The conspirators had a narrow margin of votes in their favor, yet were powerless to do much with it. A running fight ensued, but before the convention adjourned De Leon was compelled, for some imperative reason, to return to New York. Before he left we held a council of war at which it was agreed that, whenever the majority tried to put through some crooked motion bearing upon the fight, which naturally meant attempted exoneration of the fakers, I was to move to refer such matter to a general vote of the membership. That was done. I made the necessary motions; Comrade Jacob Alexander, of Albany, N. Y., seconded them. The situation was such that the majority could not hold its vote together to oppose such motions, some of their adherents not daring to vote against, the result being that every such motion was carried to so refer.

After that convention the S. T. & L. A. and the C. L. F. parted company. Prior to that convention, the Volkszeitung element and its co-conspirators within the Party used to accuse us loudly and lengthily for harboring in the S. T. & L. A. such scamps as they declared that C. L. F. leading element to be. After the convention, all sins being forgiven, both these elements promptly fell into each other's arms and joined forces against the Party. The struggle was on.

Taxation Taxes Party Patience

The supreme test was soon to come. The situation presented several elements that must now be made clear. When, as has already been mentioned, the New Yorker Volkszeitung began to attack the Party's trade union policy openly in its editorial columns, The People, of course, hit back and a rather interesting polemic ensued. The Volkszeitung, anxious to raise dust to obscure the real issue, had injected into the controversy a side issue, namely, the question of "taxation," claiming that the working class is made to pay taxes out of

its wages and that, inferentially, the working class was, for that reason, interested in the taxation policies of the capitalist political parties. This position was vigorously combatted by De Leon, as the editor of *The People*, and by Vogt, the editor of the German Party organ, the "*Vorwaerts*." De Leon, in an editorial article under the caption: "Sign-Posts That Will Have to Guide the Party for the Safe-keeping of a Daily People," and published in *The People* of April 2, 1899, summed up the entire register of *Volkszeitung* sins committed up to that time. The *Volkszeitung* now felt the pressing need of addressing itself also to the English-speaking portion of the Party's membership, so as to make clear to that portion the beauties of its taxation position.

Accordingly, there appeared, on April 29, 1899, a sheet designated as the "Monthly English Edition of the New Yorker *Volkszeitung*," which, in the course of time, came to be known as the "Taxpayer" for short. The paper opened with an address "To the Members of the Socialist Labor Party," which related all the grievances the *Volkszeitung* had by this time accumulated, and for the rest it was given over entirely to an exposition of its taxation position. Silly, vapid, inane, labored, much of it in rather curious English, it was a success as a contribution to the humorous literature of the day, but it also angered the Party. To get that sheet into the hands of the Party membership, the *Volkszeitung* had coolly made use of the mailing list of *The People* and, when taken to task about that, it claimed, with equal coolness, that it had a perfect right to do so.

With this view the Party, of course, disagreed emphatically and an acrimonious controversy ensued. To understand how the *Volkszeitung* had access to and could use the mailing list of *The People*, it must be observed that, under an agreement made in 1891, when *The People* was started, the "Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association," the corporation that owned the *Volkszeitung*, printed the paper and in return received the revenue derived from its sale. The same arrangement, entered into at a later date, existed in regard to the German Party organ, the "*Vorwaerts*." In the course of the aforesaid controversy, a situation arose that

finally caused the National Executive Committee of the Party to submit to the membership, for a general vote, the question: "Shall the Party sever all connections between it and the Socialistic Co-operative Publishing Association; continue, through its National Executive Committee, the publication of its organs, The People and Vorwaerts, and demand from the said Association the unconditional surrender of all property belonging to the said organs, including their respective mailing lists and the amount of subscriptions paid in advance?"

The Volkszeitung was now at the parting of the ways. Repudiation by the Party was staring it in the face and the situation, from its point of view, was growing desperate. At the very outset there was no doubt how that vote would go and, as returns began to come in, speculation as to the outcome became certainty. The aforesaid call for the general vote, accompanied by a statement that set forth the successive developments that had taken place, was issued on June 6, 1899, and the vote was to close on August 1 of that year. For the Volkszeitung, time was both short and precious; action of some sort had become imperative.

Kangaroos Break Loose

The fight that had raged for some time past now became still more intense. In the National Executive Committee there was just one loose wheel, a man named Stahl who, an out and out Volkszeitung supporter, tried to obstruct where he could or thought he could but was powerless to do much more than just nag and irritate. But elsewhere the conspirators were better represented and they put up as vigorous a fight as they could. We fought in the Assembly District organizations of Section Greater New York, we fought in the Volkszeitung Publishing Association, we fought in the local unions of the S. T. & L. A., we fought everywhere with tongue and pen, De Leon always leading, always in the thick of it, yet always cheerful, always full of resource, never faltering, never dispirited. It was then often said of him that he would rather fight than eat. Finally, after the contending forces had, on July 8, 1899, collided in actual physical conflict, at a meeting of the General Committee of Section Greater

New York, came the culmination of the struggle on July 10, 1899, in the shape of an unsuccessful midnight raid on the Party's national offices, then located in the building of the *Volkszeitung*, at 184 William street.

To enter here into the details of that memorable conflict would lead me too far afield. These details have been set forth, exhaustively and documentarily, in the "Proceedings of the Tenth National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party," to which the student of Party history must be referred. That midnight raid of July 10th was no mere riotous outburst. Far from it. It was premeditated, had a definite purpose and was based upon a theory. This was the theory: On Sunday, July 9, 1899, there appeared in the *Volkszeitung* a call for a fake General Committee meeting of Section Greater New York, to be held next day. At this meeting the conspirators gathered and proceeded to "depose" all Party officers, local, state and national. Then they "elected" a new set of "officers," whereupon, after gathering numerous and promiscuous re-enforcements, and, after providing these with sundry weapons, they came down to the Party headquarters demanding surrender of what they claimed was theirs. They got "theirs." After the fight was over, it was De Leon's coolness under stress, his commanding personality, his knowledge of our legal status, that saved the Party's property and foiled the raiders. It is true that, in expectation of the raid, we had removed all we could and thought essential, but enough was left to have made valuable booty for the foe. We, who had fought fiercely in that midnight battle against thrice our numbers, were either wounded or exhausted. He had been planted at his desk, his room securely barricaded and when a squad of police, guns in hand, arrived and stopped the fight, it was he who took the situation in hand. He showed the officer in command that we were in lawful possession, that we had been assailed and he demanded that the invaders be thrown out. They were thrown out.

Cleansed Party Wins Legal Battle

The abortive coup de main at once cleansed the Party in New York of the disloyal element. Having come out in the

open, it could be dealt with and was promptly ejected. Henceforth, these men had to carry on their fight against the Party outside of the breastworks and that fight then took shape in a variety of forms. To begin with, the *Volkszeitung* at first succeeded in obtaining a temporary injunction against the members of the N. E. C., the purpose of which was to prevent them from publishing *The People*. Next came attempts to lay hands on Party funds through various litigations. They sought to confuse the working class of the land by setting up a counterfeit S. L. P., with a counterfeit *The People*. In its application for an injunction, the legal exigencies of the case were such that the *Volkszeitung* was estopped from including in its petition the real editor of the real *The People*, De Leon, who was thus left free to hammer the foe to his heart's content. And, oh, how he did hammer that foe! Reading *The People* of those days is an education in itself.

In this protracted legal battle, the Party finally won out all along the line. We won out in the injunction case and did not go to jail though we came very near it at one time, so near that the *Volkszeitung*, in a premature but very triumphant news item, announced that we would have to go to the lock-up; we won out on the ballot contest and preserved our name and emblem in New York State; we beat them when they tried to lay their claws on funds that had been gathered by the Party for a *Daily People*. No doubt there were powerful influences at work behind the scenes that favored a different outcome, but the conspiracy's methods had been too raw, its procedure too illegal, to make possible its being upheld in court without establishing precedents that would, at one time or other, recoil upon the established political parties of capitalism whenever they might have a "family row."

In the light of subsequent events, it is not without interest to quote an utterance of the New Yorker *Volkszeitung* of a much later date which illustrates the true attitude of that sheet towards the revolutionary Socialist movement. In its issue of September 2, 1909, more than ten years after the futile attempt to disrupt the S. L. P., that paper said: "Yes, the New Yorker *Volkszeitung* went so far in its defense of the

American Federation of Labor that it accepted the risk of a split in the Socialist movement of America in order to prevent a split in the trades union movement of the land, and to keep up the American Federation of Labor as the united body of American unionism." It must, of course, be understood that "accepting the risk" is used in a purely euphonious sense, for the New Yorker Volkszeitung and the elements behind it had little use for a truly revolutionary Socialist movement and certainly experienced no pangs of conscience in trying to disrupt it. The only movement it had any use for was one that it could control and that would fall in with the many petty and often unclean interests that centered around the paper. The S. L. P., having grown beyond its leading strings and maintaining an attitude of uncompromising hostility to these interests, was not a thing to be preserved from the Volkszeitung point of view and its disruption, if it could be accomplished, was a "risk" gladly assumed without any qualms of conscience.

In 1899 it was not difficult for a Socialist to properly appraise the true character of the A. F. of L.; and it was not difficult on September 2, 1909, while today, in 1918, its true character has become so unmistakable that it may readily be discerned by "the man in the street," but while mountains may heave and worlds may fall, so long as the New Yorker Volkszeitung sees in the pure and simple unions the pasture it must graze on, so long will it maintain its conception of "economic determinism." And that, of course, carries with it the defense of the A. F. of L. against the assaults of revolutionary Socialism and the maintenance of that champion of "Labor and Democracy" as the "united body of American unionism."

Before closing this chapter, and taking leave of the New Yorker Volkszeitung and its works, it is well to revert, once more, to an editorial utterance of that paper in its issue of May 13, 1914, just after Daniel De Leon had forever closed his eyes upon the world and its inhabitants, wherein, and in whose behalf, he had so valiantly battled for so many years. This editorial utterance, written on the occasion of De Leon's death, not only illustrates luminously the petty mind of the

person who penned it, but is also typical of the set of mental misfits conducting that paper. It is safe to assume that even at this very hour, when event after event the world over proves the unerring foresight of De Leon, as well as the immense value of his teachings; when it is clearly seen by millions of men and women, who never heard of De Leon, that the foundation that he sought to place the revolutionary Socialist movement on is the only safe and feasible one, the only way out, viz., the integral, revolutionary, industrial organization of the workers of the world, enabling the working class, everywhere, to take and hold and operate the means of production and distribution, so that, in time of a world crisis, when an old social system is seen in the throes of dissolution and a new order is being born, aye, even in such an hour would the insect minds of the *Volkszeitung* staff in all likelihood again pen the lines penned on May 13, 1914.

Here is the *Volkszeitung's* editorial. It is a "gem" in more ways than one that should not be left out of this volume but should be embalmed for future contemplation:

"DANIEL DE LEON.

"He, who expired on Monday evening, fared as did so many before him, he died a few decades too late; he outlived himself.

"True to his maxim to destroy what he could not rule, he concentrated, during the last fifteen years, his vitality and will-power upon tearing down what he, personally, had helped to create.

"And therein he was great, far greater than in construction and erection. De Leon was, indeed, a destructive genius, i. e., he was great in demolishing, in tearing down. With an hatred that was insatiable and unstillable, he fought since his entrance into the American labor movement—since 1892—against every movement of the working class of this country that showed success and that seemed to be in the ascendancy. It was contrary to his nature to perform constructive labor, he was the born caviller, who, everywhere, had to find fault, with whom only one person the world

around could do the right thing: Daniel De Leon.

"His fights against the Knights of Labor, to whom he himself had belonged, against the A. F. of L. and the Socialist Party, which he hated most heartily, no less than he hated the Volkszeitung, are too well known to our readers to deserve here more than passing mention. With the exception of the K. of L., which at the time of the De Leon-Sanial fight were already in a state of dissolution, the enmity of this man never had any evil consequences for those attacked by him, the sufferer was almost always the American working class which was by him entangled in struggles through which the capitalists alone would benefit. The reactionaries in the A. F. of L. were for many years greatly aided by the formation, set on foot by De Leon, of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and again, later, of the Industrial Workers of the World, and a Gompers, who would most likely have long ago been swept away by a progressive wave, is still the president of the A. F. of L.

"Therefore, was De Leon's friendship far more dangerous than his hatred. The S. L. P., led by him alone after the split in 1899, soon lost through his methods and tactics all importance, until, during the last years it was nothing but a rump, giving testimony of departed splendor. It died before him and buried him in its ruins.

"His death does not tear a gap....."

It is hard to say which is the more remarkable in this performance, its animus, or, its stupidity,—real or pretended. It is certainly superfluous to lose one word as to the attempted characterization of De Leon, the would-be characterizers being utterly unfit to appraise either the man or his work, but the alleged likelihood of a "progressive" wave that was to have swept away a Gompers is so ludicrous, when one contemplates the "sweeping" propensities of the S. P. delegations at the national conventions of the A. F. of L., as to cause a feeling of mingled merriment, disgust and anger. If memory serves me right, it was Mr. Victor L. Berger, one of the high lights of the S. P., who at the New Orleans, La., convention of the A. F. of L. moved to increase Gompers' salary; and it was Mr. Max Hayes, a sort of sec-

ond-grade light in the S. P., who seconded the motion; and, if again memory serves me right, the motion carried unanimously. Increasing Mr. Gompers' material prosperity and making his job more desirable to him looks like a queer preliminary to "sweeping him away"!

The Volkszeitung's closing observation to the effect that De Leon's death did not tear a gap is plausible enough, for, surely, it didn't—in the ranks of the Volkszeitungites. They, on the contrary, heaved a vain sigh of relief when they heard the news, vain because dead or alive they can not hope to escape De Leon, who, in his every word and every deed, was and is a standing reproach to the Volkszeitung element, a reproach growing more formidable as time passes on.

National Convention of 1900

We now arrive at the time of the national convention of the Party, held in New York, June 2 to June 8, 1900, the largest, the most enthusiastic and the most fateful convention the Party had ever held. Prior to the convention, the local and general situation, having shaped itself as the result of the bitter strife, had led to premature action towards the establishment of the Daily People. At a general meeting of the membership of New York and vicinity, called to consider this matter, a plausible statement was submitted which tried to show how, by doing this and by not doing something else, the funds in hand would be sufficient to see the venture through. Not being able to see things in the rosy light presented, I opposed, but such was the enthusiasm of the meeting, such the desire for action that would place into the Party's hands a daily paper to meet the constant attacks of the daily Volkszeitung, that I stood practically alone and the motion to begin publication on July 1, 1900, was carried overwhelmingly. Thus, at the time the national convention met, preparations were already well under way and the convention simply endorsed what had been done. Accordingly, the Daily People was launched on the above date with funds in hand much below the mark that had always been set as a minimum requirement. That spelled future troubles which, in due time, came thick and fast.

VOL. 1, No. 1.

NEW YORK, SUNDAY, JULY 1, 1900.

SUNDAY, 2 CENTS.

WAR HEARING.

The Situation in China De-coming More Serious.

U. S. Senate, June 30. The most important news item of the day is the report of the American Embassy in Peking, which states that the situation in China is becoming more serious.

The report states that the Chinese government is making no effort to stop the violence in the provinces. The American government is therefore taking steps to protect its interests in China.

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CANDIDATES OF THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY



FOR PRESIDENT
Joseph Francis Malloney
MACHINEY
OF MASSACHUSETTS



FOR VICE-PRESIDENT
Valentine Rimmel
GLASGOWMAN
OF PENNSYLVANIA

RUSSIAN ELECTIONS.

Royal Scandal of the Labor Party in Yekaterinburg and Sverdlovsk.

The Social Party, which is one of the most important parties in the Russian Empire, has just held its annual conference in Yekaterinburg. The conference was held in a hall which was filled with delegates from all over the empire.

The conference was held in a hall which was filled with delegates from all over the empire. The delegates discussed the situation in the empire and the role of the Social Party.

DISSENT OF PLAT.

PLATON, the leader of the dissenters, has just published a pamphlet in which he expresses his views on the situation in the empire.

PRINTERS DISORGANIZED.

The printers in the district of Pskov have just become disorganized. This is due to the fact that the printers are not paid for their work.

CHINA ON HER BARS.

The Chinese government is now on her bars. This is due to the fact that the Chinese government is not paying for the goods which it has ordered from the United States.

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ACCIDENTAL DEATH.

A man named John Smith has just died accidentally. This is due to the fact that he was drinking too much alcohol.

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PLATON'S REPLY TO THE STATE DEPARTMENT.

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FACSIMILE DAILY PEOPLE

FIRST ISSUE

Another momentous step, taken by the 1900 convention, was to insert into the Party's constitution a provision that "No officer of a pure and simple trade or labor organization shall be a member of a Section." This, too, was an action that grew directly out of the bitter struggle the Party had gone through, which struggle dominated the minds of the membership and created a psychology favorable to the adoption of such a measure. When going over the speeches made at the convention in support of this measure, one is struck by the ever recurring note in most of them that it would protect our membership against pure and simple contamination; that failure to adopt the measure would make possible their becoming corrupted by the allurements held out to them when officers of such organizations, and that this corruption would then be carried into the Party organization. Viewing this contention in the light of all that has happened since and in the light of the fact that the S. L. P. has since thought best to again abolish that provision, it may, perhaps, be said that the pure and simpler had about as much ground for the counter contention that S. L. P. men, becoming officers of unions, would be apt to become a danger to pure and simpledom, a menace to the labor faker, that might often disturb his peace of mind and make life a burden to him, due to the revolutionary propaganda these men would carry on amongst the membership from the vantage point of officers of the union. The class struggle is, after all, not an affair of today and tomorrow only and it is a long road that has no turn.

Unable to see that any good, but that, on the contrary, a lot of harm might follow the adoption of such a measure, I opposed it. The idea of protecting S. L. P. men in that way did not appear very convincing to me. I thought that many of them might be able to take care of themselves and, if there were any who could not or would not, we could get rid of them as individuals rather than to "protect" them by such sweeping preventive legislation. Also I was the National Secretary of the Party. I had my finger on the pulse of the organization, knew a good deal about local conditions and thought I had a fairly clear idea of what was likely to happen as a direct result of taking such a step. The labor faker

was not a strange species to me and I knew the pure and simple union to be largely dominated by capitalist interests and even permeated by bourgeois ideology, but I did not forget that most of these organizations were, nevertheless, formed in obedience to the pressure of the class struggle and that they furnished a legitimate field for our propaganda. The exception, when such unions are formed at the behest of the boss, does not alter this general fact. When such organizations were formed, our men, as a rule better equipped than their fellow workers, were looked to to take office. Forced to decline, because their Party forbid it, they were placed in a position which to maintain required more than can be expected from the average man. Instead of the rank and file being impressed with the rectitude of their stand, it worked the other way. The rank and file naturally regarded such an attitude as an act of hostility against themselves, regarded the party that ordered it as a hostile force and its members in their union as instruments of that hostile force. Thus it meant that our members had to vacate the field and leave the labor faker in undisputed control. It was he and the S. P. that would profit.

In the course of time, events proved that we had drawn the bow too tight and when, some years later, the Party abandoned that position, the damage had been done and could not easily be repaired. In all the years De Leon and I had been working side by side, we had never differed on any matter of importance until this measure was being agitated and, much as I respected his foresight and reasoning powers, I could not be convinced. However, opposition to the measure amounted to little, the lay of the land being such that it carried overwhelmingly in the convention and in the subsequent general vote of the Party.

Troubles and Tribulations

The 1900 convention having become past history, the Party now entered upon a phase of its existence different in many respects to any we had so far passed through. To all appearances, we were at the height of our strength. The fight with the would-be disrupters was still on, but they were

now an outside foe. The struggle itself had acted like a tonic upon the organization, stirring our members into intense action and vastly increasing their aggressiveness, individually and collectively. The phrase, "the fighting S. L. P.", often heard in those days, had a real background and, therefore, a real meaning. The organization, the country over, had suffered but little in point of numbers and that little was more than made up by a closer drawing of the ranks. We had a clean-cut tactical program, thoroughly understood and accepted by the membership and we had, for that reason, a unity of purpose never attained before.

As an off-set we had on our hands a daily paper that was sapping our strength, the maintenance of which imposed struggles which, in the long run, seriously affected that unity of purpose. It is an old, age-long experience of the race, that it is far easier to start a quarrel than to end it. This experience, paraphrased and applied to the Labor movement, may be given expression by saying: It is far easier to start a labor paper than to give it up. It proved so in our case. As parents with a sickly child on their hands, one that can neither live nor die, will strain themselves to the utmost, even to the point of utter neglect of their healthy offspring, so will a labor organization go to almost any length to save a paper. It is emotion, not practical considerations that will govern—naturally so. Individually, all will be aware that the organization's strength is being sapped; collectively, they will be unable to act in accord with this conviction. Thus, all continue to hope against hope, waiting for some miracle to turn up, meanwhile straining under the load, yet no one willing to assume the responsibility of applying the coup de grace. Such part of the membership as is finally unable to stand the strain drops away, thereby intensifying the burden carried by those who refuse to quit. Frantically casting about for measures of relief, all sorts of plans are proposed, mistakes, or what to some looks like mistakes, are made, opinions collide, animosities are engendered and lead to open hostilities. That, in rapid condensed outline, was our experience. Troubles and tribulations multiplied and most of them

flowed from the same fountain head,—the heartbreaking attempt to accomplish the unaccomplishable.

Many were the sad features embodied in this chapter of the Party's history and it may be said that an organization that can go through all that and survive, is in truth indestructible. The elements the Party had sloughed off before, really were not and never had been S. L. P. They were an incubus, a foreign growth, not part of our being; to get rid of them left our anatomy intact and improved our well-being once the operation was over with. The defections we were now to experience were of a different character, for it was often blood of our blood and flesh of our flesh that had to be torn away. True, there were amongst the lot characters utterly unworthy, fair weather soldiers, with us while the tide was running high, but flotsam and jetsam cast ashore as soon as the tide ebbed. Such were the Hickeys, Daltons, Schulbergs, Forkers, Currans, etc., etc., but there were many others who, if not subjected to so terrific a strain, would not have been lost. I have reason to think that even the intrepid De Leon was deeply affected by what happened, many conversations I had with him pointing that way, though, of course, he could not linger with those who fell, and was, by the logic of the situation, compelled to press on resolutely, come what might.

Kanglets Cast Their Shadowlet

It was in the year 1902 that matters came to a head. Because of the legal fight with the Volkszeitung, the national convention of 1900 was prevented from placing the management of the Daily People directly into the hands of the N. E. C. A Board of Trustees, composed of three members, was chosen, consisting of Hugo Vogt, Peter Fiebiger and Joseph H. Sauter. The former became the manager of the paper, the second its treasurer, and the third became nothing in particular that I can remember. Not one of the three is in the Party today. The first, Vogt, after the experience we went through with him, that will be described later, and after he had become an attorney-at-law, left no stone unturned to wreck the Party and the paper, bringing suit after suit against

us. He shaped matters so, while still in charge of the management, that wage claims of his cronies, claims that he was supposed to have had cancelled and could have had if he acted in time, claims that the loyal Party members working on the paper did cancel, were left uncanceled and became in his hands so many clubs to assail the Party with. The second, Fiebiger, while he did not commit any positive act against the Party such as many of the others were guilty of, nevertheless condoned every act of rascality committed by the crew he was with, himself sued the Party for money he had advanced and did so at a time when he and Vogt had reason to believe, or thought they had, that now the psychological moment had come to give the Party the last blow. The third, Sauter, did not do anything at that time, but later, after he had landed in the S. P., he published over his signature, in an S. P. paper, the would-be witticism suggesting that the most appropriate epitaph for De Leon would be: "Here LIES Daniel De Leon, as he always did," a "witticism" which characterizes the "gentleman" better than would a long essay. Marx, while he lived and fought the battle of the disinherited of the earth, had his traducers; and, for the same reason, it is but fitting that De Leon should have had his, yet it is well for posterity to know what sort of vermin such men have had to contend with.

So severe was the strain upon the Party imposed by the ever increasing difficulties of maintaining the Daily People, that things began to crack. The first crack showed up in the Board of Trustees. Vogt, entirely misplaced in the position he occupied, began to give way under the strain; he began to drown his troubles in drink. He was surrounded, or surrounded himself, with an element which, far below him in mental status, ably assisted him on the downward path. The mechanical department of the paper became demoralized and things came to such a pass that the N. E. C. had to interfere. The legal obstacles that had, in 1900, led to the formation of the Board of Trustees had disappeared; the Volkszeitung had been beaten in court and we were in undisputed possession of the paper. Impelled by the situation prevailing, the N. E. C. initiated a general vote of the Party to so

amend the constitution as to abolish the Board of Trustees' form of organization and place the management of the paper directly into the hands of the N. E. C. The Party's vote so decided but, even prior to the taking of that vote, as early as 1901, trouble had been stalking abroad. There was on the Daily People staff a man named T. A. Hickey, a rather worthless individual, irresponsible, blatant, shallow, an ardent disciple of John Barleycorn and a crony and protege of Vogt. The latter had helped him out once before, when he had got himself in trouble with the N. E. C. in 1900, because he had got drunk and allowed meetings that he had been sent to cover to go to smash. The phyrrie victory Hickey had gained at that time with the aid of Vogt and his followers, made him more impudent than ever and also less cautious. He had, in the spring of 1900, agitated in Pennsylvania, under the auspices of the State Executive Committee of that state, had taken literature from the N. Y. Labor News Co., a Party institution, had sold the same and had failed to settle. The manager of the Labor News, unable to collect, finally preferred charges in Section New York. Hickey, feeling immune because of the support and backing he thought he had, refused even to appear before the Grievance Committee of Section New York when his case came up. He certainly did have all the support and backing "he thought he had," but he also had made his reckoning without Section New York, which body promptly expelled him.

Intrigues Ad Infinitum

Thereupon, the Party was made the victim of a series of intrigues which, for sheer impudence, transcended anything I ever experienced in any organization. The intriguers had a safe majority in the New York State Executive Committee, Hickey himself being a member of that body. An attempt was made to disregard the Section's act of expulsion by setting up the claim that Hickey was still a member of the State Committee, because he represented on that committee the membership not of Section New York alone, but of the entire state. Section New York thereupon appealed to the N. E. C. and that body ruled "that no expelled or suspended

member can hold office in the Party." The next move was to have the State Committee "give Hickey a trial," which meant that he was to carry his case on appeal before the State Committee although he had refused to stand trial in the Section. A ruling to the effect that a member who refuses to stand trial in his Section thereby forfeits his right of appeal disposed of that move. In the meantime, one of the Hickey supporters on the State Committee, Forker, had become so utterly discredited that he had to disappear from the scene; another one, Wherry, had eliminated himself before that; the majority the intriguers had on the committee was vanishing; indeed, the election of a new member to succeed Hickey, which had meantime been ordered and was being voted upon, would turn that majority into a minority. Determined to prevent this, Vogt, the secretary of the State Committee, held up the counting of the vote and the seating of the new member as long as he possibly could. When, finally, he had to do so the whole plot collapsed, for with the seating of the new member, Ebert, the intriguers were reduced to two, H. Vogt and P. Murphy, as against J. Ebert, A. C. Kihn and myself.

Hickey, the individual, it must be borne in mind, was quite too insignificant to have caused all this turmoil, but he served as a pretext, a rallying cry, so to speak, for all those who either had turned or were about to turn against the Party, and who later aimed at its destruction. These events, before their final consummation, of course, led to a complete rupture between De Leon and Vogt, the break taking place in my office and in my presence. Vogt, as already stated, had been holding up the counting of the vote for the new member on the State Committee under all sorts of shifty pretexts so as to escape being outvoted in that body on the Hickey matter. De Leon, already irritated almost beyond endurance by what he saw going on, was beset by members from all sides who, aroused over the scandal, complained to him about Vogt's wanton disregard of Party constitution and Party procedure. De Leon came up to my office one day, wanting to know what had been done about counting the vote and seating the new member. I replied that nothing

had been done; that Kihn and I had demanded that Vogt act but that, with Vogt and Murphy on the other side, the committee was tied and Vogt in possession of the returns on that vote. At this juncture Vogt walked in. De Leon turned to him, asking: "Vogt, how much longer are you going to disobey the orders of your State Committee?" Vogt turned and walked out of the room and De Leon, in a voice quivering with indignation, again asked: "Is that all the answer you have?" There was no answer and the two men never spoke again.

In this way, and over so worthless a character as this Hickey, ended a friendship that dated back to 1886, sixteen long and eventful years, during which these two men had fought side by side, always in perfect concord as to the principles and tactics of the Party. It was in fact Vogt who had attracted De Leon to the S. L. P., who had made him acquainted with the economics of Socialism and had been instrumental in having De Leon enter the Party as a member. *Sic eunt fata hominum.*

Intrigue, like politics, makes strange bed-fellows. It brought together a Hickey and a Vogt, thereby becoming the instrument that estranged a De Leon and a Vogt. It then brought together, or at least gave a common purpose, for the time being, to another 'two incongruities, to wit: Julian Pierce and Vogt. While Vogt was the manager of the Daily People, Pierce was the manager of the Labor News. While by no means the equal of Vogt intellectually, Pierce was by all means the better manager. There was no love lost between the two, the less so since it had been Pierce who had, rightfully, moved against Hickey in order to make him pay what he owed to the Labor News, thus becoming the little stone that started the avalanche that swept Hickey and Vogt out of the Party. Pierce had offered his services to the N. E. C. as manager of the Daily People when, after the abolition of the Board of Trustees, the N. E. C. took charge. His offer accepted and he installed in the office, Pierce at once proceeded to launch some underhanded scheme to inveigle the N. E. C. into discontinuing the Daily People.

Fate got at Pierce, not via the drink route—he being too

sober a man for that—but he had become infected with some scheme to build up a big printing plant, and the Daily People, demanding so many sacrifices, did not fit into that scheme at all. He had looked over the books, at least he said he had, and by painting in the blackest tints all that looked unfavorable, while at the same time withholding all information that tended the other way, he tried to sweep the N. E. C. off its feet. He failed. At that time, and with the conditions then prevailing, to propose to stop the paper by simple executive action was either hare-brained lunacy or it was an attempt to discredit the N. E. C. with the Party's membership. Short work was made of Pierce and his scheme. Having made the statement that "the heart had been taken out of him," he was asked to resign which he did.

Lamponing Little Kangs

We then entered what might rightly be called the period of lampoons. It rained lampoons from all sides, their authors proclaiming a burning, unquenchable desire to "save" the Party. These productions look rather funny by retrospect, especially when one considers what has since become of the "saviors," but at that time this feature was not overly conspicuous; they were, on the contrary, evidences of a rather widely-spread plot either to capture or to destroy the Party. What that element wanted to do with the Party after the "capture" has never become very clear to me. There seemed to be as many tendencies as there were groups of plotters, each group heartily despising the other. The first of these lampoons was the one of Mr. Julian Pierce. It was a 24-page affair, dated May 28, 1902, full of elaborately gotten-up prevarication and misrepresentation, directed against De Leon, the N. E. C., the National Secretary, in fact, everyone who had disagreed with him. Then came lampoon No. 2, emanating from Providence, R. I. It was signed by three men: Thomas Curran, James Reid and Herman Keiser, the three professing to represent a Rhode Island state convention, said to have been held on April 27, 1902, the proceedings of which were then and have ever after remained a profound mystery. Although claiming to represent a convention held allegedly in

April, the Rhode Island lampoonists hitched their car right onto the Pierce lampoon, dealing with matters that had transpired after the date of the alleged state convention. The ostensible purpose of the production was to stampede the Party into a special national convention, "without the formality of a general vote, provided a majority of the Sections of the Party demand it," as it was put, evidently hoping that, by means of this trick, they might secure some sort of rump convention and split the Party.

Still another lampoon came from a set of malcontents in New York, styling themselves a "Committee of 31," of which one Herman Simpson was the reputed author, but that deserves but passing mention. The Pierce lampoon was answered by the N. E. C. in a manner that squelched that gentleman. The Curran-Reid-Keiser affair was met in a way that gave the Party membership a chance to attend to the squelching thereof. A call for a general vote was issued and when that vote had been counted there was but little more to be said on the subject. The Simpson lampoon the N. E. C. paid no attention to at all, but Section New York did, with the result that the "Committee of 31" also vanished from the scene.

Pierce's Self-Photography

When the Pierce lampoon made its appearance, De Leon had received a copy, mailed to him by Pierce himself, as appears from De Leon's letter to me on this subject. This letter is characteristic of De Leon. It depicts accurately how he felt and how he viewed this attempt to throw the Party into confusion. Pierce, by the way, spread his lampoon with a lavish hand all over the country, even timing the mailing of same so that they were to arrive, everywhere, on about the same day. Evidently, he expected a tremendous explosion, and one can imagine how keenly disappointed he must have been when his "clever" scheme produced hardly a ripple.

"Milford, Ct., June 12, 1902.

"Dear Kuhn:—The watch arrived safely and duly, and was delivered at the house. The expressman knows us well. Many thanks.

"Yesterday's People came in 6 pages. I imagined it was to so continue, and thought the move premature. Today's came in 4 pages. Was yesterday's a 'trial trip'?

"At the beach yesterday afternoon I met Langner. The moment he saw me, he said smiling:

"'Did you know there is a new S. L. P.?'

"'No. Where?'

"'Pierce started one in Philadelphia.' And he went on to tell me that he had received a voluminous 'statement' from Pierce, in an envelope marked with the S. L. P. Arm and Hammer. He had not yet read the thing all through, but he thought the affair 'smelled of Hanna.' I told him what I thought of the wooden-nutmegger; that he was more ass than knave.

"When I got home I found one of these 'statements' in my mail. Pierce sent me one himself. Having other matter (tinkering on the boat) in hand, I laid it away; today I read it through.

"Surely, the lies in it are thick enough to cut with a knife. Yet the thing gave me a certain enjoyment. It forcibly reminded me, at every turn, of my boyhood pleasure watching a big field rat caught in a trap, rushing at the bars, and grinding his teeth at me. For all that, there is a coarse low cunning in the performance that is typical of Master Pierce. He strikes the attitude of having been victimized because he desired to impart 'accurate,' 'exact,' 'truthful' information to the members on the matter of the Daily People, whereas the fact is that what he sought to do was to stampede the Party members into abandoning the Daily People upon an inaccurate, inexact and untruthful presentation of the situation, in that all that made against the Daily People was exaggerated, and all that was in its favor was suppressed. Possibly, some unguarded members may be caught by this birdlime. If so, you will get questions, and may have to knock him off that false posture.

"I presume you will get a copy yourself, and then you will see all its 'beauty spots.' I can't part with mine. It is 'killing' to see him, HIM, HIM, coquetting with the Vogt element; it is charming to see him throw bouquets at Simp-

son; but I was disappointed to see no bouquet thrown at McDonald for 'valuable services rendered to the Labor News by his German and French translations.'

The 'documents' which he reproduces I did not go through very carefully. There is one which it seems to me is missing. The letter he sent to the N. E. C., after he was sacked from the business management of the Daily People, in which he falsely states that he had stated in his 'report' to the Board of Management what was to be done with the Daily People, plant, or something to that effect.

"Then, also, I miss the letter to the N. E. C. in which he proposes a temporary management for the Daily People, shortly after his enthusiastic proposition of consolidation under himself, and before his alleged discovery of the 'complete wreck' of the Daily. But I will go over the 'documents' more carefully. I would like to know to what extent he succeeds in his plan to throw consternation among our members. It will be a good test of their clearness of vision. The 'statement' carries its own refutation.

"It is a lovely feeling to be out here, where I am not bound to take notice of this and kindred matters mentioned by you. I remain cool and 'judicial.' Don't, when you get to read the thing, miss the place where he fabricates having told me to be damned. The ass does not realize that by publishing his letter to me and my answer to him, he makes that part of his story look very fishy.

"At any rate, let me know all that goes on. We here philosophize on the 'Hexenkessel' [witches' cauldron—H. K.].

"I wish you would let me have the date of the Daily People in which I had the translation about the Moscow police.

"Fraternally,

"D. De Leon."

The disturbance of 1899 had been designated by the Party as the "Kangaroo exodus," and from that designation the latter-day disrupters, of 1902, inherited the appellation of 'Kanglets,' indicative of their more diminutive size and importance. Following these precedents, if ever there are other attempts to either capture or kill the S. L. P., we shall, per-

haps, be obliged to descend still farther along the zoological scale and, finally, get down to the field mouse.

Rhode Islandiana

In all these attempts to capture a Party that did not want to be captured, as soon as the conspirators found that they had lost, they concentrated the batteries of their abuse upon De Leon. It is true, other Party officers came in for their share, but he was by far the chief beneficiary, which goes to show that they reasoned not so incorrectly after all, clearly discerning that he was their chief obstacle. When the first information about the Curran-Reid-Keiser move had reached me, though I had not yet seen the lampoon itself, I had written to De Leon, then at Milford, Conn., so as to keep him posted. He replied as follows:

"Milford, Ct., July 5, 1902.

"Dear Kuhn:—Necessarily incomplete as must be the information contained in yours of yesterday on the R. I. call for a national convention, I can form no opinion. It may simply be a circular calling for a vote to secure the necessary five sections' endorsement to serve as a basis for a real 'call for a general vote to hold a convention,' to be issued by the N. E. C. If, however, this is not so, and R. I. has actually presumed to exercise N. E. C. functions, then their conduct is a glaring violation of the constitution. If the matter is legitimate, I would counsel you to raise no objections to submitting the proposition to a general vote for a convention, just as soon as the necessary number of sections has endorsed it. Only, the N. E. C. in fixing the date, should see to it that it does not conflict with the campaign.

"While I see a possibility of the R. I. 'call' not being illegitimate, I must admit that the conduct of those who seem to be running affairs there of late, does not justify the opinion that the 'call' may not really be illegitimate. It is certainly possible that they have wholly lost their heads, and have actually 'issued a call for a general vote to hold a convention.' Government must be with the consent of the governed. If the sections can allow anyone of them to cancel their votes on the constitution and the N. E. C. and to set himself up

with N. E. C. powers, and thus countenance Anarchy, then, I say, they are hopelessly gone, and the Party organization is foundered. But all this remains to be seen. It may be well to have a letter-box answer stating the constitutional provisions on this head, and bringing out the point that, in order to secure the endorsement of the requisite number of sections, a section could communicate with many or all, but that the vote of the sections on such a communication is not and can not be 'a vote on a call for a general vote to hold a convention.' Such a call can only issue from the N. E. C.

"I duly received your letter of Sunday, June 29th. It, together with the committee's reports in the Daily People gave me a good idea of the 'Conspiracy of the Pinheads.' What self-photography by the men who shout 'bosses,' 'tyranny,' etc.

"I sent you yesterday a telegram to the Picnic grounds cheering the Daily. Did not get today's People; and can't tell whether it reached you.

"We had a lovely July 4th.

"Fraternally,

"D. De Leon."

A day or so later, having meantime come into possession of the Rhode Island lampoon, I wrote to De Leon again, giving him more precise information, but, not having more than one copy and that one needed in New York, I did not send the document. He replied, still not fully believing in the full crookedness of the Rhode Island move, as is attested by his answer to my letter.

"Milford, Ct., July 7, 1902.

"Dear Kuhn:—Back this evening from a clam-digging expedition to the Long Island shore, I received your two letters of the 5th and the 6th. So, then, the 'R. I. Call' is as idiotic, malapert and vicious as all that? I have seen none. Would like to see one, so as to see by my own eyes such an exhibition. A. M. Simons had at least the fact before or behind him of two N. E. C.'s in New York. But the only chaos that prevails in New York is the chaotic condition that the pin-

heads are in, due to the failure of their R. I. allies to throw the section on its beam end.

"What is the N. E. C. going to do about it? If you have not erred in your report of the 'call' (1) (?) and it really assumes the Anarchic posture of appointing Section Providence an N. E. C., then they have to be dealt with summarily. But how? A Committee of a Convention is not a body recognized by the constitution. Such a committee can not be 'suspended.' Guess you will have to communicate officially with the State Committee or the Section, or both, so as to get something tangible.

"I also think it would be well to send someone to Providence, and see some of the men, and ascertain to what extent the rank and file are hypnotized into making fools of themselves, and getting material ready for a new organization. In many respects Brower is the fit man; he can connect with our Alliance men. The talk I had with O'Connor showed that they are onto Kroll, at least. It can not be possible that all those men are gone to the dogs.

"In a way such a call does put the Party organizations to a test. The section that does not give the thing a back-handed swipe is not worth the powder to blow it to hell.

"I don't break my head to fathom Curran. His 'policy' satisfies me that he is deficient in thinking powers, and is not the man I had thought. But what does interest me is the Daily People. The typographical errors seem to increase. And from what you say I judge that all is not well in the composing room.

"Well, you people are not having a summer vacation. The crooks are keeping you on the jump. How are the financial aspects?

"In a way I do very much wish to see a convention. Of course, not one in response to Anarchy. But a Party convention would afford excellent opportunity to size up the elements and castigate the crooks. Unfortunately these, however, are, one after the other, placing themselves outside the Party.

"Glad the Picnic was a success.

"MacDonald, I can assure you, is not in my councils; so

that he can't know that my purpose in going off on a vacation was to escape the 'general wreck.' And I also need not assure you that for penetration and acumen I, for one, would not go to Frank ["Frank" is McDonald's first name.—H. K.]. The 'general wreck' will be the fate of the pin-heads. I have, however, a pretty clear idea that the S. L. P. is about to cast off a slough. Some meat may have to be dropped or torn off along with the slough; and then the organization will 'burn more intensely' and scorch the carcasses of 'the field' more mercilessly than ever. The only thing I am now keeping my eyes on is the conduct of the sections. Will these deport themselves as the occasion requires? If they do, all is well. Even if I have to live on bread and water, I shall then fall to. The occasion is critical, and as promiseful as it is critical. No wonder the owlish pin-heads are in a flutter. All the same, I hope the Daily People finances will mend so that I may not need to consume my vitals.

"I wish you to tell Hossack to be sure and come out here for a few days. Will you have to give up your visit, and Shaynin?

"It occurs to me that you will not henceforth have much to say against my plan for a new form of N. E. C. At present any scalawag can make out the N. E. C. to be in turmoil because of actual or imaginary turmoil in the section.

"Be virtoo-us and you will be happy. I who am happy tell you so. The vegetable garden is blooming like the rose: we have green peas and cauliflowers to furnish Legget's ["Legget"—a New York restaurant—H. K.]. The boat cleaves the Long Island sound to perfection and her captain is looking like a fighting cock.

"When you come, bring an extra pair of stockings for if we take a sail I like to see the boat lean over so that she takes in the water over her gunwales.

"D. De Leon."

Getting Things Pat

Soon thereafter I was able to send to De Leon the document itself, together with some other matter foreign to this issue and he was then in a position more clearly to judge the

thing. On the whole he seemed to favor a special convention, doubtless because he felt the urge to meet and annihilate these fellows, as surely he would have done had the convention been decided upon in a regular constitutional manner. I did not see the situation in that light at all, not believing for a second that the S. L. P. membership could be stampeded into voting for a special convention demanded by such men employing such methods. De Leon sizes up Curran quite correctly when he says the man hoped that the N. E. C. make the mistake of refusing to call for a general vote as that would have given him an opening to call a rump convention. De Leon's next letter reads:

"Milford, Ct., July 8, 1902.

"Dear Kuhn:—I got this morning your two letters enclosing documents. In a way I am glad to see they do not actually put themselves out of the Party. They make a show of trying to be constitutional. I would close my eyes at the false pretense, and call the thing simply irregular. Let them come to the convention. But I urge you not to oppose the holding of a convention. Remember, that many a man is merely roped into endorsing such a R. I. proposition, but if the N. E. C. acts in a way to make him think it wants no convention, then he goes wholly over. By taking the stand that I outline, such people will easily be held straight, and the R. I. crooks will find themselves left.

"As to the document I need not say to you it is dastardly. It is a patchwork of Simpson, Curran, Pierce and Kröll. No wonder they were two whole months in getting it out.

"Let New York vote quickly and vote for convention and vote for Pittsburgh.

"What a Jesuit that Curran has turned out!

"Fraternally,

"D. De Leon.

P. S. Curran does not imagine the Party will stand by him. He calculates upon some mistake in New York to justify a rump convention. D. DL."

Needless Apprehensions

The action of Curran and consorts had created amongst the Party membership red-hot indignation. I had issued in the Daily People a warning, pointing out the unconstitutional character of the proposition and urging the membership to keep cool. The New York State Executive Committee had branded the attempt at creating confusion in a stiff resolution, and other Party organizations were taking similar action. Both of these matters are referred to by De Leon in his next letter, the first disapprovingly, the second with approval. But De Leon no longer desires that the membership vote for a convention at the behest of men adopting such means to bring it about.

"Milford, Ct., July 9, 1902.

"Dear Kuhn:—I was yesterday in such a hurry to mail you my letter that I did not say anything about the 'Answer' of the N. E. C. and the 'Statement on Condition of People.' The latter is magnificent and timely. I also enjoyed the information that the former gave me. Of course, we knew Pierce to be a liar.

"I also received this morning yesterday's and today's People together. The action of the N. Y. State Committee I find good. Such action, even perhaps more emphatic, should come from Sections, State Committees and individuals. They must repudiate the Curran Jesuit move, both as to its methods and its contents, and I shall certainly watch with interest the conduct of such bodies. They are brought squarely to the touch, and can now show what there is in them.

"But for the same reason I regret to see your 'Warning' in yesterday's People. In the first place you ought to be cautious. It may be said your office does not authorize you to address the Party members except as the mouthpiece of the N. E. C. A color is given to the claim that you pre-judged. In the second place, I hold that in this particular Curran issue the N. E. C. should act with studied neutrality. The Curran statement aims, true enough, at killing The People; but it expressly assails and marks out for decapitation you and me—two officers under the N. E. C. At such times

as these it is the part of wisdom not to be too strict constructionists of constitutions. A strict construction would require the immediate suspension of the three signers and of every organization that refuses to bounce them. They, in trying to make themselves safe by a not too flagrant or impudent violation of the constitution, have actually hanged themselves: they enable the N. E. C. to take the attitude of complete neutrality in a Party row, and thereby to afford the Party a legal way to smite them. I hope the tone in your 'Warning' was a mere outburst of just and excusable indignation, and that the N. E. C. will take the course I map out: Condemn the R. I. method as unconstitutional and unwarranted, and at the same time submit to the membership the question whether they care to have a special convention on the R. I. matter. In that way the best good is obtained.

"Either the membership is stalwart or it is timid.

"If stalwart, it will vote NO on the N. E. C. call; and the Curran crew will thereby get a double slap in the face; their call is ignored, and their purpose is knocked down by the NO.

"If the membership is timid and has been frightened by the partly plausible libels of the Curran Committee, then they will want a convention to look into the matter. The question of a convention being put by the N. E. C., these men will vote on that call, and ignore the Curran Committee. Only those in the conspiracy may vote the other way, but they will surely feel embarrassed, and their conduct be scored against them. No plausible reason would there be for an unconstitutional course, there being a constitutional door opened by the N. E. C. And, finally, the Curran conspirators will feel constrained either to come to our convention—a thing they certainly have sense enough to know will be mighty unpleasant to them, and which I know will mean their annihilation—or they will stay away, and then they stand exposed by themselves as standing out against the Party itself.

"Curran wants no convention of the Party; we should hoist him by his own petard by taking him at his word, and furnish him a convention, but a legal one. The bald, brazen, denunciatory language of Curran against the Party itself, is a

deliberate act on his part to irritate the Party into an attitude that will free him from the necessity of making good his charges. He knows the N. E. C. would never countenance such a convention as he calls, and he expects to see the N. E. C. simply repudiate his convention. **IF THAT HAPPENS, THE PARTY IS SMASHED.** There would be quite a number of well-intentioned members and people who could be bamboozled into the belief that we were afraid, and have something to hide.

"If the N. E. C. issues a call along the lines indicated, I would urge that the tone of judicial calmness and neutrality be preserved. Make no mistake about it: Curran expects no general vote to be called by the N. E. C. on whether a convention shall be called or not. Such a call will be a bomb-shell in his house. Let not the ex-Jesuit Seminarist Curran walk into capitalist political preferment upon the strength of carrying the scalp of the S. L. P. dangling from his belt. The unconstitutionality of his course, though expected by him to act upon the N. E. C. like a red rag before a bull, is so cleverly woven that it will fail to strike many, and nothing but a call for a general vote by the N. E. C. itself, with the Curran charges for the subject of the special convention, will save such members. I have said enough. We have knocked him out at each move. We can knock him out for good now, and clear the atmosphere immensely. Frankly, I have a sneaking leaning for a convention. The subjects these people bring up are all worth thorough exposition.

"Is anything being done to find out who was at that convention, and what it did really do, and who in R. I. approved of this lampoon?

"Fraternally,
"D. De Leon."

In the foregoing letter De Leon goes into the subject quite closely, considering all possible contingencies. Being away from headquarters, and depending upon information most if not all of which had to be indirect and second-hand, he was apparently apprehensive on two points: One that the N. E. C. might play into Curran's hands by angrily refusing

to issue a call for a general vote on the question of holding a special convention, thereby enabling Curran to try and get together a rump convention to split the Party; and, the other, that a portion of the membership might be shaken by the wild charges made by the Curran committee. Neither of these apprehensions had any basis in fact. The N. E. C. never dreamed of playing into Curran's hands, having from the first made up its mind as to what he was up to. In due time the call for the vote was issued on the initiative of the N. E. C. and September 15, 1902, was the date set for the vote to close. That call laid the Curranites out flat. In gathering my material for this work, I had to reread it and I enjoyed every word of it. The fact that Curran had been the chairman of the Committee on Constitution and had, in that capacity, reported to the 1900 national convention the very constitution that now he wanted so nonchalantly set aside, was used as the underlying text and it was used effectively. The other apprehension, that part of the membership, or a considerable part, might be shaken by the Curran move, was equally without foundation. The brazen effrontery of Curran, first, in that he set himself up as the N. E. C., demanding from an outraged Party that its vote be returned to "him"; second, that in the opening paragraph of his lampoonist call he openly threatened Section organizers with dire consequences if they failed to circulate his production, saying, literally, that "failure on the part of any such person to communicate this statement to the Section and to furnish it to the members of the Section, will be followed by us with definite charges against the person so transgressing," and, further, that if any members became aware that an organizer had failed to distribute the lampoon he wanted "prompt advise of the facts in order that we may take action against the guilty person"; and, third, that instead of making definite charges against officers according to their respective functions, he hurled vague and cloudy accusations against what he called "managing powers," all this and more besides simply enraged the membership and caused short work to be made of him and his "call" when the Party took its vote. In fact, the Curran impudence helped to settle the entire "Kanglet" issue much quicker than might have been possible without his "aid."

Eccentric Centrists

But still another nest of treason had to be cleaned out at Pittsburgh, Pa., where a coterie of lightweights, whose vanity had been stimulated by Sanial having made them believe, which they gladly did, that they were the "logical center" of the United States and that, therefore, they were the right men in the right place to take a hand in this general endeavor to "save" the Party. They had all along held that to them should go the seat of the N. E. C. and they thought that now had come the time for them to act. Accordingly, they sent an "investigation" committee to New York, evidently expecting to find there disaster, confusion and chaos, plus a disposition to hand over to them the whole Party, boots and baggage. Finding none of these things, nor any sign of the aforesaid disposition, they returned to Pittsburgh and set up an S. L. P. of their own. But this eccentric creation of the "logical centrists" was not to be of long duration, for, rather early in their career, they had the misfortune to lose their treasurer and, incidentally, their treasury, whatever that may have been and since, in addition to this mishap, they had established and had on their hands a non-supporting paper, they did not linger very long.

Exit Lucien Sanial

Before closing this chapter, it must be observed that Sanial, too, had succumbed. When that "investigation" committee came from Pittsburgh he, already rotten-ripe for a fall, threw in his lot with the disrupters. An attempt was made to go and see him to talk matters over, but he evaded meeting the issue after he had at first agreed to meet a committee of the N. E. C. Thereafter, not to be outdone by his confreres, he followed the prevailing fashion and issued a very sonorous lampoon.

At the present day, Sanial is a very old man. After he had said good-bye to the S. L. P. he joined the S. P. and remained with that party for some years. But he left the S. P. a short time ago and the last heard of him was to the effect that, in conjunction with Simpson, Stokes, Spargo, A. M.

Simons, Walling, Bohn and a lot of other such "socialist celebrities," not to forget Mr. Samuel Gompers, President of the American Federation of Labor, he helped to organize, at Minneapolis, Minn., the so-called "National Alliance of Labor and Democracy," which, if memory serves me right, is engaged, besides many other things, in some such undertaking as harmonizing the interests of the working class and those of its capitalist exploiters, a task that must be very congenial to Mr. Lucien Sanial—God bless him!

I. W. W. Organized

We now come to the events of 1905, the year the Industrial Workers of the World was organized at Chicago, Ill., an event wherein De Leon participated with all the ardor of his soul, believing that, at last, the hour had struck that would see the working class, in larger numbers than ever before, take the first step towards the formation of a formidable organization on the economic field, based upon the unqualified recognition of the class struggle and all that implies.

At the end of 1904, and the beginning of 1905, the N. E. C. had arranged for a national organizing and agitation tour, with Frank Bohn as the organizer and speaker. At the time of the national convention of the Party, in 1904, Bohn had come from Michigan as a delegate thereto, had taken an active part in that convention and had begun to be looked upon as a "coming man." How he came and went will appear later, but in 1905, while en route on the aforesaid tour, he received, at St. Louis, Mo., an invitation to attend a conference to be held at Chicago, Ill., where said conference was to work out and adopt a manifesto to be addressed to the "Workers of the World," calling upon them to form a new organization of Labor, based upon the class struggle and being industrial in form as opposed to the old craft union organizations. Bohn reported the matter to headquarters and was instructed to go ahead and attend the conference. Being present at that gathering, he became one of the signers of that rather famous manifesto which, when it appeared, had the effect of a trumpet call and raised high hopes everywhere amongst forward-looking workingmen.

The manifesto was also a call to attend a convention that was to meet on June 27, 1905, at Chicago. De Leon went as one of the delegates of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance and took a notable part in the work of that gathering. That convention was the starting point of the organization known as the Industrial Workers of the World (I. W. W.), an organization that placed itself, by its declaration of principles, squarely upon a revolutionary basis on both the economic and the political field. The formation of the I. W. W., regardless of what has happened in after years, must be considered one of the most important events in the history of the American labor movement, an event that has already had far-reaching consequences and is certain to produce many more, not necessarily by any future action of that organization, because it has become rather discredited with the more solid and sober-minded portion of the working class, but by virtue of the ideas it has formulated and crystallized during the few earlier years of its existence. Never before had the idea of industrial unionism been so clearly formulated and that idea is today fermenting everywhere amongst the working class, never to disappear again, for our future industrial development is bound to give that idea ample and continuous nourishment.

But the forces that were at work when the S. L. P. was split in 1899, at once became active in 1905 to carry discord into the ranks of the I. W. W. The launching of such an organization, with such a program for action on both the political and the economic field, and, moreover, with a form of organization that would make of it a terrible and most direct menace to the capitalist employer, could not but strike terror in the capitalist camp. An organization which, instead of splitting up into autonomous craft units, would organize an entire industry into one big union without regard to the various crafts employed therein; that would then federate all the industries; and that would not enter into any kind of trade agreements with the boss, such an organization would be something not to be regarded lightly. From mere rethorical metaphor, the "Giant" Labor was threatening to become an actuality. Something had to be done to shear this Samson of

his strength-imparting locks and Delilahs had to be found to attend to the shearing.

Anarcho-Syndicalist Coup D'Etat

To be sure they were found. Internal friction became manifest during the very first year of the organization's existence. Due to the looseness with which the first convention had to be called, discordant elements had found their way into the organization, birds of ill omen that had been active in the past when the ranks of the revolutionary phalanx of Labor had to be disintegrated, a process capitalism will continue to resort to until the rising tide of the social revolution will become so strong as to render the efforts of its agents nugatory. After the first convention every succeeding one that the organization has held marked an eruption of some sort until in 1908 the real coup d'etat was staged and enacted. The I. W. W. passed under the control of an Anarcho-Syndicalist, a physical force element, which had packed the convention with a lot of plug-ugly delegates, many of them representing purely fictitious locals, and had refused to seat properly accredited delegates from bona fide organizations, amongst these De Leon himself.

This element, once it found itself in control, promptly undid the work of the 1905 convention; the political clause of the preamble, or declaration of principles, was eliminated and the organization placed squarely upon a physical force basis. Subsequent history has demonstrated, amply and convincingly, the logical and inevitable consequences that flow from assuming such a posture; the Anarchists did what they are always fated to do, furnish the *raison d'être* for the police spy, demoralize the working class and discredit the very name of Labor. The career of the I. W. W. since 1908, most of this time under the leadership of Haywood, furnishes a striking lesson of what not to do, a lesson that should not be lost sight of by any thinking workingman. That, as has happened, leading spirits of the I. W. W., about one hundred in number, were indicted and, after a sensational trial lasting for about four months, were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment, that in itself does not cover the case, for even the revolu-

tionary Socialist, fighting the working class battle on the highest civilized plane that is possible today, may be persecuted by a capitalist government. That has been done in the past the world over and is likely to be done in the future, but that they—the I. W. W.—so conducted their “organization” as themselves to furnish a handle to their prosecutors making it possible to convict them on their own showing as saboteurs, physical forcists and as men disregarding the political institutions of the land, that is the real offense from the standpoint of the Labor movement. In the last analysis it is the movement that will be saddled with a good portion of the responsibility for the folly and the misdeeds of the comparatively few. De Leon in 1908, with prophetic vision, told them just where they would land, but like so many others before them they would and did not heed.

De Leon on I. W. W. Convention

Returning again to the time prior to that first convention of the I. W. W., I had never seen De Leon so intensely interested as he was in everything pertaining to that impending event. So filled up was he with the subject, that we spent many hours going over the ground and casting up the possibilities of the new move, the persons apt to play a role and the good or evil influence they might exert. What were De Leon's views after the convention may be gleaned from his letter to me written when at St. Paul, Minn., which letter I feel happy to have in my possession and be able to add to this volume, as it portrays accurately how De Leon felt at that time and, also, in what position he felt himself to be at Chicago in regard to Debs and in regard to other matters.

“Globe Hotel, 260 East 6th St.,

“St. Paul, Minn., July 9, 1905.

“Dear Kuhn:—Although the bulk of my letter is on business concerning Chase, I send it to you lest you grow jealous at my writing to Chase only.

“I feel so happy and have so much, so very much to say that I simply could not begin to tell the story in writng. For one thing, I feel very tired. I am writing or starting this let-

ter while a bath is being prepared for me, after which I am going to sleep (I have arrived here from Milwaukee at 11 a. m. and it is now about noon). This forces to my pen two matters:

First, yesterday's Milwaukee meeting. It was fine. Ex-S.P.'s crowded around me. They have joined us or are about to do so. Berger, they say, is dead. Enclosed clipping tells the tale as to whether we are 'Union Wreckers' and discredited with the working class.

"Second, as to the Chicago ratification meeting held night before last. You may wonder and may have grieved that I did not speak. Grieve not. As you may have seen from a previous letter of mine to Chase, I did not much care for that ratification meeting after the speeches of Debs and mine on the convention floor. Nevertheless, if a ratification meeting was to be held, I was going to speak with Debs and have the matter stenographed. But, the matter of the ratification meeting hung fire due to the lack of funds to secure the Auditorium; besides, the matter was brushed aside by the palpitating issues that confronted the convention. When, finally, the meeting was decided on, it was too late for the Auditorium, and the convention hall had to do. On the speakers' question we beat down the crooks, as you know, and everything was in good trim. Thus stood matters up to Friday afternoon. By that time, I began to feel indisposed. For one thing the heat in Chicago during the convention week was intense; for another, the heat in the convention hall and in my committee room (Committee on Constitution with Sherman who was elected President and with Moyer) was intenser; for still another, the work was still intenser; add to that the sooty atmosphere of Chicago, by noon of Friday I had a splitting headache. You know I am on the lookout against apoplexy. This was the alternative—either join the demonstration of the ratification meeting and then run the risk of breaking the Milwaukee, possibly also the St. Paul date, or give these dates a chance and let the ratification meeting go. My decision depended upon a third contingency—would Debs be present? He had left Chicago to hold a 4th of July oration somewhere in Dakota and he was to have

been back on the 5th. He had not yet returned by noon of the 7th (the ratification meeting day) and there were rumors that he would not be back in time. If he appeared at the meeting, then my absence would be construed as a demonstration against him; if he did not show up and I did, then his absence might be construed as a demonstration against me. In view of all this, I went to my hotel, undressed and put cracked ice on my head, and arranged with Shaynin (I am called for my bath; shall continue later).

"Here I am again. The weather is pleasant. I had a two hours' sleep. Begin to feel like myself. Well, to proceed. I arranged with Shaynin that he was to go to the hall and keep me posted by telephone. There was a telephone in my room. The first message was 7.45—no Debs; second, 8.00—no Debs; third, 8.15—no Debs; fourth, 8.30—meeting in full blast and no Debs. I breathed freely. If Debs had turned up, I would have taken my chances of a stroke of apoplexy; as he was not turning up, policy and personal safety coincided. I had Trautmann called up, told him of my physical condition, authorized him to express my deep regret to the meeting and to make my apology. Shaynin remained on guard to notify me in case Debs should turn up; I would immediately have gone to the meeting. Well, he did not turn up; I slept—9 hours—the first sleep in two weeks. That tells the whole story and no bones broken.

"It is the convention's opinion that the S. T. & L. A. delegation presented the most dignified appearance, and conducted itself accordingly. 'Weeping Charley,' 'Moth Maily,' 'A. M. Simons, Editor,' Ex-Governor Coates,' etc., looked like baked owls. We triumphed all along the line. Haywood tells me The People should be in every miner's hands, etc. But I shall not proceed on these lines or I'll never end. Trautmann, Hagerty and I spoke in Milwaukee last night.

"Now to Chase proper:

"1.—Enclosed are the stenographer's receipts—\$78.75 in all for 10½ days. Having received \$75.00 from Chase, I am out \$3.75.

"2.—As the stenographer charged for the two half days when the convention was in recess for the committees to

work, I got him to take the ratification meeting without extra charge. He now has everything—from the first word of the first day to the last word of the 11th day at 1 p. m., when the convention adjourned, including the ratification meeting. As I made him put it in the second receipt, he holds the notes in trust subject to the disposition of the Daily People.

"3.—Impossible here to condense the run of events otherwise than to say that the notes are absolutely our property as the convention found no way to join in defraying the expenses. Trautmann and Schultz, of Milwaukee, told me the Milwaukee Brewers' Union donation of \$25 will be sent to The People. But Schultz wants copies of The People therefor. I have referred all that to Chase.

"The remaining amount (\$600.00 less \$78.75 already paid the stenographer) will have to be raised by us in the way the present fund was raised. I would insert a statement in The People to this effect (stating also exactly when the stenographic report will begin to appear) just as soon as Chase will have perfected arrangements with the stenographer for transcribing the notes. I have referred him to Chase with whom he was to communicate immediately. I find I have not his address; by this mail I am writing to Clarence Smith to send Chase the stenographer's address immediately, so that Chase can initiate the correspondence should the stenographer not be as prompt as he promised. **CONVENTION MEMBERS AND SYMPATHIZERS WANT THE REPORT.** The Coates-Simons clique maneuvered to take the stenographic report from our hands and then pigeon-hole it. We foiled them.

"5.—I would suggest that certain episodes of the convention report be given the right of way. Haywood also is of that opinion, seeing that it would otherwise take very long before those episodes would appear in the regular course. The episodes are the following in the following order: a) Ratification meeting; b) Episode on the exclusion of lawyers; c) Episode of speeches—Debs, I, etc.; d) Episode of debate on adoption of preamble.

"I have arranged with the stenographer for this sequence, subject to Chase's decision, he, possibly finding practical or

technical difficulties in the carrying out of this plan. I do not suppose that the publication will start before I return. But if it can be started, then the first day's report might go in before my return. Any one at the office could correct the stenographic imperfections. Trautmann is to furnish us all the documents that were read. In that way we save much money for transcribing.

"6.—Under this head Kinneally is mainly interested, Chase incidentally. I have received from the Alliance, through Kinneally and Gillhaus, a total of \$110.00 in cash. Of this amount, \$10.00 was to be kept in reserve in case a levy was made at the convention. None was made and the amount might go to the stenographer's fund. Possibly, however, the Alliance may want it, seeing that a call for funds will soon be issued from the headquarters of the new organization. If these \$10.00 are deducted, I would have had \$100.00. My bill against the Alliance (18 days, from June 21 to July 8, at \$5.00 per diem) is \$90.00, leaving me with \$10.00 over and above the bill—unless the S. L. P. assumes the expenses for the pre-convention days, in which case the amount due the Alliance would be proportionately larger. But I give notice that my expenses were compulsorily larger than the tariff allows, and I had to incur them. I make a rough estimate that the three weeks in Chicago, especially owing to the last two, left me about \$10.00 beyond the reckoning.

"7.—Albert Ryan, an excellent fellow and one of the Western Federation of Miners' delegates is to be in New York, probably before my return. If so, be good to him. He will call at the Daily People office.

"It is with difficulty I refrain from taking up convention and other kindred matters. But I must. A score of things occur to me simultaneously. But to dash them off here would be but to jumble them. The New York delegates will be back by the time this reaches the Daily People building. I shall let all of you buzz them. Moreover, I expect local comrades to be arriving every minute. The St. Paul Pioneer had it that the 'sane element' won out and Coates was elected President!!! The enclosing clipping from the Chicago Chronicle tells a different yawp. It is not the De Leon-Hagerty

but the Haywood-De Leon combination that won out. Simons is utterly discredited. St. Louis men will join S. L. P. immediately, etc., etc.

"I wonder whether Moon-eyes finished typewriting the Sue story and whether Fraser, of Dayton, Ohio, is alive.

"Fraternally,

"D. De Leon."

"P. S. I am told that Hickey is here and is now throwing bouquets at me in order to ingratiate himself with the S. L. P. men in St. Paul-Minneapolis who now are carrying chips on their shoulders. D. DL."

The happiness that De Leon speaks of experiencing after the I. W. W. convention no doubt inspired him to that magnificent effort, namely, his lecture at Minneapolis, Minn., on July 10 (a significant date in S. L. P. annals), 1905, on the "Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World," a lecture that is one of the classics of the Party's literature, setting forth, with crystal-like clarity, the entire subject of industrial unionism. The Party has published this lecture in pamphlet form and it is and will continue to be a source of inspiration to all who are interested in that question.

Haywood's Lost Opportunity

All the overt and covert enemies of De Leon never tired of harping on his "bossism," his "intolerance," his "unwillingness to tolerate any man of ability working with him" and all that sort of thing. Perhaps the constant iteration and reiteration of these charges was due to the fact that they were so utterly untrue, for those who knew him best knew that he would only too gladly have stepped aside and let some one else take the lead if there had been any assurance that the revolutionary movement would have benefited thereby. But one messiah after the other came and went and proved to be a hollow tooth that could not "bite." In the preceding letter of De Leon, written at St. Paul, we have seen how careful De Leon was of not doing anything that would tend to ruffle Debs' feelings, so long as there was any hope that

Debs might prove instrumental in the work of creating in America a united economic Labor movement of revolutionary character. Indeed, those who knew De Leon best knew only too well that this very desire often led him to misplace his confidence and expect of some individuals attitudes and deeds to which he himself could readily rise, but which were way beyond the calibre of such men to assume and to perform.

The above observations are most strikingly illustrated by a letter of De Leon—written more than two years after his St. Paul letter—addressed to "William D. Haywood, Denver, Colo.", and delivered to Haywood by St. John at Chicago, a few weeks after its date. The term "daily letter" was used by Haywood in a letter sent by him from his prison cell at Boise, Ida., to De Leon, and refers to the Daily People which Haywood had received regularly during his imprisonment. Never did Haywood answer De Leon's letter of Aug. 3, 1907—not in writing, nor in person. But this letter is a very interesting contribution to the history of the American Labor movement and I am pleased to be able to include it in this volume, since it shows, in De Leon's own words, just how he viewed the possibility of Haywood becoming the rallying point for the revolutionary American Labor movement and how he viewed his own position in the movement brought about by the intense work done during its formative period. The real De Leon was quite ready to step aside if the animosities, engendered of necessity during the early struggles of the movement, stood in the way of the movement's unification. It was the movement and always the movement that was to be considered—never the individual, no matter what services he might have rendered. We see thus in the real De Leon a man very different from the imaginary De Leon that his enemies constantly pictured. How Haywood fulfilled the hopes De Leon at one time placed in him has been shown in the course of time. He, too, proved to be a "hollow tooth."

"Editorial Department

Post Office Box 1576

'Phone 129 Franklin

"DAILY PEOPLE

2, 4 and 6 New Reade Street

(Removed to 28 City Hall Place)

"New York, August 3d, 1907.

"Wm. D. Haywood,
"Denver, Colo.

"Dear Comrade:—

"Such, I know, must have been the shower of congratulations that poured upon you on your acquittal that I purposely kept in the rear lest my voice be 'drowned by the multitude.' Moreover, how glad I felt needed no words; my 'daily letter' will have reached you promptly, anyhow.

"Besides that, I had a special reason to wish to avoid the crowd. What I now have to say I say banking upon the message that your lawyer Miller delivered to me in your name at Boise last April. He said you would have liked to meet me and talk things over in the hope of coming to an understanding. I am about to leave for Europe to the International Socialist Congress. Things in America remain in a disturbed and disordered condition. Nevertheless, it is a state of disorder and disturbance from which your acquittal is calculated to bring speedy order and harmony. The capitalist class has again wrought better for the Social Revolution than that class is aware—it has, through your now celebrated case, built you up for the work of unifying the Movement upon sound ground. Those who have been early in the struggle have necessarily drawn upon themselves animosities. However undeserved, these animosities are unavoidable; and what is worse yet, tend to disqualify such organizations and their spokesmen for the work of themselves speedily effecting unification, however certain the soundness of their work may make ultimate unification. Important as their work was in the past, and will continue to be, not through them could a short cut to victory, through united efforts, be made. The very value of their work in one direction interferes with their power in another. As I said, the capitalist class, through this late persecution of you, has 'produced' the

unifier—the Socialist who understands, as the Socialist Labor Party does, that, without the ballot, the emancipation of the Working Class can not be reached; and that, without the industrially economic organization of the workers, the day of the workers' victory at the polls (even if such victory could be attained under such circumstances) would be the day of their defeat; last, not least, the Socialist who is unencumbered by the animosities inseparable from the early stages of the struggle. We are again in the days when the old Republican party was organized out of warring free-soil and abolitionist, and of up to then wavering elements. Thanks to your own antecedents, your celebrated case, the unanimity of the Working Class in your behalf, and your triumphant vindication, the capitalist class has itself hatched out the needed leader. The capitalist class has thrown the ball into your hands. You can kick it over the goal.

"The season is so solemn that I shall speak solemnly. Upon the wisdom of your acts it now depends whether the ball is to be kicked over the goal within appreciable time, or not. The S. L. P., of which it has been slanderously said is run by one man, myself, just because it is a self-directing body, is sane enough to listen with respectful attention (even tho' it may disagree) to one who has so long filled my post in its ranks. My individual efforts may be relied upon by you, if you desire them, towards the work that circumstances have combined to cut out for you.

"Men who are incapable of appreciating straight-forward and consistent action have long been pronouncing the S. L. P. dead, more lately also the I. W. W., and myself as merely anxious to 'hang on to something.' The soundness of the S. L. P. principle, coupled with the power of its press, insures it against any such death. As I stated in the course of the recent debate 'AS TO POLITICS'—so long as its mission remains unfulfilled, the S. L. P. will hold the field unterrified; the day, however, when the I. W. W. will have reflected its own political party, in other words, the day when the vicious nonsense of 'pure and simple political Socialism' will be at an end, it will be with a shout of joy that the S. L. P. will break ranks.

"I need say no more. Tomorrow I take ship for Europe. Shall be back early the second week of September. I should be pleased to hear from you. In order to insure the delivery of this, and not knowing your address, I forward it care of our mutual friend, Vincent St. John, to be delivered to you in person.

"With hearty wellwishes—

"Yours fraternally,

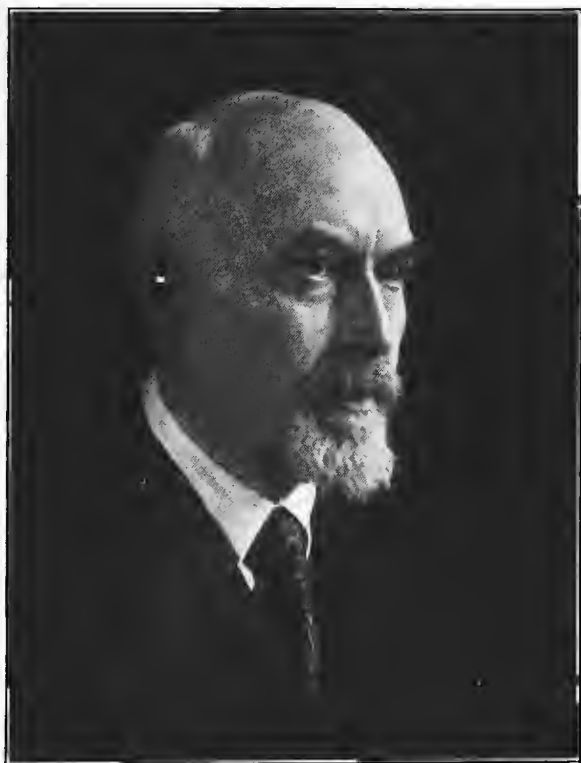
"D. De Leon.

"P. S.—Enclosed I send you a clipping from the Daily People of September 22, 1906. It contains my letter, written from Franklin, Ind., on the subject of your nomination for Governor in Colorado. Perhaps you saw it before now."

PART III

From 1906 to 1918.—Slummists Capture I. W. W. and Embark on Physical Force Career.—As to “Socialist Unity”.—De Leon’s Death in 1914.—Outbreak of World War and Attitude of European Socialist Parties.—The Russian Revolution and Recognition of De Leon’s Work.—The New International.—Epilogue.

The following year, in 1906, I resigned my position as the National Secretary of the Party, the reasons being made known to the membership in a statement then issued. That ended the close, almost every-day-contact I had for all these years been in with De Leon, and I could only see him occasionally. Frank Bohn was elected to succeed me. Whatever hopes had been entertained as to how he would conduct the work of the office were soon dispelled. Very soon De Leon used to send me word to come and see him and when I called he complained about Bohn’s ineptitude, his carelessness, lack of method, etc. I had myself observed, when inducting him into the work of the office, that there was something lacking in the man, but I had concluded that he would learn, adapt himself and break in in time. Before long, however, he developed other traits, assumed an attitude of hostility towards De Leon and began to intrigue against him. A situation arose that finally led to his resignation at the session of the N. E. C. held from Jan. 5 to 8, 1908. His place had to be filled temporarily, pending the election of a permanent successor, and I had to jump into the breach to take charge of the office until the vacancy could be filled by a general vote. For a short time this brought me again in close touch with the affairs of the Party and, also, with De Leon.



HENRY KUHN

NATIONAL SECRETARY, SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

1891-1906

Natural History of Mr. Frank Bohn

A purpose of future usefulness will be served if we now digress a little and devote a little space to the further evolution of Mr. Frank Bohn. Having ceased to be the National Secretary, he continued for a time to linger in the Party's ranks, intending to use it, it may be supposed, as a fisherman uses a pond. In the fall of that same year, 1908, the regular state election was due in New York state and, in due time, the S. L. P. held its nominating convention. Bohn was a delegate to that convention, and so was I. Many of us suspected that for a good while past he had maintained close connections with S. P. circles and that he was plotting, but he had not yet been unmasked and could still obtain the votes of unsuspecting members. But "as murder will out," so did he have to show his hand in the end, and he did so at the time of this convention. On my way to the meeting room on the top floor of the Daily People building, then located at 28 City Hall Place, I stopped at De Leon's office as was my habit when in the building. De Leon, as soon as he saw me, exclaimed: "You are just the man I wanted to see; look at this!"—handing over to me a letter. It was a letter Bohn had written to B. Reinstein, at Buffalo, N. Y., wherein he sought to draw Reinstein into the support of a plot to prevent the nomination of a state ticket by the S. L. P. Thus, Bohn, after he had himself elected a delegate to a convention that had only one function and that to nominate a state ticket, at once began to intrigue to prevent the very thing he had been elected for and, worse yet, he tried to enlist other Party members in his treasonable plotting. As a scheme it was about as foolish a thing as could be imagined; only a person utterly ignorant as to the spirit of the S. L. P. membership could have conceived such a "plan." He no doubt took chances. If he succeeded, all the better, for he could then enter the S. P. a conquering hero; if he failed he could point out that he had made an effort and get credit for that. But his inborn ineptitude cropped out again when he tried to make Reinstein a partner in his scheme. He never made a bigger mistake in his life when he permitted himself to as-

sume that, because Reinstein advocated a "Unity Resolution" he would, therefore, be available for Bohn's underhanded work. Reinstein, feeling the insult to him implied in such "reasoning," promptly forwarded the Bohn letter to De Leon.

I took that letter with me to the convention, my mind made up to put an end to the career of the gentlemen in the S. L. P. Bohn, not having had a reply from Reinstein, probably felt ill at ease and did not know what might be in the wind. At any rate, he was not on hand when the committee on credentials made its report. I deferred action, preferring that he be present at the coming exposure. But he failed to turn up and I finally asked for the floor on a matter of personal privilege, exposed his treasonable scheming and moved that as a matter of form his seat in the convention be declared vacant and that the contents of the letter be made part of the record of the convention. Towards the close of the convention he finally did show up and he was then curtly informed that he had been unseated. Thereupon he landed in the S. P.—naturally. Next we see him in the role of an organizer of the Anarchist Chicago I. W. W., raiding the headquarters of the Detroit I. W. W. (now the W. I. I. U.) at Paterson, N. J., driving up with a truck in the dead of night and, with the aid of several henchmen, carrying off the furniture of the organization. After that he again turns to "national politics," and we see him in the New York Times advocating, day after day, the election of Woodrow Wilson as President of the United States. Again he appears, in the company of Gompers, Sanial, Simpson, Spargo, Simons, Stokes, etc., etc., as one of the founders of the "National Alliance of Labor and Democracy"; again in the New York Times as a writer on international or world politics, dispensing, ex cathedra, opinions on the redrawing of the map of Europe and sundry other matters; and, more recently, he went with Mr. Gompers, Russell, Spargo and a few other "socialists" on a quasi government mission to convince the Socialists of England, France and Italy of the error of their ways, from which mission he seems just to have returned. Verily, Mr. Frank Bohn is a very versatile man, at home in

every saddle. He also seems to be the happy possessor of an unerring instinct that enables him to discern on which side his bread is buttered. Mr. Bohn, way back in 1906, often urged me to undertake the work of writing a history of the S. L. P. Today I am rather pleased that I was unable to accommodate him, because at this much later date I am able to include in this present effort a part at least of the natural history of Mr. Frank Bohn, rather a mere sketch, it is true, but sufficient to furnish a fairly good photograph of the gentleman.

As to Socialist "Unity"

At the aforesaid session of the N. E. C., in Jan. 1908, a matter was broached which, for the second time during all the years De Leon and I had worked together caused me to disagree with him in a matter of importance. It was the so-called "Unity Resolution" introduced by Boris Reinstein on behalf of Section Erie County (Buffalo), N. Y. Reinstein had been at the Stuttgart International Congress and had there received the stimulus that led him to inject that question into the S. L. P. I was present at that N. E. C. session, De Leon having asked me to attend. Called upon to express my views, I took the floor to point out the hopelessness of such a move. The minutes of the session mention the matter in these words: "Henry Kuhn was given the floor on the subject and stated his reasons for being skeptical as to the results to be expected from the adoption of such resolutions." If I was skeptical then, I am more than skeptical today, for all that has since come to pass has re-enforced my conviction that unity with the S. P. is not possible—and is not desirable if it were possible—at least not now nor for probably a long time to come if human foresight has any value. I stated then that the S. P., predicated as it is upon the A. F. of L., and the A. F. of L., via the National Civic Federation and numberless other influences, dominated by capitalist interests, could not if it would, and would not if it could, unite with the S. L. P. upon a basis that left the S. L. P. a factor to be reckoned with. To have us disappear as an organization by attachment to the S. P. as individuals would, of

course, be entirely acceptable to them, but hardly to ourselves.

The move made in 1908 came to naught, the S. P. National Committee taking it upon itself to decline the invitation for a conference, not taking the trouble to refer it to its membership. Since then the S. L. P. has several times over been induced to spend and waste time and effort on the same elusive task, the last time at the invitation of the S. P., a general vote of that party having decided to invite the S. L. P. to a "Unity Conference."

There may be such of our members who reason that these unity conferences bring the S. L. P. position to the attention of the S. P. membership and that they have, for that reason, a propagandist value. I doubt whether any considerable portion of that membership ever hears about the result of these conferences, and I also doubt that the few who do, ever get more than a very much twisted version thereof.

There may also be such of our members who are born strategists and who think that these unity conferences can be used to maneuver the S. P. into an untenable position. These fail to understand the peculiar jelly-fish character of the S. P. organization. They reason from an S. L. P. organization viewpoint—too much so. It is true that the S. L. P., caught in a position that violates accepted tenets of the movement, would suffer in standing and in morale, but the S. P.—never.

And if there be such of our members as really yearn for unity with the S. P. on sentimental grounds, who have not gotten over deploring the "split" and all that sort of thing, let these by all means "unite" and leave us alone to fight our own battles. At best they do not understand and live entirely in the past. Political parties and movements are not immutable; they are organic structures changing with changing conditions of which conditions they are the products. The lay of the land in the United States is today such that there HAS TO BE an S. P., and, for the same reason, there HAS TO BE an S. L. P.

This much must be said on the purely practical side of the unity matter: If we of the S. L. P. permit that the fur-

the existence of our movement be continually called in question, for that is the inevitable impression created upon the public mind as well as upon our own membership, we simply weaken and injure our movement to that extent. We show a lack of faith in the correctness of our position, which showing or which lack—whichever it be—tends to demoralize us and cause discord in our ranks.

Europe Blind to American Conditions

Far more weighty are the objections upon the ground of principles and tactics. The unity resolutions of the International Congresses, from whence our unity advocates derived their inspiration, were adopted with an eye to European conditions and with scarcely a thought of us in America. We were, to them, a negligible quantity anyway. These congresses, as De Leon correctly stated at the 1900 National Convention of the Party, were really peace demonstrations and their unity resolutions manifestations of the instinct of self-preservation. In an atmosphere such as prevailed on the European continent at least, an atmosphere surcharged with the constant danger of impending war, unity, where it did not exist, became a measure of defense; there was always an urgent desire to draw their forces together so that, if the black war cloud threatened to break, they might hope to avert the calamity by concerted action. How these hopes were fated to be frustrated has been amply demonstrated by subsequent events and that, of all men, Daniel De Leon was not permitted to live and see the play of the gigantic forces that broke loose so shortly after his death, that is one of the tragedies of life. There is perhaps not a single S. L. P. man in the land in whose mind the same idea has not arisen; all felt that now we need De Leon, need his counsel, his judgment, his guiding hand.

When the storm broke in Europe, we did see some queer and to many unexpected developments in the Socialist movements on the other side of the Atlantic; and yet, we need not be overly astonished at what happened there after August 4, 1914, because what did happen was predicated upon what did exist there prior to that fateful day. A man sitting

on top of a volcano and likely to be blown up any minute is not in a position to evolve fine points in tactics. His attention is apt to be absorbed looking for help, however vainly, and his mental processes will be of a kind that scorns fine distinctions as to source and possible effectiveness of that help. This simile may not fully cover movements composed of numbers of men, but it comes near enough to explain how such movements, situated as were those of continental Europe at least, will develop a tendency to look for mass instead of class, using the latter term in a purely sportive sense. Nor could we, placed in exactly the same predicament, expect to be any different.

De Leon, who attended congress after congress, and who went there with his eyes open for seeing things below as well as above the surface, came back again and again with the same conviction, viz., that so long as conditions in Europe remained as they were, America was the country where, for reasons geographical, political and economic, the true revolutionary position of the Socialist movement must be worked out. We had long talks each time he returned. He understood clearly the difficulties of their position; he saw, with equal clearness, their shortcomings flowing from these difficulties; and he saw also the inevitable psychological situation thereby created. But there was no way out that we could see. I distinctly remember a long conversation we had—it was after the Stuttgart Congress, I believe, where Bebel made a speech, saying, in substance, that in case of invasion he, at his ripe age, would shoulder a gun to defend the fatherland—in the course of which conversation I asked De Leon whether he thought that the German movement would fall in line behind the government if made to believe that they had to ward off a threatened invasion. His answer was that he thought that was just what would happen. We did all along consider a European war unavoidable, it being only a question as to how long it might yet be avoided. We were also clear upon the point that any capitalist government could succeed fooling the bulk of its people into believing that any war that it might become involved in was a war of "defense."

In view of all this, where is the sense for us to be gov-

erned, when considering the question of unity HERE in America, by European concepts or by the utterances of International Congresses scarcely ever meant for us? That question must be considered and decided upon grounds that govern OUR conditions of existence—the industrial and political conditions prevailing right here in this country and which are, in spite of all that has happened during the last few years, essentially different from those prevailing in Europe prior to the war, to say nothing of what these conditions are there today. We know we have nothing in common with the S. P. as to ultimate aim and, necessarily, we can not have anything in common in regard to methods and tactics to attain that aim.

Victor L. Berger's Different Goal

To illustrate the difference as to ultimate aim, and to make clear that, when the S. P. talks about the Co-operative Commonwealth or about the Socialist Republic, it does not mean what we mean by such terms, I shall present the following. I have before me a pamphlet, containing a long speech made by Victor L. Berger, of Wisconsin, in the House of Representatives, on Thursday, July 18, 1912. I shall quote from that pamphlet (which, by the way, is issued by the Government printing office, Washington, D. C.) as follows:

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GOAL OF SOCIALIST PARTY.

Mr. CLINE. Mr. Speaker, I understood the gentleman to say in his address that the Socialist Party was in favor of common ownership of most of the agencies of production and distribution.

Mr. BERGER. For the collective ownership and the democratic management of the social means of production and distribution.

Mr. CLINE. How are you going to evolve the system?

A NATURAL AND SCIENTIFIC ORGANIZATION OF SOCIETY.

Mr. BERGER. We believe that everything that is necessary for the life of the Nation, for the enjoyment of every-

body within the Nation, the Nation is to own and manage. Therefore we shall take over the trusts, railroads, mines, telegraphs, and other monopolies of national scope.

Everything that is necessary for the life and development of the State, the State is to own and manage. There are certain business functions that the State will have to take care of, like interurban lines, for instance.

Everything that is necessary for the life and development of a city, the city is to own and manage, like, for instance, not only street cars and light and heating plants, but also abattoirs, public bake shops, the distribution of pure milk, and so forth.

Everything the individual can own and manage best, the individual is to own and manage. That is simple enough.

In other words, the trust as a business has reached a stage where it is unsafe in private hands; it is a menace to the Nation as long as it is in private hands. It can only be managed by the Nation for the profit of everybody. The same holds good for certain private monopolies in cities, as far as the cities are concerned.

THE NATION COULD GET THESE PROPERTIES EASIER THAN THE TRUSTS GOT THEM.

Mr. CLINE. How are you going to change the present economic basis? Give us a concrete statement of that proposition.

Mr. BERGER. That is easy enough. We surely could get the trust properties in the same way the trusts got them. The trusts paid for their properties almost entirely in watered stock, preferred and common. We can give the best security in existence today—United States bonds.

Mr. CLINE. Have the government buy them?

Mr. BERGER. Have the Government buy the trust properties. Why not? But pay only for the actual value. That will be paid for out of the profits of these trusts in a very short time.

Socialist Revolution Purchaser of Social System

What does Mr. Berger mean? It must be assumed that Mr. Berger, today an S. P. ex-Congressman and a big S. P.

light withal, knows how the political state arose; that he knows it is based upon the institution of private property and, in fact, had its origin in the rise and development of that institution; that he knows the political state HAD to assume the function of a protector of that institution and thereby, ipso facto, became the maintainer of class divisions and the defender of class rule in society; that he is familiar with what Lewis H. Morgan and Frederick Engels have said on these subjects and that, lastly, he can not escape the conclusion that, if the institution of private property falls, its superstructure, the political state, must also fall. When we hear some ignoramus talk about the social revolution buying out a social system, we smile. When we hear Mr. Berger talk as he does, we don't smile. We ask ourselves: What is he after? Is he simply blarneying the crowd, trying to make them feel that they will get some coin out of the "deal"? Or, perchance, does he mean what he says, namely, that his "socialism" implies the continued existence of the political state, with U. S. bonds for the capitalists that may have to let go of their properties if ever the S. P. "gets there"? Whatever regard I have for the clear enunciation of Socialist principles upon which alone correct Socialist tactics can be based, impels me to assume that Mr. Berger means what he says and that he wants what he asks for, which leads me to the conclusion that his "socialism" is not my Socialism, and from which reasoning I draw the further conclusion that I don't want my Party to unite with his party.

Going over Mr. Berger's speech in its entirety and considering the place and the occasion of its delivery, it strikes me that he presents his "socialism" almost like a business proposition which may be adopted or rejected on its good or bad points. The evolutionary processes at work within society are scarcely touched upon and his hearers must have been under the impression that his "socialism" was something they might take or leave just as they felt like. To us, to whom Socialism does not appear solely as a problem in ethics that may be discussed from the standpoint of good or bad, desirable or undesirable, but, chiefly, as a theory of social evolution to be considered only from the standpoint of

its being true or untrue, its truth or untruth to be determined by the facts and the interpretation of facts that the evolutionary processes bring to light, to us, I say, that speech of Mr. Berger in the House of Representatives appears singularly deficient. Why does he deprive himself of the terrific force that an argument based squarely upon the evolutionary theory would impart to his effort? WHY?

Different Tactics

I have before me another pamphlet, entitled: "The Socialist Party," issued by the "New York State Headquarters." On pages 10 and 11 thereof, I find an address "To Organized Labor," adopted at the "National Convention, Chicago, May, 1908." I quote:

"The Socialist Party does not seek to dictate to organized labor in matters of internal organization and union policy. It recognizes the necessary autonomy of the union movement on the economic field, as it insists on maintaining its own autonomy on the political field."

Just so—you maintain your "necessary" autonomy and we maintain ours, you leave us alone and we leave you alone—that is the S. P. position; a position which, were it possible to maintain it, would forever prevent the working class from using all its powers to free itself, from ever coming together and, with common purpose, act as one united force on both the political and the economic field. This S. P. "reasoning" strikes one as though the working class were composed of two parts; one part consisting of "political" men and women and the other part consisting of "economic" men and women and that the twain will never meet. We, of the S. L. P., who perceive the working class to be composed of an aggregation of individual units, having the same general interests as against the interests of their capitalist exploiters, can not possibly accept that sort of "reasoning"; to us this pretended dualism appears to be the rankest kind of treasonable nonsense, calculated to confuse and bewilder and divide the working class in its struggle for freedom that calls for united action in any direction made possible by our form of social organization. But we also perceive that this apparent non-

sense and real treason have their roots in the conditions of the day, conditions that feed this pretense because it "pays"; and because the correct posture does not "pay" it is for that reason rejected.

The Socialist, whom nature has endowed with any degree of prevision, whose mental horizon is not bounded by the conditions of the hour, knows that "unions" can not always remain what they are today; that the further evolution of our industrial system will compel union evolution—willy-nilly—and that the working class economic organization, once it has grown out of its swaddling clothes, will not for a moment be influenced by this "autonomy" nonsense. On the contrary, such a working class economic organization will speedily evolve its own political expression and, realizing full well that its real might lies of necessity on the economic field, it will most naturally and most certainly dominate (or "dictate" if you please) that political reflex of its own self.

But the S. P. does not bother its collective head about the future. All the future visions it has are bound up in the political state wherein it will hold the offices now held by Republicans and Democrats, plus the jobs that become available when, by the proposed means of bonds, Uncle Sam, or the state, or the municipality, take over one industry or the other from a part of the capitalist class. But that, if you please, is not our way of bringing about Socialism, nor is it the "socialism" that we are after and, therefore, we do not want our Party to unite with their party.

Industrial Evolution in America

At any rate, in view of what is today going on in this world the entire S. P. conception, as advanced by its leaders and spokesmen, that, on the whole, things will remain about what they have been, is of a child-like simplicity unless consciously advanced for the purpose of deception. The industrial system of this country, conceived in the sense of modern mass production, dates back scarcely more than half a century. During that short period a working class has arisen mighty in numbers and we see on every hand evidences of the raging class conflict. As far back as 1886 a labor movement ex-

isted that raised some good-sized waves and every ten years or so some event would mark, in more or less striking manner, the progress made. The year 1895 saw the formation of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, an event of no mean importance. Ten years later, in 1905, we witnessed the birth of the industrial union movement, engendered by the S. L. P. and carried in the womb of the Labor Movement until the hour of its birth had struck. In 1915 another wave would have been due, because prior to 1914 we were drifting headlong into the biggest industrial crisis this country ever saw had not the war intervened and staved it off. The European nations had then perforce to stop sending their surpluses to us, being busily engaged in blowing them up in the air and we, in turn, were kept busy to produce and let them have more for the same purpose.

It is the undying glory of De Leon that, what we so clearly perceive today, he saw many years ago and he spared no effort to make us see it; and that, besides being a profound thinker and clear reasoner, he was also a prodigious worker and a dauntless fighter who threw the whole weight of his powerful personality into the fray and helped us to build up that organization of men and women, the Socialist Labor Party, of which it can be said without any exaggeration, and without even an attempt thereat, that it is the most advanced, the most conscious, and the most clear-cut Socialist organization on the face of this earth. And whenever the S. L. P. banner was raised in other countries, in England, in Australia, or in South Africa, so strong proved the guiding principles of our movement, that these parties were always true chips of the old block. We occupy an advanced position and can not, for that very reason, boast of large numbers; we should not even desire large numbers NOW. It is our fate and our mission to hold grimly to the position we now occupy, for the lay of the land today is such that we can not attract and hold the mass of the working class without sharing, or pretending to share its errors and, thereby, betraying it. Our time will come, is bound to come, when social evolution has advanced sufficiently to make our position understood by that mass. That does not mean that we must

or can afford to sit still and let evolution do our work. That evolution can not do; we must do it. We must constantly hold up to the mass of the working class the mirror of its errors and its follies; we must gather the elements of the working class that have become clarified and weld them into our organization; we must work unceasingly to help build up the revolutionary organization of Labor on the economic field; we must each serve our movement with what capacity nature has endowed us with and to the extent our individual circumstances permit.

In a country like ours there will always be men and women in sufficient number to hold aloft the banner of the S. L. P. so long as the S. L. P. is true to itself. We owe it to the memory of De Leon, we owe it to ourselves, and we owe it to the working class never to lower that banner, never to be switched aside from our course, never to barter ultimate aim for temporary gain no matter what the allurements. In the words of De Leon's favorite hymn we must

"Dare to be a Daniel,
Dare to stand alone;
Dare to have a purpose firm,
Dare to make it known——"

and when we are approached by such as cry "peace" when there is no peace, or propose "unity" with something there can be no unity with, it is for us to knock that proposition squarely on the head and then utilize it as a text to show why there can not be such a thing.

Armageddon Breaking Loose

In 1914 we saw how the productive forces of society, having outgrown the social forms within which they were confined, blew up with much eclat, drenching a world in blood of which drenching the end is not yet. We also saw how the majority of the Socialist parties of Europe were drawn into the swirl of events and became active participants in the upheaval on one side or the other of the conflict. By this I do not mean that the individual units composing these parties

engaged in the struggle, for they were powerless to prevent that. What I do mean is that these parties as such, by their acts and their utterances and by the position they took, became participes criminis, lining up with or even becoming part of their respective capitalist governments.

The leaders of the European Socialist movement are familiar with Socialist economic theory; they must have understood full well the true nature of the catastrophe, how it came about and why it came about and what it meant to the working class. But they have always been singularly deficient when it came to the practical side of things, the matter of methods and of tactics, the matter of organizing the working class so as to make of it the power it could and should be. It may be argued that politically backward conditions would have made it impossible for most of the European countries to adopt and pursue policies which, barring the present abnormal and hysteric conditions, we always felt free to pursue in America. Such an argument would explain that these policies could not in their entirety be adopted and applied, but it does not explain how the leaders of the European movement could remain so cold and so unsympathetic and so uninterested towards these policies which encompassed the whole range of Socialist thought and action. One would reason that the principles of industrial unionism, providing that form of organization of the working class which enable it to take and hold and administer the industries of the land when the day is here to "expropriate the expropriators" and to supplant the political state with the Industrial Socialist Republic, and which also and at the same time provide the form of organization that can most effectively conduct the working class struggle in present society, that such principles would appeal to the intellect of these men and cause them to exert themselves to also make them the intellectual property of their rank and file.

Yet what did we see? We have seen a De Leon carrying this message to them again and again, yet hardly able to make an impression. De Leon, a man of marked ability, controlling the three chief languages used at these international gatherings, a man abundantly able to make clear what he had

to say and amply energetic to do so. We have seen a Dr. Karl Liebknecht, certainly a man of knowledge, rectitude and proven courage, tour this country under the auspices of the S. P. and studiously avoid coming near the S. L. P., never utter himself upon the palpitating issues that separate us from the S. P., acting almost like an employee who feels under obligation not to offend his employer. When the point is pressed home to him by an S. L. P. man, he advises that we join the larger party. Sic! Why doesn't he "join the larger party" today?

From all of this we may perhaps deduce that these men, in spite of better knowledge, could not rise above their environment, and that again leads to the conclusion that material conditions determine not only the ideas and actions of the mass of men, but also limit the mental vision of their leaders so that they are unable to see and grasp what is so obvious to us. It is one thing to know and quite another to apply that knowledge to the ever rising issues of the day.

Russia to the Fore

That the Socialists of Russia occupied a position somewhat different from that of the other European Socialist parties was, of course, due to special causes. Indeed, it may be said that nearly the entire conscious portion of the Russian people was interested in the defeat of Czarism rather than its victory, at least one could infer as much from published and private utterances at the beginning of the war. It is true, there were exceptions, even notable exceptions such as Plechanoff, but that did not affect the general situation. Under Czarism the work of the Socialist movement had to be conducted largely "underground" and had to be managed from foreign countries. Moreover, Russia, because of its medieval backwardness, had not developed a numerous and powerful bourgeoisie able to hypnotize and poison the working class mind, a process so successfully pursued in other countries. On the other hand, Russia had developed a working class rather numerous, although constituting but a small percentage of a total population largely peasant. Due to the rather weak mind-poisoning power of the bourgeoisie on the one

hand, and the savage oppression of the Czarist bureaucratic regime on the other, the Russian proletariat had a good chance to develop a class-conscious organization, comprising not only a small part but almost the entire working class. Thus, at the time of the fall of the Czar, the Russian working class found itself with arms in its hands, side by side with a peasantry that was also armed and was without any conscious reason for opposing a working class program. Five-sixths of the power of the land was at their disposal and they were face to face with a situation that imperatively demanded action. They did act in a manner that history will tell of as long as history is going to be written, for we see today and have seen for almost a year past the government of Russia in possession of the most revolutionary part of the Russian Socialist movement; we see how that government has been molded by the adaptation of the Soviet form of organization in such a manner as to meet the situation Russia is today confronted with, and we have seen how the revolution has held its own although beset within and without. From time to time we get glimpses of information showing what a vast amount of constructive work is being done in that country, work along educational lines, work in industry, work wherever work can be done. It has been said that the Russian revolution is the biggest event in all history and is well worth all the war has and will yet cost. This is unquestionably true, for though the end is not yet and man can not tell what the future may bring forth, it is absolutely certain that Russia, far from becoming again what she was prior to the outbreak of the war, is bound to be one of the dynamic world forces that will help to drive the system of capitalism down the road to perdition. From the very inception of the Soviet government there has been carried on a tremendous propaganda in both Austria and Germany with the outspoken purpose of ripening these fields for the Social Revolution and so menacing became this propaganda that the German Imperial government had to address protests to and even to threaten the Russian Republic.

Of all the expressions of the Socialist movement in Europe it is Russia, through the mouth of Lenine, that has

sounded the clearest note. Whatever utterance there has been or has come to our knowledge, be it on a matter of constructive action affecting their movement and its tasks, or of criticism pertaining to sins of omission and commission, within Russia and without, or dealing with internal problems confronting them, such utterance has been clear-cut and to the point. These men are Marxians and they act and talk like Marxians. It is but natural that in an atmosphere such as now prevails in Russia the logical position of the Socialist Labor Party should find speedy recognition. This was strikingly and interestingly illustrated in the *New York World* of January 31, 1918, which contained a cable from its correspondent in Russia, Arno Dosch-Fleuret, saying, literally, that "Daniel De Leon, late head of the Socialist Labor Party in America, is playing, through his writings, an important part in the construction of a Socialist state in Russia. The Bolshevik leaders are finding his ideas of an industrial state in advance of Karl Marx's theories.

"Lenine, closing his speech on the adoption of the Rights of Workers' Bill in the congress (of Soviets) showed the influence of De Leon, whose governmental construction, on the basis of industries, fits admirably into the Soviet construction of the state now forming in Russia. De Leon is really the first American Socialist to affect European thought."

A similar and also very significant recognition of the inexorable logic of the S. L. P. position came from another quarter. During the revolutionary struggle in Finland, a Swedish Socialist paper, "Arbetet," put a query to the Socialists of Finland, to this effect: "By what means and methods can the cause of the Finnish working class be best advanced just now?" Amongst the answers received and published there was one by Allan Wallenius, a Finnish Socialist who had, some years ago, made a trip through the United States and had there come in contact with the S. L. P. and its teachings. Said he in part:

"In the future we shall have more battles to fight. In these we should not forget that it is necessary for the workers to get hold of the political power through their political organization, but above all, of the economic power through

their industrial organizations. If our industrial organizations had been ready and strong enough to take over and to operate the means of production at the time our general strike broke out, then our position would have been entirely different from what it is now—trembling in the balance.

“Means are at hand for the reformation of our trade union movement in a direction so that it will be ready when the time is ripe to take and hold and operate production. This lies in the program which the advocates of industrial unionism set up against the trade or craft organization.

“We have a few things to learn from syndicalism, and also from the Scandinavian trade union opposition. The party which resolutely and without compromise is supporting the teaching of economic and political action in a true Marxian spirit, with a determined stand against the Anarchist teachings of physical force and the anti-political character of syndicalism is the Socialist Labor Party (America, Australia, England). The tactics practised by this party must finally be adopted also by us, for the reason that this program is the surest and best way to be pursued for the annihilation of capitalism, while it at the same time unflinchingly erects the foundation of the Socialist society.”

In this connection it will not be amiss to relate how in still another way the S. L. P. made “contact” with the Russian revolution. Comrade Boris Reinstein, of Section Erie Co., (Buffalo), N. Y., having decided, after the revolution, to go to Russia on private matters, was authorized by the Party’s N. E. C., at its meeting of May 1917, to represent the S. L. P. at the International Congress scheduled to be held at Stockholm that year. For reasons universally known that congress did not take place and Reinstein proceeded from Stockholm to Russia. Due to unreliable mail connections we did not often hear from him direct, but the public press from time to time had reports from Russia in which he was mentioned. On one occasion it was said that, after the fall of the Kerensky regime, in November 1917, he had been placed in charge of an International Bureau of Revolutionary Propaganda organized by the Soviet government, seemingly the same bureau that was carrying the revolutionary propaganda into

Austria and Germany. Finally, a few months ago, John Reed, the well-known journalist, who had been in Russia during the revolution and had there been in personal contact with Reinstein, returned to America and, at a meeting of the N. E. C. held May 4, 1918, related his experience and brought greetings from Comrade Reinstein.

But Reed brought more than that, he brought news that not only was highly gratifying to the men and women who, for so many years, have battled in the foe-beset ranks of the S. L. P., but, what is of much greater importance, news that showed on the part of the men now guiding the destinies of Russia a clear and keen perception of the value of the work De Leon had been doing in America, plus a clear recognition, as clear as can be desired, that in order to safeguard the revolution in Russia they must shape their course along the lines mapped, for the guidance of the International Proletariat, by Daniel De Leon.

So important is this news that, for the sake of rescuing it from the fate of an ephemeral item in a paper and give it the greater permanency imparted by publication in book form, I shall quote from the Weekly People of May 11, 1918, as follows:

"Premier Lenine," said Reed, "is a great admirer of Daniel De Leon, considering him the greatest of modern Socialists—the only one who has added anything to Socialist thought since Marx. Reinstein managed to take with him to Russia a few of the pamphlets written by De Leon, but Lenine wants more. He asked Reed to try hard to send several copies of all of De Leon's published works, and also a copy of 'With De Leon Since '89,' a biography by Rudolph Katz, which is now in process of publication by the Socialist Labor Party.

"Lenine intends to translate this into Russian and write an introduction to it.

"It is Lenine's opinion that the Industrial State as conceived by De Leon will ultimately have to be the form of government in Russia. The government is now based partly on workshop committees. The Soviets are directly responsive to their constituents, as a representative can be recalled and his place filled in one day."

The New International

The world war and all that thereby hangs has buried the old International. It is well that the abortion has gone hence—never to return. How the new International, the one that must arise after the war, will shape itself it is as yet too soon to predict. The elements that will constitute it have not as yet been clearly evolved and the convulsions society is still going through will yet weed out here and add there worn-out or new constituent parts. Much depends upon the further duration of the war, for the longer it lasts the more will the capitalist social fabric be affected. One thing, however, is certain: The bourgeois connections within the Socialist movement, so clearly revealed by this war, must be cut out as with a knife. A sharp line of demarcation must and will be drawn between those who would end capitalism and those who would mend it. It is a pity that De Leon is not with us to help us build the new temple upon the foundation that he strove and fought and lived for, but we of the S. L. P. must and will do as he would have done. As things look today, the lead in laying the beginning of the new structure may devolve upon Russia for the reason that Russia today holds the imagination of the revolutionary working class the world over. Let us hope that, when the time comes, she will be in a position to take the lead. Perhaps, who knows, other nations may by that time have trodden the path that Russia was the first to venture upon; almost anything is possible in a time like this and with the Russian example at hand.

In the new International, freed from the rubbish of bourgeois connections that hampered and stifled the old and caused its disgraceful collapse when the war-cloud broke, the Socialist Labor Party of America will at last come into its own, will contribute to the building material of the new structure its undying principles so clearly enunciated by De Leon and will thus help to clear the road for the emancipation of the working class which today more than ever means the emancipation of the human race from the bloody nightmare of capitalism.

Who would be faint of heart when such a future beckons?

Ye Men and Women of the S. L. P., close the ranks!

There is work ahead and it is for us to do it.

LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY!

VIVE LA INTERNATIONALE!

The Last Tribute

It is a bright, sunny day in the month of May, 1914.

I find myself in an undertaker's establishment, arranged in chapel-like effect. Standing on a dais, I am flanked by draperies in the sombre color of mourning. Before and below me stands a casket and in the casket lie the mortal remains of what once was Daniel De Leon. The strong features, stilled in death, stand out more strongly than ever, the white beard having grown to flowing length during a lingering illness.

Beyond, scarcely discernible in the subdued light, I perceive a number of men and women, come to pay the last tribute to the dead leader,—solemn, expectant, waiting for me to begin speaking. I speak. Tell them what sort of man he was whom we have lost; what he did and for whom he strove and what his loss means to the Socialist movement, though that movement will never lose him. I ask them to draw inspiration from his life and his work, from what he has said, has written and has done.

The speaking ends. The casket is closed, and we file from the dim twilight of the chapel out into the glare of the sunlit street, meeting streams of people coming from a nearby larger hall where memorial services have also been held.

The procession forms and we fall in line, thousands of us, marching behind the hearse, on towards the river and the bridge. At the bridge the procession halts. The hearse and the accompanying carriages alone pass across on their way to the crematorium.

Slowly, we disperse.....

FINIS.

DANIEL DE LEON
OUR COMRADE

BY

OLIVE M. JOHNSON

DANIEL DE LEON—OUR COMRADE

When I was approached by Comrade Petersen, National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, with the request that I write a biographic contribution to this book, my feeling was one of profound regret and annoyance with myself. The fact is that I had for many years back harbored a secret desire to write De Leon's biography some day. That a biography of De Leon, however, should be infinitely more than the mere events and data of his life, I knew only too well; that it should be even more than the story of his activity in the Labor Movement, I was fully aware. It ought to combine all of this indeed, and, besides, contain something of his inner life, his development, and his action and reaction upon the causes and events as they unfolded themselves during his rich and eventful life. Some of this a few of us knew fairly well, but the real key was held by De Leon himself. I had often resolved to ask him to give something of his most intimate self—something that the future, if not the present, would be able to understand and appreciate. Something deterred me. I am inclined to plead that it was not mere lethargy. Perhaps it was, that modesty, that indefinable something, almost akin to awe, which all of us who truly appreciated De Leon felt in his presence, even when we had become so familiar with him as not to balk at a practical joke at his expense when the chances were good. But there was something else that also held me back. De Leon more than once told us—many of us—that he was keeping a careful diary, the complete story of his activity in the Labor Movement, his own reaction upon men and events as they appeared to him in passing. This diary he had willed to be published when his youngest son should be twenty-one.

At the present time, however, to the best of our knowl-

edge, there is no better fount to draw from than the storage house of memory of those who knew him and such material as we still can find scattered about us. What I have now gathered together will make only the merest sketch. Such as it is, I gladly give it, in order that, together with the several other contributions that go to make up this book, each made from a different point of view, a little something may be pieced together that will give somewhat of an idea of Daniel De Leon, the man and the fighter, the interest in whom is bound to rise from year to year.

Daniel De Leon—His Life

The bare facts of De Leon's career are set down in the booklet "The Party Press," issued in 1904. As this part requires neither originality of treatment nor elaboration, I simply quote it as it was then put down. As this booklet was gotten out in De Leon's lifetime, and with his approval, there can be no question as to the correctness of the details, except in one particular, the date of his birth, which I have corrected according to his own statement.

"Modest and unassuming, with a manner and countenance as open as that of a boy, De Leon's appearance gives the lie to the claims of his enemies that he is a 'boss' among S. L. P. men. When speaking, De Leon presents a striking appearance as he calmly and logically strings together the facts of his argument or coolly picks to pieces the statements of an opponent in debate.

"De Leon's career is no less remarkable than his personality. Born on Dec. 14, 1852, on the island of Curacoa, off the coast of Venezuela, he was early sent to Europe to be educated in a school at Hildesheim, Germany, and later transferred to the famous University of Leyden, from which he graduated in 1872, having mastered German, Spanish, Dutch, Latin, French, English and ancient Greek, and made a deep study of History, Philosophy and Mathematics, besides being able to read Italian, Portuguese and modern Greek. Having decided to strike out for himself in the United States, he shortly after his return to this continent became associate editor of a Spanish paper published in the interest of Cuban liberation,

and later secured a position as teacher of Latin, Greek and Mathematics in a school in Westchester, N. Y.

"While in New York, De Leon took the course in Columbia Law School, graduating with honors, being awarded the prizes of international law and of constitutional law, the former by President Woolsey of Yale, the second by William Beach Lawrence of Providence; and afterwards twice successfully competing for the post of Lecturer on International Law at Columbia College, which he held for two successive three-year terms. Naturally inclined to rebel against conditions which he saw were not as they should be, De Leon began to interest himself in the reform movements of that time, finally joining hands with the Labor political uprising of 1886, which set up the late Henry George for Mayor in this city. De Leon also interested himself in the Knights of Labor, and in later years was one of the most active among the Socialists who launched the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance in New York City, when District Assembly 49, Knights of Labor, became District Alliance 49, Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Needless to say, De Leon's interest in the Labor Movement soon led to a severance of his connections with the capitalist professors of Columbia College. His activity in the Henry George movement, bringing him in contact with some of the Socialists of that time, led him to study the theories of Karl Marx, and his quick intellect rapidly landed him in the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party, where he soon became recognized as one of its clearest and most uncompromising exponents, and in 1902 was nominated as its candidate for Governor of the State of New York, receiving nearly 16,000 votes. In 1892 De Leon was elected editor of the Weekly People and has ever since been retained in that capacity, being made editor of the Daily People at the time of its founding on July 1, 1900."

From 1900 the bare facts of his career may be summed up in one sentence. He was the Editor of The People, lecturer, and indisputable intellectual leader of the Socialist Labor Party till the day of his death, the 11th of May 1914. During these years he was the Party's representative on the International Socialist Bureau, and was the delegate to the In-

ternational Congresses of Amsterdam, Stuttgart, and Copenhagen. The details of these fourteen years, however, are numerous enough to fill volumes. They comprise, in truth, the history of the Labor Movement of the United States, the history of the tactics of the revolutionary movement of the world; the history of the formative period of the idea of the central industrial structure of the Socialist Republic. With the struggles, the trials, and the triumphs of this part of his work the other contributions to this book deal. The fundamental purpose of this sketch is to throw a few sidelights on the man himself.

Sidelights on De Leon's Character

That there was in his blood the spirit of natural rebellion against vested wrong may be gathered from the following anecdote which dates back to his "Mythological Age." To the family circle at breakfast in the aristocratic home of Doctor Solon De Leon in Venezuela, the news was brought that a slave had escaped during the night. "What ingratitude," said an uncle, "I sent that fellow some rum when he was ill." "And I," said an aunt, "sent some extra food to his children only the other day." "And I...." "But did any one ever offer to give him his liberty?" a child's voice piped up. All eyes turned on that boy, and one of the party, looking at the boy's parents, said: "I warn you, this boy will come to some bad end."

However, De Leon boasted of no "chivalrous age" as far as the revolutionary game was concerned. He never caught the disease so common to young aristocrats of the student class. Even in Germany, so he told me himself, where he studied during the tumultuous sixties, he never caught the germ. If there were any revolutionary waves stirring among any of the bodies at Leyden, he either did not hear of them at all, or their activities rolled past him without making any impression. He was frankly a young aristocrat, bent on acquiring knowledge, drinking with the full capacity of his ardent spirit the joy of European student life.

The change in his life came about so suddenly that even himself could not explain it. In the Spring of 1886 great

labor disturbances took place in New York. The men on the horse-cars struck. The condition of these workers was so deplorable that even the police sympathized with them and neglected to make arrests although a great deal of force was used by the strikers. The capitalist class became angry; these neglects were reported, and many policemen were discharged. Then a sudden change set in; the workers were treated most brutally. De Leon read about all this with great interest, but, as he said, not with any different interest than he read other sensational news. The brutality was so evident, however, that even the colored reports of the capitalist press inclined towards the workers.

Columbia College was then on Madison Avenue, opposite St. Patrick's Cathedral. One day De Leon was sitting there together with a number of his colleagues. Suddenly there was a great noise—bells ringing, horns tooting. The street-cars came in a row down the avenue. The workers had won. The group of professors hastened to the window and saw the parade go by. De Leon's colleagues expressed during this procession so much contempt and scorn and even threats against the workers that De Leon felt his blood boil. His resentment and anger were aroused and in this temper he wrote to Henry George that he had heard that the workers were intending to nominate George for mayor, in which case he could count on De Leon's support. This happened. But even then De Leon avowed he did not have the slightest intention of throwing himself into the Labor Movement. Immediately, however, petty persecutions commenced. The honor of the University was at stake. All manner of obstacles were put in his way. They could not discharge him, but neither was he appointed professor as he had expected. He was told that he might compete again for the lectureship, but the break was already inevitable.

De Leon's character may be said to have had two poles—firmness, and another which we may call simplicity and human kindness. His firmness was steel. It could be bent, bent to comply with the necessity of the hour, but never broken—never. When he changed it was in the sense that "the wise man changes his mind"—but he never compromised,

never temporized, never log-rolled. After he had once chosen his path in life everything, even his most sacred private feelings, were subordinated to it if the clash was such that one or the other had to suffer. There was no putty in his make-up. When Daniel De Leon threw his lot with the working class it was the most unheard-of scandal that had ever befallen his family of proud southern aristocrats, with its traditional contempt for the lower classes, laborers and traders alike. He was forced to break with it entirely, but we never heard him utter a regret, he never retraced his steps.

When the waves of the storm-tossed sea of the Movement made it equally necessary for him to break with and practically to cast off the beloved son of his first wife, he did it calmly and almost without a ripple on the serene surface, though it wrung his heartstrings and dealt him the first severe blow that went to undermine his constitution. It was the rest of us that wavered then; it was we who lacked firmness. We spared the rod and did damage thereby, the bad fruits of which have just lately ripened to do much injury to the Party. The wonderful fortitude of De Leon is shown by nothing as clearly as by this incident. One day, as matters jogged along and the insidious work of Solon continued, De Leon marveled that the offender was not summarily dealt with. A comrade said: "The Party members hesitate at that, Comrade De Leon, but it is you they desire to spare, not Solon." De Leon looked up with that deliberate, penetrating look of his, that could express several distinct feelings at once, and said slowly: "If my experience in the Labor Movement had not fortified me against this contingency, it would not be worth a pinch of snuff." He was fortified indeed, but only that pole of him that was steel. He never hesitated for a moment, for the good of the Movement was at stake. But that other pole where dwelt the father, the pole of human kindness, that was mortally wounded. How deep this wound was can only be realized when we know how much hope he had built on this boy. He looked to him to be his successor in the Movement. In 1905, after the launching of the I. W. W., he wrote to me in California:

"My oldest son, Solon, now nearly 22 years, it will inter-

est you to know, is now here in the office with me. He had some plans to study engineering. I made him give that up. The movement needs him, and I wish to break him in as soon as possible. He has taken hold well, and is serious and enthusiastic about it."

Could De Leon have dreamt for one moment that this enthusiasm would wind up in his son being a persistent drudge for a branch of the Civic Federation, we miss our guess if Solon would not have been allowed to go his way and never been drawn into Party activity.

This was De Leon—in all his dealings uncompromising and wholehearted. The movement choose his friends for him, and friendship, however dear, never outlived disloyalty to the Movement. A notable instance of this is the case of Hugo Vogt. De Leon often said that no man ever was so near and so dear to him as was Vogt, yet Vogt was unceremoniously cut off by and from De Leon the moment it was found that he had betrayed the trust put in him. From that moment Vogt meant no more to De Leon than would have a Siwash Indian. Himself noble, high-minded, and free from deceit, he was quick to trust and believe in the genuineness of humanity. It was this which often caused him to believe too well of men and take for genuine coin such evident counterfeits as Frank Bohn, Vincent St. John, Fred Heslewood and many others, whom most of us who stood on their own mortal plane spotted at once.

This double nature of De Leon, which I discerned early in our acquaintance, was so marked and withal so curious that it took me long really to understand it; and I am certain that there are many of his intimate friends to whom it remained a puzzle forever. It was a passage in Ibsen's "Brand" which first gave me the key to this part of his character.

"He who would conquer still must fight,
Rise, fallen, to the highest height.
And yet, when with this stern demand
Before a living soul I stand,
I seem like one that floats afar
Storm-shattered on a broken spar.

With solitary anguish wrong
I've bitten this chastising tongue,
And thirsted, as I aim'd the blow,
To clasp the bosom of my foe."

By coincidence I was reading "Brand" when an unusually severe editorial appeared in The People castigating Debs. Having read this, I turned back my pages and read aloud the above quoted passage and then said: "Boys, that is exactly De Leon when he wrote that editorial." In fact, De Leon was a BRAND in many important particulars.

A passage in a private letter also serves to make clear this essential trustfulness, hopefulness, and belief in man. This letter from which I quote was written to me in 1908, after the split in the I. W. W.

"As to my having been over-confident with regard to some men, I must plead 'not guilty.' My enemies charge me with fighting people unnecessarily. Fact is I uniformly go the full length, fullest length, possible of giving people the opportunity to show what good there is in them, if any, for the movement. All these men who have gone to the dogs gave promise of better things. There is in all of them some good that was useful in the movement. Unfortunately the evil prevailed—and what caused it to prevail is that greatest fatality of all: the existence of a party that calls itself 'Socialist,' that the capitalist press finds its account in booming, that thereby is in a condition to fill the public eye and ear, and thereby to cause its debauchery of Socialism to pass for Socialism, at least to be accepted as such by crookdom. Against this fatality, this problem, we have to contend."

However, though he met many disappointments and discouragements, these never caused him any deep sorrow, the kind of sorrow that inflicted wounds on his very sensitive nature. These only caused the sparks to fly from the steel, so to speak. The only real sorrow he suffered came from misguided friends, comrades who failed to understand him. I shall again quote from private letters, in order to show how deeply he felt the lack of complete understanding.

Under date of Nov. 24, 1904, he wrote:

"I have just read your article on the Ferri-Bulgaria 'search-light,' and have passed it on to my assistant with my 'Papal Imprimatur'—consent to be printed.

"The article gave me great pleasure. Not only is it agreeable to one to see he is understood, but it is especially soothing to me to notice that my martyrdom is realized. It has been a martyrdom to me to see 'De Leonism' run into the ground. There are those whom I call the Knipperdollings of our movement. Such elements are, however sincere, a positive danger to the best of principles. Of course, the Debs party has its Knipperdollings too. But that is no balm to my wounds—which never have been inflicted but by men from within."

On October 19, 1907, after having related some of the antics of National Secretary Bohn and the Sub-Committee, he added:

"That this does not conduce to encouragement of me you may well imagine. But it shall not discourage me. I shall face the music. They are a lot of belated Kanglets with even less sense and crazier than that senseless and crazy crew of 1902."

And again, on May 8, 1909, commenting upon the fact that a Party Section had actually asked him to come and debate some foolish charges made by a disgruntled and anarchistic individual that had just jumped out of the movement, he wrote:

"The enemy never gave me a single pang of sorrow. All the pangs I have received came from the fool friends. To think of such sleepy-headedness as to consider such a challenge, from such a source with anything but contempt and laughter!"

De Leon's working capacity was prodigious. During all the fourteen years of the Daily People he wrote an editorial nearly every day, and it was an editorial, not merely "words," a task which is no small one in itself. When these are once collected and published, and there will be found to be something like six thousand of them covering the widest variety

of topics, it is possible that the world may wake up at last and take notice and realize that it stands in the presence of one of its most unusual intellects. Besides this he continually read—read and kept himself posted on the widest range of matters; prepared and delivered a number of masterful lectures, many of which have been published in pamphlet form; he translated from the German Bebel's "Woman under Socialism," Lassalle's "Franz von Sickingen," Marx's "Eighteenth Brumaire," Engel's "Utopia to Science," and the "Kautsky Pamphlets." From the French he translated the twenty-one volumes of Eugene Sue's work, "The Mysteries of the People, or the History of a Proletarian Family Across the Ages," in itself a momentous work, both as to quantity and quality, and by this he rescued for the English-speaking world a work of clear and readable history in fiction form, written from the point of view of the class struggle as seen and felt by the oppressed, which but for him might have remained a closed book to the English-speaking world because of the existence of the very agencies, still active, that so bitterly hated Sue and his latter-day works. Add to this that De Leon prepared any number of official documents, reports, and addresses, took an active part in Party work, went on lecture tours, and catered to the demand of keeping "open house" and holding continuous receptions in The People office for comrades from near and far. And with this we never heard him complain—though, to be sure, he escaped to his home in order to work. He never pleaded being rushed or overworked; never made a wry face at being interrupted, except sometimes by a crank or a fool, such as used to blow into the office in great numbers, particularly previous to the split of '99.

De Leon often said that by attracting the freaks to itself the Socialist Party had rendered him immeasurable service. A sample of this kind of visitation is found in the following anecdote. De Leon was sitting at his desk when there entered a middle-aged, restless, nervous fellow.

"Is this the Editor of The People?"

"Yes, sir, what can I do for you?"



DE LEON'S SANCTUM SANCTORUM

THE "DAILY PEOPLE" EDITORIAL ROOM

2-6 New Reade Street, New York

"I believe The People is devoted to the cause of humanity?"

"Yes, sir! Take a seat. What can I do for you?"

"Well,—I am the reincarnation of Jesus Christ!"

"You don't say! Wonderful!"

"Yes! And I am the reincarnation of Napoleon!"

"Well, well! This is indeed remarkable!"

"Yes! And I am the reincarnation of Adam!"

"What! You don't mean to tell me—?"

"Yes! I am Adam reincarnated!"

"What, the whole of Adam?"

"Yes! The whole of Adam!"

"Impossible! Where does my share come in!?"

Startled by this extraordinary demand, uttered in stentorian voice, the lunatic grabbed his hat and dashed out of the editorial sanctum.

The secret of De Leon's unusual working capacity I have always laid a great deal to his remarkable ability of complete mental relaxation, a secret which too few possess. De Leon knew the full value of play, and knew how to extract out of play all the good there is in it. He played physically and he played mentally; he was always on the lookout for a good joke.

He placed very little store upon the possession of things. Property and chattels he considered burdensome encumbrances and responsibilities, which could only hamper his usefulness to the cause he had chosen as his. I have heard of his first visit to the home of a friend who had a quite lavishly furnished place. After enjoying the sight of a number of the rare and beautiful things he found, he looked appreciatingly, almost sympathetically at the hostess and said, shaking his head in his characteristic manner: "But my, what an awful responsibility."

Of the home at Pleasantville he was wont to say: "The comrades have done this for me out of the kindness of their hearts, but I begin to feel the burden of property; I begin to feel myself sympathizing with the bourgeois 'taxpayer'; I feel responsibilities growing on me that I had hoped never to be afflicted with,"—and then he would laugh and turning to Mrs.

De Leon would say: "Now Bert, dominate the home, don't let the home dominate you," and then he would have another laugh.

He could never stand pretense, petty pride, or airs that lacked genuineness. Here are a couple of anecdotes which show the quiet fun he could have at the expense of false pride and airs, while at the same time he could give a neat little lesson to the presumptuous.

He was riding in the smoker of the parlor car on a New York Central train with his friend Joseph Darling just after the corrupt election campaign of Flower for Governor of New York State. Darling and Flower were acquainted, but Darling was out of the smoker and Flower sat in the chair next to De Leon, who, while he recognized Flower, paid no attention to him. De Leon was smoking his clay pipe, as was his custom, and soon became aware that Flower was observing him. He thought that possibly he took offence at a clay pipe in a parlor smoker, but presently, when the train passed Haverstraw, Flower said: "I polled a large vote here." De Leon looked up startled and said: "Is that so! Were you running for constable?" "No," said the Governor-elect, "I have been elected Governor of the State, I am Roswell P. Flower." "Oh!" said De Leon and continued his smoking. A little later Flower met Darling and asked: "Who is that eccentric old man smoking a clay pipe?" Darling answered: "Oh! He's a Chicago millionaire and doesn't care a damn about the Governor of New York State!"

When Elizabeth Flynn was commencing to be hailed as a seven-day wonder, she naturally wanted to show herself off to De Leon. She was appropriately gotten up for the occasion, including a volume of "People's Marx" which rested on her arm. After the usual formalities had been gone through, De Leon said abruptly: "Let me see what you read while you are traveling about the city." "Oh, just 'People's Marx,'" said the presumptuous youngster. "Now, I will show you what I read," said De Leon, laughingly, and pulled out from his satchel a copy of "Three Men in a Boat" by Jerome K. Jerome.

De Leon, himself a great linguist, continually either poked

fun at or pretended to attempt to learn the languages he could not understand. His excursion into Hungarian did not go far. In his block on Avenue A. was an Hungarian grocery store, the pretty little lady of which he was very anxious to greet in her mother tongue. Most unwisely, however, he choose for his tutor a young wag, a student friend of his son. Well instructed, he started off and said his polite "Good morning" in what must have been very good Hungarian, for the dear lady at once snatched up an apple with each hand and made a threatening gesture, then, seeing his astonished expression, she burst out in rippling laughter, and, to quote De Leon himself, "All my Hungarian oozed out of me by all my pores and I never made an attempt at that villainous language again."

With the Swedish he succeeded far better. Having very serious and most patient instructors, he actually managed to acquire the use of four words quite accurately, both with speech and pen, in the course of the fifteen or more years that the "People" and "Arbetaren" were under the same roof. One of these words was "famntag" which means "hug." He learned this at a Swedish Party affair where some old-fashioned song-games were played. From that time on he always "famntagged" us in every letter clear across the continent. What a useful thing language really is may be shown by the following extract from a letter written just after a visit at his office by Comrade Tholin, delegate from the Swedish trade unions, visiting this country in 1910 in behalf of the great general strike in Sweden.

"You will have seen from The People that Tholin visited the office. Did you meet him? He is a burly, boisterous fellow. Acts as if he highly appreciates the S. L. P. I understand he says there is no Socialist movement in America, but what there is of it is S. L. P. I spoke to him through an interpreter, a young S. L. P. Swede, whom I often see. Can't fix his name in my mind. Through the interpreter I informed Tholin that I knew only one Swedish word safely—'famntag.' Tholin's Aldermanic face brightened up instantly; he threw open his arms, and we 'famntagged.' He informed me through the interpreter that with that one word it was enough

for me to travel safely throughout Sweden. So, then, I got my passport. Tholin tells me we shall meet at Copenhagen."

He gathered about him a few very intimate friends and was as happy as a child when any one of these came to visit him. On the other hand, he disliked nothing worse than "company." Those who came to his home had to be "at home." However, De Leon's was just the place where a person was "at home" at once, i. e., unless he wished to mimic the actions and phrases of empty politeness of the aristocracy. How his "company" might become installed is illustrated by the following episode.

A comrade, whom we may call Mr. B., visited De Leon's for the first time. Of course, he was dressed in his Sunday best and felt so keenly the honor of being with De Leon that he was rather upset by it, particularly as every one attended to his or her business as if there was no visitor at all. At last Mr. B. strayed out in the yard, where he walked about in high collar and stiffly starched cuffs, and looked truly bored. De Leon spied him and took pity on him. He hied to the kitchen, picked up the empty water bucket, held it out at the door and called: "Here, B., fetch a pail of water!" B's features lit up. With one jump he was at the door, took the bucket, turned up his cuffs, flung off his collar, pumped up the water, and was from that moment perfectly at home. "You see," said De Leon, when he laughingly related the story, "B. is a fine fellow. It only took one pail of water to take the starch out of him and he has never become stiff again since."

As soon as De Leon arrived home in the country, he hastened into what he called his "farmer uniform," white jacket and overalls. Then he lighted his clay pipe and was happy in his little circle. About one of his clay pipes evolves another anecdote. During the many summers when the family lived at Milford, De Leon usually took the same boat on Saturday up Long Island Sound to Bridgeport. Thus he became recognized on board. One day a talkative old sailor came up to him.

"Excuse me, sir," said the tar very politely, "I have seen you very often on this boat, and you never smoke anything but a clay pipe. I am very curious to know why you smoke a



AN INTIMATE PORTRAIT OF DE LEON

PLEASANTVILLE, N. Y., SEPTEMBER 1913

(Happiest In His White Duck Farming Suit)

clay pipe." This was all spoken in a tone as if he meant to say: "You look, sir, as if you might as well smoke a meerschäum—if you cared to."

"Well, you see, sir," answered De Leon just as politely, "a clay pipe is the only pipe that never becomes sour."

"Is that possible?" exclaimed the other in surprise. "I never heard that before. How does that come about, do you suppose?"

Absolutely "accidentally" the pipe, just at that instant, fell from De Leon's hand and crumbled at his feet. The tar asked no more questions that day.

Although De Leon, because he placed his principles higher than the social position he could have held, if he had deserted the Socialist Labor Party, lived very plainly and simply, he was far from being one of the class of "intellectuals" who go about and make a virtue and a fashion of poverty. He abhorred poverty and misery and often complained about the in-born habit to suffer, common to the proletarian, which causes him to live satisfied with scarcity and continuous deprivation. On the other hand, he despised thoroughly the boastful ignorance of the money aristocracy, which prompts it, in season and out of season, to exhibit its possessions and luxuries. Another anecdote shows how neatly he could rap this class over the fingers.

It was on board the steamer which took De Leon back to America after he had attended the International Socialist Congress at Stuttgart in 1907. A crowd had gathered in the salon, most of them belonging to the bumptious and snobbish money aristocracy. Someone asked what the hour was, and this afforded a welcome opportunity to these gentlemen to "show off." Watch after watch was pulled out, and everyone boasted of his particular timepiece—its work and jewels, where it was bought and, of course, how much it had cost. Enormous amounts running into the hundreds of dollars were mentioned. Finally De Leon pulled out his watch and began to brag. He stated seriously and solemnly that nobody else had such a wonderful watch as his. The curiosity of the crowd was aroused. The watch passed from hand to hand and it was turned and turned, looked at on the back and front, from above and be-

low—and all looked stupid. At last someone exclaimed: "But, sir, what is it that is so wonderful about this watch?" "Well," said De Leon very seriously, "the most wonderful thing about this watch is that it cost 98 cents!"

De Leon had friends from his pre-S. L. P. days who lived, surrounded by luxuries, in a costly villa. But their life was one of continuous fear. Three times burglars had broken in.

"You ought to have an apparatus in your house like I have in mine and you would live tranquilly," declared De Leon very seriously and sympathetically after the last burglary. "I have a patent burglar alarm which causes a thief to fall dead from heart failure the instant he enters my house."

"Dear me," cried the lady, both frightened and interested, "what kind of a machine is that?"

"Empty walls, home-made furniture, and tin spoons," laughed De Leon, and had by his joke given his rich friends, who had a tendency to pity him, to understand that in reality he lived happier than they.

Glimpses of De Leon Through His Letters

From 1904 onward I was in pretty steady correspondence with Comrade De Leon, and in these letters we discussed nearly every phase of the movement as it turned and twisted during those eventful years of the rise and fall of the I. W. W. These letters perhaps contain as complete a reaction upon that period as are possessed by any Party member. As I was a member of the N. E. C., there arose continuous occasions for a chat. Some day, I feel that I shall release these letters, so that the Party may give them to the Movement if it sees fit. As yet it is probably too early to do so, too near to his own time. I have, however, chosen a number of extracts from them containing his comments in passing upon men and matters.

The rise, vicissitudes, and collapse of the original I. W. W. furnished us for several years with subjects for cross-country expressions of opinion. Some of these opinions serve to throw the Movement as well as De Leon himself into strong bas-relief. Shortly after his return from the Chicago Convention he wrote;



1487 AVENUE A, NEW YORK

WHERE DE LEON LIVED FROM 1887 TO 1913

(Third Story - Two Windows To The Left)

"August 21, 1905.—You will not take it ill if I start by saying that your esteemed letter of the 24th of last month might still remain unanswered, were it not for certain information that reaches me from California, and upon which I would like to speak to you without delay.

"Indeed I am pleased with the work of the Convention! I had gone determined to withdraw if I had to struggle for the right thing. I had enough with my K. of L. experience. There was no sense in having to put men upon their feet, and then struggle to keep them there. I was through with that sort of work. The information I had a year ago when I drafted the Trades Union resolution for the National Convention, the last clause of which was, to my sorrow, changed; the further information that came in and that caused me to embody the spirit of that resolution in my report to the Amsterdam Congress; the seeming comprobation, of all that I could glean, by the Manifesto—that all made me expect to have the Chicago Convention act like a climax and mark the epoch. It did. The victory was all won before. Berger viciously declares: 'De Leon found them dead easy.' This is an insult to these men. They were not 'dead easy.' They had been S. L.P.-ized before they reached Chicago. The Convention did mark an epoch—it recorded the ripeness of time and the logic of events. I frequently of late am reminded of the keen satisfaction of my boyhood days when I solved my first geometric problem. The beauty of the logic of things was charming. That old satisfaction, multiplied a thousandfold, was my satisfaction at Chicago. The S. P. was built upon the double fallacy that a party of Socialism need not stand upon a Socialist economic organization, and that the party of Socialism may rise upon the tacit groundwork of pure and simpledom. For these many years we have been ramming away at those false underpinnings. At Chicago the underpinnings went down.....At last we have a Socialist Union, equi-extensive with the nation and consisting of material that readily admits, and gladly so, that there is no literature worth reading except S. L. P. literature.

"From one source I learn that our Party members in California are somewhat at sea in this I. W. W. development; from another source I learn that at the recent I. W. W. meeting in

San Francisco our Party men denounced the S. P. The two bits of information dovetail. Indeed our men must be 'at sea' if they conduct themselves in that way.

"At I. W. W. meetings neither praises for the S. L. P. nor attacks upon the S. P. should be indulged in. What should be indulged in is the rubbing in of the fact—stated in the Preamble—that economic unity is essential for Labor's emancipation, and that such economic unity is impossible under the A. F. of L. This must be illustrated by A. F. of L. misdeeds, and burnt in with illustrations taken from the conduct of well known S. P. men. Their names should be mentioned, not their party. Their papers, their national and state officers, all of whom are pro-A. F. of L. and traducers of the I. W. W., these should be quoted by name. At I. W. W. meetings our men must stand squarely upon the principle that sound unionism is the basis of political unity, and that the latter will take care of itself. There is not today any stronger blow aimed at the S. P. than the blow aimed at the A. F. of L. The People is furnishing plenty of ammunition for that. If you are not aware of the conduct of our S. L. P. folks at I. W. W. meetings, the information I have may serve you for a tip as to what they are doing. Wisdom is more essential in California than anywhere else. There the Party suffered most and freak-frauddom has held highest carnival."

Nov. 29, 1905.—"Of course, our troubles are not ended. New occasions bring new troubles. But, as it will be with the issues of future society, which will move upon a higher plane, our new troubles are of a higher order.

"As to politics. This opens a wide subject. You mention two effects as flowing from the present state of things.

"The first, that the abstinence of both parties from political talk at the I. W. W. meetings has virtually come down to "no politics in the union." I think this is as it should be—FOR THE PRESENT. At least it is unavoidable. In point of fact, seeing that Socialist economics is politics, the politics is right there. What is absent is the concrete political party. Sherman was in town last week. We spoke on two, three occasions from the same platform. I did not once use the word 'politics'; yet not a Kangaroo present but felt that every sen-

tence I uttered drove a nail into the coffin of their party. We are undergoing a period of transition. I pardon the S. P.'s for believing that their party will endorse the I. W. W. Within twelve months they will have found out. In the meantime we would be playing into the hands of the A. F. of L. Kangs if we pushed the political talk into the I. W. W. locals, at this time. There is so much to be said on the subject that, rather than start, I shall stop. But the above view in no wise prevents the Section from doing its political work thoroughly. At Section meetings we should scourge the S. P., especially with regard to the latest 'difference'; its hostility or indifference to the I. W. W., which means either its love for the A. F. of L. crew, or its idiotic notion that politics are all sufficient, or both. So that, either, I do not understand and miss the point you make on this head, or I do understand it but do not share your alarm.

"More serious is your second point, the fear that the absence of political talk (in the I. W. W.) opens the door to the wild-eyed Anarchist, with all the disaster that that implies. I feel the full weight of that. But, if my preceding argument is correct, then this particular evil also is unavoidable as a temporary affair; and all we can do is to hasten this period of transition into ripeness. There may be snags ahead. If we run up against any the safety will lie in our express S. L. P. political attitude, a thing that did not exist at the time of the Chicago Anarchists. Moreover, I opine that nine-tenths of the Anarchist talk comes from the mixed locals. That sort of talk will lessen in the measure that the locals are assorted into their separate industrial departments. When there will be but one party, the difficulty will have been materially overcome. I would suggest that our men emphasize at the I. W. W. meetings the language of the I. W. W. Preamble which demands 'political as well as economic unity.' That excludes Anarchy.

"The apprehension is that this Russian uprising will set all our small pots hot. They will fail to realize that in Russia initial violence is praiseworthy, there being no other method available. We may, therefore, expect somewhat of an Anarchist wave. I should say, however, and I can not dwell upon the fact with too much delight, that the existence of the I. W.

W. affords us S. L. P. folks a means to counteract that wave that we would not otherwise enjoy."

It was not very long, however, till it became plain that my apprehensions had been well founded. De Leon's optimism (or was it not rather his desire to see at last a genuine economic organization of Labor) led him to entertain hopes for the eventual triumph of the I. W. W. that few of us who saw what was going on in the field, were able to keep up much after the first year. It was probably due to that freak-frauddom of California, which De Leon feared, that the Anarchistic tendencies developed there quicker than anywhere else. However, it was not long before De Leon was fully aware of the situation, the culmination of which was a most vicious attack upon the Party, from inside and out. In relation to this De Leon wrote:

April 13, 1908.—"What does all this mean? It is the culmination of an issue that started with Bohn's inauguration as National Secretary. He came here with the deliberate intention to run the S. L. P. to the ground. Birds of a feather flock together. That explains his intimacy with Connolly. Of course he is a dull fellow, but he has the knack to rope in fools. He did that. They did not know where they were being led to. Got all twisted, and then vicious. Some have fallen away from him since. The Bohn move was joined by the Otto Just-Trautmann move, and there is where the donkey Williams came in. Through Bohn, the Trautmann end of the scheme was made to believe we were busted up. Williams came to give us the finishing touch—lead into the Trautmann treasury the funds that now flow to the S. L. P. He was smashed, as you noticed. Then came the howl and the stampede. This is the story in a nutshell. It was a case of cheats cheating cheats. When they got knocked down they did not know what struck them."

The culmination of the I. W. W. tragi-comedy was reached during the Spokane so-called "free speech" riots, when De Leon wrote:

"When you say you hope the Spokanites may stop 'before they make another '86' [the Chicago Haymarket bomb trage-

MILFORD, CONN.



FELTIS' HOUSE
(CHILDREN'S PLAYGROUND)



LANGNER'S BATH
HOUSE -
(PORT TRUMBULL BEACH)



CAPT. FORD'S HOUSE
(LAFAYETTE STREET)
(SWEET HOUSE - 1894 STREET)



FELTIS' HOUSE -
(SEASIDE AVENUE)



SOME OF DE LEON'S SUMMER PLAYGROUNDS

At Milford, Connecticut

SWEET HOUSE, POND STREET, 1895-1896 AND 1898-1900

CAPT. FORD'S HOUSE, LAFAYETTE STREET---1897

FELTIS' HOUSE, SEASIDE AVENUE, 1901-1906

dy], you touch upon a thing that has given me not a little worry. I have all along been apprehensive that some of those Knipperdollings would throw a bomb. That apprehension is substantially removed. I learn that the poltroonish attitude of the leaders, 'Joan' [our private pet name for Elizabeth Gurley Flynn who had been called the 'Joan of Arc of the Labor Movement'] among the lot, when arrested, in trying to show the white feather, has cooled off the dupes. But another apprehension is now taking the place of the first—the throwing of a bomb by some police-agent to discredit the Labor Movement. Hence it is that I have been hitting so hard. I have been trying to keep the S. L. P. skirts clean against such an eventuality. Indeed, I take the flattering unction to myself that The People has, at least, contributed towards rendering such an eventuality less likely. I notice with pleasure that some of the Spokane capitalist sheets are quoting The People on Spokane. So that they know there are Socialists who spurn I-am-a-bummism, and all that thereby hangs."

In the latter part of 1908, the I. W. W. having turned out a complete fiasco, and a new situation presenting itself to the Party, Mr. Johnson and myself, then living in California, conceived the idea of drawing up an Open Letter to the American Proletariat for the purpose of putting the situation before them. After the letter had been drawn up and before proceeding further in the matter, I wrote to Comrade De Leon asking him his opinion as to the advisability of sending the letter to the Socialist Party press, and other matters. This letter, along with other matters, resulted in a correspondence which extended through more than six months, during which many subjects were touched upon. Some of De Leon's observations are hereby given:

Dec. 26, 1908. "First of all your letter was a disappointment. Don't condemn me in advance for discourtesy. I had expected to hear from you something definite with regard to that address that you had told me you and Mr. J. were hatching. You do not now say more on the subject than you said before, except things from which I infer that the address is meant to be to members of the S. P. If this is your plan, I

would strongly urge you against it. An address is good—but to the thinking proletariat. If there be any in the S. P. they would be included.

"The I. W. W. is smashed, upon that we seem to agree. The supposed basis for unity is knocked out: agreed again. But to me it looks this way.

"1—The knocking out of the expected basis was done by the agency of the S. P. Hence its rank and file, the dominant portion thereof, is not worth bothering with. The exceptionally good, like D. B. Moore of Granite, Okla., will either come over of themselves, or stimulated by a proper address.

"2—The election returns prove the S. P. worthlessness. Its increase over 1904 is only 16,000 with all the whoople of the interested Republican press to blanket the S. L. P. Nor is this all. Even that paltry increase would have been more than wiped out but for the freak 21,000 Oklahoma vote. Nor yet is this all. Commencing with N. Y. City (Manhattan and the Bronx), where the S. P. went down 1,300, it has declined in all the other industrial centers. In Cleveland, Cincinnati, Dayton—in short, in all the industrial centers of Ohio the 1904 vote was smashed. Without the rural vote of Ohio the S. P. would have dropped from the ballot. You know how it fared in Chicago. Similarly in the rest of the industrial centers. The S. P. has today (outside of the German vote which is mainly labor, and the Jewish vote which, even if largely 'intellectual,' is revolutionarily attuned, and both of which I generously estimate at 100,000)—the S. P. vote is 'American' flotsam and jetsam: 'Christian Socialist,' ex-Populistic frayed material, etc. I don't believe it polled 50,000 (out of the remaining 300,000) that is English speaking Labor.

"3—The bulk of these 50,000 will go over, eventually 'if not sooner,' as the case may be, to the Labor Party that the stupid sentence of Gompers, etc., is bound to beat into existence—sooner or later, depending on circumstances. Unforeseen events may deflect this course of events for a time, but it is in the cards, as far as facts are accessible. It will be an imitation of the British affair, possibly upon a higher plane.

"Consequently—I am not so sure or clear as to what will become of the S. P. I know that there is the devil to pay in its

own ranks. An address cognizant of all these facts whether all be stated or not, will accelerate events. The propagandistic importance and mission of the S. L. P. rises in importance. Beyond that the motto that guides me is: 'Let us labor and wait.'"

Jan. 25, 1909.—"I hasten to answer yours of the 16th, arrived this morning.

"My hurry is to arrive before you have sent me the answer that you announce to my last letter. I want to arrive before you have sent off that letter in order that it may contain an answer to the question that this letter of yours suggests:—What S. P. paper do you expect will do your Open Letter the insult of considering it worthless, so worthless as to be published by it? Outside of the 'Wage Slave' I can think of none that will. And, judging from one thing and another going on there, I doubt that paper will publish the Open Letter.

"Of course I do not mean to deter you from trying. Try by all means.

"Once writing, I shall refer more in detail to what you say.

"Shall be glad to see your Open Letter. Almost everything depends upon that before I can draw any conclusions.

"I can see no breach of Party discipline in the mere act of a Party member addressing people on his own responsibility, and of his own motion. I, for instance, did so last night when I spoke in that Christian Fellowship Church on the VIth Psalm. But it seems to me you have an idea that a letter addressed to the public by you as the, or a, signer will be taken as not coming from the S. L. P. I guess a letter bearing your signature—such a 'notorious' member of the N. E. C.—runs small chances of being taken so innocently. Of course, if it does, the field it reaches from the start would be much wider.—Try it, and we shall watch and see; but then meseems, THE PEOPLE should give the other papers a chance, time, ample time, to publish it, if they are going to. For THE PEOPLE to print it soon as sent would rather tend to spoil your plan—a plan that should be tried, at any rate.

"As to my opinion of the S. P. make-up, you will find in my letter that I do recognize some proletarians among it—both among its members and its votes. But that element is not

dominant; it is dominated. This takes us back to my scepticism regarding your expectations of such an Open Letter being published by the S. P. privately-owned press—especially when the letter comes from a 'notorious' S. L. P. national officer. I don't want to discourage you. Try your plan. But I fail to understand the ground on which you base your expectation of 'reaching' that desired proletarian element in the S. P. through a press that is owned by the very leaders whom you recognize the proletarians are 'fighting.'

"You ask me whether I do not believe that 'if the letter is all right the plan is all right too'? I smile. All the more 'all right' the letter is, meseems the plan will prove the reverse of 'all right'—the S. P. press will not give it publication. The evidence, to me conclusive, is that the S. P. is developing from left to right. Its leadership is waxing more and more reactionary—and they own the press."

Feb. 2, 1909.—"Last night I received and read your Open Letter. Have just given it a second reading.

"I'm no longer 'disappointed.' Now I'm 'puzzled.' How do you expect so 'orthodox' a document to be published by the more and more 'heterodox' S. P. press? I was wondering, before the Open Letter arrived, what scheme you were to pursue to present orthodoxy in such heterodox garb as to have it slip through. Now I only wonder how that letter can be accepted. On this subject and kindred ones I wrote inquiringly to you in my last letter, and also in one that preceded it, and which two I expected you to answer jointly. The letter accompanying your Open Letter was evidently sent off before you received that one. Shall put no more questions but wait.

"The Open Letter is first rate. But how—there, I'm going to ask questions.

"I have no suggestions to offer. The argument is cogent all the way through. It ought to 'take.' There is just one suggestion that occurs to me:—

"On page 63, or perhaps somewhere before that, it were well to take a stitch. That the workers would be slaughtered in case of a pure and simple political victory is well worked out. Somewhat sudden, however, is the conclusion that the slaughtering would be avoided if industrially organized. I

would insert some sentence to indicate that the industrial form of organization, through its concentrated powers, furnishes a matchless physical force. I rather have you frame the sentence yourself than patch up the paragraph in my language. I worked out the argument repeatedly in the 'As to Politics' pamphlet.

"Good luck to your plan.

"I'm hastening this off to go with tonight's mail, and shall hold my breath until I hear from you again."

Feb. 12, 1909.—"Yours of the 1st was duly received on the 8th. After reading it again I came to the conclusion that the space you devote to justify your 'plan' indicates a desire to know my views definitely on the 'plan.' What my views are on the 'plan' are indicated in the passage that you quote from me in which I say that all plans, every plan and none too many plans, could be adopted.

"I don't look at the plan with 'pity.' I look upon it expectantly. I simply hold my breath. That I am not wholly sceptical of its success, or at least of its partial success, appears in my faith in trying each and all methods. I now know exactly what your sources of confidence are to see the Open Letter published by the S. P. papers. As to the Oakland paper I think you will probably succeed. As to others—I shall wait and see.

"You should dismiss the feeling that the Open Letter is 'tame.' I don't think it is. It is pitched in a recitative, or conversational key. That is good for its purpose. I think you will find out that the S. P. leadership consider it hot stuff enough—hot enough to be touched with a long pair of tongues—and dropped.

"I smile broad smiles at your passages about whether the S. P. are afraid of the truth, or fear to be ground to pieces by S. L. P. logic. Why, yes; that is just what they have been all along. Nevertheless, a time is bound to come when, whether afraid or not, conditions will force the gentry to try their teeth on the S. L. P. file. That time may be now; may be not. Let's try and find out! Even if that time be not yet, the Open Letter will surely contribute towards bringing on that time. Some S. P.'s will read it; some will think; and it will have a corroding effect—to some extent at least.

"A word on the S. P. situation. Its 'revolutionary' membership, as a bulk, are hypnotized with numbers. They got their first shock this election. They believe in boring from within. They are crazy optimists. If the S. P. develops towards the left of a bourgeois movement its existence will be extinguished—just as was the existence of the Populist Party when it developed towards the Democracy. Then will their 'revolutionary' elements drop over to us, just as the 'revolutionary' elements of the Pops dropped over into the S. P. In the meantime, we must try all methods to reach the revolutionary element—whether within or without the S. P.

April 22, 1909.—"Your scheme of accompanying your O. L. with stamps for return, in case of non-acceptance, and a 'very nice' letter was ingenious. That insured something. And I see you are gathering the crop.

"The only paper you did not mention and which is publishing the O. L. is the Holland, Mich., 'Wage Slave'—the one I stated that I expected would. Had I known then what I know now about the 'W. S.' I would have added that it might be desirable it did not. From inside information I have it that the 'W. S.' is hard pushed, and from outside information I see it has become utterly characterless. It is publishing everything and anything, the most contradictory. It takes praises from, and sings them to the 'I-am-abums'; and it publishes contrary articles—anything to get readers and shekels.

"Your 'nice and polite' letter to the heathen will surely be productive of inside lights for present and future use.—For instance, that letter of Mary Marcy, Associate Editor of 'Int'l Soc. Rev.," serves to confirm inside information I have, and the inside information may explain the Editor's letter to you. [This letter was very complimentary of the Open Letter and promised to publish the same, which promise, however, was never fulfilled.] There is a rumpus in the S. P. brought on by the Kerr & Co. It recently has been publishing articles insulting to the 'intellectuals.' The articles are of the vicious, 'horny-handed' variety. The 'intellectuals' are boiling over with wrath. In Indiana all sorts of things are being done to the "Int'l Soc. Rev." To me it is an evidence of an earthquake which I am trying to promote by the re-iteration of the S. P.

decline in the industrial centers—a fact they hate to swallow, but swallow they must. My policy in emphasizing this—St. Louis and Chicago and Milwaukee city elections have furnished fresh material—is working both ways. In New York it is having the effect of causing the ‘intellectuals’ to be acting still more ‘intellectually’ against the proletariat; elsewhere it is causing what I said is happening in Ind. and Chic. In both cases the boil is being ripened. [In the latter part of May the International Socialist Review returned the Open Letter, with the excuse that as the letter had already appeared in The People the Review could not publish it as it was its practice never to reprint from American publications. It should be noted, however, that the Letter had been in the hands of all S. P. publications ample time before it was used in the Daily People. De Leon’s comment was: “Well, Kerr took backwater! And what a backwater! He knew you had sent the O. L. to all radical papers. According to his excuse, he would only take what all other papers reject. It would have been a sight to see the O. L. in K’s publication. To talk ‘horny-handed’ sons of toil, and go for ‘intellectuals’ is one thing. To present the argument in systematic form like the O. L. does can’t suit Kerr’s.”]

“I shall watch with interest your California papers—‘Common Sense,’ etc.

“Be sure to let me know quick what the Appeal to Reason writes to you—if it does. Also the N. Y. ‘Call.’ The thing must be a hot potato in the hands of both.” (From The Appeal we never heard the slightest peep, so there was nothing to report.)

April 27, 1909.—“As I now make out, the O. L. is published, besides in THE PEOPLE, in two other papers [English] one S. P. (Wage Slave), and The Referendum. And you have promises from two others, Mont. News and Int’l Soc. Review, both S. P. That is, already, 200 per cent. better than I expected.

“And so the ‘Call’ sent you a regulation card? These cards are great schemes. All capitalist papers have them. They save a lot of trouble. Poor ‘Call’ is just now sorely afflicted.

“As to the Seattle ‘Socialist,’ which I had at the time half hoped, would publish the O. L., the half hope has now evapor-

ated. The paper appears now only in 2 pages. It looks ridiculous, and declares it may have to suspend."

May 11, 1909.—"I don't quite understand the theory upon which you go on 'praying' that the 'Appeal' and some other papers which you mention, may return your O. L. I have been praying the other way. The O. L. having been written, it might as well be given full chance. I notice that my prayers are not being heard. Well, that's an experience in itself. As far as within the Party is concerned—the O. L. has had excellent effect. That private Jap and that private Swede's letter to you are instances in point. There are many more.

"I know that Kate S. Hilliard had published the O. L. Was glad, when I saw it, that I thought of her. She is a trump. She must have 'laid down the law' to the 'Morning Examiner' [Ogden, Utah]. It was quite a feat for her to widen her 'Column' so as to take in the whole O. L. She is a 'girl' you should cultivate.

"Whatever can be the matter with Berger and the 'Volkszeitung' that you have not heard from them. I have not the remotest hope they mean to publish the O. L. Miracles don't happen anymore. [Neither of them did answer or publish, and under a later date De Leon wrote: "Send me legal authority to collect the 2-cent stamp from the Volkszeitung."]

"As to 'Common Sense' it has been appearing in the size of a postage stamp. It certainly couldn't handle the O. L. It would have to be published in installments extending over a year or more."

Aug. 1, 1909.—"I have been aware that the Open Letter made its appearance in the Oakland 'World,' and that it has not yet done so in the Montana 'News.' It is as it was to be expected. The S. P. press that knows enough to, and is able to be true to itself, refused publication to a document which analyzed their policy as false, and unerringly cast their horoscope as 'in the scrip.' The only two that did publish it are on the rocks—the 'Wage Slave' has wildly 'cast anchors to windward' and is trimming its sails for readers. It has become downright disreputable—a regular asylum for such elements as the Eberts, Williamses, and I-am-a-bums generally.

As to the 'World,' the San Francisco 'Organized Labor' has it 'where the hair is short.'

"The logic of the situation and of events is smashing the S. P. in good shape. Of course, if we had more forces much more could be done. But, then, if we had more forces now the problem would be different. We shall have to raise ourselves by our own bootstraps—and we will. Pure and simple bombism and pure and simple politicianism—the two elements, kindred elements, in the S. P., on the one hand, and in the I-am-a-bums on the other, are ripping apart fast. That affair in 'Frisco is charming. Who would have thought the A. F. of L. had the useful mission to perform that it is performing in California generally? I wish you would let me have some inside information—if you can gather any, from the S. P.'s who 'are coming our way.' Of these I hold they are 'floaters.' It would be a sad day if many of them did come to us. They are essentially freaks, and the worst sort of freaks, at that,—freaks who are 'on the make.' More and more I admire the Lassallean words: 'Petrus, upon this rock (the Proletaire) shall I build.' Of course, the statement must not be used demagogically, and there is grave danger of its being so used. You hit the nail squarely on the head where you say in the Open Letter—educate first and organize afterwards, and that, as a consequence, the political, that is, propaganda organization must needs be small at this stage. Gompers's trip to Europe, the experience he is making there, the evidence of our Socialists of Europe being 'on to him,' the inevitable effect of that upon the Europeans' sentiment towards the S. P.—all that, and things here, make me feel particularly good. The S. L. P. is the Capitoline Hill, which alone, of all Rome, escaped the Gallic invasion, and from which the invaders were finally driven back, never again to appear in Italy except as captives. All we need is a little cash, plenty of good health, and lots of good nature to enable us to draw fun out of the struggle."

This Open Letter experience was very rich to all of us in as far as it furnished us an insight into the methods of the S. P. and its officialdom. As a climax to the private discussion

and expression of opinions by letter which had been brought out by it I have selected the following:

Nov. 25, 1909.—“As an ‘element’ I consider the S. P. folks worthless. If they were to come into the S. L. P. in any numbers I should want to have them strip to the skin; I would burn their clothes to kill the microbes; then the stripped S. P. I would put through a Turkish bath, and then through a Russian bath, and then I would hang him by the heels for a spell and let the fresh air blow through him. Such a rotten element as they are! The development (or decomposition) now taking place in its ranks is logical to a tittle. One set is becoming more and more bourgeois radical and pronouncedly anti-proletariat: the letters that appear in the ‘Call’ since election are rich; another set, the Frisco, for instance, is approaching proletarianism; and a third set, which the International Socialist Review is trying to exploit, is developing I-am-abumward. The three sets fit well together. They have this in common—they are chickens without a head. All along the line, the thing is meeting its fate. And, indeed, I bubble over with joy. The logic of events is simply inspiring. It is as good to me as two months’ vacation. The experience will surely protect the S. L. P. against much of its frequent ‘good nature.’ Don’t worry in the least about the good element in the movement whom S. P.ism has disgusted with politics. The lesson will sink in as to what kind of political education is disgusting. Not in vain has the S. L. P. been standing its ground.”

The distinguishing note in all these letters as far as they serve to throw light upon the character of De Leon himself is that of a cheerful optimism. It was always so. His letters never recited troubles, he never stopped to whine about past disappointments. Never in all these years, except just once and that merely in passing, did he mention the terrific financial strain under which the Party and The People were continually working and suffering. As a fitting conclusion, therefore, of this chapter, I shall quote from that same letter of February 12, 1909, when we were talking about the “plan” of the Open Letter. De Leon feared, I am sure, that I was building great hopes of sudden revolutions upon such an address as I was preparing, and, therefore, that I might become disappointed

and perhaps "sore" at the "stupid and ignorant" working class, as so many who believed themselves capable of "great things" had become before. This drew from De Leon a beautiful definition of his own particular brand of optimism, the optimism of science:

"Hugo Vogt, whose intellect marched like cattle on all fours, used to tell me that I was 'optimistic.' My answer invariably was: 'Optimism is very bad if one pins his expectation upon it. It is then bad, because, in case it leaves the optimist in the lurch, he grows despondent, and gives up. Optimism, however, can do no harm, and may do lots of good, if the optimist knows that he is venturing. Then in the case of failure, he is not disappointed, he does not throw up the sponge. He knows he ventured upon unsteady facts, and the failure of these does not overthrow the sound facts upon which he otherwise stands.'"

The Pope—The Boss—The Rabbi

No sketch of De Leon, however meager, would be at all complete without saying something about the abuse of which he was the continuous target. This started with the struggles in the Knights of Labor, gathered force during the days of the formation of the S. T. & L. A., and reached its highest velocity and viciousness at the time of the Kangaroo outbreak in 1899. From that time on it continued at pretty even pace until the day of his death, when he was very nicely eulogized from the most varied sources, and if it were not for the preverseness of some of his pupils in keeping his life work going, he would probably by this time, or at least in the very near future, be a canonized saint.

To make so sweeping a remark, however, does some injustice. There was one S. P. paper at least which remained true to its hatred of De Leon even in death. This was the New Yorker Volkszeitung. From its "farewell shot" we quote:

"He, who expired on Monday evening, fared as did so

many before him, he died a few decades too late; he outlived himself.

"True to his maxim to destroy what he could not rule, he concentrated, during the last fifteen years, his vitality and will-power upon tearing down what he, personally, had helped to create.

"And therein he was great, far greater than in construction and erection. De Leon was, indeed, a destructive genius, i. e., he was great in demolishing, in tearing down. With an hatred that was insatiable and unstillable, he fought since his entrance into the American labor movement—since 1892—against every movement of the working class of this country that showed success and that seemed to be in the ascendancy. It was contrary to his nature to perform constructive labor, he was the born caviller, who, everywhere, had to find fault, with whom only one person the world around could do the right thing: Daniel De Leon."

Had I the time for research among the old documents that must still exist in the editorial office of the Weekly People, I have no doubt that I would find a great deal of really amusing evidence of this campaign of vicious slander, the only weapons that the enemy really possessed against him—argument and logic they never dared to try, for then their weapons flew to pieces like wooden swords against steel.

Since I took charge of the office, I have found in a crevice an old tablet on which De Leon had taken copious notes at several Volkszeitung Association meetings in the Spring of '99. There we have them all photographed in the very first onrush against De Leon and The People—Jonas, Hillkowitz, Koeln, Schneppe, Leib, and all the others. It is one long attack on The People the tactics of the Party, its stand on the question of taxation, and on the Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance. How clearly the split was a split on the tactics of the movement is shown by these notes.

In the pocket of another notebook from the days of '99, I came across a lot of the slanderous circulars from the historic Kangaroo "Don't Vote" campaign of '99. These are now historic documents of real value, and I can not resist in this connection to make the exhibition of a few.

The following are facsimile reproductions of two circulars that beautifully illustrate their authors.

Socialists, Don't Vote!

DANIEL DeLEON,

aided by TAMMANY Police Board,
stole the Name and Emblem of the

Socialist Labor Party:

He is a UNION WRECKER,
an ENEMY of


Organized Labor.

**Socialists! Don't Vote
for this Adventurer.**



Don't Vote for Frauds!

The Socialist Labor Party has no Ticket in the field this year.

Candidates under the  emblem are not Socialists. That Emblem was stolen from the regular Party.

Don't vote for De-Leon. He is an enemy of Labor, a wrecker of labor organizations, an adventurer, who has done more mischief in workers-ranks, than any other fiend of organized labor.

HIS RECORD:

1884, a paid spellbinder for the Democratic Party.

1886 a Single Taxer.

1888, a Nationalist.

1889, a Socialist (?)

1899, a nominee through the favor of a Tammany Police Board aided by Republicans

What Next?

A foreigner himself he hates and denounces every foreign born citizen.

No Socialist, no honest workman can vote for this man.

Remember, the Socialist Labor Party has no Ticket in the field this year.

16. Assembly District,

S. L. P.

The following two "documents," the first printed in German, the second in both German and Jewish, show that the zealous Kangaroos left no stone unturned in order to expose this "vicious adventurer."

I.

"To the Organized Workers of Greater New York!

"Friends and Comrades:

"The election is at our door and how shall class-conscious workingmen vote?

"This is the question which every worker, who has fully grasped his class position, must put to himself.

"Perhaps never before has the working class of New York been forced into a position like the present one.

"The faction, functioning in the elections of this year as

the Socialist Labor Party, is NOT the party of labor, it does NOT represent the rights of the proletariat; the Arm and Hammer, the symbol, has fallen into the possession of people who do not stand for the principles of Socialism.

"How does this happen? Just like this:

"The Socialist Labor Party is a party which forms the political organization of the proletariat, which must march hand in hand with the economic—the trades union movement. It is a sad experience in the modern labor movement that elements sneak into its ranks who have not grasped the great struggle for the liberation of the proletariat, who give the world-redeeming principles of Socialism a wrong interpretation, in short, who want to force the party, with might and main, upon the road of a suicidal policy. And this was the case also in our party.

"In 1896 it was Daniel De Leon, Vogt and consorts, who proposed to the convention of the 'Socialist Labor Party,' in session in New York, the endorsement of the 'SOCIALIST TRADE & LABOR ALLIANCE,' with the remark that the same had set itself the aim to organize the unorganized workers and thus to protect them against the ever and ever more developing power of also organized capital. The convention welcomed the existence of the S. T. & L. A.

"But soon the S. T. & L. A., under the baneful influence of De Leon, became a competing trades union. It sank ever deeper until it led only a hybrid existence. Yes, Daniel De Leon went farther, he as a leader negotiated with capitalist exploiters, how to get scabs for them, as soon as they would recognize HIS S. T. & L. A. With might and main he worked to the end of breaking the economic weapon of the working class—the organization—to lame it and to cripple it. Workingmen, remember the Seidenberg ghost! Remember the dishonor!

"To such a state of affairs there had to be opposed an imperative Halt! On July 10, 1899, the entire clique was deposed by the membership of the party represented by delegates—for the good and welfare of the workers organized economically and politically.

"Soon thereafter, a referendum vote took place and confirmed the deposition of the treasonable officers of the party

with an overwhelming majority. The would-be bosses, instead of abiding by the mandate of the party membership—the highest tribunal in the party—dared to proclaim themselves as the party; they continued to UTTER INVECTIVES against the existing TRADES UNIONS, they bid defiance to the will of the party and brought their rightfully effected deposition before the courts, claiming the right to the party emblem—the Arm and Hammer. We proved how unjustified this demand was and hoped confidently for the seemingly inevitable victory.

“But—we forgot that we live in a class state. We did not consider that BOTH of the ruling, capital-serving parties—the Republican and the Democratic—would give the emblem to that faction, of which, for very GOOD REASONS they need have no fear, because even if it would elect its representatives—which, of course, is impossible—would not stand up for the welfare of the workers, they who have succumbed to the corrupting power of capitalism, who did not offer resistance to the money, to enticement, but wore down thereby. In the entire city, the rumor circulates, that De Leon, Vogt and Kuhn have made a pact with the capitalist parties and soon proof thereof will be found!

“Fellow Workingmen! Can you vote for a dead letter? Can you give your votes to a DANIEL DE LEON, VOGT and KUHN, men whose single purpose went in the direction of splitting the trades union movement, to make it impotent, wherein they have several times succeeded!! As honest workmen, as Socialists, you must not do this.

“No party is this year in the field that represents your interests. No representatives of the working class that proclaim the rights of the working people and enforce them.

“The Socialist Labor Party is not in the field. Daniel De Leon, Vogt and Kuhn and their few adherents, who, by means of treason, have snatched this name, are a mongrel breed of the existing capitalist parties, are capital’s henchmen and work for the existing wages slavery.

“We, the true Socialists, for whom the honest workers would vote, have been pushed aside. But only for this one year, because stronger, the ranks cleansed of unworthy ele-

ments, shall we, in the presidential campaign, appear in the field, opposing capitalism in every form.

"Workingmen, whichever way you would vote this year, you would vote for your exploiters, for the masked retainers of capital.

"DO NOT VOTE! Your silence will be a protest against the gang, which has usurped the name 'Socialist Labor Party,' and which makes front against the entire proletariat, organized in trades unions, and wants to ruin the same.

"DO NOT VOTE! Be on your guard! The Arm and Hammer is in possession of your foes; stay away from the ballot-box in this coming election and agitate with tongue and pen amongst your unsuspecting fellow workers.

"ABSTENTION FROM VOTING IS THE SLOGAN!

"Whatever the clique, DE LEON, VOGT and KUHN, may undertake to suppress or to hush the true revolutionary spirit of the time, and, with the aid of capitalist politicians to overcome Socialism—it is in vain! Next year we shall again be on the field of battle, whilst De Leon, Vogt and consorts shall lie shattered on the ground, overwhelmed by the workers organized in trades unions.

"Show that you comprehend the shame perpetrated upon you, in that you do NOT VOTE!

"AWAY FROM THE BALLOT BOX THIS YEAR!

"DO NOT VOTE!

"By order of the United German Trades Unions, represented in the Parade Committee of the S. L. P."

After the foregoing wind-up there follows, on the leaflet, in big, flaring type, covering one-half of a page, the following:

"DO NOT VOTE! ABSTENTION FROM VOTING IS THE SLOGAN!"

II.

VOTERS!

"READ WHAT THE SOCIALISTS [SAY?] ABOUT DANIEL DE LEON, THE ADVENTURER, WHO LIVES ON 84th STREET AND AVENUE A, 4 MILES FROM THE 16th ASSEMBLY DISTRICT.

"THE FOLLOWING EXTRACTS ARE TAKEN FROM THE SOCIALIST ORGAN 'THE PEOPLE':*

"The members of the N. Y. Section of Socialists were insulted and vilified until their patience was exhausted. The majority were called "DUTCHMEN," "JEWS," "BEER-GUZZLERS," "LIMBURGER CHEESE COMRADES," and the like; not only at open meetings by De Leon and others, but even in their official organ (July 16, 1899).

"These comrades heard it repeated several times that he represented the American movement, while the foreigners, the "DUTCH" and the "JEWS" were the ones that did not understand the spirit of the country and were against his politics (July 23, 1899).

"De Leon and his adherents were suspended out of the Socialist Labor Party, for UNFITNESS AND MISUSE OF AUTHORITY which they held because of their position (July 16, 1899).

"De Leon's district is very hostile to De Leon and his administration (July 16, 1899).

"Not only endeavored the adherents and supporters of De Leon to restrict the freedom of the press for the members of the party, but they also tried to suppress the freedom of speech. AND MEN ACCUSED OF SUCH CRIMES SHOULD NO LONGER BE TOLERATED IN OUR RANKS (July 23, 1899).

"In no manner scrupulous as to applied methods, there existed an IMPUDENT MISMANAGEMENT and an appropriation of party funds for personal purposes (July 30, 1899).

"Morris Hillquit, in an open letter to De Leon, on October 3, 1899, wrote the following:

"You and your adherents have neither the RIGHT nor the JUSTIFICATION to call yourselves the S. L. P., and such an act is A DECEPTION of the people, and, particularly, of the ORGANIZED WORKING CLASS.'

"One after the other leaves the stranded ship of the firm De Leon & Co.

***After the split the Kangaroos published a sheet which they also called The People. They attempted through the courts to prevent the Party from using the name "The People," but lost, and were themselves enjoined from using the name. The statement in the German-Yiddish handbill refers to the bogus People,**

“Benjamin Hanford, the able speaker, and candidate last year for Governor, sent his resignation to the Beekman street party with the request that it be published in their paper. But until NOW, his just DEMAND has not been complied with (October 15, 1899).”

The “German” of this last document is rather funny and its Yiddishness is unmistakable. It is not possible to preserve much of this in translation, though I have tried the best I could. Quotation marks are used rather indiscriminately and these have been faithfully copied as found.

And here a couple of stanzas of a German “pome,” a real gem of “pote’s” art, evidently produced in the midst of the Volkszeitung’s fight to retain possession of The People, for in the corner of the paper, on which it is pasted up, is marked “Gross—N. Y. Arbeiter Z. Apr. 25/99.” I certainly feel that it would be unfair of me, having made this find at this day, to deprive those who are fortunate enough to be able to read German of this treat. A comrade who went through the fight with De Leon says he thinks that the author is M. Winchevsky, an individual who did all he could to add to the confusion of that day.

Ordonanzen, Ordonanzen!
 Die Sektionen muessen tanzen
 Wie ich ihnen aufgespielt.
 Eins-Zwei-Drei und Runde, Rundel
 Tanzet, oder geht zu Grunde,
 Wenn der Boss es Euch befiehlt
 Lernet Disziplin begreifen,
 Euer Fuehrer wird Euch pfeifen
 Und Ihr werdet ihn verstehn.
 Immer steifer, immer strammer,
 Hoch die Hand und hoch der Hammer!
 Rings um mich sollt Ihr Euch drehn.
 Ich verbiete, ich gestatte;
 Ich belehr’ und ich erstatte,
 Wenn’s mich gut duenkt, Euch Bericht
 Straeubt Ihr Euch, bring’ ich am End um
 Wahl und Wort und Referendum,
 Die pro forma Ihr gekriegt.

Ordonanzen! Ordonanzen!
 Die Getreuen muessen tanzen.
 Wie ich ihnen aufgespielt,
 Tanzet Deutsche, Juden, Polen,
 Wie der Daniel Euch befohlen,
 Wie der Hugo ihm befiehlt.

In the same pocket I found also two letters, written at that period, which throw so much light on the insidious propaganda carried on against De Leon and the effects thereof, that I feel they ought to be made public property. If I could go over the old files of the national office I might find many such, perhaps even better ones, but I can not spend the time that this would require. Besides, I feel that De Leon kept just these two in that place, together with the other documents on the campaign of slander, because he considered them typical, and perhaps even had in mind to use them some day in about the manner they are being used now. They speak for themselves, so I give them without comment.

“Kansas City, Mo., Aug. 5, 1899.

“A. M. Simons, Dear Comrade: Yours of the 2nd in reply to my letter in regard to Chicago’s proposition to settle the N. Y. muddle and call an early convention was rec’d several days ago. Nothing has yet transpired to cause me to change my mind about the matter. No emergency exists requiring an early convention and the N. Y. trouble has been, or is being, settled, and settled right. I did not suspect that the Call had aspirations as official organ, but I did state in my letter, as you will remember, that the action of Sec. Chicago would convey the idea to some that there was a ‘motive in their madness,’ and now I see I reckoned correctly. Personally, I believe the Section’s action was intended to be good, but the comrades were unnecessarily alarmed and excited. I believe you are entirely mistaken about the N. E. C. ‘opposing’ the Worker’s Call. They may have expressed doubts about the expediency of attempting to establish the paper, but I am satisfied they have never raised any serious objections to it as a party paper, or as to its contents. I am also of the opinion that you are mistaken about De Leon having tried to smother the Tocsin and

Class Struggle with a personal motive in view. To claim that he will kill anything that he does not immediately control is preposterous. If he has attempted to 'smother' them as indicated for personal reasons, if you will furnish the proof I will prefer charges against him, if you have any timidity in doing so. I am also a believer in the so-called 'narrow' tactics of the N. E. C., but am not a man-worshipper and will not defend De Leon or any other Socialist when he or they attempt to use the party for personal ends. The reply to Chicago's action may appear to you to be harsh and not in good taste, but you may decide later on that the N. E. C. is remarkably clear-headed and has a correct understanding of the proper use of the English language. Again De Leon may be guilty of sending out secret circulars libeling somebody, but being 'from Missouri' I must have the proof. If he is guilty of this conduct you can rest assured he will have to answer to the party for it. I have heard such charges made against De Leon before, but somehow or other De Leon always comes out on top and toes the scratch smilingly with the facts and the evidence to sustain him. One thing is certain: If De Leon is a designing trickster and schemer (for personal ends) he will not much longer remain prominent in the ranks of the S. L. P. Bear in mind constantly that no movement can rise above its source, and if our national officials and editors are men of low moral character and are designing tricksters, devoid of honor and principle, then the party can claim little or no reasons above the ordinary political party for its existence. These men are being pretty thoroughly tested and up to the present time the test is entirely satisfactory to me.

"I have recommended the Worker's Call and never miss an opportunity to say a good word for it and all other straight party papers, but I am not yet convinced that the policy of establishing papers here and there before the party is able to properly support them, is the best policy. We should use every means to concentrate our forces and it is a question whether this can not better be done by putting all our means and energies into one paper until the party is able to support two or

more. This is probably the view of the N. E. C. and should not be misconstrued as being 'opposition.'

"Fraternally,
(Signed) "O. M. Howard."

"Holyoke, Mass., March 27, 1899.

"Mr. D. De Leon.

"Dear Comrade:—Comrade Malloney wrote to me today asking for a letter I had received from the Debs Headquarters in Chicago. (There is going to be a debate between Malloney and Gordon at Winchester.) In looking up this letter I came across two letters you wrote to me at the time of the Casson affair and I owe it to you to admit what you prophesied has happened. What seemed to me then a harsh and dogmatical letter seems now a bit of mighty good and friendly advice. Events proved your words true. I have sent the letters to Malloney to read them to his audience in case Gordon should come out with his old chestnuts about your bossism and tyranny, etc. It took me several years to see the truth, but it is all the plainer now after reading your letters, and then Gordon's, Carey's, Casson's, etc. In conclusion let me say The People is laying a solid foundation for Socialism and when I now hear people kicking against The People I know that they do not understand Socialism. The work of The People will be appreciated and honored when such things as Gordon, Casson and Carey lay rotting in the ground, forgotten.

"Yours fraternally,
"M. Ruther."

An anecdote from the "Association" days illustrates how hard these Kangaroos were put to it in order to furnish the "goods" to their dupes, and how angry it made them that De Leon kept himself free from alliances, adhering strictly to the goal he had set, and that no allurements of place, pay, or preferment could dissuade him from his course. An old German member of the Volkszeitung Association, commenting on this, exclaimed: "Der De Leon hat Recht, und das schlimmste an der ganzen Sache ist, man kann ihm nichts anhaben!!" ("De Leon is right, but the worst about the whole thing is, we can not get anything on him.")

But De Leon never allowed the torrent of abuse, however rapid and vicious, to get on his nerves. In fact, he often assured us that he "waxed fat upon it," as he got many a healthy laugh out of it. That the manner in which he took this abuse was part of a well-worked out philosophy is shown by the following extract from a letter he wrote me in 1903, advising me not to refute some silly lies which the Kanglets had been setting afloat about me.

"It dawned upon me at an early day that the policy which the Kangaroos decided to pursue against me was to irritate me. They hoped they could get me angry, and that then I would either fly off the handle and do something silly, or cave in. They failed. They could not irritate me. If they only knew, they would find out that their moves only amuse me, and make me more deliberate. The Kanglets tried the same thing. But they being so infinitely more insignificant, actually amounting to nothing, failed even more egregiously than the Kangs. These had to be taken notice of, the Kanglets can even be ignored. I know that they are smothering in their own rage to see I take no note of them, of their silly paper, or of their silly selves. Had I been less on my guard, they would have been less unhappy."

Here are a couple of the best anecdotes that I know, relating to this subject.

At one of the I. W. W. conventions some one got up and raved in the usual billingsgate fashion. When he finally cried out pointing to De Leon—"This Pope, this rabbi," De Leon rose calmly and asked the floor on a question of personal privilege. "Mr. Chairman," he said, "We are getting ourselves into religious complications here, which we had better straighten out before we become entangled beyond recall. I am perfectly willing to be a Pope; I am perfectly willing to be a rabbi, but I insist upon having a ruling from the chair whether I am to be a rabbi or a Pope, for to be both a rabbi and a Pope implies a religious absurdity which I refuse to be a party to." Then he sat down. The convention by this time was roaring, the raving orator felt like the proverbial thirty cents, and I have no doubt that from that time to the day of his death he

calls De Leon the most abusive fellow he ever met, just because he had been completely disarmed by De Leon's quick wit and kindly, razor-edged humor.

At a meeting in one of the middle western cities, after a lecture, the usual crop of questions on the difference was being fired at him, when a very irate little man came running up toward the platform and in a strong German accent cried out: "You are a Pope, you are a Pope." "Come, now," said De Leon with a smile, "You can't even spell 'Pope.'" "Yes, I can," shouted the angry man, "B O B E," and with that the audience was in convulsions.

To illustrate the fun we used to extract out of this foolish abuse and vituperation, and how the rest of us became imbued with his own good humor in regards to it, I quote a stanza from one of the birthday effusions which we sang "at him" on his sixtieth birthday:

"His adventures have been numerous, terror to poor Kangaroo,
Speared the elephant, kicked the donkey, kept old Sammy
on the go.
Pope De Leon, Rabbi Loeb, wicked are your shafts for
fair,
All the animals quake with terror when your arrows rent
the air."

The Thorns in His Crown

De Leon, however, was mortal, and it would be too much to expect that he could pass through the reefs and breakers of his long activity in the Labor Movement unscathed and without annoyance and some bitter experiences. De Leon had plenty of annoyance, and there were certain kinds of this which were very wearing upon him and which might indeed have made him bitter if he had not been so well balanced.

"The sharpest thorn in my crown," he often used to say, with the expression of a genuine martyr, "is that of poets. There is continually a fresh crop ripening in the Movement, and they naturally look upon The People as their legitimate stamping ground, and when I dare, as I generally am obliged

to do, to shoo them off, they invariably become vicious. Poets can be the most vicious of men."

His pet aversion certainly and beyond a doubt was the flippant, know-nothing newspaper reporter who continually pestered him for statements or interviews, but who was utterly incapable of reproducing one single sentence straight as it had been given. How he regarded this class of pests may be gleaned from his own description of them at the Tenth National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party:

"If a capitalist paper wants to report a regatta, it picks out a man skilled in sailing and navigation, so he can report intelligently. If they want to report a pugilistic encounter, they pick out a specialist in that department, so that he can understand the relative qualities of the fighters; if a billiard tournament, they pick out an expert billiardist, knowing very well that none but such can give a correct report. But when the capitalist press wants to report a labor meeting, they pick out the biggest jackass they can lay hands on, and just as soon as they have ascertained the biggest jackass possible, they give him the appointment, and that jackass must win his spurs or his long ears, whatever the case may be."

The worst worry of his life, I should say, was the Editor—the "natural born Socialist Editor." The terrific birth-rate of this genus during De Leon's life-time was simply amazing. The charged atmosphere these species could create when their genius was rudely prevented from blossoming forth, was such, at times, that it all but converted us to the idea of private ownership of the party press. This certainly is a safety-valve, as the "natural born" can then rush right into the enterprise of editing his own paper, and by the time he has squandered all the savings of his admirers and been thoroughly "misunderstood" by the masses he will generally go way back and sit down.

But in the S. L. P. there is no safety-valve, so each newly-ripe product immediately made an onrush upon The People. How they could criticize! How they could advise! How exactly they knew why The People did not appeal to the billion mass! How sublimely ignorant each one was that his own most

original ideas had been proposed a dozen times before, and that his most cherished plan had been tried and found wanting! Nearly every assistant in the editorial office—the younger and greener he was the surer he was to catch the disease—soon developed an ambition to sit in “the chair,” and conceived the notion that it was a real mistake of the Party not to realize that he should be there, and make the change at once. The policies and tactics of the S. L. P. were very good, indeed. De Leon should be given credit for having contributed to make these clear, but he failed entirely when it came to making them attractive to the masses—in fact, as an editor, an organizer, and a leader he was a hack number, and if it was not for the fact that he was a boss and an incurable egoist, he would recognize this and step aside and give place to “number one”!

How painful this subject really was to him may be seen from the following story.

After one of the N. E. C. meetings, when we had gone through an unusually hard siege of aspiring “E’s” or “A.E.’s,” as we used to call them for short, my brother wrote De Leon a formal application for the assistant editorship. As reference of his ability, he stated the fact that for a “whole year he had been the editor in chief of the Swedish ‘Bazar Nisse’” (a bazar program, issued once a year, containing, besides the program, some advertisements, a few jokes, and perhaps a foolish tale or two). To demonstrate his literary ability he wrote, in very halting English, a joke on De Leon himself which had taken place a few days previously at a Cooper Union meeting. With a properly suppliant mien, I handed this “application” to Comrade De Leon. De Leon read it, and, instead of roaring, as I had expected, the “A. E.” martyrdom expression spread over his features, and I saw a sigh gather in his bosom as he handed the letter to John Hossack, then manager of the Labor News Company. As Hossack read his eyes danced, for he perceived it at once to be a perfect satire on the “A. E.” De Leon noticed this; out came the sigh, and it was one of genuine relief. “Is it a joke?” he gasped, and with that Hossack and I both doubled up. It really took De Leon as long to see this as it takes that proverbial Englishman of American creation to see a joke, but when he finally did he laughed heartily and said it

was a good joke on the "A. E."—that it was also one on himself, he would not condescend to admit!

The contributor was scarcely less of a problem at times. The fact of a Party-owned press translates itself to some literal minds into the conception that they ought to do as they please with it, and that anything they send in should be published without comment, question or abridgement. If this "inalienable right" is infringed upon it can only be because the editor, who should be a servant of the membership, is a "boss" and a "tyrant." At every N. E. C. meeting we had a batch of appeals from De Leon's "arbitrariness" to settle, and De Leon always came out on top—he never ruled out anything unless he had a very good reason. The most insistent complainants were, naturally, people with "literary talent" and ambition, the class that is always "misunderstood" and "suppressed." The workingmen in the Party caused him little or no trouble of this kind. These would send in news from the field of action in plain, direct, and often crude language, and were pleased if they saw it edited and printed or made use of in a news item; if they heard nothing of it they took for granted that it was not worth the printer's ink. Not so the "literateur." If his effusion was ruled out, his child was smothered. If it was "edited," his offspring was mutilated. In either case he would yell blue murder, and there was the devil to pay!

The trials and tribulations this sort of thing would cause De Leon is also demonstrated in a passage from one of his letters. A most stupid criticism of Henrik Ibsen by Plechanoff had appeared in *The People*, translated by some ambitious aspirant for literary honors, and showing nothing except the author's absolute lack of appreciation and understanding of the great Norwegian. When I read this in *The People*, I was "ripping," and I "let it rip." De Leon wrote back:

"Ibsen! Plechanoff! That Plechanoff is a pedant. You will see him at Copenhagen. I can tell you lots of things about him. Pedant embraces them all. If all the fellows who have been scheming, intriguing and otherwise wearing out their nerves to put me out and become editors of *THE PEOPLE* only knew how often an Editor must make concessions by let-

ting in stuff that he dislikes, these intriguers would sooner shout, 'Saint!' 'Martyr!' at me than 'Boss!' By the nature of some of the things that go into THE PEOPLE you may judge of the nature of the stuff that I sit down upon. I am not hankering after rows: hence this 'critique' (!!?) of Ibsen by P."

De Leon Immortal

In these days of world-wide calamity scarcely one day passes when some one of our comrades does not break out in a tone of sorrow and regret: "Oh, that De Leon is dead! That the one pen, which could clearly and powerfully have analyzed the situation of the day, is laid at rest for ever!"

There is not much doubt, indeed, that De Leon's voice, often quite prophetic, would now at last have commanded attention. There is surely no one now so bold as to declare that De Leon was a fanatic in his often bitter criticism of the present labor movement. Does any one dare to deny that he was correct when he pointed out weaknesses in the International movement which would surely lead to disaster? The hour has arrived when the workers must harken to his warning that right without might is as weak as an infant, and that the power of the Labor Movement consists, not in beautiful, sentimental phrases, not in long condemnatory resolutions, not in imitations of crooked capitalist politics, but only in a powerful, class-conscious Socialist organization, which, at the same time as it secures the political power for the workers, also creates the economic power which is necessary to back up that right.

However, De Leon would feel deeply wounded could he perceive our giving over a single moment at this hour, when action is needed, to moping over his death. Such was not his idea of a soldier in the revolutionary movement. Not for that did he train and inspire us. He has given his contribution to to the Movement—the tactics and the constructive basis. It is for us to build. And in this work of building, in this activity, De Leon is the active, living force today.

This I realized as soon as I had gotten over the first shock of his death, but how infinitely more have I not come to realize it since events conspired to throw me to the helm



DE LEON'S "DINING ROOM"

Pond Point, Milford, Connecticut

of The People. Frightened, inexperienced, unused to act on my own responsibility, I feel that I would have gone completely to pieces under the strain had it not been for the fact that De Leon was at my elbow—literally at my elbow. On every serious question, in every dilemma that presented itself, I needed but to consult him—the living, active force. More and more his genius will inspire the working class—and we are near the day when he must and will conquer. In his life-time he was too often like a prophet thundering in the desert, or, as in the words of Ibsen: "Like one that floats afar, storm-shattered on a broken spar." But now his time has come at last and beyond a doubt. We see evidences of it on every hand.

And now, in conclusion, comrades of the S. L. P., working-men of the United States and the world, all of you for whom he lived and worked, let us resolve to live as he lived, true to the cause, giving to it whole-heartedly the very best there is in us, so that, in fact, the day may not be far off when he and we together shall have conquered—the day when the workers, as free men, shall hail the day of the establishment of the Industrial Republic.

To conclude this little sketch fittingly and in his own spirit, let me linger over his memory just one moment more and relate my favorite anecdote of Comrade De Leon, one that deserves to live, for it is so much in his spirit—the living active spirit, with nothing of the sickly sentimentalist.

On De Leon's very first tour through the country, back in the eighties, before Populism had killed thousands of freaks, and before the S. P. had gathered nearly all the rest to its tender bosom, it was only natural that he should attract them, for they were naturally attracted by anything that called itself radical—De Leon himself was as yet scarcely more than a radical. After De Leon's lecture in Minneapolis a long-whiskered candidate for Populism stepped up toward the platform, swung his long arms, and bawled out in a tear-filled voice: "Comrade De Leon, you have given us a beautiful speech, you have touched our hearts; but tell me, Comrade De Leon, do you love the cause so much that you would die for it?" De Leon rose with a serious and thoughtful expression, stepped deliberately up to the footlights, and took on the profound mien which

might indicate a long and passionate peroration, and then he said: "MY FRIEND, ONE LIVE REVOLUTIONIST IS WORTH MORE THAN A MILLION OF DEAD ONES."

BOOK II.

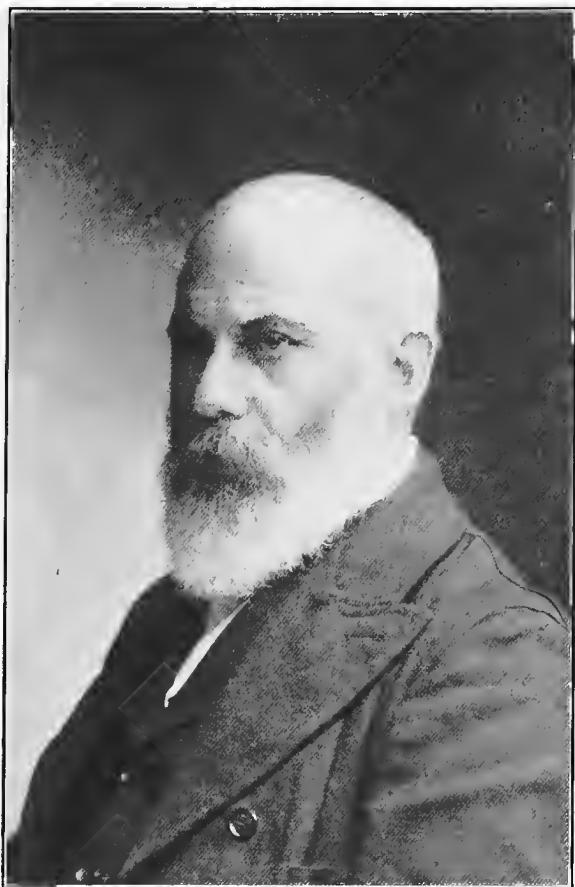
No man can make a Movement, surely not such a mass movement as the Socialist must be. It is the movement that builds up its men. Impossible for a movement that is all things to all men, to build up men. Intolerance is bad; but wabbliness must not be allowed to sneak in under cover of fighting "intolerance." A revolutionary movement owes it to itself to build up men. Two plus two make four. The movement that is so broad as to tolerate the theory that two plus two make five—such a movement will build up tight-rope dancers,—paladins of the Revolution never.

DANIEL DE LEON.

WITH DE LEON SINCE '89.

BY

RUDOLPH KATZ



DANIEL DE LEON

CANDIDATE FOR GOVERNOR, NEW YORK STATE 1902

PRIOR TO 1889.

Collapse of the Henry George Movement—Dis- sension in the Early Labor Movement—Ill- Starred Rosenberg-Bushe Struggle for Sounder S. L. P. Political Policy

In 1887 the Henry George movement went to pieces. Only a year before, in 1886, Henry George, candidate for mayor of New York on the ticket of the United Labor Party, had loomed up a big figure in the political arena. Sixty-eight thousand (68,000) votes were cast for Henry George, not in modern Greater New York, but in old New York limited to a much smaller number of voters than are now eligible to vote in the Borough of Manhattan alone. The fact is also to be borne in mind that this happened in the days when ballot-box stuffing was quite freely indulged in, repeating being practised by both Tammany Hall and the Republican Party. So general was this foul practise that men boasted openly of having voted early and often; and many, in fact, considered themselves good American citizens because they not only voted once on election day, but a number of times, each time in a different district. The oftener they voted, the better American citizens they considered themselves to be.

Of course, all the ballot-box stuffing and repeating was the work of the old parties, and when, in spite of all of it, Henry George polled sixty-eight thousand votes, there was good reason for the old party chiefs to fear the new move-

ment. Accordingly, the press denounced Henry George as an Anarchist and Socialist. This might not have had the desired effect so far as the voters were concerned; they cared little for these denunciations of Henry George, as the vote indicated, for George had been denounced by the so-called public press as an Anarchist during the '86 campaign; but it did have the desired effect with Henry George himself. Reasoning like all men who become afflicted with inflammation of the head, which results in its swelling to a size out of all proportion to the size of the individual, Henry George thought that he was the movement, and that since he received sixty-eight thousand votes with the odium of being a Socialist upon him, how many more votes might he not receive with the odium of being a Socialist removed!

So, at the convention of the United Labor Party, held in the city of Syracuse in 1887, Henry George declared that "the tail must not wag the dog"; the Socialists were read out of the party, the "tail" was cut off.

The Socialists, and here begins my story, formed the Progressive Labor Party, and put up a state ticket in opposition to the Henry George party. Henry George, who in '86 received sixty-eight thousand votes in New York city alone, received in '87 for the office of Secretary of State in the whole Empire State thirty-three thousand, the candidate of the Progressive Labor Party for the same office receiving seven thousand votes. The Henry George party was dead. Daniel De Leon, who had been active in the United Labor Party up to the time when the "tail that wagged the dog" was amputated, declared that "the operation had been too successful, Henry George having cut off the tail right back of the ears."

Dissension Not Introduced into the Labor Movement by De Leon

De Leon joined the Nationalist movement, organized by Edward Bellamy, who became famous at that time through his book, "Looking Backward."

Many times we have heard from the lips of professional slanderers the accusation that where De Leon was there was sure to be dissension. Well, the labor movement, both political

and economic, was a witches' cauldron, seething with dissensions before De Leon joined it. There were three central bodies of unions in New York—the Central Labor Union, the Central Labor Federation, and District 49, Knights of Labor.

There was no love lost between these central bodies of "organized labor." Billingsgate was indulged in on all sides and each accused the other of scabbing. Corruption, too, was rampant. One instance may be cited here. After the strike or lockout of brewery workers by the "pool brewers," as the organization of the boss brewers was called, and a boycott against these brewers was launched that became really effective, because it was actually carried out by the Germans in their trade unions which were indeed an important factor in beer consumption, it was discovered that a bribe had been paid to certain "labor leaders" in the Central Labor Union to annul the boycott or work to that end. One delegate of the Brewery Workers' Union pretended to be willing to take the bribe. He received \$500, which was deposited; and later, in a sworn statement before a notary, the whole affair was exposed.

On the political field, as during the George campaign, the Socialists had thrown their activity and organization into the United Labor Party, and were unceremoniously thrown out again. The Progressive Labor Party was at best only a makeshift to deal the United Labor Party a solar plexus blow, which it did.

There was much more, however, of this kind of "peace" before Daniel De Leon entered the movement. For even among those who were in the old Socialist Labor Party,—which at that time was only a "party of propaganda," so styled by some who wanted it to remain forevermore a "party of propaganda" and endorse whatever radical movement might spring up—there was a good deal of hobnobbing with Anarchists and also with freak reform movements. In the proceedings of a convention of the old Socialistic Labor Party (as the party was called at first, this being a literal translation from the German) held as early as 1883 in the city of Allegheny, Pa., the national secretary of the party, Van Patten, was censured for having opposed the formation of military clubs. Albert Parsons, who later figured in the Haymarket affair in Chi-

ago, was a delegate to that convention. J. P. McGuire, the notorious labor "leader," was at that convention elected as the party's delegate to the International Congress.

From '79 to '89 the organization remained very much the same. When light began to break and the few American Sections wanted a real Socialist political organization without fusion and without taking a vote at every meeting whether political action should be endorsed or rejected, they met with the opposition of the New Yorker Volkszeitung and the elements influenced by that paper.

For the most part agitation was conducted in the German language, but now and then a native agitator would make his appearance in New York and be immediately sent on an agitation trip through the eighteen towns where the party had organized Sections. There being no established party policy, everyone was free to agitate his particular kind of Socialism and express his own ideas as to party policy and tactics. Most all the native agitators had some scheme wherewith they were to transform conservative American workingmen into Socialists.

Early Fight Over Independent Action

Many there were who came with the fixed idea that Socialist propoganda should be based upon the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, at any rate brought into harmony with these documents, so as to remove prejudice against Socialism. It is in the make-up of the nativistic know-nothing individual to engender such notions. Artemus Ward, the humorist so much admired by our late Comrade De Leon, tells us something that fits these fellows who have a hankering for making everything subject to the Constitution. Artemus Ward in his talk to the members of the community of Shakers, in bidding them "adoo," says: "Meanwhile the world resolves around its own axel-tree every twenty-four hours, subject to the Constitution of the United States." The Constitutional cranks have not altogether disappeared even in these latter days.

After the experience made by the Socialists of New York with the Henry George movement it began to dawn upon the younger element, or perhaps rather upon those who were in

earnest, that the time for experimenting with all sorts of schemes had about passed, and that the Socialist Labor Party should become a real political party, not only a party of propaganda. Several Sections, under the leadership of W. Rosenberg and F. Bushe, editor of the Workmen's Advocate, the official party organ—the American Section of New York among them—took the stand that the time had arrived for the Socialists to enter the political arena not here and there and at indefinite periods, but to unfurl the banner of International Socialism on American soil without compromise or fusion with any other political party. It was here that the New Yorker Volkszeitung did its nefarious work by using its influence to drive both Rosenberg and Bushe out of the party, and all those who stood with them as well.

Rosenberg and Bushe thought they had the whole party organization to back them up, and without doubt the majority of active Sections endorsed their stand. But what was a little thing like party organization to the Volkszeitung and its coterie of directors, most of them "has beens" in the Socialist movement, who were perhaps Socialists in their younger days over in Germany, but who in America, by becoming storekeepers and shopkeepers, made peace with capitalist institutions and were Socialists in name only.

In those days when Daniel De Leon was not yet in the party and sweet peace was accordingly supposed to have reigned, the Volkszeitung began a campaign of slander against the Rosenberg-Bushe faction. Sections in New York, which were entrusted by the party with the election of the National Executive Committee, were easily captured by the Volkszeitung Publishing Association, with the exception of the American Section. This American Section was American to the extent that the English language was the language spoken at its meetings. The members of the Volkszeitung Publishing Association were "it" in the German Section in New York, and the German Section had the majority of party members in New York, so that practically the election of a National Executive Committee was in the hands of this association, and not of the party.

The Sections outside of New York stood with Rosenberg

for a while, but then came the coup d'état of '89. The Volkszeitung elected a new National Executive Committee, and the party's offices and papers were taken possession of by a well-organized physical raid. Bushe complained that even his personal property was confiscated by the Volkszeitung followers down to his best pair of trousers, which he kept in the office. Rosenberg and his faction moved their headquarters from New York, and there arose then what became known as the Rochester faction (Rochester Richtung). This faction was compelled to change the seat of its headquarters to Cincinnati and then to other cities, and every time headquarters were established in a new city the faction was rechristened accordingly—Rochester faction, Cincinnati faction, Cleveland faction, etc. The Volkszeitung, because of the frequent change of headquarters, called it "Die Richtung auf Reisen" (the travelling faction).

Rosenberg wrote circulars to all the Sections, and when he saw he was losing ground he wrote more circulars and letters. But the Volkszeitung's influence won out. Moreover, the Rosenberg-Bushe faction was maneuvered into taking a stand which brought it into conflict with the German trade unions, which circumstance soon reduced the Rosenberg faction to a "Richtung auf Reisen" indeed. The Volkszeitung, instead of answering Rosenberg's arguments, which he submitted to the party members in his circulars, dubbed him "der schreibselige [blissful scribbler] Rosenberg." To make your opponent look ridiculous is a sharp weapon; the Volkszeitung made good use of it.

FROM DE LEON'S ENTRANCE TO THE FOUNDING OF THE S. T. & L. A. (1895).

De Leon at the Time of His Joining the Party —His First Campaign—Lucien Sanial and De Leon—Character of "The People"—Ex- periences Within the Craft Unions Proof of the Correctness of De Leon's Policies

A year after the split in '89 Daniel De Leon became a member of the Socialist Labor Party. He was received with open arms by those who were in the movement because they were Socialists, as well as by those who were Socialists to be in the movement, no matter what the movement was, so long as it moved without running counter to their immediate interests. The honest element welcomed De Leon because they recognized that his great intellect in the service of the proletarian movement would result in the building up of a great Socialist organization. The storekeepers and saloonkeepers of course figured that the larger the movement the larger their opportunities. The honest element had the right instinct, the business element had not—which to their sorrow they soon discovered.

Daniel De Leon was then in the prime of his manhood,

his countenance beaming with intelligence; every line in his face bespoke his great intellect, his fearlessness, his profound convictions, unquestionable sincerity, and lofty morals.

His hair was even then very gray; his beard white at the tips, but jet black at the roots; his gray-blue eyes penetratingly clear. Those who met Daniel De Leon could easily make up their minds upon two points at least: that De Leon was a man who had drunk deep at the fountain of knowledge and that he was in dead earnest. What a contrast between De Leon and most of those who up to that time had been strutting the stage of the labor movement as leaders! What a contrast between Daniel De Leon and the fellows who only possessed the gift to talk, with nothing to back up what they said; the fellows with the glib tongue, or those with the freakish scheme to solve the social question; or the variety who were Socialists for a while as a matter of style or fad, all dressing up for the meetings where they were to appear, wearing loud neckties and a sweet-sour smile to please everybody, like the clerk behind the bargain counter who wants to please all customers for his own good.

Confidence and Enthusiasm Inspired by De Leon's First Campaign

In 1890 a dignified campaign was conducted in New York city by the Socialist Labor Party and brought good results. Five thousand votes were cast for the mayoralty candidate, August Delebar. De Leon was an active participant in that campaign. Hall as well as street meetings were held, at many of which he was the principal speaker. Those who wanted a "party of propaganda" only were no longer listened to. De Leon's presence in the party councils changed the situation considerably, and his personal activity and participation in the campaign inspired the membership and created not only confidence but courage and enthusiasm.

Those who were the writers and speakers in the party previous to 1890 were not averse to making their appearance at Cooper Union when a mass meeting was held, where they could shine in all their glory, or to writing "Was Nun?" edi-

torials in the Volkszeitung. But to speak from the rear end of a truck on street corners, insist on agitation meetings being held frequently and attend them—that was a horse of a different color. Here was Daniel De Leon, coming as he did from Columbia University, a lecturer on international law, who did not think it was below his dignity to speak at street corners; who did not offer apologies for the existence of the Socialist Labor Party, but who, on the contrary, made it a point to attend meetings; who spoke not like a man who gropes in the dark, but in a manner that showed his profound convictions based upon sound information.

Every Sunday morning during the campaign Daniel De Leon lectured at Pohlman's Hall on Second avenue, near 74th street, and all the members of the party who lived in that vicinity were there to listen to him. This place was the headquarters of the old 22nd Assembly District, where De Leon resided and of which district he was a candidate for the Assembly in that year. At that time the writer of these reminiscences was a youth of twenty summers and content with the distinction of having been elected on the committee to attend street meetings and distribute leaflets among the audiences.

At times, difficulties of a more or less serious nature were experienced at street meetings, but as a general rule De Leon's dignified appearance commanded respect even from the rough element on the upper East Side, to whom "Tammany Hall was a sacred institution. Policemen at that time were not yet "educated" and were apt to take sides with disturbers.

Only on one occasion did I see an attempt made to disturb the meeting when De Leon was addressing the people. That was when someone hit the horse hitched to the truck, the rear end of which was the speaker's rostrum. The horse started on a gallop down toward the East River, only a couple of hundred yards away. De Leon was not at all disconcerted by the interruption; he jumped off the truck, the horse was caught, brought gack, unhitched, and De Leon continued his speech as though nothing had happened. There were, however, frequent attempts by hoodlums when other speakers were holding forth.

I had a friend who lived on East 81st street, whom I was eager to convert to Socialism. I had not succeeded and was grieved over it. A meeting was scheduled to take place on the corner of 81st street and First avenue, and I insisted upon my friend coming to listen to De Leon. But it turned out a double disappointment. De Leon spoke elsewhere that evening, and the substitute speaker, who did his best, met with some resentment. A huckster with a wagon-load of cabbages passed by, and the next minute a head of cabbage whizzed through the air, aimed evidently at the speaker. But alas!—the friend I had invited was abnormally tall, and the cabbage hit him in the back of the head. I never could persuade him to attend another meeting to hear De Leon or any other Socialist, were he ever so great.

“The People” Started—De Leon Succeeds Sanial as Editor—The Two Compared

After the 1890 campaign the publication of a paper was decided upon, and *The People* was started as a Sunday paper, containing a whole lot of pages made up mostly of plate matter, and printed on the *Volkszeitung* press. The paper was a yard square and did not look like other papers. It was called a “mammoth paper” by the publishers, and they must have known. Lucien Sanial was the editor.

It seems that the intention was to make of it a paper that would reach and be attractive to all the members of the family. The *Workmen's Advocate* was consolidated with the new venture. To be sure, it was some improvement upon the *Workmen's Advocate*.

In 1891 Daniel De Leon was appointed national lecturer of the party and toured all states where the party had organizations, including the Pacific Coast. The result of this tour was the cementing of the affiliated Sections into a homogeneous national organization, the real beginning of the Socialist Labor Party as a factor in the labor movement. In the fall of the same year De Leon was the standard bearer of the party in New York state and received over 13,000 votes for governor.

The People was now a year old. Sanial resigned as editor

to make place for De Leon, who up to that time had been associate editor.

Sanial pleaded old age and bad eyesight as the reason for his resignation, but the real reason, no doubt, was that he recognized in De Leon the superior man and above all the systematic, tireless and steady worker, who was equal to the big job of making *The People* not a "family paper" filled with plate matter (which is at all times of questionable quality), but a paper filled with original matter—an organ of a great movement, a movement whose task it is to accomplish the greatest revolution which has yet taken place in the history of mankind.

With De Leon in the editorial chair *The People* became indeed a journal worthy of the great cause of international Socialism. Be it said here, however, in justice to Lucien Sanial, that what he did write while a member of the Socialist Labor Party was good, and that as a speaker and agitator he was a man of marked ability; but the difference between him and De Leon was great and all in favor of De Leon. Sanial was like many an artist or poet, who paints or writes poetry whenever he is in the proper mood—when he gets an inspiration, Sanial wrote many a page of educational matter, and at other times delivered lectures and speeches both instructive and enthusiastic. But to work as De Leon did, to be the one who continually forges new weapons and finds the strategic paths that lead to victory, one who gives his whole self to the movement—only a great man is capable of that. Sanial was not a great man.

Sanial was a number of times delegate of the Socialist Labor Party to the International Congress. Upon his return he made verbal reports to Section New York or perhaps wrote a letter to the party members, but to write a report as did De Leon in "Flashlights of the Amsterdam Congress," wherein he takes the measure of the leaders in the Socialist movement in Europe and furnishes his constituents with a picture such as that pamphlet contains,—that again only a great man can accomplish.

Sanial liked to be regarded as the teacher, and told me (and I presume everybody else) that he was De Leon's tutor while the latter was his associate editor. A few years later, at a

mass meeting held in the Opera House at Syracuse following a convention of the Socialist Labor Party, De Leon and Sanial were the speakers. De Leon spoke first and delivered a rousing campaign speech. Sanial followed him. "I am not a man of eloquence," Sanial said. "I am a man of facts and figures."

The next time De Leon and Sanial spoke together at a meeting, Sanial spoke first and repeated the same declaration. This time De Leon spoke last, and had a chance to reply. He certainly did reply, explaining that a man who was not "a man of facts and figures" had no place in the Socialist movement. Sanial never repeated that phrase again, at least not at a meeting where De Leon was present.

National Campaign of 1892 Followed by Growth of Party and Its Organ

In 1892, only two years after De Leon joined the party, a national campaign was entered upon. Delegates from the State Committees of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts and Connecticut met in the Labor Lyceum on East Fourth street in New York city, and nominated Simon Wing of Massachusetts and Charles H. Matchett of New York for President and Vice-President respectively. This was at a time when the People's Party had made its appearance and had made some mighty sweeps in a few Western states.

There were the old fusionists who wanted the party to join this new movement, as some of them did individually. Rappaport of Indianapolis, who was publishing a German weekly in that city, was one of that brand of Socialist; he went, paper and all, over to the People's Party.

Twenty-one thousand (21,000) votes were cast for the candidates of the Socialist Labor Party in its first national campaign. My first vote was cast for Wing and Matchett in 1892, and in the same year I was a candidate for alderman in the third ward of the city of Troy, N. Y., where after considerable roaming about I had settled down. It was there that I got more closely acquainted with Comrade De Leon. He spoke in Troy that campaign and gave me privately a lecture upon how

agitation meetings should be conducted, and the many things which were neglected in connection with agitation meetings, including the meeting addressed by him in Troy. We had called a meeting, but not a piece of English literature was provided for it; in the advertising we had omitted the name of the party; the meeting room was adjoining a bar-room. De Leon criticized all this severely, and we mended our ways in Troy, as will be shown later.

After the campaign in 1892, Sections began to sprout up everywhere, and Daniel De Leon was hailed by all as the man to raise high the banner of Socialism in America. The German comrades admired him and were delighted to hear him talk German. De Leon on some occasions spoke German even at public meetings, although he complained that after a lengthy talk in German he had to rub his jaws with vaseline!

The English-speaking comrades saw in De Leon the man who understood American conditions; the Jewish workers of New York packed the halls whenever De Leon was announced as a speaker in their districts. But there were some even as early as '92 who did not like De Leon. Fellows who had unclean motives, who had schemes to hatch out, saw in De Leon a man who would be a hindrance in their path. As De Leon used to say: "I have not always a good nose for crooks, but the crooks have a good nose for me."

Following the first national campaign of the Socialist Labor Party, in which such satisfactory results were achieved, The People gained in circulation and prestige, and began to reach and be appreciated by workmen even in other English-speaking countries. The virile, clear-cut, logical and inimitable style of its editor differed as much from previous writings in Socialist papers in the English language (and for that matter in other languages) as a piano differs from the tom-tom of the savage.

There were a good many German papers published then, claiming to be Socialist—private ventures, or in some cases owned nominally by co-operative associations. Besides the Volkszeitung in New York there were Das Tageblatt in St. Louis and a paper with the same title in Philadelphia; there were alleged Socialist papers in German published in Cleveland,

O., Buffalo, N. Y., Chicago, Ill., and even a little town like Belleville, Ill. (16,000 population at that time), sported an Arbeiter-Zeitung, edited by Hans Schwartz. In New York city there was also a Bohemian daily which flourishes to this very day, and plies the same trade as all pseudo-Socialist papers did then and do now, of exploiting the Socialist sentiment among the workers for their own private interest—always ready to bow to any old or new superstition so as not to offend some readers; or hiding some criminal act of the capitalists so as not to lose the good will of advertisers and the cash along with it.

To insert for hard cash gold-brick advertisements, and around election times to publish advertisements of candidates of the "boodle parties" (a term frequently used then), was the least among the wrong-doings of the publishers and editors of these papers. They invariably proclaimed themselves to be the official representatives of the working class; they invariably announced in heavy type: "Dedicated to the Interests of the Working Class" ("Den interessen des arbeitenden Volkes gewidmet"). They invariably were everything but the official representatives of the working class; they invariably contained matter that was dedicated to the interests of the workshirking people; and when taken to task the editors and publishers invariably offered the excuse that the paper could not exist if it told all the truth.

Again the contrast between these publications and The People edited by Daniel De Leon. De Leon many times said that a Socialist paper that could not afford to tell the truth had no right to live. The People was only a small four-page paper, but every article it contained from De Leon's pen was based upon facts, breathing that enthusiasm that only a sound, scientific posture can bring forth. The everyday struggles of the working class were reported truthfully, the errors made by the workers fearlessly criticized, and the misleaders and betrayers of the proletariat so mercilessly lashed that it made them foam at the mouth with rage. The capitalist system was dissected with the knife of Marxian economics, and the capitalists and their hangers-on had a searchlight turned upon them that revealed them in their hideous nastiness. Last but

not least, the road to victory, the road of uncompromising revolutionary tactics was clearly pointed out. "Truthful Recorder of Labor's Struggles," "Unflinching Advocate of Labor's Rights," "Intrepid Foe of Labor's Oppressors"—these were the mottoes of The People.

Those for whom the pace set was too swift were asked to stay in the rear; a few did slink away. Still, there were those who thought that if the name Socialist were dropped, progress would be more rapid. To them De Leon replied that no historic movement can sail under false colors.

There were not many who openly opposed De Leon in the party. In New York, now and then, a fusionist to whom the S. L. P. seemed to follow a path too narrow would stand up for more "tolerance," "broadness," and fusion. Such was Charles Sotheran, who, being somewhat of a spellbinder, made a little fuss for a while. Sotheran, however ridiculous this may sound today, charged De Leon with wanting to establish tactics a la Berlin in the American Socialist movement.

This was by no means a ridiculous charge then, for in those days Wilhelm Liebknecht was at the helm of the Social Democracy in Germany. Up to the year 1892 there were only eleven Social Democrats in the Reichstag. In that year thirty-six were elected. The Socialist Labor Party of America collected \$5,000 within six weeks for the 1892 election campaign of the German Social Democracy. The party in Germany had not then voted for war budgets and the Haases* and Scheidemanns were not yet heard of.

Sotheran had very few to stand for his Populistic fusion schemes, and he and his and the Socialist Labor Party parted company.

The Homestead strike took place in 1892. There were many other large strikes at that period, but the Homestead strike attracted more attention. The strikers were mainly the skilled English-speaking workmen in the Homestead steel

*Since this was written (in 1915) Haase has, with a score or so of other German Socialist leaders, broken with the conservative wing of the party and come out in opposition to the war.

mills. Hired Pinkerton thugs drove the Homestead strikers to desperate acts of violence. When additional thugs and strike-breakers were being brought to Homestead by boat, some of the strikers got possession of a cannon and trained it upon the boat. The captain lost his head, not metaphorically, but actually; his head was shot clean from his shoulders.

This gave the capitalists a chance to get in the militia, and six strikers were killed by the "boys in blue," and many others wounded. It was at this time that the Anarchist, Alexander Berkman, went into the office of H. C. Frick, the steel magnate, with the design of performing an autopsy upon that gentleman first and letting him die afterwards. The autopsy did not turn out quite successful, however. Outside of a scare and a penknife scratch on the abdomen, Frick succeeded in postponing the autopsy to a time when it could be performed without any inconvenience to himself. Berkman, however, got twenty-two years in state prison, fourteen of which he served.

A private in the militia, whose name was Yates, thought that Berkman was right, and he gave vent to his thoughts and feelings. As a punishment for being so indiscreet he was hung up for several hours by the thumbs.

In 1893 the Socialist Labor Party made substantial gains at the polls, and by 1894 the vote had risen to 33,000. The party was becoming a factor on the political field; the correctness of the uncompromising "De Leon tactics" was demonstrated.

Boring from Within—The "Victory" at the 1894 A. F. of L. Convention

On the economic field the Socialists were "boring from within," De Leon in District 49, Knights of Labor, others, I among them, in the American Federation of Labor.

The joy among the borers from within the American Federation of Labor was great when in 1894 the independent political platform was adopted by a referendum vote of the federation. This platform contained ten planks; the tenth plank called for collective ownership of all means of production and distribution. The fact that the resolution containing the platform of ten planks was carried did by no means denote great

progress of Socialist thought or class consciousness, for besides those who agitated for this political action resolution from the standpoint of Socialists, there were "labor leaders" who wanted to scare the old party politicians into granting them some recognition, mainly at the time when officers in the various departments of the Government were appointed and contracts for Government work given out. "Organized labor" needed more recognition, and the scare of an Independent Labor Party was to do the trick.

The rank and file of the trade unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor, including the cigar makers' and printers' unions voted for this independent political action platform containing the ten planks, but when the convention of the A. F. of L. took place at Denver, Colo., the ten planks were buried ten feet deep. At this convention Gompers was defeated by the Mine Workers' delegate, McBride, who was, if anything, more reactionary than Gompers.

I must admit that the ten planks had carried me off my feet somewhat. I really thought that after all Gompers and the rest of the labor leaders, so-called, were too harshly dealt with in The People, until the convention of '94 took place, when the scales dropped from my eyes, and I saw through the whole farce.

At that time a paper called Labor was published by a number of S. L. P. members in St. Louis. The Sections of the Socialist Labor Party were appealed to from St. Louis to subscribe for Labor, and as an inducement any Section that would get 120 subscribers could have a local edition of the paper with whatever name the Section pleased to give it. Many Sections thought this a good chance to reach the workers, as it was promised also by the management of Labor that the last page of the paper could be used for local matters at the rate of six cents an inch.

Over night there sprang up everywhere papers called Labor; there was Buffalo Labor and Troy Labor, Chicago Labor and Kalamazoo Labor, etc. Poor labor! As soon as a Section secured 120 twenty-five cent pieces it could sport its own local paper and local manager and editor. The paper, however, was

mailed from St. Louis, though this was not generally known by the subscribers.

The party administration had no grounds on which to oppose the scheme at that time. De Leon and the National Executive Committee in New York knew that sooner or later the scheme, like all schemes, would spring a leak. And it did. The post office authorities, when they discovered the deception, compelled the publishers to mail the paper from the town where it was dated, so the paper had to be sent by express to the city where it was to appear as a local paper.

We in Troy, too, had our Labor experience. An old German comrade was elected editor and I was elected manager. I "managed" to get the 120 subscribers, and the local editor "edited" the inches on the last page, at six cents an inch. Sometimes we had ten inches of local editorial matter, sometimes more, depending upon the funds. As local manager, I had frequent consultations with the local editor relative to the number of inches we were to have that week. When I later related to De Leon all the tribulations of a local manager and local editor, and how on one occasion the local editorial had to be omitted, because that week the local editor was too busy cutting sauerkraut, De Leon laughed heartily and chuckled as only those can picture who have seen and heard De Leon laugh and chuckle,—not a loud, boisterous, or hysterical laugh, but like the gurgling sound of a brooklet flowing swiftly down hill among the rocks.

Those who fathered the publication of Labor in St. Louis were the representatives of the pro-American Federation of Labor and reform element in the party—the Socialist Party of today in embryo.

There was at first no open hostility by Labor toward the course taken by the official party organ, *The People*; not because there was much sympathy with the uncompromising tactics which *The People* stood for, but rather because A. Hoehn and his associates in St. Louis did not dare openly to oppose the stand taken by Daniel De Leon, which the party had endorsed. Moreover, in 1894 Matthew Maguire was elected on the Socialist Labor Party ticket to the board of aldermen in Paterson, N. J. Maguire's election demonstrated that the lash-

ing of labor fakers and the revolutionary attitude did not keep the Socialist Labor Party from growing.

The claim made by the publishers of Labor was that it was more suited for new recruits to the movement, that its contents were mental food easy to digest—admittedly some sort of mush-and-milk Socialist teaching that would offend nobody.

Experiences with Samuel Gompers and the Craft Union Borers Prove De Leon Right

Following the defeat of Gompers at the Denver (1894) convention of the A. F. of L., at which John Burns was a fraternal delegate from the British trade unions, there was a convention held in Albany, N. Y., of all A. F. of L. trade unions in New York state. At this convention I was a delegate, representing the Trades and Labor Council of Troy, N. Y. Samuel Gompers was there too, having come as a delegate from Local 144, International Cigar Makers' Union. There were seven or eight members of the Socialist Labor Party at that convention. Naturally the "political action" resolution was trotted out in the usual manner and defeated in the same way. There were, however, some things that I observed that should be related here.

Gompers, of course with much ado, posing, and attempts at eloquence, warned the delegates not to leave the path of "trade unionism pure and simple"; he told the delegates that in some of the European countries where the Socialist political movement was stronger than the economic organization, the workers toiled longer hours and received starvation wages, etc., etc.

The noteworthy things were these: when the vote on this political action resolution was taken I noticed that a delegate from the Brewery Workers' local of Albany had voted against it. Not only did this brewers' local claim to be a Socialist union just as the unions in Germany were (Freie Deutsche Gewerkschaften), but the fellow was a member of Section Albany, Socialist Labor Party, and had only an hour before commended me for speaking in favor of that resolution. "Hascht

gut gemacht" ("Well done"), he had said to me in pure Wuertemberg German. He was one of the kind of "borers from within" whom Daniel De Leon held more in contempt, and rightly so, than those that were to be "bored." When I took him to task about his inconsistency he replied that the Brewery Workers would fare badly with the union label pasted on each barrel of beer to be patronized by organized labor if they should go straight forward to antagonize organized labor by voting for a Socialist political action resolution.

Gompers at the opening of the convention had been asked to deliver a speech, and he did. Among other things he said: "John Burns—there was a real good man." Now, John Burns in an interview published in the New York World, expressed his disapproval regarding the rejection of the independent political action platform by the delegates to the Denver convention, in a very emphatic manner—he characterized the delegates who defeated the ten-plank platform as jackasses. I had a copy of The World containing that interview in my pocket, having learned from Daniel De Leon as early as that how important documents are. When the political action resolution was debated I said that Mr. Gompers was right about John Burns, he was a good man without doubt; the best reason for believing him a good man I thought was his statement that the delegates who voted against independent political action were jackasses, and Mr. Gompers was one of the delegates.

Gompers did not like to have any one poke fun at him, and made much fuss about it. He asked the privilege of the floor, and consumed a good deal of time throwing fine bouquets at no one else but himself.

The convention adjourned sine die. As some delegates lingered in the hall, Gompers came over to me, and laying his hand on my shoulder he patronizingly spoke to me thus: "Katz, I was in the labor movement before you were born. You are on the wrong track. I was at one time a bit of a Socialist, not a member of the Socialist Labor Party, but worked with the Socialists in the shop. I associated with them. I drank with them, in short, I was one of them. I studied the German language for six months so as to be able to read Marx's 'Das Kapital.' ["Das Kapital" was not translated into English

at the time Gompers had in mind.] I read it, but found there was nothing in it." He advised me to read some book called "Politische Zeitwinke," but before parting he saw in one of my coat pockets a copy of The People and in the other a copy of Labor. "This paper," said Gompers, pointing to Labor, "is all right; we have no fault to find with Labor, but that other paper you have there is no good. Beware of the man who writes up that sheet."

That was enough for me. If I had ever had any doubt as to the correctness of De Leon's attitude toward labor leaders of the Gompers kind, Gompers removed it. Here was the generalissimo of "labor leaders" telling me that he read "Das Kapital" but "found nothing in it"; praising one Socialist paper and denouncing the other. To be sure, I dropped the paper praised by Gompers like a hot potato.

At this convention Gompers boastfully declared that he was willing to debate the question with any Socialist, but that it was time wasted to discuss Socialist theories while the delegates had far more important work to do. "Such debates," he said, "should take place outside of the convention hall." Soon thereafter Gompers was challenged to debate with Daniel De Leon. Gompers declined. He might have been too shallow mentally when, as he claimed, after reading "Das Kapital" he "found there was nothing in it," but he certainly had his wits all there when he preferred not to debate with the editor of "that sheet" he had so paternally warned me against.

Capitalist Lieutenants and Politicians in the Labor Unions—An Instance in Troy

In 1895 the Socialist Labor Party made further gains at the polls, the vote rising to 45,000. The party organization gained in membership and gathered in its folds new recruits on all sides, in the face of the phenomenal growth of the Populist movement. The greatest event in the life of the American Socialist movement took place that year, namely the founding of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

But before telling all the important happenings concerning the S. T. and L. A. it is necessary to relate some of the do-

ings in District 49, Knights of Labor, and also the inner workings of the A. F. of L. craft unions, their relationship with the employing class, and their inherent tendencies to fasten tighter the chains of wage slavery upon the workers, because of that relationship. It is necessary to show the futility of the "boring from within" policy in an organization started in many cases by the bosses themselves, as was the case with many a local of the Brewery Workers; or the identity of fancied as well as real immediate material interest with the small manufacturer against the large companies, as in the case of the Cigar Makers. Besides these factors, the material interest of labor leaders whose numbers were legion must be understood.

Only by having a clear insight into all this, is it to be made plain that to bore from within under such conditions was like playing against loaded dice. Only by knowing how many soft jobs were made insecure, and the immediate material interest of numerous and varied groups affected can it be understood why the S. T. and L. A. met such fierce resistance and brought about within the Socialist Labor Party itself such a furious storm of opposition against De Leon and "De Leonism."

The following episode of those days throws a strong light upon these conditions. In the Trades and Labor Council at Troy, N. Y. (and the conditions elsewhere were the same as there), the presiding officer, one Michael Keough, a member of the Iron Moulders' Union, was as true a watch dog of capitalist interests as could be found anywhere. He was then working at his trade and weighed no more than 115 lbs.; today he is vice-president of the International Union of Moulders and Coremakers and weighs 230 lbs., a net gain in weight of 100 per cent., but that is a different story. Michael Keough in the chair, who would dare to introduce politics on the floor of the Council? How many times would his gavel come down with a crash when a Socialist had the floor!

Anno Domini 1895, Thomas F. Kennedy, a member of the Masons' and Bricklayers' Union of Troy, was nominated for sheriff of Rensselaer County on the Democratic ticket. Kennedy and Michael Keough were friends, and the election of Kennedy meant much to Keough, quite naturally. So up rose Mr. Keough, as president of the Trades and Labor Council, and

thus addressed the meeting: "Fellow delegates, you know I am opposed to politics in the union. I shall never, never-r-r-deviate from that principle, but—a union man, who has carried a union card ever since he served his apprenticeship, has been honored by the nomination for sheriff in this county." (Here Mr. Muldoon from the Cigar Makers', my co-delegate, Connolly from the Plumbers', Ryan from the Horseshoers', and others, applauded vociferously.) "Are you going to support a union man? His politics or the party that nominated him do not concern us," etc., etc.

The upshot of it all was that Kennedy's nomination was endorsed. But this is only part of the story; the worst was yet to come. This was then the result of several years of boring from within. The Cigar Makers' local of Troy, which body Mr. Muldoon and I represented in the Trades Council, would protest, I threatened, and when the Cigar Makers met, the honest element won out. A resolution was adopted protesting against the endorsement of the Democratic nominee.

This resolution was published in the daily newspapers in Troy. But lo and behold! our victory was short-lived. The saloonkeepers who dispensed the "blue label" cigars over their bars were all in politics, and ninety-nine per cent. of them were of the same political faith as Mr. Kennedy. They bought and sold union cigars exclusively, because it was good policy to patronize "home industry" and incidentally use the union label cigar-box as proof positive that they stood for labor, for organized labor. Who, then, could blame these saloonkeepers and keepers of worse places than saloons when they came to the Cigar Makers' headquarters, indignant over the ingratitude of these fellows? The word was passed around that unless the Cigar Makers publicly withdrew the resolution of protest not another union label cigar would they sell. A special meeting of the Cigar Makers' local was called, and not only was the former action repudiated, but a notice was inserted in the daily papers stating that "the alleged resolution of protest against the endorsement of Kennedy by the Trades and Labor Council was never passed by the Cigar Makers' union."

The union label was used by the meanest of capitalist

politicians within and without the International Cigar Makers' Union to knock out all tendencies that threatened capitalist interests. Let it be borne in mind that this so-called International Cigar Makers' Union was heralded by every labor "skate," from Gompers down, as a model organization of a trade union pure and simple. (Some of the German comrades used to pronounce it "poor and simple.") Let it also be borne in mind that in no other trade union were the borers from within so numerous as in this Cigar Makers' Union.

Even in the early days of the Socialist and labor movement in Germany the cigar makers were more numerous in the movement than any other trade. When the Bismarck Exemption Law was passed against the Socialists in 1878, thousands of German Social Democrats were banished from the German empire and came to the United States. Cigar makers from Hamburg and Bremen were the largest proportion among the banished. Anyone who was caught giving out Socialist literature by the German police had to leave the country. The Social Democratic Party in Germany helped those who were without means to pay their way to America. Some who wanted to go to the United States and have a free passage distributed Socialist circulars in order to be arrested and shipped there at the expense of the party, pose as martyrs ever after, and finally become rabid anti-De Leonites.

At the time that Gompers with his lieutenants organized the various existing national trade unions into the American Federation of Labor (this was in 1881) the cigar makers referred to formed the Progressive Cigar Makers' union, which had locals in several large cities. Some of these locals were affiliated also with the Knights of Labor. In 1884 this Progressive Cigar Makers' Union was whipped into line by Adolph Strasser, the chief mogul of the International Cigar Makers' Union and Gompers's side-partner. The Progressives claimed a membership of ten thousand, hence the preponderance of borers from within in the Cigar Makers' Union.

Whether or not the membership of the old Progressive Cigar Makers' Union had the correct instinct of what an organization of workingmen should be is a question I cannot answer. It is quite certain, however, that whatever virtues they

might have possessed were lost in that "model" of trade unions of which Gompers and Strasser were the founders, the only thing that remained of the revolutionary spirit being phrases, but no deeds excepting a donation to the Socialist political campaign fund and the display of red badges and the red flag at parades, picnics and funeral processions.

The "Label Agitation" Farce and De Leon's Attitude Toward It

That De Leon knew the make-up of this element in Local Number 90, goes without saying. Number 90, of Cigar Makers', had been allowed at the time of the merging of the Progressives with the International to retain the name "Progressive" and was called "Progressive Cigar Makers' Union No. 90." But before the launching of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, De Leon was on friendly terms with many of the members of No. 90, some of whom were party members. Not a few called on De Leon in his office and paid him homage by bringing along some good "smokes,"—for De Leon loved a good smoke. In the measure that the developments in the movement assumed a clearer character and jarred the pure and simple notions of the borers from within, the number of cigars given to De Leon diminished. I remember how one of No. 90's label committee members was once telling De Leon the trouble that the cigar makers had in safeguarding their blue union label. De Leon, with seeming seriousness, told the fellow that it would be a great advantage to have a blue label not only on each box of cigars, but to paste a label or several of them on each cigar, so that it could be seen until the cigar was smoked up that it was a blue label, and leave an advertisement on the cigar butt for the union label in the bargain. At first the fellow, looking into De Leon's face which was as grave as if he was in earnest, was baffled, until it dawned upon him that De Leon was having some fun at his expense. To be sure, that fellow brought no more Havanas to De Leon

In this connection the activities of the "bored" and the "borers" in New York should be related. While in reality they

took place a couple of years later it will help to make the picture complete to present them here. The several locals of cigar makers in New York were represented by delegates on what was known as a label committee. This committee had the agitation for the blue label in charge, and incidentally the spending of a large sum of money for this agitation. What this agitation consisted of we shall soon know. There were Locals No. 10 (also Progressive), No. 90, No. 141 (Bohemian), No. 144 and No. 213. The agitation conducted by this committee consisted in having its members appoint themselves to a day committee and a night committee, the day committee to agitate all day, the night committee in the evening after the working hours. The day committee's agitational work consisted in visiting places where cigars were sold and urging the proprietors to sell cigars with the blue union label only. For this work the members of the day committee received \$3 a day and incidentals. The places where cigars were sold were saloons, and the argument that carries most weight and conviction in a saloon is the number of rounds of drinks bought or "set up" for "the boys." In this work the day committee was not in the least deficient, as they could hold up their end against all comers.

The night committee performed this same kind of agitation for \$1 a night, or in other words spent a dollar for twenty schooners of beer. The day committee would make the following report:

"On the first of April we visited Murphy's saloon; we bought seven rounds of drinks, fifty cents a round. Then we asked Mr. Murphy to patronize manufacturers of union label cigars; we had three more rounds of drinks, and Mr. Murphy promised to comply with our request."

Six months thereafter the committee made the identical report about the identical saloon, the only thing that varied being the number of rounds of drinks ordered. The night committee's reports were more brief, as the amount of label agitation was limited to \$1 a night for each member.

Besides these committees there was the job of secretary with \$18 a week, so that the blue label agitation could be conduct-

ed systematically. "Systematically" it was conducted, and no mistake.

In this label committee the borers were boring with might and main, so much so that they got nearly a majority in the committee. When I came to New York and deposited my union card with Local 141 and was elected a delegate to the label committee there was much joy among the borers and gloom among the bored. Being one of those, however, who still furnished a smoke or two to De Leon, I had a consultation with him and asked his advice as to how we Socialists should proceed when we had a majority in the label committee. De Leon's advice was to abolish the day committee and the night committee, and instead of visiting saloons to have committees to visit all unions and other workingmen's organizations and agitate for the union label, and by appealing to the workingmen's solidarity, arouse them to class consciousness; in short, make speeches for Socialist principles.

I thought this a splendid idea and went straight ahead with the proposal to the principal borer. This was one Negendank; no small figure was he among No. 90's notables. True, Negendank no longer gave cigars to De Leon, which was a very bad sign; but he did occasionally play a game of chess with De Leon at the Workmen's Educational Association rooms. Negendank was a good player at chess, but not quite as good as De Leon. Because of the long time it took him to make a move while playing chess De Leon turned his name about and called him Gedankenman. Negendank was also in the "prehistoric" days of the Socialist Labor Party editor of its German organ, *Der Sozialist*.

Negendank, when he heard the proposal to abolish these label committee trips to saloons and instead to have committees visit the unions, threw up his hands in horror. "It could not be done," he protested. "It never was done." And then he added—I am quoting him verbally: "Unsinn, verpulvert muss das Geld ja doch werden." ("Nonsense; the money has to be blown in anyway.") Negendank and I could not agree, and I withdrew from the label committee.

FROM THE FOUNDING OF S. T. & L. A. TO S. L. P. SPLIT, 1899

De Leon's Fight for the Alliance—Steady Advance of the Party—Nefarious Work of the Disrupters—Debs Movement in the West—Volkszeitung's Fruitless "Coup d'Etat"; S. L. P. Wins in Court

The Knights of Labor, which at the height of its strength had sent cold chills down the spine of the class of exploiters, was on the wane. Henchmen of the capitalist class were running the once promising organization, and they were running it into the ground at a rapid pace. Daniel De Leon undertook the task of redeeming the organization. As a delegate of Mixed Assembly 1563 he entered the central body of the Knights of Labor, District Assembly 49, in July, 1891.

Attempt to Cleanse Knights of Labor

De Leon, too, bored from within. His boring made the labor fakers in District Assembly 49 dance a dance they had never danced before. Tammany heelers, Republican political crooks, and Populist wind jammers who were formerly at one another's throat were driven into one camp. The lines were drawn between Socialists and reactionists of all shades. Many of the delegates were won over by De Leon, some of them joined the Socialist Labor Party. So effective was this boring by De Leon and those who stood with him that at the general

assembly of the order, General Master Workman Terrence V. Powderly was defeated for that office and James R. Sovereign elected in his stead.

Sovereign was flesh of the flesh and bone of the bone of Powderly. The downfall of Powderly brought about chiefly by the Socialists under De Leon's generalship was meant to be a lesson to Sovereign. Sovereign did not heed the lesson. The same corrupt practices of Powderly and his satellites were repeated by Sovereign and his gang. In 1894 the convention of the Knights of Labor, or the general assembly, as it was called, was held in New Orleans. Sovereign was taken to task by De Leon and his Socialist co-delegates, and another chance was given him upon his promise to mend his ways. Sovereign and the general officers of the order gave a pledge to the Socialist delegates to let them name the editor of the official journal of the Knights of Labor. Sovereign broke his pledge. He knew, no doubt, that with the journal in the hands of the Socialists there would be little chance for crooked acts.

In District Assembly 49 the reactionists were whipped completely. William L. Brower was elected district master workman by a large majority, but not without a lively combat. It was mainly the tireless work of De Leon whose activity and most strenuous efforts brought in newly organized locals. In those days there was hardly a night that De Leon was not delivering a lecture, attending meetings of the party organization, local assembly, district assembly, committee meetings, campaign work,—all this in addition to his writing as the editor of *The People*.

Boring Stopped; S. T. & L. A. Started

By this time another general assembly was to be held at Washington, D. C. This was in 1895. Sovereign and his clique knew that their heads would fall into the basket. De Leon, heading the delegation of District Assembly 49, together with the honest elements in the order, could easily have got the majority. Accordingly, the general assembly at Washington had to be packed, an easy task for those having the mileage fund, the books, and the whole machinery of the organiza-

tion in their hands. The general assembly was packed, to be sure. With the assistance of men like one E. Kurzenknabe, an infamous, characterless labor faker, the Sovereign clique remained in power. This ended De Leon's boring from within.

On December 6, 1895, a delegation from District 49, Knights of Labor, met in conjunction with the general executive board of the Central Labor Federation of New York and constituted the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

This bold step on the part of the Socialists headed by Daniel De Leon, created consternation in the ranks of the dishonest trade union leaders. "Opposition union," they cried in chorus. That the A. F. of L. was an opposition union against the Knights of Labor the shouters of "opposition union" evidently had forgotten. Be it said here to the glory of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance that its most vehement adversaries at the time of its birth were the most despicable among labor's misleaders. Men like Kurzenknabe of the Brewers', H. Weissman of the Bakers', and Harry White of the Garment Workers' were the loudest in their denunciations. All three were eventually found out by their own constituents.

Weissman got to be a lawyer and became the attorney for the association of boss bakers. In that capacity he fought the unions of bakery workers whose head officer he had formerly been. To mention H. Weissman's name after that among the bakery workers was like mentioning the name of Benedict Arnold among school children who had just received their lesson about the American Revolution. Harry White was found out somewhat later, but found out just the same. He was caught red-handed carrying on a traffic in the Garment Workers' union label and kicked out of that union. He cared little, as he had made his "pile" before his practices were discovered.

Great Significance of the Alliance

The Alliance started life with a membership of about 15,000, mostly of local unions in New York and vicinity. Soon, however, the organization spread out over the country. The textile workers of Rhode Island joined the S. T. & L. A. in large numbers; the shoe workers of Brooklyn had locals numbering 800 to 900 members. Locals were organized in many

of the industrial centers. The leaders of the "pure and simple" trade unions had indeed good cause to fear the S. T. & L. A.

The founding of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was the first recognition and application of the principle of strategy in the Socialist and labor movement in the world. It was declared that without the organization of the workers into a class conscious revolutionary body on the industrial field, Socialism would remain but an aspiration. It was "charged" that the idea of organizing the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance originated in De Leon's head. It did. That "charge," at least, was true. So much the better for De Leon. Recent developments across the Atlantic have demonstrated beyond doubt the impotence of the pure and simple political movement.

Credit Due Daniel De Leon's Work

To Marx belongs the discovery of the economic interpretation of history and the scientific application of the theory of value. To De Leon belongs the discovery of the necessity of forming the industrial battalions that can "take and hold" the wealth power now in possession of the capitalist class.

True, at the time of founding the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance not all the functions of the revolutionary Socialist economic organization were recognized. That the industrial union was to be the Republic of Labor in embryo was seen only after the S. T. & L. A. ship had approached closer to the shores of the Socialist goal.

Columbus, who set out to discover a new and shorter route to India, discovered a new continent. Columbus sailed west, his conviction being that, the world being round, by sailing west he must strike land. The distance and all else was of much less moment. Columbus erred in regard to distance and other matters, but his central and principal claim was correctly based upon scientific ground.

So it was with De Leon. The central and principal point in organizing the S. T. & L. A. was the absolute necessity of arraying the economic forces of labor alongside the revolutionary political party, for the realization of So-

cialism. Whether De Leon then regarded the economic task greater, or not as great as the political, is a matter of secondary importance. As Columbus overcame all obstacles, from the procuring of ships to the mutiny of his own men, so did De Leon overcome seemingly insurmountable obstacles to bring the working class upon the road that leads to victory.

At the time of the birth of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance the Socialist Labor Party had grown to be a factor to be reckoned with. Over two hundred Sections were then in existence. The People made more gains in circulation, and there was not a labor leader "pure and simple" or impure and simple who did not know and fear that little paper published at 184 William street, New York. Within the five years that De Leon had been a member of the Socialist Labor Party a transformation had taken place in the movement. It was no mushroom growth, but a succession of steady gains made in all directions and in many ways. There was growth not only in numbers, but the warm breath of social revolution could be felt in the atmosphere wherever The People was circulated, wherever the Socialist Labor Party gained a foothold.

The first real national convention (though nominally called the ninth annual convention) of the Socialist Labor Party was held in 1896, at Grand Central Palace, New York city. It was the first real convention of the party not only because all industrial centers were represented, but mainly because it was a convention representing the membership. At former conventions, including the one held in the city of Chicago in 1893, many of the Sections of the party had been represented by proxy delegates, who in all cases represented their own views or the views of the membership in their respective localities, and not the views of the membership for which they bore credentials. At the Chicago (1893) convention, for instance, Section Troy, N. Y., was represented by one Suesskind, a member of Section Chicago. Why we in Troy selected Suesskind I do not know. No member in Troy knew him or any other member whose name was sent to us as being willing to serve as a proxy delegate. Perhaps we in Troy selected Suesskind (literally "sweet child") because his name sounded so sweet,

though we found later that he was not quite as sweet as his name.

The system of proxy delegates had been abolished when the 1896 convention gathered. Twelve states were represented by about ninety delegates.

1896 Convention Takes Up Union Question

The question of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was the most important question the convention had to deal with. On the third day of the convention a delegation of the S. T. & L. A. was given the floor. Hugo Vogt was its spokesman. Vogt read a well-prepared speech, setting forth the reasons for the organization of the Alliance. Whatever Vogt became afterward, at that time he was De Leon's co-worker and no one stood higher in De Leon's esteem and confidence than Hugo Vogt, editor of the S. L. P. German organ. After Vogt's speech De Leon introduced the following resolution:

"Whereas, Both the A. F. of L. and the K. of L., or what is left of them, have fallen hopelessly into the hands of dishonest and ignorant leaders;

"Whereas, These bodies have taken shape as the buffers for capitalism, against whom every intelligent effort of the working class for emancipation has hitherto gone to pieces;

"Whereas, The policy of 'propitiating' the leaders of these organizations has been tried long enough by the progressive movement, and is to a great extent responsible for the power which these leaders have wielded in the protection of capitalism and the selling out of the workers;

"Whereas, No organization of labor can accomplish anything for the workers that does not proceed from the principle that an irrepressible conflict rages between the capitalist and the working class, a conflict that can be settled only by the total overthrow of the former and the establishment of the Socialist Commonwealth; and

"Whereas, This conflict is essentially a political one, needing the combined political and economic efforts of the working class; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we hail with unqualified joy the formation of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance as a giant

stride toward throwing off the yoke of wage slavery and of the robber class of capitalists. We call upon the Socialists of the land to carry the revolutionary spirit of the S. T. & L. A. into all the organizations of the workers, and thus consolidate and concentrate the proletariat of America in one irresistible class-conscious army, equipped both with the shield of the economic organization and the sword of the Socialist Labor Party ballot."

The moving of this resolution for adoption brought the matter before the house. Many delegates took part in the debate. Sometimes the enemies of De Leon went about with the slander that De Leon was a party boss, insinuating that he was some kind of Richard Croker, who whipped everybody into line. If they had accused De Leon of everything under the sun, nothing could have been further from the truth than this slanderous statement. Bosses of parties hold sway because of the jobs they have to distribute. De Leon had none to bestow upon those who stood with him—quite the opposite, it was he whose election to the editorship of *The People* was in the hands of the assembled delegates.

De Leon's Logic Wins for S. T. & L. A.

Nothing would have disgusted De Leon more than to have had a lot of manikins about him who would jump at his bidding. Whatever De Leon proposed in the party he gave his reasons for. It was his sword of logic that won out—a mightier weapon, no doubt, than a mere whip, and steel that could be crossed only with steel—a broomstick would not do.

It was De Leon's sword of logic that brought about the adoption of the above resolution by an overwhelming majority. The reformists were at this convention. The A. F. of L. boosters were there: G. A. Hoehn, of St. Louis; Erasmus Peltenz, of Syracuse, whom in those days they called "silver-tongued orator"; Frank Sieverman, the bosom friend of John Tobin of the *Shoeworkers'*, and others. They came prepared to cross swords with De Leon, with their speeches rehearsed and committed to memory. When the time came they found that theirs were not swords but broomsticks.

And how De Leon did wield his sword of logic at that

convention! Never before or since have I seen him look more determined, or heard him speak with greater fervor than at the 1896 convention. De Leon's style of speaking was not a finely spun chain of epigrammatical phrases, nor the bubbling enthusiasm of impulsiveness, and least of all an appeal to sentiment brought to a climax by dramatic posing. I can close my eyes and see De Leon as he appeared then, pleading the cause of the S. T. & L. A. I can recollect but not describe his gestures, his tone of voice, and the effect it had upon the delegates.

De Leon spoke at length, but his was not the talk of a long-winded speaker who speaks against time, who when his memory fails him will fall back upon "As I said before," and begin his story all over again. De Leon's words were like hammer blows from the arm of a giant. Facts and logical deductions from facts, clothed in language which was incisive and comprehensive, were uttered in a manner so convincing that De Leon's opponents were completely routed. De Leon's resolution was adopted by a vote of 71 in favor and six against.

By adopting De Leon's S. T. & L. A. resolution the Socialist Labor Party took a long step forward. The 1896 convention was the beginning of a new epoch in the Socialist movement. At that convention Charles H. Matchett was nominated for President, and Matthew Maguire for Vice-President. In the spring of 1896 Maguire had been reelected to the board of aldermen in Paterson, N. J., with an increased majority.

De Leon for Congress in the Ninth

In the same year Daniel De Leon ran for Congress in the ninth Congressional district of New York. The campaign in that district was the first of its kind in the history of the Socialist movement in America. De Leon received 4,300 votes, or rather, that many votes were counted by the Tammany and Republican election officers. This vote was not a complimentary vote for De Leon, it was a vote cast to send a revolutionist to Congress. The workingmen in the district were aroused as workingmen were never aroused before or since in a political campaign.

New York city, that great proletarian center, had seen many lively skirmishes between the forces of capital and la-

bor, but the revolutionary atmosphere had never been warmer than during the campaign of 1896 in the ninth Congressional district. Thousands gathered at the street corners where De Leon spoke, and his words were listened to with the closest attention. The message that De Leon brought to the men and women in that district, who were among the lowest paid, most exploited workers in the city, was the message of the Socialist union that was to deliver them from wage slavery, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

That was the issue in the De Leon campaign—the revolutionary spark imbedded in the breast of every wage slave in that district was fanned into flame. If there was any conspiracy on the part of capitalists and their politicians to break up this movement of which De Leon was the champion (and many are the reasons to believe that there was such a conspiracy), it must have started in that year. That the capitalist politicians were much afraid of what might come from such a movement is certain. As a matter of fact, opposition of any consequence within the Socialist Labor Party to its revolutionary position dates back to that very year and to that very district. Whether there was actual collusion between certain prominent Socialists and the capitalist politicians, who can say? Perhaps it was only the true instinct of some “intellectuals” in the Socialist movement, who could feel that in a movement such as the Socialist Labor Party stood for there would be no possibilities for big salaries, ten-story buildings, and a good time in general, that made them rise against De Leon’s “dictatorship,” as they pleased to call De Leon’s insistence that a man should not be a labor faker at one corner of his mouth and claim to be a Socialist at the other corner.

Disrupters Not Satisfied by Clean Vote

The campaign in the ninth Congressional district with De Leon as the candidate showed the power that was latent in the Alliance. Four thousand, three hundred votes should have satisfied even those who were after votes only. But that was not the point. What good are such votes that bring only more struggles and no revenue? Besides, a revolutionary movement makes one so insecure in one’s possessions! So

those who were "leading Socialists" in the party, officials of the pure and simple unions, and speculators in real estate or other schemes, and petty lawyers whose activities included the drafting of agreements between sweatshop owners of New York's East Side and their slaves, at so many dollars an agreement, could not be expected to sit idly by and let a "dictator" like De Leon, a "tyrant," a "pope," etc., etc., start a movement that would deprive such gentry of their jobs and "contract" fees which amounted to great sums. Every cockroach contractor in a tailoring shop had an agreement with his employes, which was not worth the paper it was written on to the employes, but which protected the bosses against strikes, at least for the period of a season.

These are not unsubstantiated assertions. We may look today at the men who were the loudest protestors against De Leon's "dictatorship": Abraham Cahan of the Jewish Daily Forward, whose income out of the labor movement exceeds that of Gompers and some of his lieutenants besides. Louis Miller, formerly of the Jewish paper, Wahrheit, who recently started another daily paper on the East Side, is another example. Miller's real estate speculations were very successful—no wonder De Leon's attitude was not cherished by him! Last, but not least, there is Morris Hillquit, a lawyer and now also a "Boersianer," or speculator in Wall Street. Hillquit's "original accumulation" was derived from fees in writing the agreements mentioned above. Original accumulations and the revolutionary Socialist movement do not go hand in hand, hence the starting of the opposition on the East Side at the time when De Leon as a candidate of the Socialist Labor Party for Congress polled such a large vote.

Bryan Populist Storm Let Loose

While De Leon was battling in the ninth Congressional district, into which campaign he had thrown his great energy and personality, there was a political upheaval taking place throughout the land that was unprecedented in the history of American political life. William Jennings Bryan, "the peerless orator" from Nebraska, had risen to leadership in the Democratic Party. Grover Cleveland, who was elected Presi-

dent of the United States at the 1892 election, lost his Democratic majority in the House in the election of 1894. The industrial panic which began in 1893 was blamed on the Democratic administration. Factories were shut down, and great numbers of workers were unemployed and destitute. Soup houses were opened in all large cities instead of the "good times" promised by the Democratic politicians. Farm products were lower in price than for years previous; a bushel of wheat sold for fifty cents and less. (This latter fact, by the way, was the material basis of the existence of the People's Party.) The small farmers had to mortgage their farms, their farm products did not yield the price to assure their existence and make small farming possible.

When the Democratic Party met in convention at Chicago, Bryan unsaddled the old leaders, and proposed a platform that was to solve the economic problem. Free coinage of silver, at the ratio of sixteen ounces of silver for every ounce of gold coined, was to do the trick. This was the sum and substance of the Chicago Democratic platform proposed by Bryan. The free coinage of silver was to increase the circulation; an increased money circulation would bring a boom in business. That was the lure to get the workers' votes. The farmers, with cheaper money, would get a dollar for a bushel of wheat instead of fifty cents, and, besides, could pay off the mortgages contracted when money was dear with money cheapened.

Many Workingmen Sadly Humbugged

Millions of people were made to believe that silver could by law be given a fixed and determined value as compared with gold, regardless of the amount of crystallized social labor power it contained. Bryan's speech at the Chicago convention had the effect upon "suffering humanity" desired by that wily politician. It seemed to the masses of starving workers like actual relief; to the farmers it looked like the rising of clouds heavy with rain after a long period of exceedingly dry weather. Bryan was hailed by the small farmers, who were the backbone of the People's Party, as the Israelite, Joseph, was hailed by the Egyptians of old.

"You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold," was

one of Bryan's catch-phrases. And it did work like a charm with the species of which it is said that there is one born every minute. There were many poor people who believed that the proposed increased money circulation, or larger percentage of silver dollars, would automatically put so many silver dollars into their pockets. "Sixteen to one" was the topic everywhere, for Bryan had declared and kept on declaring in every speech he made, that the "16 to 1" silver question was "the paramount issue of the campaign."

When the Socialist speakers were delivering their orations on street corners, as we did in Troy and Albany, it was best when criticizing Bryan and his party, to pronounce Bryan's name very short. Whoever might try to say "William Jennings Bryan" and be long in doing it was sure to provoke a cheer for the Nebraskan.

The Populist movement caved in like an empty shell, and fell into the lap of Dame Democracy. It did not disappear—it vanished. Some of the People's Party leaders had made pretensions of being Socialistically inclined. Their Socialistic inclinations were reflected in the People's Party demands that the railroads should be owned by the Government, so as to have cheaper shipping facilities for the small farmers; was this not Socialism?

Bryan, though defeated on election day, was the most popular candidate. His defeat was brought about by the pressure of the superior economic power of the industrial capitalists as against the power of the middle class backed up by the silver mine barons. Workingmen in the industrial centers were intimidated into voting against Bryan by threats of shutting down mills and factories. Troy was the only city in New York state that gave Bryan a majority over McKinley. When Bryan spoke at Albany on the large square near the state capitol, 20,000 came to hear him. I was there too, but little could I see or hear of Bryan, so dense was the mass assembled there. While I did not hear Bryan I did hear the utterances of those standing near me, venturing their opinion of Bryan and his greatness. Now and then a turn of the breeze would bring a portion of a sentence spoken by Bryan to where I stood: "...to labor"; "paramount issue...."; "increased per capita."

Every time such a fragment of Bryan's stereotyped phrases reached the place where I stood, those about me would start a murderous din of applause. Though they could not hear a single coherent sentence the comment was just as sure to follow every such fragment of one of Bryan's phrases as the applause: "Isn't he the greatest speaker!"—"Isn't that wonderful!" etc., etc.

Way Cleared for Socialist Labor Party

The silver lining in this cloud of the "Bryan storm" was that when it passed it had cleared the atmosphere somewhat, since the Populist movement disintegrated, and thus at least one obstacle was cleared out of the way of the onward march of the Socialist Labor Party.

De Leon's activity in the campaign of 1896 was not limited to the precincts of the ninth Congressional district of New York. He toured the country, delivering speeches and lectures in many cities, East and West.

On a previous page it was related how De Leon severely criticized our shortcomings in arranging agitation meetings on the occasion of his visit to Troy when he ran for governor in 1891, and how we in Troy mended our ways. On his way back to New York in 1896 De Leon was booked to speak in Troy again. This time a meeting was arranged that gave no room for criticism; in fact, De Leon was pleasantly surprised to find that Troy had made such progress. Instead of holding the meeting at Apollo Hall, the headquarters of the German Turn-Verein, as was previously done, with a keg of beer on tap adjoining the meeting hall, the auditorium of the City Hall, having a seating capacity of about one thousand persons, was hired. Keir Hardie, M. P., the leader of the Independent Labor Party of Great Britain, had also spoken in this hall the year before.

Keir Hardie, shortly after his election to Parliament, was engaged by Chicago labor unions to deliver a series of lectures. The Socialist Labor Party invited Hardie to speak under its auspices on his way back from Chicago. Keir Hardie was accompanied by Frank Smith, an ex-Salvation Army colonel, a very clever speaker, but wholly sentimental, who soon after-

ward again became a Salvationist. Hardie's meeting in Troy had been attended by about five hundred people; we were determined to have even a larger audience for De Leon.

An Example of Self-Discipline

A parade was proposed. The old timers objected to this because we could not get, they said, more than a corporal's guard to turn out. Still the parade was decided upon, conditionally however,—it was to take place provided one hundred comrades and sympathizers of the movement would give their written promise to join the march. We got the hundred sure enough to sign, and they turned out, too, to a man. They were not all from Troy, of course, but from all the vicinity, which took in the city of Albany to the south, and Watervliet, Green Island, Cohoes, and Lansingburg to the south and west; even the village of Sand Lake was represented,—but the hundred were there; every man who signed kept his promise and answered the roll call on the night when De Leon was in town.

This is not funny, or a matter of little importance, for it demonstrated the feeling of comradeship that prevailed, and the conscientious carrying into effect of a self-imposed obligation. One hundred men in line under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party in a city like Troy at the time when people were half crazed with the Bryan "16 to 1" mania, was indeed a sign that the Socialist Labor Party was an organization that brought conviction to its members and sympathizers. De Leon himself made the number a hundred and one. Jacob Alexander of Albany brought with him the members of a band to which he belonged, and though they were only four in number, our parade headed by them created a healthy sensation in Troy and vicinity. The following account of the meeting and parade appeared in *The People* in October, 1896:

"Stupefying Fakers and Politicians"

"Troy, October 16.—The Socialist Labor Party threw this evening a strong breath of fresh and purifying air into this city, that reeks with the corruption of politicians and fakers. It held a parade and a mass meeting. The parade was the first

ever held here by the Socialists. It was headed by a good brass band and a banner bearing a large arm and hammer. Besides that there was one bearing the names of the Presidential nominees, Matchett and Maguire, and several others, one of which read, 'Neither gold bugs nor silver bugs; down with all humbugs.' The paraders illuminated their own path with Greek candles and marched through the most populous sections of the city, calling considerable attention and stupefying both fakery and politicians. It took a large crowd with it to the City Hall, where another large crowd had already gathered. Daniel De Leon was the speaker. The meeting was twice as large as Keir Hardie's; it was the largest Socialist gathering Troy has ever seen. The great crowd listened attentively and broke forth into frequent applause. The meeting adjourned with three cheers for Matchett and Maguire, and three rousing ones in addition for the Social Revolution."

Opposition's Poisonous Work

The vote of the Socialist Labor Party in 1896 was 36,564, a gain over the Presidential election of 1892, but a loss in comparison with the vote of 1895. As already stated, the People's Party was annihilated. Bryan's endorsement by that party showed the flimsiness of its structure. When the Socialist Labor Party emerged from that political cyclone with 36,000 votes it denoted the quality of the material that the party was made of, and could not be construed as retrogression.

The "opposition" found in this reduced vote an opportunity sought, namely to claim that the party's tactics were all wrong, that the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance would ruin the party. The only spot where the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was the issue was the ninth Congressional district, and in that district the Socialist Labor Party made phenomenal gains; elsewhere the question of the Alliance did not penetrate to the surface, so thick was the crust of the Bryan "free silver" demagogism. For those who sought a pretext to combat the revolutionary tactics of the Socialist Labor Party the pretext was furnished anyhow.

In 1897 I left Troy, to live in New York. Here the "opposition" was at work outside and inside of the Socialist La-



“THE DE LEON VILLA”

Pond Point, Milford, Connecticut

THIS WAS HIS SUMMER PLAYGROUND, WHERE HE SPENT HIS SUMMERS FROM 1907 TO 1912. MALIGNERS USED TO REFER TO IT AS ABOVE, INSINUATING HE LIVED IN A VILLA IN CONNECTICUT ON EARNINGS MADE IN THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

bor Party, aye, outside and inside of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. The struggle between progress and reaction was on. As long as the attitude of the party was only expressed in revolutionary sentences, however terse, De Leon was spoken of as Professor De Leon (though De Leon requested everyone not to use that title). When the time came, as it did after the organization of the Alliance, when it was no longer a question of revolutionary talk but one of action—the concrete thing, not abstract theory—many of those who had spoken of De Leon as the learned professor began to parrot the slanders of the venal Weissmans and Kurzenknabes.

The Volkszeitung supported the party's adopted stand, but in a half-hearted manner, and on the quiet its editors and reporters, of whom there was more than a bushel, were siding in with the opposition. Some pure and simple union advertising had already been lost, not to speak of the donations to the Volkszeitung, for there were many of these so-called progressive unions that donated a sum either to the party or to the Volkszeitung Conference, an organization of delegates from various unions and benefit societies gotten up for the special purpose of keeping the Volkszeitung alive. Such a donation gave the donating "progressive union" absolution for sins committed and sins to be committed against the Socialist movement.

"Trooble" vs. the Spring Sunshine

Some of the officials of the unions that joined the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance were bribed with promises of good jobs if they would turn against the Alliance. Ernest Bohm, the first general secretary of the S. T. & L. A., turned against the organization, and as a reward was provided with a little income in the Central Labor Union—was put on the pension list, as it were, and is the recording secretary of that body to this day.

Many of the old German comrades were visited in their homes by self-constituted committees and told that the party was in "danger"; that after all it was the German Socialists who had built the party and now the party must be "saved" by them; that in Germany the Social Democratic Party did not

meddle in the affairs of unions; that De Leon, not being a German, did not understand scientific Socialism anyhow; that the party was being run high-handedly; the vote was getting smaller—in short, the poison of dissension was being injected by unseen hands. Many of the honest "alte Genossen" (old German comrades) resented the slanders—did they not see and hear De Leon speak and sometimes in German, too? No, they could not believe that De Leon was not all right. But then came the last card of the fellows who worked in the dark: "Don't you see that the Alliance means opposition unions? You are a carpenter; tomorrow they may start a carpenters' alliance; what will you do then—lose your job, fight with your walking delegate?" "No, no, not that; I don't want no 'trooble' with the union or the walking delegate." Then the members thus worked upon would come to the meetings of the assembly district organizations and register a kick against the party policy and against De Leon who is continually looking for "trooble."

This "trooble" became quite a joke. In one of the up-town assembly districts there was an old German comrade whose name was Von Ellinger. He had a long, red beard which he kept nicely brushed and shined. Von Ellinger, at one of the meetings where De Leon was present, took part in the discussion upon party tactics, and made the statement that De Leon was all wrong, always taking a stand that meant "trooble." "Why," said he, "Socialism will not come if you make nothing but trooble; der Sozialismus muss kommen wie die Fruhlingsonne." (Socialism must come like the spring sunshine.) De Leon ever after called Von Ellinger, "Genosse Fruhlingsonne."

This nicknaming of some of the oppositionists was made much of by them, and sometimes furnished them with ammunition which they otherwise would have been lacking. To call Morris Hillquit by his real name, Moses Hilkwitz, was also taken ill by some. A little light thrown upon this subject may be in place.

De Leon did not partake of any stimulants; only on very rare occasions would he join some friends in drinking a glass of Wuerzburger. But to stand the tremendous strain which

he stood for a quarter of a century, in a movement the vanguard of the forces of the social revolution, bound as a matter of course to be not a bed of roses but a path every inch full of struggle, or in the words of the "alte Genossen," full of "trooble," there had to be something in De Leon's life which kept him young in spirit at sixty. That something was humor. De Leon had to have his dose of mirth every day, a good hearty laugh, or else he would have succumbed much earlier than he did. De Leon generally found a humorous side to serious matters and had his health-giving laugh.

Turbulence Centered in New York

The period between the 1896 convention and the raid of the oppositionists upon the party's national headquarters in July, 1899, was a most turbulent one. There was "trooble" galore. New York city was the place where the friction between the opposing forces made the sparks fly. The National Executive Committee was still being elected by Section New York, as was the case in 1899. The Socialist Labor Party had its main strength in New York, and so did the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

There were not more members of the party or the Alliance in New York than in the other cities and towns combined, but Section New York was the largest unit in the party organization, and the Alliance had a larger membership in New York than in any other district. The forces opposing the revolutionary attitude of the Socialist Labor Party both within and without the party were also centered in New York. The assembly district organizations of which the Section was composed became the battlefield where the question of party tactics was fought out. Some of these assembly district organizations fell under the influence of the oppositionists; there were certain assembly district organizations which were known to be loyal and others that were known to be the opposite, and still others that were doubtful.

Some of the assembly district organizations that fell into the hands of the opposition had to be suspended and reorganized. The first sub-division of Section New York which had to be cleansed by reorganization was in the district where

those swayed a majority to their side who afterward clustered around the Jewish Daily Forward. Some of them still cluster there today. This fact of itself speaks volumes. Later the opposition spread to some of the German assembly districts uptown and across the East River to Brooklyn, but at no time from the beginning of the struggle to the final rupture of 1899 did the opposition control one single English-speaking subdivision of the party.

This fact also speaks volumes. Not that the district organizations that were known as English-speaking were composed of men whose ancestors came over on the Mayflower; some of them were American born and others were of that "foreign" element that followed the advice of Frederick Engels who, when he visited New York in 1891, said that the first thing the Socialists from abroad should do was to acquire a knowledge of the language of the land. Of course the immigrants from Great Britain and Ireland did not come under the category of "foreigners." At one of the meetings an Irishman was heard saying, when he saw the names of Matchett and Maguire upon one of the banners: "Maguire for Vice-President, is it? And sure, Oi thought all thim Socialists was foreigners."

Conflicts in the General Committee

In 1897 there were assembly district organizations of Section New York, Socialist Labor Party, where "Americans" with a Tipperary brogue predominated, such as the 18th Assembly District, and these were among the loyal subdivisions of the party. Some of the assembly district organizations were subdivided into language branches, all subdivisions being represented by delegates in a general committee. In this general committee many lively discussions between delegates who represented the loyal subdivisions and those who leaned the other way took place.

De Leon attended practically all the meetings of the general committee as a delegate from his assembly district and did not tire of meeting every oppositionist who showed his head in the general committee. He would go over the ground

again and again with his sound reasoning, and many a fellow was re-converted to the uncompromising revolutionary position of De Leon. An instance in point was Charles Vander Porten, who was elected by the 30th Assembly District to go to the general committee and "crush" De Leon. Vander Porten came. After a discussion on the subject, in which De Leon took part, Vander Porten said to De Leon: "Comrade De Leon, I came to this meeting of the general committee to lick the 'Boss,' but I admit that I am the one who got licked." As to Vander Porten, I shall have a little more to tell about him later.

The opposition had started some sort of club that was to teach the S. L. P. things about tactics and principles. This club they called "Der Mohren Club," in imitation of a club of the same name which was said to have played an important part in the German Socialist movement. History was to repeat itself, and it did. According to Marx, history presents itself first as a tragedy and again as a farce. This Mohren Club was made up of some of the suspended oppositionists and kindred spirits. The thing would not be mentioned here, except for certain reasons, for it had no effect or influence upon anyone. At one of the meetings called by this Mohren Club, which I attended, several matters were clearly revealed. The first was that no other but Alexander Jonas of the Volkszeitung was the speaker, showing the connection between the Volkszeitung and the opposition.

"Sound, But Too Slow," the Argument

Jonas's speech on this occasion showed where the sowing of the seed of dissension came from. The subject was the tactics of the S. L. P. Jonas's contention was that the S. L. P. position was wrong, that there were in New York city 100,000 workingmen Socialistically inclined, and that the party must adopt a policy whereby these 100,000 Socialistically inclined workingmen would be reached and drawn into the movement; that the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance had the opposite effect, since it would lead to the organization of dual unions; that the leaders of the American Federation of Labor were insulted instead of being converted; that the Socialist Labor

Party insisted upon a sound position. "Yes," said he, "the Socialist Labor Party is as sound and solid as the Rock of Gibraltar, nor has it any more motion; it makes no progress."

This was in 1897. At the polls in that year the Socialist Labor Party received 55,000 votes, and only a year after, in 1898, the party's vote rose to 82,000, in spite of all the opposition.

We see today, eighteen years after (those who sided with Jonas having a party of their own), that the 100,000 "Socialistically inclined" workingmen in Greater New York have not yet been reached, the leaving of the revolutionary path notwithstanding. Moreover, if there were 100,000 "Socialistically inclined" workingmen in Greater New York in 1897, there surely must be 200,000 of them in 1915, since a very large number of workers came from all European countries within the past eighteen years, from countries, too, where we were told every third person was a Socialist.

The Opposition's "Tolerance"

Jonas's speech is only one reason why I mention the Mohren Club. Another reason is that, notwithstanding the fact that Jonas spoke harshly of the Socialist Labor Party at a meeting arranged by outspoken enemies of the party, he was not disciplined, which disproves the charge so often made by anti-De Leonites of all shades that no criticism was permitted in the Socialist Labor Party and that any one who made bold to oppose the party administration was thrown out. There is a vast difference between criticism and sandbagging. Though Jonas's talk belonged to the latter class, yet it was tolerated, and those who were actually suspended or expelled from the Socialist Labor Party in those days were men whose conduct was such that they had to be dealt with severely if the party was to retain its self-respect.

Still another reason prompts me to refer to this Mohren Club. The loyal delegates to the general committee of Section New York were accused by the oppositionists of entirely suppressing the minority; it was charged that there was no tolerance of other opinions. Of course this was a false charge. But how did these fellows in the Mohren Club act? When Jonas had finished his speech, I asked for the floor. A Volks-

zeitung reporter was the chairman. The floor was given me, mainly because the chairman did not know me. I proceeded very cautiously in answering Jonas, but did not get very far with my explanation. As soon as the chairman saw that I was not an oppositionist, he simply declared me out of order and my protests were howled down by the mob. Robert Glaser, another loyal member of the party, who was also present, was assaulted by a blue-label committeeman of Cigar Makers' Union No. 90, R. Modest.

The substantial gains at the polls in 1897 and 1898 had a tendency to strengthen the revolutionary wing of the party. Some promising elements formerly affiliated with the People's Party joined the movement. The future looked bright in spite of all the opposition from within and without. True, the Socialist Labor Party movement had the capitalist class to combat in front, the labor lieutenants of the capitalists on both of its flanks, the enemy within its own camp in the rear; still, it forged ahead. The many enemies, the assaults of the capitalist forces, the howling of labor fakers, the hissing sound of the traitors, all this only stimulated the fighting S. L. P.

The opposition was in despair. Referendum votes to change the party tactics were proposed, voted upon, and defeated. How hard did the oppositionists work at times to deal the party a blow! "Intellectuals" like Dr. Ingerman were at work to spread more of the poison of dissension, proceeding no doubt from the theory, "Throw mud, and keep on throwing it; some of it is bound to stick."

Die Liedertafel; De Leon's Joke

A center for the Genossen who were going to have, all "trouble" in the movement abolished and have the Socialist Republic ushered in with songs was "Die Socialistische Liedertafel." This singing society was also a subdivision of Section New York, paid dues the same as an assembly district organization, and had also the same rights. It developed that the members of this singing society branch who would permit no one to participate in their singing and drinking exercises without paying his quarter of a dollar, did permit fellows to vote upon a referendum vote on party matters, and the ques-

tion whether the individual who voted had paid his dues to the party was not taken so seriously as was his participation in song and drink—especially the latter.

A number of times I was elected chairman at the session of the general committee, a job which was not an easy one. There were always from ten to twenty hands raised asking for the floor and not all could be permitted to speak at the same time, and there was not enough time to have all speak in succession. Some had to be disappointed. The delegate who raised his hand first and asked for the floor in the proper manner was recognized. The minority delegates were never suppressed. On one occasion the Liedertafel elected a new delegate, who came to the general committee with his mind made up to tell De Leon and the rest what he thought of them. He did not ask for the floor in the usual manner, that is by rising from his seat and addressing the chair; instead he made wild gestures, snapped his fingers, etc., and as he could not arrest my attention he finally whistled at me. He had to wait, however, until those had spoken who asked for the floor in a decent manner. When his turn finally came he was so overwrought with anger that he started his speech by cursing. He did not proceed further than the curse; down came the gavel with a crash; the delegate of the Liedertafel was out of order and had to sit down.

De Leon was not at this meeting, but he had heard all about it, for when I happened to call at the office of The People a few days later, De Leon wanted to know whether I had heard what the Liedertafel had done because I declared their delegate out of order at the general committee meeting. "The Liedertafel has decided not to sing at your funeral when you die," said De Leon, with his characteristic chuckle; "but when one of the members asked what would be their action if De Leon should die they decided they would sing at his funeral with pleasure."

Debs and the Pullman Strike

While the struggle within the Socialist Labor Party between the revolutionists and the reformists was proceeding merrily, events were taking place in the world of labor outside of the

party that were bound to have a great influence on the developments within the Socialist Labor Party movement.

The great strike of railroad workers affiliated with the American Railway Union took place in 1894. Eugene V. Debs was the man at the head of this new organization. Seventeen railroad lines of the West and Middle West running into Chicago were tied up. It was a strike more general than many a strike that is called a general strike. It started by a lockout of the employes of the Pullman Company at Pullman, Ill., where this company had with pretensions of philanthropy instituted some sort of capitalist paternalism, where the workers had the opportunity not only to work and be exploited by the Pullman Company in the workshop, but where they were given also the opportunity to live in the company's houses, deal in company stores, be treated by the company doctor, etc. The lockout of the Pullman employes followed their refusal to accept another of the company's gifts, namely, a twenty-five per cent. reduction in wages. The directors of the Pullman Company are the originators of the phrase, "We have nothing to arbitrate." They would not even negotiate with their locked-out employes.

Debs Misled by the Disrupters

The American Railway Union rose to the occasion. Trains with Pullman cars attached were not handled by the members of the American Railway Union, and thus the great strike was precipitated. This strike paralyzed transportation and alarmed the capitalists greatly. The demonstration of solidarity by the American Railway Union, which during the strike claimed a membership of over 100,000, struck the chords of class feeling among the workers of the land, and the spectacular nature of the strike, as of all such strikes, especially railroad strikes, increased the feeling of sympathy on the part of the members of the working class and the opposition on the part of the capitalists. Governor Altgeld of Illinois was reluctant to order out the state militia and thus comply with the wishes of the capitalists. Grover Cleveland, however, for whom so many poor wage slaves had shouted when he was running for President: "Four more years of Grover and then we'll be in clover," ordered out the Federal troops. Injunctions against the strikers and

the officials of the American Railway Union were issued wholesale. Debs was finally sentenced to six months' imprisonment in the Woodstock jail for "contempt of court."

This act of class justice had the tendency to make Eugene V. Debs quite popular. Debs's name thereafter had the sound which re-echoed the blow dealt by the railroad workers in the Pullman strike to the capitalist class—a sound pleasant to the workers' ears. This fact, together with Debs's talent as speaker and organizer, gave him great opportunities and power for good or evil in the labor movement, whichever influence he might choose to exert. Debs was not a Socialist at the time of his incarceration. He voted for Bryan in 1896, but did declare his conversion to Socialism in 1897. Why did not Debs join the Socialist Labor Party, then the only party flying the flag of Socialism? Was the Socialist Labor Party so fundamentally in the wrong that a new party had to be started? Or was there something fundamentally wrong with Debs that he started one, or rather that he allowed his so well sounding name to be used to start a new party? We shall see.

Debs, while serving his sentence in Woodstock jail and after that, up to the time that he declared himself to be a Socialist, was being sought by the elements for whom the Socialist Labor Party was too narrow, dogmatic, sectarian, etc., etc., and also by those who were forced out of the party in 1889 by the New Yorker Volkszeitung.

Freak "Social Democracy" Started

While there is no documentary evidence in my possession, I doubt that Eugene V. Debs would deny that he was besieged by men who pictured to him the Socialist Labor Party as an organization of fanatics who were devoid of tolerance in regard to the opinions of others, and men who had no understanding of American conditions. Oh, irony of fate! The very elements in the Socialist Labor Party who were actually guilty of such accusations were those which after the split of 1899 within the Socialist Labor Party Debs took to his bosom; or, to be more correct, he was grabbed to their bosom, where he has been held ever since, mainly for advertising purposes—for the sound that re-echoes that outburst of wage slave solidarity, the Pullman strike, still clings to the name of Eugene V. Debs.

It was said that Rosenberg, the national secretary of the Socialist Labor Party in 1889, and deposed by the *Volkszeitung* in that year, was one of the correspondents of Debs while Debs was imprisoned in Woodstock jail. That Rosenberg depicted the *Volkszeitung* cabal in its true colors there can be no doubt; they were the very gang of would-be intellectuals whom De Leon and those who sided with De Leon had to combat within the Socialist Labor Party. As to the rest who sought to kidnap Debs, there was Berger, of "buy out the capitalists" fame. Berger at all times respected De Leon, though he did not agree with him, but time and again he showed his contempt for the *Volkszeitung* and its adherents.

When, in 1897, the American Railway Union had lost the bulk of its membership Debs gathered the wreckage together, and with Wayland of the Appeal to Reason, and others, organized a new political party, the Social Democracy of America. There was little attention paid in the East to this new venture, for this new political party was to establish Socialism by colonizing the state of Washington, and John D. Rockefeller was to be appealed to to furnish the means. Naturally, all those who wanted to establish Socialism in that fashion flocked to the standard of the Social Democracy of America. Most likely Debs was allowed to proceed with his colonization idea to a certain point, just to demonstrate to him and his followers the folly of such schemes. Unquestionably, there were men in the Social Democracy of America, including Berger, who knew better. Children must be allowed at times to have their own way, especially when ill or weak; the time comes when by their own developing reason they mend their ways; the rod is the last resort with sensible parents and teachers. Victor Berger was a wise parent and also principal of a German school in Milwaukee.

In 1898 the Social Democracy of America became the Social Democratic Party of America, and in a few isolated places entered the political field with candidates set up in opposition to the Socialist Labor Party. It is a most significant fact that the first man elected on the ticket of the Social Democratic Party of America was James F. Carey of Haverhill, Mass., who voted in favor of an appropriation of \$15,000 toward the building of an armory at Haverhill, and who had the brass to offer

as an excuse for his action that it was a sanitary armory he had voted the appropriation for.

Winner of the "First Victory"

James F. Carey was at first a member of the Socialist Labor Party, and as such was elected to the board of aldermen in Haverhill, but the Socialist Labor Party being too narrow for him, he refused to submit to its discipline and turned toward the broad Social Democratic Party even before the Socialist Labor Party had a chance to turn him out of its organization. Carey, otherwise known about Haverhill as "weeping Jim," claimed to be consumptive; this helped Jim to a good many sympathetic votes. The last time I saw him he looked very sleek and fat, with nary a sign of consumptiveness. This armory builder was the first candidate elected on the ticket of the "Social Democratic Party of America," the present Socialist Party. The Socialist movement in the state of Massachusetts, formerly the Star of Bethlehem of the opposition to the Socialist Labor Party, is weaker today than it was before the party that was to bring "Socialism in our time" started on its career of destruction eighteen years ago.

With this short description of the events outside of the Socialist Labor Party we can return to the activities within the organization, especially the doings in New York city. We must needs return later to tell more of the Social Democratic Party, Debs, and some others.

The 16th Assembly District organization was one of the most active and loyal subdivisions of Section New York, Socialist Labor Party. The membership in that district was composed mainly of men who were not influenced by "Mohren clubs" or by any other set of oppositionists. While the poison of dissension spread like gangrene in the assembly districts which were the component parts of the ninth Congressional district, and where De Leon made such a great fight in the campaign of 1896, the 16th Assembly District, although bordering on the ninth Congressional, remained unaffected. The evil influence of Cahan, Winchevsky, Zametkin, Barondess, and others, who were much comforted by the organization in the West of the Social Democratic Party, did not reach to the 16th

A. D.; their evil influence had not in those days got beyond Houston street.

The revolutionary spark that had glowed so warmly and so brightly among the mass of proletarians jammed together within the borders of the ninth Congressional district the year before, was being extinguished with bucketfuls of nastiness, thrown about and squirted around by the "literateurs" of the lower East Side. At the business of emptying buckets of dirt over the heads of their adversaries, these gentry, in the language of Artemus Ward, were "ekeled by few, exeled by none." Any one who would have tried any slanderous work in the 16th Assembly District organization would have fared badly.

De Leon's Big Vote in 16th A. D.

When the time came to make party nominations in 1897, a delegation from the 16th Assembly District recommended that De Leon be offered the nomination as a candidate in that district. This was agreed to by the general committee, and De Leon accepted the nomination for member of the Assembly from the 16th. The campaigns conducted in that district from 1897 to 1900 were lively affairs, and the 16th Assembly District became known throughout the land.

The election returns from the district in 1897 made Tammany Hall sit up and take notice. For Daniel De Leon 1,854 votes were cast. The column on the official ballot with the uplifted arm and hammer began to look threatening. The vote cast for De Leon was 400 higher than the vote cast for the Republican candidate. Tammany received over 3,000, but the very fact that De Leon's vote was second highest in the district had a depressing effect upon the Fourteenth street "wigwam." How this vote did cheer the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party! It was not a vote gotten by promises of palliative measures, not a vote secured in the manner and by the method of political reform parties. The issues were "the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class" and the Socialist economic organization, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance versus "pure and simple" unionism of the American Federation of Labor.

The membership in the 16th Assembly District worked with the zeal and enthusiasm of new converts to the cause of

Socialism. A large proportion of the members were young men; many of them developed to be speakers—quite a number of soap-boxers got their first training in the 16th. Those who could not speak on the corners distributed literature, and canvassed every tenement house in the district.

De Leon himself was there every night, speaking sometimes at three open-air meetings in one evening after a day's hard work in The People office. As the party grew so did the share of work in De Leon's office. Visiting comrades from out of town called on De Leon. Some had important happenings from their localities to relate, others just came to have a look at the man the very mention of whose name made the labor fakers squirm; still others called just because they could not help it.

A Caller at "Dee Leawn's" Office

De Leon received all those cordially whose calling had a purpose. Overburdened with work and responsibilities of such a magnitude as De Leon was, he had no time to waste with people who came to see him and bother him with trivial matters or freakish schemes of all sorts. Unlike the ordinary political leader who pretends to be delighted to meet every Tom, Dick and Harry who comes along, De Leon did no such pretending; he was at times painfully frank in telling some who called out of curiosity or similar motives to go. Many a sentimental chap who thought that De Leon should turn himself into a reception committee to receive him, felt offended and went forth to denounce De Leon as an aristocrat or an autocrat. Many a freakish individual who looked up De Leon in his office to have De Leon's opinion on some freakish scheme or other became quite indignant when De Leon had no time for such business.

On one occasion when De Leon was steeped in serious work, a fellow called with a good-sized bundle of manuscript under his arm. He looked like an incarnation of Mark Twain's "Connecticut Yankee at the Court of King Arthur." He was not a bit backward, but went straight to De Leon's desk. "Is this Mr. Dee Leawn?" he asked, in long-drawn nasal tones.

"What is it you wish, sir?" asked De Leon in turn, in a rather brisk manner, seeing at a glance what kind of a hairpin he had before him.

"Mr. Dee Leawn," began the stranger, looking around for a chair to sit down on, but, seeing none offered, preferring to stand—"I have written a book on—"

"I have no time now, sir," De Leon interrupted.

"But, Mr. Dee Leawn, this book which I have written shows the way to solve the social question, and I want you to read it, and—"

But De Leon Had Read It

"I've read it, sir, I've read it," De Leon broke in.

"You're mistaken, Mr. Dee Leawn, you—"

"I am telling you, sir, I have read it."

"But," the "author" still persisted, "you certainly are mistaken; how could you have read my book when it has not yet been printed? Here is the manuscript, and—"

"I've read that book, don't bother me," insisted De Leon. The fellow went, with the manuscript of the book that was to solve the social question under his arm, much dejected and swearing vengeance against the tyrant "Dee Leawn." The social question remained unsolved!

The man or woman who called on De Leon with a real purpose concerning the great cause, for which alone De Leon labored, always received merited attention, it mattered not who the individual happened to be. No matter how great was the volume of work that De Leon had to attend to in those days, eight o'clock in the evening found him at the open-air meetings, where large crowds were waiting to hear the "Old Man," as De Leon came to be known in the 16th Assembly District.

In the same year (1897) Lucien Sanial was the mayoralty candidate of the Socialist Labor Party in Greater New York. The vote of the party in the first election under the charter of the Greater City was 16,000. There was quite a scramble among the old party politicians for the spoils that lay in waiting for the victors. Besides the regular nominations by Tammany Hall and the Republican Party, there was Seth Low, president of Columbia University, in the field, nominated for mayor by

the Citizens' Union. Old Henry George was dug up by the "Jeffersonian Democracy," but died a few days before election day. George's son, Henry George, Jr., was nominated to fill the vacancy; the ballots, in fact, were already printed, so no change in the list of candidates was possible, and it made little difference anyway, for the popularity of George had faded away ten years before.

While the 16th A. D. was the storm center in the Socialist Labor Party campaign, the rest of the city was by no means neglected. Every other assembly district had its organization, and carried on a vigorous campaign. There was no lack of speakers; literature was distributed throughout the city in large quantities. There was a fife and drum corps composed mainly of sons of Socialist Labor Party members. De Leon's son, Solon, was a member of this corps.

Sanial's Mistake in the Band

This fife and drum corps was of course an innovation. Many there were among the party's speakers who would regularly denounce the old parties, by force of habit, for having music, parades, etc., at their meetings. It so happened one night during that campaign that Sanial, the candidate for mayor, spoke at the corner of 70th street and First avenue. The crowd of listeners that had assembled was large and appreciative. Sanial's speeches were always full of vim and enthusiasm. While Sanial was telling the audience that "before the century closes the bottom will fall out of the barrel of capitalism in Europe," and that "the crimson banner will soon wave from every capitol across the Atlantic," a Tammany band wagon halted across the street, decorated with the flags of all nations, the flag of the Emerald Isle predominating, for it was an Irish district. (In Italian districts this was changed a bit.)

Tammany had evidently arranged for a meeting, too. Sanial turned on them. "Yes, fellow workingmen, the capitalist politicians come to you before election with music and other tomfoolery to get your votes, and after election they give you different music—music from the rifles of the militia and the gatling guns of their military. We do not come to you with music," Sanial continued. Just then I heard from the distance

the sound of other music—it sounded like the “Marseillaise,” the favorite march of the Socialist Labor Party fife and drum corps. I looked up First avenue and was sure it was our band. Sanial was still hammering the capitalist politicians and their music. I pulled Sanial's coat tail to give him warning, but he was too wrapt up in his subject to pay any attention to me.

The crowd grasped the situation sooner than Sanial, and was quite merry. Finally the fife and drum corps had reached our corner and swung around into 70th street, still playing the Marseillaise. Sanial was still denouncing the music and red fire of the old parties. The audience laughed. Sanial saw the joke, too. He took out his red bandana handkerchief, wiped the perspiration from his high forehead, and said: “Friends, I made a mistake, these are our boys.” Then he added: “They will play the death march of capitalism.”

De Leon Shamelessly Slandered

The following year, 1898, De Leon's vote in the 16th Assembly District rose to 2,207. Tammany Hall was alarmed. The labor leaders in the Central Labor Union, who as a general rule were boosting Tammany, were stricken with fear. The oppositionists in and outside of the Socialist Labor Party were stricken with something like yellow jaundice. Not only in the 16th A. D., but everywhere, the party made gains; 82,000 votes were cast for the Socialist Labor Party. Something had to be done. The cry that “the party makes no progress,” that was raised a couple of years before could not be raised this time. The oppositionists redoubled their efforts in the spreading of slanders. De Leon was denounced by them as an anti-Semite in Jewish districts; as a Jew among Gentiles; as a man who hated the Germans, among the Germans, etc. The basest falsehoods were told in the East Side cafés about De Leon. Gompers in his paper made the allegation that De Leon's name was Loeb, not De Leon. The name of Henry Kuhn, who was then national secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, was woven into a tale to the effect that there was a connection between Kuhn, Loeb and Co., the noted banking firm, and Daniel De Leon and Henry Kuhn. Be a slander ever so ridiculous, there are always people who, having a mentality resembling a savage's, can be

easily stuffed, and others willing to be stuffed. The fact, however, important for all who seek to find the truth, is that the oppositionists against the Socialist Labor Party and its revolutionary principles and tactics were blowing the same horn with the crew of political office seekers bedecked with the mantles of labor leaders and Tammany Hall itself.

De Leon pointed out on numerous occasions that it is not the dishonest men who are dangerous to the movement, but the honest, well-meaning people who, deceived by the crooks, become the source of danger. This was the case at that time. Many well-meaning Socialists were deceived by the schemers with ulterior motives. Especially was this the case among the Germans over whom the *Volkszeitung* exerted its pernicious influence. Not that the *Volkszeitung* came out openly with slander and calumny just then; no, the time for open hostilities between the Socialist Labor Party and the *Volkszeitung* had not yet arrived. Long before the split of 1899, when the *Volkszeitung* still claimed to be loyal to the Socialist Labor Party, the members of the *Volkszeitung* Publishing Association were as busy as bees in poisoning the minds of their compatriots, in the German trade unions, sick and death benefit associations, singing societies, and pinochle clubs.

Disrupters' Narrow Selfishness

The *Volkszeitung* had its agents well distributed. In Cigarmakers' Union No. 90 it had, besides others, two brothers who were both employes of the *Volkszeitung*, and both ex-cigarmakers, and who still retained their membership in that organization, although neither of them had made a cigar at the bench for years. These were Adolph and Ludwig Jablinovsky; one was in the business department, the other in the editorial department of the *Volkszeitung*, and both were top-notchers in the slander department. There was nothing that Adolph and Ludwig disliked more than to be compelled to work in the cigar shop where work is hard and wages small—nothing like the job on the *Volkszeitung*. A revolutionary attitude on the part of the *Volkszeitung* might have endangered the existence of that paper and incidentally the jobs of these two ex-cigarmakers, hence their opposition to De Leon and the Socialist Labor Party.

In other organizations there were similar agents preparing the ground everywhere for things that were to come. The stories that were told about De Leon by these agents, his alleged hatred of Germans, his desire to wreck unions, and stories about the vulgar language in *The People*, made some people actually believe that De Leon was a monster. Whatever happened upon this planet that was bad they blamed on De Leon.

While on the road for the party in New York state some years ago I encountered an individual in a remote part of Schoharie County, who told me with candor that when the Democrats were in power we did not have half enough rain. Similarly there were mental cripples who blamed De Leon for everything.

In the 28th Assembly District, the district where De Leon lived, the party organization was about evenly divided between the loyal S. L. P. men and those who were leaning toward the opposition. At the business meetings of this district there were always warm debates. At times De Leon was even threatened with physical harm by the very fellows who were afraid to fight the labor fakers in the unions. At every meeting of that district some new slander was hurled at De Leon by the oppositionists. When De Leon demanded facts, the slanderers were stuck. They could only make allegations in a general way; when a specific statement was demanded they could not give any.

De Leon's "Vulgar" Language

The spokesman of the opposition in that district was one Loewenthal, a brother-in-law of Jablinovsky. He came to every meeting with a new accusation, and was in every instance shown up to be unreliable; yet was sure to come with another story the following meeting. At one meeting the allegation would be made that De Leon had used unduly harsh language against some official of the A. F. of L., when in fact the "unduly harsh" language was not half harsh enough, as De Leon would show. At the next meeting again Loewenthal would come with a claim that the general committee was dictatorial in its dealings with subdivisions. When facts disproved this some other accusation was made at the next meeting.

Once a lady member of the 28th Assembly District, who belonged to the category of well-intentioned people, told me in great excitement that Comrade De Leon was using terribly bad language in dealing with his opponents in the discussions at the meetings of his district.

"Why, it's a shame for an educated man, a professor, who should be polite and refined, to use such language. Ach! Such language! Was ist denn los mit Comrade De Leon?"

When I asked her what the horrible language was she would not tell me. From Harlem to the Battery it spread, this tale of De Leon's using bad language at the meeting of the 28th A. D. This bad language, as upon inquiry I found out, amounted to this: De Leon when referring to Loewenthal, which means when translated into English, lion's dale, referred to him as "Comrade Lion's Tail," or in German, the language spoken at the meetings of the 28th Assembly District, as "Genosse Loewenschwanz." This was the horrible language used by De Leon, and it was quite excusable at that, for there were a number of men about with similar names, like Loewenfuss, etc.

Opposition Organized

With the advent of the year 1899 it became apparent that the opposition had effected some sort of organization on a national scale. Connections had evidently been established by the New York oppositionists with those of other cities. At any rate the disgruntled elements were getting bolder and more and more boisterous and bothersome generally. Instead of devoting the time to agitation work, party meetings were dragged out for hours with wrangling; the energies even of the loyal members were exhausted with endless discussions upon party tactics. It was felt that a storm was gathering that had to break, soon or late.

From within the party came the cry that the progress made was too slow, in spite of the fact that really substantial gains were made. The party had now nearly four hundred Sections throughout the states, the destructive work of the obstructionists notwithstanding. From outside of the party organization rose the slogan of the newly formed Social Demo-

cratic Party, "Socialism in our time." A short cut to Socialism was discovered by Wayland and his little Appeal. The reformists have somewhat altered their position since then. They say now: "We can safely leave the evolutionary process of transformation from capitalism to Socialism to future generations."

Finally, the *Volkszeitung* made bold to come out in the open and take issue with the official organ of the party, *The People*. But it was not upon the attitude of the party toward the trade unions that the *Volkszeitung* fired the first shot. Upon that question the *Volkszeitung* was not so sure of its ground. The first shot fired was against the position of *The People* relative to taxation. De Leon sought to guide the Socialist Labor Party organization out of the quagmire of reform upon the revolutionary path, but the party platform had still its quota of "immediate demands." The tax question gave the *Volkszeitung* an opening. That was an issue that made it easier for the *Volkszeitung* to beguile its followers.

Taxation Question First Assault

De Leon maintained in *The People*, as the Socialist Labor Party does today, and as at least some of the Socialist Party members have since learned, that workingmen do not pay taxes; that all wealth is produced by labor, including the wealth out of which taxes are paid, but that taxes are paid out of that part of the workers' product of which under the wage system they have been filched anyway. This Marxian position the *Volkszeitung* readers did not understand and would not learn to understand. That the workers are robbed as producers and that to receive the full value of their product must be the aim of a party of Socialism, all other questions and issues being misleading, including the question of taxation—that they did not grasp. Although most of them had the pictures of Marx and Engels nicely framed to decorate the walls of their best room, Marxian economics were not for them to read and study.

The *Volkszeitung* knew its "Pappenheimers." Nothing appealed to its readers more than this tax question. They regarded De Leon's position as absurd. "The idea, workingmen don't pay taxes!" they would exclaim with disgust; "Bah!" It

was useless to argue the question with them. The *Volkszeitung* in support of its stand on the tax question quoted every Social Democratic paper of Germany, Austria, Italy, and other countries. The same Socialist papers may be quoted today as endorsing the bloody butchery now going on in Europe, each in its own way, either as a struggle for German "Kultur"; or for the "national ideals" of Italy. But the quoting of the European papers settled the question with the readers of the *Volkszeitung*. Even many who up to that time had stood by the party now swung around; the taxation question and De Leon's position regarding the same was "too many" for them.

Now that the ice was broken, the whole position of the Socialist Labor Party was wrong; the party had to be remodeled, and De Leon and De Leonism abolished forevermore.

How was this noble aim to be consummated? Oh, that was easy. Simply get the majority of delegates to the general committee, then elect all officers of the Section, suspend the National Executive Committee, and the *Volkszeitung's* new executive committee would do the rest. In other words, repeat the coup d'etat of 1889. This time, however, things went differently.

De Leon the Storm-Center

The lines were now drawn between the loyal party members, who were in favor of the revolutionary stand the Socialist Labor Party had taken, and the oppositionists of all shades. There were indeed many shades to the opposition faction. Some of them claimed that the attitude of the Socialist Labor Party toward trade unions was correct, but that it was premature to sever connections with the old trade unions and to set up a Socialist union. Others, again, claimed that Socialism was sure to come in a decade and to bother with labor unions was superfluous,—all economic organizations of the workers were out of date. Another shade maintained that the American Federation of Labor was all that could be expected, and that it would eventually become a class conscious body. All, however, were a unit upon changing the Socialist Labor Party, making it repudiate its principles and tactics, and incidentally getting rid of De Leon.

The most despicable methods were employed to attain this end. Fellows who had not "bothered" with the Socialist movement for years were proposed and taken in as members; those of the opposition who had been in arrears for months paid up their dues to be able to vote for delegates to the general committee. De Leon had to be decapitated. It was all nicely mapped out by the Volkszeitung board of directors, board of editors, managers, assistant managers, etc., also by the members of blue label leagues as well as by members of label leagues of other colors. "'Raus mit De Leon!" they cried in chorus.

One J. Obrist, who claimed to be on the side of the loyal members, but who turned only a few weeks before the split, told me that De Leon had to be removed because he had "failed to capture Debs." Obrist was regarded as an important personage by the opposition. He at first fought against the slanderbund of the Volkszeitung, but when the question of "Who pays the taxes?" was raised, he toppled over like many others. Obrist's statement in regard to De Leon's failure to capture Debs would not, of itself, merit a mention. Obrist repeated what he heard at the confabs presided over by the opposition's high moguls, like Alexander Jonas and Herman Schlueter, editors of the Volkszeitung. His statement only showed what sort of "arguments" were used by these gentlemen to rope in fellows like Obrist. De Leon was not out to "capture" any one. He was not in the capturing business. De Leon contended that men may be captured for false movements, but for the building up of a movement that is to reduce the citadel of capitalism men cannot be captured or kidnapped. Moreover, he who can be kidnapped is not worth having.

"The Best Laid Plans, Etc."

So sure of success were the ones who were to carry out a revolution in the Socialist Labor Party that they went about boasting how it would be done, and who would be allowed to stay in the party and who would be expelled. Of course, De Leon was on the list of those that were to be put out; so was Vogt, Sanial, Kuhn, Forker, Keep; the organizer of Section New York, Lazarus Abelson, was also on the list of those who were not to be taken into the party. They were especially bit-

ter against Abelson, for in his capacity as organizer he had on several occasions to execute orders of the general committee in reorganizing some unruly subdivisions. Sometimes they called Abelson re-organizer.

Things did not turn out to be quite as easy as the disrupters imagined. Henry Kuhn, in a neat parody on a song known by all who speak German, summed up this "revolution" in the S. L. P. To this day I remember every line:

("Wir saszen so froehlich beisammen.")

"We sat all so snugly together,
 And held one another so dear;
 We gave each a lift in his business,
 Had that lasted the coast had been clear;
 But it could not forever remain thus,
 A malevolent fate cut it short,
 That Cuckoo, De Leon, the old cuss,
 Kicked us out and himself holds the fort."

First Attempt at Physical Force

On July 8, 1899, the general committee of Section New York was to hold its regular meeting and elect officers for the ensuing six months. The meetings of the general committee were then held at the Labor Lyceum, so-called, a sort of party headquarters for the city. At a previous time officers of the national organizations had also been in this building. On the ground floor was a saloon, above the portals of which was written in large gilt letters the legend, "Labor Lyceum," and in still larger letters, "Beer Tunnel." On the floor above the "beer tunnel" was the meeting hall for the delegates to the general committee. On the Saturday night of July 8, 1899, this hall was filled to its utmost capacity. Not all those present were delegates. There were always some visitors, but on this night the number of visitors was much larger than at any other time.

Abelson called the meeting to order and asked for nominations for chairman. Henry Kuhn was nominated by the loyal delegates, Bock by the other side. It became evident that it would be difficult to hold a meeting right then, for those who

had come to make the "revolution" would not wait until their credentials were presented, but wanted to vote on the chairmanship before they were seated.

Men who were not at all delegates also wanted to vote. Hillquit was there to give advice to his side,—lawyers always give advice. The organizer insisted that those who were not as yet seated as delegates could not vote for the chairman. Hillquit began to give advice and started a harangue. He was called to order but refused to obey. The organizer, not being able to preserve order with his gavel, called for a committee to assist the sergeant-at-arms. Several members, among them Arthur Keep, volunteered. Hillquit, who insisted upon speaking, was approached by Keep and requested to sit down. Then the fighting began. Several fellows fell over Keep; the oppositionists had come prepared for a physical encounter. Many blows were struck, but nothing very serious happened. The object of the *Volkszeitung* to put the loyal party members out was not accomplished.

After an hour's fighting the janitor put out the lights, and the meeting of the general committee did not take place. Next morning, however, the *Volkszeitung* published a notice calling a meeting of the general committee for Monday, July 10, in a hall on the Bowery. This, of course, meant bolting from the Socialist Labor Party.

Rump Meeting on the Bowery

The office of the National Secretary of the Socialist Labor Party and the editorial rooms of *The People* were on the third floor at 184 William street, the building where the *Volkszeitung* was published. This office of the National Secretary was rented from the *Volkszeitung* Publishing Association. There another battle royal took place between the opposing forces. This was the memorable night of July 10, when the oppositionists tried to capture the offices of the National Secretary and *The People*.

When it became known that the rump body would meet on the Bowery, some party members came to *The People* office, suspecting that their presence would be needed. It was needed, and no mistake. At first it was doubted that any attempt would be made to take by physical force the national

party headquarters. Reports soon came, however, that this question was being discussed at the meeting on the Bowery and finally that a raid had been decided upon. When that report reached the party members who had assembled at 184 William street, they organized themselves to defend the S. L. P., its offices, and documents, if need be with their lives.

On the ground floor of the building at 184 William street were the business office and the editorial room of the *Volkszeitung*. On the third floor was the editorial room of *The People*. This room De Leon shared with Vogt, the editor of the party's German paper. On the same floor was the office of the National Secretary of the party. Dividing Kuhn's office from that of De Leon there was a sort of ante-room where committee meetings were often held.

It was there that the loyal party members, about thirty in number, were assembled awaiting the onslaught of the *Volkszeitung* reactionists. Ben Hanford and Herman Simpson were there, at that time full-fledged S. L. P. men.

Brutal Attack Repulsed by S. L. P. Men

It was long after midnight when the attacking party arrived. Henry Slobodin, an East Side lawyer, whom the rump general committee made the national secretary of what developed to be the kangaroo party, accompanied by the illustrious Loewenthal, came up as a parliamentary committee and demanded the surrender of the party property and insignia of office. They were told that there would be no such surrender. They departed, and soon after came the charge, not of "The Light Brigade," but the heavy-booted, light-headed brigade. How many there were would be hard to tell, but the stairs were packed with them; there must have been about two hundred.

The first onslaught was met by the boys from the 18th Assembly District, who were especially handy in delivering uppercuts, hooks to the jaw, etc.; who, in short, were quite proficient in the gentle art of self-defense. The crowd of raiders, among whom were many non-party members, came armed with bludgeons, mallets, and clubs. The only man who was armed with a club on the side of the party was Ben Hanford.

There was an attack by physical force, as brutal as it was

disgraceful, and for which the Volkszeitung alone was responsible. A dozen of comrades who fought for the S. L. P. were more or less seriously wounded, but others took their places, and the fight for the possession of the party's property continued until the police, attracted by the noise and the crowd in the street, came into the place with drawn revolvers. Many of the raiders were hurled down the two flights of stairs, and for a while it looked as though some one would get killed. The midnight robbers never got into the ante-room, in spite of their large numbers.

The police were compelled to recognize those in possession, and the coup miscarried completely. As we all left the building that night, the police alone remaining, we saw when down the street that all the Volkszeitung crowd had disappeared; only Jablinowsky, the reporter, stood at the entrance of the Volkszeitung business office. Being protected by a reporter's badge he had picked up courage to stay when all his friends had gone. He made a wry face and mumbled something as De Leon passed him. "This is not '89!" De Leon called to him as a parting shot.

That night few of those who were at the place of this physical conflict went to bed. The Labor News Company, the party's literature agency, had then a store on 23rd street. I went to that place and stood on guard until the manager arrived in the morning.

Bogus "People" Issued by Bolters

Next day all party property was removed to 61 Beekman street, where the party headquarters were established. There was nothing left in the rooms that The People and the party's National Office had occupied except the whitewash on the wall—and that was not very white.

The People was printed in the Volkszeitung's printing plant and its finances were handled by the Volkszeitung management. The agreement made between this publishing association and the Socialist Labor Party gave that association certain rights in electing the editor, but it was clearly stated in the stipulation made that if any disagreement between the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party and the Publishing Association should arise the members of the

party were to decide by a referendum vote. The power to elect an editor was thus vested in the party. The *Volkszeitung* was, however, in possession of the subscription money, mailing lists and of everything except the editorial office. This circumstance was to have finished the job of killing the S. L. P. A bogus *People* was now issued by the *Volkszeitung*; being in possession of the mailing lists the *Volkszeitung* was in a position to use these. But the bogus *People*, not only printed but also edited by these gentlemen, was a sight to behold. It was the incarnation of Aesop's fable about the ass in a lion's skin; its braying deceived only children, or adults with a child's mental faculties.

There were thus two papers printed, each claiming to be the organ of the Socialist Labor Party. The bolters claimed to be the S. L. P. The bogus *People* in the first week reached the readers first, and the management of the *Volkszeitung*, having been intrusted by the party with its publication, was recognized at first by the postal authorities. Many of the new readers of *The People* were positively puzzled when instead of receiving one copy of the paper they received two, each claiming to be the genuine, each claiming to be the official organ of the Socialist Labor Party.

“Kangaroos” Beaten in Court

The *Volkszeitung* crowd nominated candidates and made attempts to parade as the Socialist Labor Party. It was on that account that they were christened kangaroos by De Leon, recalling the kangaroo courts of Civil War times that established themselves in localities where they were not known, called a sitting of the court, chose jurymen, held trials, imposed fines, collected the same, and then jumped, kangaroo-like, to another place just before they were discovered—so much like the *Volkszeitung* fellows who were usurping the name and functions of the Socialist Labor Party. The name “kangaroo” stuck to them for some time even after the abandonment of their claim that they were the Socialist Labor Party.

The courts had finally to decide who was who and why. The party secured the services of the talented attorney at law, Benjamin Patterson, whom De Leon knew from the days at Columbia University. The kangaroos, knowing they had a hard

case, hired lawyers who stood high up in politics: Abe Gruber, the Republican politician, and ex-Governor Black were hired by them. Hillquit, their own Hillquit, did not dare alone to take up the case and cause of the usurpers of whom he was a leader; the political pull of an ex-governor was needed to pull them through the courts. But it was of no avail. The kangaroos lost all the suits brought against the party; their case was too flagrant a violation of all parliamentary law, common law, as well as the unwritten law of decency. That a rump body composed of delegates from a few assembly district organizations could assume the functions of claimant, judge, jury, and executioner all at once, and at a single session prefer charges against, hold court, find guilty, suspend or expel the majority of members, suspend or expel all the officers of the organization in New York, depose all the national officers of the party, including editors of party organs,—that was too much even for a capitalist judge sitting in a capitalist court to endorse; such a precedent could not be established.

The kangaroos were in desperate straits. Everything they undertook turned out as their midnight attack upon the party headquarters had turned out—a failure. In the cities outside of New York where attempts were also made to capture the party organizations and their belongings, they fared no better. In Cleveland, Chicago, Milwaukee, Indianapolis, everywhere their kangaroo attempts were frustrated.

Party Weathered the Storm

At that time I was sent by the New York State Executive Committee on a trip to visit all Sections in the state. Rochester was the only large city where the kangaroos predominated. They had their most precious Frank Sieverman in Rochester, who had opposed the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance at the national convention of 1896. Sieverman boasted at that time of his successful “boring from within” in the Boot and Shoe Workers’ Union—how successful can be judged today by the number of labor fakers turned out by that organization. The only other Sections of the party that “kangarooed” in New York state were Section Portchester, a small-town in Westchester County, and a Section in Oneida composed of cigar makers.

FROM 1899 TO THE LAUNCHING OF THE I. W. W. IN 1905

**Hard Fight of Party and S. T. & L. A.—Daily
People a Rallying Point—"Little Kangaroo"
Affair—Conflict in International—Rise of So-
cialist Unionism**

In spite of what had happened within the party in 1899, which was surely enough to disrupt any organization, the party more than held its own on election day and even made gains where a ticket was put in the field. In the 16th Assembly District in New York city the straight party vote was increased, and De Leon's sympathetic vote of 2,000 was held.

Throughout the whole country the vast majority of the four hundred Sections stood with the party and its duly elected National Executive Committee. Only in comparatively few places did the usurpers with their secretary, Henry Slobodin, get recognition, endorsement, or support. In Cleveland, Ohio, Robert Bandlow and Max Hayes, publishers of the pure and simple paper, *The Citizen*, were such exceptions. At San Francisco the notorious politician, Job Harriman, swayed some to the Slobodin side. While in New York city, with a few exceptions, all the crowd reading the *Volkszeitung* "kangarooed," the bulk of the German comrades throughout the country remained true to the Socialist Labor Party. F. Kalbitz held the fort in Chicago, Richard Koeppel and Albert Schnabel, Sr., in

Milwaukee, Christiansen in Cleveland, Luedecke in Rochester, and many other German comrades of prominence elsewhere repelled the attacks of the Volkszeitung which claimed now to be the mouthpiece of all German Socialists in America.

Unfortunately, the Volkszeitung Publishing Association had been entrusted by the party with the publication of its German official organ, Vorwaerts. This paper, previously published by the party itself in magazine form, had been a few years before converted into one publication with the weekly edition of the Volkszeitung, and was now in the clutches of the Volkszeitung crowd. The party was left without an organ in the German language. Through the most strenuous efforts of Boris Reinstein the Buffalo Arbeiter Zeitung was taken over by the Buffalo Section and made a party organ, and later the Cleveland Volksfreund became the official party paper in German and has remained such to this day.

Kangaroos and Tammany Hall

The 16th Assembly District occupied in the 1899 campaign the center of the stage, even more so than in the previous two campaigns, due to the fact that De Leon was again the party's standard bearer in that district. That all the forces the kangaroos, combined with Tammany labor fakers could muster, were deployed in the 16th, goes without saying. Tammany politicians, labor misleaders, walking delegates, label committee beneficiaries, shyster lawyers and East Side "cadets," these were the allies of the infamous gang of the Volkszeitung.

Again I must reiterate that these are not unsubstantiated assertions. The proof of the statement is revealed by the fact that the man whom Tammany Hall put on its ticket to run against De Leon was Samuel Prince, a member of Cigar Makers' Union No. 144, the same local in which another Samuel was a member, namely Samuel Gompers; the same Cigar Makers' Union whose delegates to the label committee, together with the delegates from the other locals of that organization, notably the so-called Progressive No. 90, were conducting a "systematic label agitation" described at length in a previous chapter.

The selection of Sam Prince by Tammany for the can-

didacy on its ticket in the 16th showed the underground connections among De Leon's opponents. Tammany was not in the habit of throwing its nominations for office to fellows who could not pay spot cash for such "honors," and Tammany heelers were never known to work for love of cause or principle. The nomination of Prince, who could not buy a round of drinks unless he was doing label agitation, and thus paying with the union's money, was a sacrifice by Tammany to save itself from defeat by the Socialist Labor Party at the suggestion of the Volkszeitung element.

Prince stood as low morally and intellectually as a man can be imagined to stand in the labor movement,—a vulgar ignoramus, he was a disgrace even to the A. F. of L., which requires no great standard. While Tammany was whooping it up for this fellow as candidate for the Assembly in the 16th, the Volkszeitung came to his aid by the distribution of leaflets telling Socialists not to vote, that there was no Socialist ticket in the field, that De Leon had been expelled from the party, and that he was a union wrecker. Tammany held the same language.

Feverish Work to Beat De Leon

The scum of the great metropolis was let loose in the 16th; so great was the fear that De Leon would carry the district that open-air meetings of the Socialist Labor Party were broken up by the police. "Big Chief" Devery, then head of the whole police department of New York city, sardonically answered the Section's protest with the reply that the meetings of the Socialist Labor Party were interfered with because the Democratic Party had applied to hold meetings on the very same corners a long time ahead of the Socialist Labor Party.

On the day of election I saw a Socialist Labor Party challenger at the polls slugged by plug-uglies, such as are not seen by daylight at any other time of the year, but who make their appearance on election day and who appeared in profusion in that particular election in the 16th A. D.

If there be any comrade in the Socialist Labor Party, or one in sympathy with the party, who is blessed or damned with earthly possessions and who may not be contributing much



THE BARN BACK OF DE LEON'S HOME

Pond Point, Milford, Connecticut

thereof to the movement because he considers a donation from one who is not a proletarian to a proletarian revolutionary movement to be conducive to unhealthy growth, let him abandon such scruples. For even though a contribution from one who is not a member of the working class to the Socialist Labor Party may be regarded as promoting artificial growth let it be remembered that it would require a good deal of such artificial support to counterbalance the artificially created opposition to the Socialist Labor Party. Let all such open their pocketbooks wide and dig in deep in support of the Socialist Labor Party.

Following the year of the kangaroo rebellion came the Presidential election of 1900, the starting of the Daily People, the conflict of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance with the Cigar Makers' International Union, and other important happenings. All these will be touched upon in their order.

What the S. T. & L. A. Faced

The developments in the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance must be considered as of prime importance, since its success as a factor on the economic field signified the strengthening of the Socialist Labor Party, its failure a corresponding loss. The Alliance started out vigorously enough, but could not overcome the many enemies it had to face. From the day of its birth at the close of the year 1895, the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance had to withstand the enmity of all its opponents, all of whom fought underhandedly and with unclean weapons.

All the old trade union officials recognized in the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance a most dangerous foe; to fight the Alliance was to fight for their own existence. It was the endeavor of Gompers and the rest of the A. F. of L.-ites to put the Alliance on the defensive. In this endeavor Gompers was well supported by those who claimed to be Socialists, many of whom were members of the party. They contended that boring from within was the correct policy.

Under normal conditions it would hardly be possible for a reactionary body to put a revolutionary organization on the defensive. The conditions under which the Alliance was

started lacked the necessary compactness and harmony within its own ranks to maintain a successful offensive position. There were two central labor bodies in New York city. It will be remembered that with a few other unions outside of New York, District Assembly 49, formerly of the Knights of Labor, and the Central Labor Federation, constituted the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. District Assembly 49 was practically free from the craft union form of organization—at least, no craft union spirit pervaded it, while in the Central Labor Federation the craft union form and spirit were the dominant factors. From the very start there was not the homogeneous organization which was necessary to carry the day against the fierce opposition the Alliance had to meet.

Corruption and Its "Denouncers"

Though the industrial form of organization was not then in vogue in District Assembly 49, there was a tendency toward such a form of organization and against the narrow, pure and simple craft union. De Leon used to speak jokingly of the "Amalgamated Association of Pretzel Varnishers" and the "United Brotherhood of Journeymen Horse-tail Scrubbers," thus ridiculing the craft unionism of those days.

The leading spirits in the Central Labor Federation were August Waldinger and Ernest Bohm, both of whom had some executive ability. Bohm was a good secretary, and Waldinger an excellent sergeant-at-arms. De Leon was reproached by the anti-Alliance members of the party, because such fellows as Waldinger and Bohm, the latter being the first national secretary of the Alliance, were the officials of a Socialist economic organization for which the Socialist Labor Party stood sponsor. It was not only hinted but openly claimed by some of the oppositionists that both Bohm and Waldinger were so crooked that they had to sleep in a washtub! De Leon defended them while there were no specific charges made, but fought them when at the 1898 convention of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance corrupt practices were proved against the two.

The exposure of Bohm and Waldinger resulted in the withdrawal of the Central Labor Federation from the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. Most of the locals of the Central

Labor Federation were with the efficient secretary, Bohm, and the no less efficient sergeant-at-arms, Waldinger. The Central Labor Federation shortly after merged with the Central Labor Union into what was christened the Federated Labor Union. Bohm was given the job of recording secretary, and Waldinger retained his important post which he occupied in the Central Labor Federation.

The act of corruption proved against both these gentlemen at the 1898 convention of the S. T. & L. A. was that they sought and accepted advertisements of candidates of the capitalist political parties in a souvenir program published by the Central Labor Federation. The interesting part of this episode was the circumstance that after Bohm and Waldinger had been proved guilty of these unsavory practices, the oppositionists in the party who had denounced them as crooks before, now took their part, again blamed De Leon, and once more raised the cry that wherever De Leon was there was sure to be dissension. When Bohm thereafter became the secretary of the Federated Labor Union he was spoken of by those who had denounced him as a villain while he was national secretary of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, as a very good and honest fellow—so honest and good that one could have come to the conclusion that Bohm had really to hold on to something solid on this earth to prevent sailing straight heavenward, the law of gravity notwithstanding.

Strikes Under the Alliance

Wm. L. Brower, of District Assembly 49, was elected in Bohm's stead as national secretary of the S. T. & L. A. During his incumbency in office most of the struggles of the Alliance took place. The most important struggle of the Alliance was the strike of textile workers at Slatersville, R. I. Though the strike was lost the firm was unable to reopen the mills in that town,—the members of the S. T. & L. A. preferred rather to leave the place than to return to work under the bosses' terms. A large strike in the Shoen Steel works at Pittsburgh, Pa., was also conducted by the Alliance and attracted great attention at the time. Many minor struggles were fought under the banner of the Alliance. Most numerous among the trades that or-

ganized in the S. T. & L. A. were the textile workers, shoe workers, and metal and machinery workers. Charters were issued to locals in many other trades in a large number of industrial centers.

There is no doubt that the time was as ripe for a class conscious economic organization of the workers twenty years ago when the S. T. & L. A. was born as it is now. There was, however, a lack of men equipped with the knowledge and determination and self-reliance to carry out the plans of the organization, which, in its cradle, was called by would-be friends of the revolutionary movement a "still-born child." How "still-born" it was we may gather from the efforts that were made by all the enemies of Socialism to strangle the child, especially during the fighting days of the Pioneer Cigar Makers' Alliance, to have been a member of which I cherish as a badge of honor.

The Lie About the Cigar Strike

The main facts of the Seidenberg and the Davis cigar shop affairs have been published several times. The lie that the members of the Pioneer Cigar Makers' Alliance scabbed in Davis's cigar shop has been repeated by every A. F. of L. journal, by every pseudo-Socialist privately owned sheet; the lie has been repeated by every S. P. soap-boxer, by every A. F. of L. organizer. Some even claimed that De Leon was a cigar maker and had worked in the Davis shop. Let the facts be restated with a few sidelights thrown upon the matter that have perhaps not been mentioned before.

When in 1900 the cry was raised that the Alliance had scabbed in the Davis shop many who were friendly disposed toward the Alliance were taken off their feet. To hear that an A. F. of L. body has scabbed on another A. F. of L. organization or upon unorganized workers does not as a general rule come as a surprise; that is an everyday occurrence. The charge sounds different, and rightly so, when made against a Socialist organization—just as everyone is jarred when a Socialist is sent to prison for wife-beating or a similar offence, while no one is at all astonished that Democrats, Republicans, and "Independents" fill the prisons and jails. A heinous crime committed by a member of the Socialist Labor Party would create

a sensation, while the same crime committed by an adherent of any other political party would be taken without special notice of the criminal's political affiliation. This is a tribute paid unconsciously to the ethics of Socialism in general, and the ethics of the Socialist Labor Party membership in particular. So it was at the time with the Alliance and the charge of scabbery.

A. F. of L. Dark Practice in Davis Shop

Out of 259 employes in the Davis cigar shop only 22 were members of the International Cigar Makers' Union; some belonged to the Alliance; the rest were unorganized. The strike was decided upon by the advisory board of the A. F. of L. cigar makers' locals in New York and sanctioned by the executive board of their union, without the knowledge or consent of the cigar makers who did not belong to the union. When Albert Maroushek, of the A. F. of L. cigar makers, called a shop meeting of the Davis cigar shop he found a few members of the Alliance who were ready to strike, but not under the auspices of the Cigar Makers' International Union, after the experience they had made in Seidenberg's, where a strike had taken place shortly before, and where Alliance men had struck with the International only to strike themselves out of their jobs. The workers had been gotten out on strike with the promise of higher wages; the strike was settled under old prices or even lower, but all had to join the A. F. of L. union and enjoy the privilege of paying their dues to the same.

The men who had made this experience knew the dark ways of the officials of the A. F. of L. Cigar Makers' union, and protested that a vote be taken, which showed only those who were members of the A. F. of L. union to be in favor of a strike, the overwhelming majority being against. Maroushek, the union delegate, declared that it did not matter how the vote stood, that "the union," his union, "declared the shop on strike, and any one who would remain would be branded as a scab."

The workers wanted higher wages, to be sure, but they knew that Maroushek's union would not get them that. They refused to be bulldozed and called upon the Alliance to make a demand for higher wages to the firm. This was done. Davis

agreed to pay the wages demanded, which were the same contained in the A. F. of L. union's price list. The shop was organized and held by the Alliance. Those who were afraid of Maroushek's threat stayed away. It was a question which organization should control the shop, and not in the remotest way could the action of the Alliance be construed as scabbing.

Chorus of Calumny Raised

The A. F. of L. saw its opportunity. The word was passed to the 400 locals of the Cigar Makers', to all the rest of the A. F. of L. unions throughout the country that "Alliance men are scabbing!" Without the activity and zeal of those who had seceded from the party this would have had little or no effect. The kangaroo press, the Volkszeitung leading, in sore straits as they were, beaten by the S. L. P. at every turn, not only joined the chorus, but were loudest in their denunciation of the Alliance. Abraham Cahan, against whose methods of bossism and exploitation in these latter days the writers on the Yiddish Vorwaerts went on strike, was as a matter of course also one of the loudest in calling the S. T. & L. A. men scabs. Cahan told the Jewish workers down town that the Alliance "scabs" were only "dumme Gojim" ("ignorant gentiles"). The Bohemian daily papers up-town, the New Yorske Listy, a Tammany sheet, and Hlas Lidu, subsidized by Tammany one year and by the Republican Party the next, wrote that the Alliance "scabs" were "only Jews."

As a proof of the statement as to the foul methods that were resorted to by the many and varied enemies of the S. T. & L. A. the below sample from the Bohemian daily paper, New Yorske Listy, referring to the Pioneer Cigar Makers' Alliance, is here exhibited. The article in question was an attack upon the Bohemian Socialist Labor Party organ, Pravda, which was then published in New York. A few lines will suffice. From New Yorske Listy, Feb. 20, 1899:

"The gentlemen of Pravda, those Knights without fear or fault, reformers who are boasting about their laborism, are so much in favor of labor that they work with much enthusiasm for a certain union which is composed of about two dozen Polish Jews."

In answering the *New Yorske Listy*, the organ of Tammany and the misnamed International Cigar Makers' Union, the *Pravda* wrote:

"We hold that there should be in existence a fighting union, not a sick benefit society. Furthermore, we wish to tell the *New Yorske Listy*, in answer to its allegation that the new union is composed of Polish Jews, that we are truly international; that a worker who is true to the working class and its interests we esteem much more highly, be he a Polish Jew or anything else, than a scoundrel who under the mask of patriotism commits treason against the working class, even though it be an editor of a Bohemian daily paper.....How about the International Cigar Makers' Union—what is Samuel Gompers' or Adolph Strasser? And here in New York the local leaders, David Heimerdinger, Abraham Levy, Solomon Rosenstein, Benjamin Ash, Isaac Bennett, and Moses De Costa? Are these any different than the Jewish members of the Alliance because they emigrated from Poland to America a few years earlier?"

Race Prejudice Appealed To

The opponents of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, by appeals to racial feeling and to the superstition of the masses, succeeded in creating the impression that the Alliance had actually committed a wrong act. Those who utter a lie over and over again are apt to believe finally that they speak the truth. After a short period Davis tried the capitalist trick of cheating the workers out of their gained wage increase. The Alliance men and women went on strike and their places were immediately filled with A. F. of L. cigar makers. These indeed were the scabs.

Throughout the country, nevertheless, the lie was hurled at the Socialist Labor Party that the Alliance had scabbed in the Davis cigar shop. Each slanderer had a different version of the affair. The most absurd tales were told and believed by many.

Thus did men who claimed to be Socialists, united with the open foes of Socialism, stab in the back the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance, and stain their hands with the blood of

the organization that sought to emancipate the working class. The A. F. of L., which seeks to perpetuate the system of wage slavery, has benefited thereby as well as capitalism itself.

The bolters from the Socialist Labor Party held a convention at Rochester, N. Y., and decided to unite with the Social Democratic Party—in fact, that was the only thing left for them to do.

Seceders Forced Themselves on S. D. P.

At the Indianapolis convention of the Social Democratic Party some sort of union between that organization and the Kangaroo party was decided upon, but the rank and file of the S. D. P. rejected the union by a referendum vote. The Kangaroos stuck to the S. D. P. just the same; hatred of the Socialist Labor Party was with them the most important factor. They pocketed the kick administered to them by the referendum of the Social Democratic Party and supported the Debs ticket in the 1900 Presidential election with might and main.

All adversaries of the Socialist Labor Party now saw what they thought was a chance to deal it a death blow. The year 1900 found many outspoken anti-Socialists giving their support to the S. D. P., hoping thereby to bring about a speedy end of its feared enemy, the fighting S. L. P.

The Socialist Labor Party had to fight for its life. Had the party been merely a vote-seeking organization the wish of its enemies would have been gratified. But the life of the Socialist Labor Party never depended upon the vote it could poll for its candidates and least of all in the 1900 Presidential election, when the elements who regarded the vote as all important had left the party. The life of the party did depend at that time upon its ability to maintain its press, for in that year (July 1, 1900) the Daily People was started and had to be maintained.

The name of Debs, with its sound of popularity combined with tolerance toward all sorts of reform ideas, from municipal ownership a la Glasgow, New Zealand "Socialism," to A. F. of L. unionism, and every other ism that leads away from the revolutionary path that alone means victory for the working class, gave the S. D. P. 97,000 votes. The Socialist Labor Par-

ty received 36,000 votes for its Presidential ticket—Joseph F. Malloney, a machinist of Boston, Mass., and Valentine Rempel, a glass blower of Pittsburgh, Pa.

The enemies of the Socialist Labor Party thought that now the solemn ceremonies at the funeral of the hated S. L. P. would be held, but they found to their sorrow a "corpse" very much alive and kicking.

S. L. P. Immediate Demands Dropped

The convention of 1900 cut off from the party platform the tapeworm of immediate demands and thus took a step forward. De Leon, like all great men, rose to his full height in the hours of danger and his teaching of the uncompromising attitude the proletarian movement is to follow and the necessity of economic organization without which the social revolution cannot be carried out were studied now more closely than before.

The financial aid given to maintain the Daily People by party members and sympathizers indicated clearly enough that the Socialist Labor Party would stay in the field until it had fulfilled its mission. Whatever weak spot there was in the S. L. P. membership was of course now discovered. There were those who could not remain with an organization that had a world of enemies to fight against; these soon left the party. De Leon worked with greater zeal than ever. His editorials in the Daily People were like cannon shots aimed at the armor of capitalism. With De Leon's none of the writings in the best of the Social Democratic sheets could be compared.

There still remain to be told many happenings of the days of the so-called split and the campaign of 1900, a year thereafter—happenings that deeply wounded the young movement which had been guided by the master-hand of Daniel De Leon to make straight for the proletarian revolution. Well may the deeds that inflicted the wounds upon the Socialist Labor Party be called the Crime of 1899. What slander failed to accomplish the false prophets of reform sought to bring about with promises of immediate relief for the workers.

Fifteen years have passed since this Crime of 1899, and

twenty-five years since the forces of reform and revolution locked horns in the Socialist Labor movement of America. Well may we ask in this year of our Lord, 1915, where are the immediate relief measures promised? Where are the beautiful things that were to be showered upon workingmen and women, upon the aged and upon the babes? Is there one among the adherents of reform who is not a self-seeker, and who would deny that the sweet promises made have not materialized, or in De Leon's words, that the promised loaf of bread that was to fall into the worker's lap is not a loaf of bread but a stone? Is there an honest man who can deny that the lot of the wage worker today has not been improved, that immediate relief has not been secured? Yet, that was the tune hummed into the ears of the workers then, and the same tune is hummed into their ears today: Socialism a step at a time, with something now, while the step is not toward Socialism, and the something now turns out to be added misery for the working class.

Party Members Stand True

Once more the 16th Assembly District must be mentioned. In the campaign of 1900 De Leon was again the Socialist Labor Party candidate for member of assembly, with the "Honorable" Samuel Prince running against him on the Tammany ticket, and a dishonorable Kangaroo on the Social Democratic ticket. The statement made in an East Side café the year before the split by a fellow called "Humpy" Hanover, a Tammany heeler, that there would be a split in the Socialist Labor Party and that there would be two Socialist parties in the field in the 16th A. R. came true. De Leon received fifteen hundred votes, or five hundred less than the year before. The Social Democratic candidate running against De Leon received two hundred votes. Prince was re-elected,—Tammany was saved.

The joy in the Tammany camp and in the Volkszeitung camp was unbounded. The Socialistische Liedertafel made ready to sing at the funeral of the Socialist Labor Party; how many kegs of beer were consumed in addition to the regular supply only God and the brewing company know. They were a sadly disappointed Liedertafel, for the Socialist Labor Party





THE DAILY PEOPLE BUILDING

AT TWO TO SIX NEW BLADE STREET, NOW THE SITE OF THE MUNICIPAL BUILDING OF NEW YORK CITY, THE FIRST HOME OF THE DAILY PEOPLE, AND OCCUPIED BY IT FROM JULY FIRST 1900 TO MAY FIRST 1907 THE NATIONAL OFFICE. THE LABOR GUAGE FEDERATION PAPERS SECTION NEW YORK S. L. P., AND OFFICES OF THE S. T. B. L. A. OCCUPIED THIS BUILDING AT THE SAME TIME. THE EDITORIAL ROOMS OCCUPIED THE FOURTH FLOOR AND DE LEAN'S EDITORIAL ROOM OCCUPIED THE SPACE INDICATED BY THE FOUR WINDOWS NEAR THE CORNER OF THAT FLOOR. ON THE GROUND FLOOR WERE LOCATED THE BUSINESS OFFICES OF THE PEOPLE AND THE NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY. THE PLANT WAS SITUATED IN THE BASEMENT.



did not show any signs of dying, in spite of the loss of votes.

Those who remained in the Socialist Labor Party were convinced that the party had taken the correct stand, and that sooner or later the working class would realize this fact and turn to the Socialist Labor Party; that the logic of events, together with the educational work of the Daily People would raise the S. L. P. to be recognized as the only party of Socialism.

The devotion, the sacrifices, the work in behalf of the maintenance of the Daily People will forever remain the brightest day in the life of the party. On the day of its birth, after a march through the streets several hundred comrades waited until four o'clock in the morning to receive the first copy of the paper, the first, and in fact the only, Socialist daily ever published in the English language. The building situated at 2-6 New Reade street, the birthplace of the Daily People, was torn down several years ago. The party members named it the Daily People Flatiron Building, and it saw many of the struggles that followed the ones of 1899.

All party institutions were housed in this building. The basement was used by the mechanical department; the ground floor by the Labor News Company, the party's literature agency; while the third floor was occupied by the editorial rooms. On the top floor were the offices of the national secretary, also of Section New York, and the national office of the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance.

De Leon's Sharp Discernment

De Leon's room on the third floor was the point of the triangle facing due east; a very small room it was, but with plenty of air and morning sunshine. Here De Leon labored day after day pondering over the difficult problems confronting the Labor movement, and here he forged many a weapon with which the arsenal of the Socialist Labor Party bristles and which the workers will use some day to the undoing of capitalist class rule.

An interesting incident at the 1900 national convention may serve to show the prevailing enthusiasm and also how not the smallest of doings escaped the eyes of De Leon. At that con-

vention I was one of the delegates of Section New York. The convention decided to hold an executive session, when important matters dealing with the publication of the Daily People were to be acted upon. This decision meant that only the delegates could be present at that particular session, barring all visitors, even party members. This course had to be taken to prevent the financial weakness of the undertaking being revealed to the many enemies of the party. Among the daily visitors to the convention was Comrade A. Klein, who realized the urgent need of keeping away the spies, but who, being a most loyal S. L. P. member, could not see why he should be kept out of the executive session. Klein and I being members in the same assembly district, and personal friends besides, he came to me, greatly excited, and declared that he must be admitted to the executive session. I informed him that I had only one vote in the convention and could not make special rules for anyone.

Klein was not one of those who could be put off so easily. He had a very deep and strong voice that trembled with emotion when he was speaking about the movement. So brimful of enthusiasm and devotion to the S. L. P. was he that he imagined the destiny of the movement in the 22nd assembly district and the rest of the universe rested upon his shoulders. Klein turned on me, his large eyes growing larger, and in his deepest basso voice he pleaded with so much sincerity that I promised to find a means to have him admitted to the executive session. I did not know how this could be done, until a fortunate thought struck me. The convention had appointed a non-delegate, a member of Section New York, as sergeant-at-arms, as is usually done at conventions. That an executive session needed more than one doorkeeper was a good enough theory to advance to have Klein appointed as the assistant sergeant-at-arms. My motion to that effect went through like greased lightning; no one objected—except De Leon, who called to me after the motion was carried, not angrily but nevertheless reprovingly: "Katz, that's a scheme to get Klein into the executive session."

Shortly after the 1900 national convention of the Socialist Labor Party the International Socialist Congress was held in

the city of Paris. It was at this congress that the "Kautsky Resolution" was adopted. This resolution, proposed by Karl Kautsky, who posed as the sage of the movement in Germany, aye, in all Europe, was voted for by all the parties represented at that congress, with the exception of a few scattered votes from Italy and Bulgaria, the Irish Workers' Republican Party, and the Socialist Labor Party of America.

M. Millerand, the present [July, 1915] Minister of War in France, was then an active member in the French Socialist movement. "To save the Republic" he accepted a portfolio in the French ministry, in the same cabinet with General Galliffet, the butcher of the Commune. Jules Guesde and his faction demanded that the International Congress should repudiate Millerandism. Jean Jaures, who at that time had faith in the "co-operation of classes," asked for an endorsement of Millerand's action. Kautsky's resolution was to solve the question,—was he not the best informed Marxist on earth?

The "Kautsky Resolution"

Kautsky's resolution, which has since become famous—*or* infamous, according to the viewpoint of ordinary mortals—did not solve anything, and everyone was free to construe the same to his own liking. The Russian Socialist paper *Iskra* called it for that reason the "caoutchouc resolution." The resolution read:

"In a modern democratic State the conquest of the public power by the proletariat cannot be the result of a coup de main; it must be the result of a long and painful work of proletarian organization on the economic and political fields, of the physical and moral regeneracy of the laboring class, and of the gradual conquest of municipalities and legislative assemblies.

"But in countries where the governmental power is centralized, it cannot be conquered fragmentarily.

"The accession of an isolated Socialist to a capitalist government cannot be considered as the normal beginning of the conquest of political power, but only as an expedient, imposed, transitory, and exceptional.

"Whether, in a particular case, the political situation neces-

sitates this dangerous experiment, is a question of tactics and not of principle; the International Congress has not to declare itself upon this point, but in any case the participation of a Socialist in a capitalist government does not hold out the hope of good results for the militant proletariat, unless a great majority of the Socialist Party approves of such an act and the Socialist minister remains the agent of his party. In the contrary case of this minister becoming independent of his party, or representing only a fraction of it his intervention in capitalist government threatens the militant proletariat with disorganization and confusion, with a weakening instead of a fortifying of it; it threatens to hamper the proletarian conquest of the public powers instead of promoting it.

"At any rate, the Congress is of the opinion that even in such extreme cases, a Socialist must leave the ministry when the organized party recognizes that the government gives evidences of partiality in the struggle between capital and labor."

The "kangaroos" loved to tell the tale of how Kautsky disliked De Leon. Perhaps Kautsky did; it does not do much honor to Kautsky if true. Most likely it is true. The authors of such resolutions and Daniel De Leon have not much in common.

Sanial and the "Ninnies"

Lucien Sanial headed the delegation of the Socialist Labor Party to Paris. I used to take pride in being able to imitate Sanial's French accent, which was so pronounced that once after a mass meeting held at Cooper Union, where Sanial was, as usual then, one of the principal speakers, a comrade who had not attended our meetings before, wanted to know who the man was that had spoken in French! Sanial's report was interesting, and my desire to reproduce all Sanial said and the way he said it to the members of my dear old 22nd Assembly District, has left an impression still in my memory. Sanial said:

"I was on the commission that had to deal with the Kautsky resolution; so was Jaures, whom I severely criticized. In answer to my criticism Jaures retorted sharply that he could

stand all my sarcasm; that he had pretty broad shoulders. Whereupon I replied, 'Comrade Jaures, you may have broad shoulders, but they are not broad enough to carry the Kautsky resolution to the members of the Socialist Labor Party in America.' "

Sanial in concluding his report denounced the Social Democratic Party whose delegates had of course voted in favor of the Kautsky resolution. These were his closing remarks: "I would rather have 36,000 men who are revolutionists and who know what they want, than a million ninnies who don't know what Socialism is." Two years later Sanial joined the "ninnies"—not only Sanial but quite a number of others who were functionaries of the party, agitators, organizers, members of the editorial staff of the Daily People, secretaries of state committees, writers in prose and writers in rhyme—all went helter-skelter down the incline from the heights occupied by the Socialist Labor Party. So many went down and with such swiftness that De Leon remarked that he had to look at himself in the mirror at least once a day to find out whether he had not gone with the others!

The "Little Kangaroo" Exodus

How did it all happen? What caused the "kanglet" or "little kangaroo" outbreak of 1901-1902? Did the Socialist Labor Party change from its revolutionary position; did the party renounce its attitude toward pure and simple unions; did De Leon violate any of the party's principles? No, nothing of the sort happened, but those who left the Socialist Labor Party, or others who were made to leave, had changed their minds, even as did the ones who according to the books of Moses returned to the flesh pots of Egypt.

Some got tired when they realized that the onward march of the revolutionary Socialist Labor Party would not be a succession of brilliant dashes carrying with it all the glory in a day. Others saw a very meager opportunity for an easy life; some were made to believe that the Socialist Labor Party was doomed, and still others of the rank and file were misled, the majority of whom, however, realizing their mistake, came back again into the folds of the party.

Here we come across Charles Vanderporten again. In 1901, at a May Day meeting, he thus explained the difference between the Socialist Labor Party and the Social Democratic Party: "The difference," said Vanderporten, taking a silver dollar out of his pocket and showing it to the audience, "is this: this is a genuine silver dollar. There are imitations of everything that is genuine; there are counterfeit silver dollars, but," continued Vanderporten, to the delight of his auditors, "the counterfeit dollar hasn't got the ring. So with the S. D. P., it's a counterfeit of the Socialist Labor Party, and does not ring true." Vanderporten a few months after this speech joined the party he himself had characterized as counterfeit.

Vanderporten no doubt sounded afterward the coin of the counterfeit party and it must have sounded good enough to him.

S. P. Corruption a Brake

Altogether, the shock which the party received when the "little kang" affair followed so closely the Crime of 1899 was the supreme test of its strength. The Socialist Labor Party survived it all. The intrigues failed. The danger was great, the life of the Socialist Labor Party was certainly threatened. When the membership saw Vogt, Sanial, Fiebiger, Forker, Curran, and a score of others who were speakers and writers, turn against the S. L. P. it required moral fibre, strong convictions, and unbending determination to hold aloft the S. L. P. banner. At least in a negative way at this time, in a manner to be described here, the Socialist Party, as it now styled itself, rendered valuable assistance to the Socialist Labor Party.

While intrigue against the party by former Socialist Labor Party officials was the order of the day, and resignations of individuals and even state organizations came thick and fast, and all looked dark as night, so that members and sympathizers of the Socialist Labor Party were overcome by a feeling of uncertainty, the Socialist Party conducted itself in a manner that was bound to turn one imbued with revolutionary principles to the Socialist Labor Party. The corrupt practices, the log-rolling with capitalist political parties, the grovelling before the American Federation of Labor leaders, and the hunt

for votes without considering Socialist principles, did much to keep steady the hand of Socialist Labor Party men and women, and had a tendency to make the latter realize that no matter who left the Socialist Labor Party, no matter how many lampoons were sent out by soreheads, the principles of the party were correct, that the Socialist Labor Party had to be upheld. So the resignations of prominent members finally had the effect that greater efforts were made to maintain the party and its press.

The 1902 eruption started with the notorious Hickey case. T. A. Hickey had been employed by the Socialist Labor Party as agitator and organizer, and at the time here mentioned he was a member of the editorial staff of the Daily People. Hickey as a speaker was applauded to a degree that completely wiped out his modesty, of which he never possessed any great amount. Because he was regarded as a good speaker, aided by his Irish witticisms, which generally took well, Hickey became possessed of the belief that he was the most important asset of the organization. He failed to appear as a speaker where Sections had arranged meetings, and sought to excuse his conduct with most flimsy statements.

Conduct of T. A. Hickey

For literature sold en route Hickey had no inclination to account, and when asked to appear before the grievance committee of Section New York he claimed the Section had no jurisdiction over him. He, the great Hickey, would not allow such a conglomeration as the membership of the Section of the party in New York to judge him. His work on the Daily People was altogether unsatisfactory—in fact, he left the work to others, and was finally dismissed.

Party members who heard Hickey going around denouncing the membership of Section New York were indignant against him. Among these were Julian Pierce, the manager of the Labor News Company, the very one who preferred charges against Hickey, but who later joined the queer set that denounced the Socialist Labor Party, and which included Hickey. Politics makes strange bed-fellows, and so does intrigue. Hickey's protestations and denunciations alone would have

been without any effect, for in spite of his abilities as a soap-box orator no one ever suspected Hickey of possessing force of character or faculties for deep thought.

Hickey's cause was to the surprise of all taken up by a man whose name has been mentioned in these reminiscences a number of times, Hugo Vogt, the former editor of the party's German organ, the able writer and lecturer, who was regarded as a tower of strength in the movement. Little did the party members know that Vogt, who was now the manager of the Daily People, was breaking down under the weight of the responsibilities heaped upon him, work and responsibilities to which Vogt was unaccustomed. Vogt was a clever theoretician, a forceful speaker, but he was not at all fitted for the office he held as Daily People business manager, and should certainly not have accepted the job. Vogt barely measured five feet and had a frail physique.

The "Brotherhood of Booze"

It was the fact that Vogt was rapidly breaking down, physically, mentally, and morally that made him associate with and take the part of Hickey. Hickey having Vogt to defend him, went around like a desperado, shouting defiance at the party, especially when under the influence of liquor, which was very frequently and for long periods.

Max Forker, another one among the agitators and organizers, the best German speaker in the Socialist Labor Party and Vogt's "college chum," was in a great degree the cause of Vogt's conduct. Forker was one of those who have the fixed idea that the elixir of life and action is to be found in the glass filled to the brim with the juice of the grape, hops and malt, or barley, or corn, or rye (he was not particular which, so long as the juice was well fermented or distilled). Forker had the physique to stand a good quantity of any beverage or liquor without any visible signs of bad effect, and since Vogt was overworked Forker recommended the stimulative cup to him, which, however, had a disastrous effect upon the physically weaker man, Vogt. This partaking of stimulants became a regular habit among a few other members, until several of

them formed "the brotherhood of booze" that was bound to have serious consequences and deplorable results.

Again, in other quarters at this same period members who had at first no connections with this "brotherhood" began to find fault with the party administration. The principal ones were a few members of the party in Pittsburgh, Pa., at that time a bright spot on the map of the Socialist Labor Party. Among the latter was the secretary of the Pennsylvania State Committee, Eberle, and his associates Goff, Adams, Schulberg, and others. They contended that Pittsburgh should be the seat of the national headquarters of the party, that the organization of the Socialist Labor Party and the Alliance was more formidable there than in New York; that there was a greater tonnage of wealth produced in the Pittsburgh district than elsewhere (which was quite true, as pig iron is heavy of weight); that Pittsburgh was the "logical center"; that headquarters should be moved to Pittsburgh forthwith, with Eberle incidentally in the position of National Secretary, for while I did not hear Eberle sing that song, "I want a situation. I want it very badly, etc.," that was the real object of the chief of the "logical centrists," as they were called afterward.

Disruptive Elements Combined

A member from New York who had moved to Pittsburgh, one Wegeman, who was extremely bald-headed and who wore spectacles, posed as a sort of intellectual celebrity. Wegeman had in addition to his baldness of head a diminutively flat nose, and wore a Van Dyke beard, so that at first glance he looked all head and whiskers. This individual denounced the party administration in New York to the members in Pittsburgh, who evidently mistook Wegeman's baldness for a high forehead—a dome of intellect chockful of knowledge and wisdom. Many of the members discovered this optical illusion soon, but not before a whole lot of harm had been done. The "brotherhood of booze" in New York was pleased, and welcomed the new allies, the "logical centrists."

The "logical centrists" and the "brotherhood of booze" received aid and comfort from unexpected quarters. H. Keiser, James P. Reid, and Thomas Curran, of Rhode Island, all very

influential members of the party in "Little Rhody," also turned against the Socialist Labor Party, and thus a sort of "triple alliance" was formed to smash the party.

This combination was joined by an additional or fourth element in New York, which trained with Julian Pierce, then manager of the Labor News Company. Pierce had nothing in common with Hickey or Vogt; he was a sober man, in fact the very one, as already stated, who preferred charges against Hickey at the outset of the whole affair. The fellows who stood with Pierce were the two Ephraims: Ephraim Siff and Ephraim Harris, and a few others with saintly names but Luciferic motives. They wanted to discontinue the Daily People and turn the Daily People plant into a money-making enterprise. The Pierce-Siff aggregation became known, accordingly, as the Daily People Killers' League.

United by Jealousy of De Leon

The "triple alliance" became a quadruple concern, but none of its component parts dared openly to assail the Socialist Labor Party principles or tactics; they all claimed to be in accord with the basic principles of the Socialist Labor Party. In attacking the party they all hid their real object behind generalities and personal attacks upon De Leon, Kuhn, and what they termed in their lampoons the "managing powers."

Vogt had only contempt for Siff and Pierce; the "logical centrists" were not in love with their Rhode Island allies, and Pierce disliked all the rest, for he considered himself a "logical center" all by himself. The only thing they all had in common, like their predecessors of 1899, was hatred for the man whose inferiors they all well enough knew themselves to be, intellectually and morally—Daniel De Leon.

Those were indeed critical days. Lampoon followed lampoon—sent broadcast by the four groups that were bent upon killing the Socialist Labor Party. Some good fellows were drawn into the vortex that for a spell gained quite some force. Peter Fiebiger, who because of his good nature and his liberal contributions to the party funds we called "Saint Peter," and Peter Damm, who because of his name was frequently called "Damn Peter," were two men of the latter kind.

It was at this time that old Lucien Sanial was persuaded by Vogt and Eberle to join the "logical centrists." Sanial sent a letter of resignation from the S. L. P. to the National Executive Committee. The sending of a resignation from the party to any other body than the Section of which Sanial was a member betrayed the man's knowledge of facts relating to party organization and its laws and regulations. The National Executive Committee notified Sanial of his mistake, but wishing to save Sanial for his own sake, offered to send a committee to Northport, L. I., where he lived, to have the whole situation in the party gone over thoroughly.

Sanial's Avoidance of an Understanding

De Leon, who at that time was with his family at Milford, Conn., wrote that he too would like to meet Sanial; in fact, De Leon suggested that Sanial should be the judge in the case. De Leon closed his letter by saying, "If Sanial finds that I am in the way of harmony in the party, I am willing to migrate to Kokomo." Sanial replied that the committee need not call, that for the time being he would withdraw his resignation, and that he would come to New York to meet the committee which had been elected by the National Executive Committee to meet him. (This committee consisted of John J. Kinneally and Henry Kuhn.)

Sanial did not keep his word. He did not come to meet the committee, nor did he make his appearance in party headquarters. Instead a lampoon written against the S. L. P. by Sanial was added to the number already issued by the disrupters.

All the four groups of the latter were heard by Sanial; they looked him up and filled his ears with tales of a horrible reign of terror in the Socialist Labor Party. Sanial knew better, but evidently a bit of jealousy against De Leon played a part.

That Sanial knew better was shown by his escape from facing the committee of the N. E. C. which he promised to meet but did not dare to meet. He refused to act as a judge in open court where all sides would have been heard, but did assume all the functions of a judge in a court where accusations

were whispered, where the defendant could not appear, and the light of day could not break through. After presiding in such a court Sanial issued his "opinion," closing with the following words:

A "Boomerang" Prophecy

"Every bad tendency will run its course, and Socialism will survive; then woe to the men whose petty interests, mean ambitions, and vile intrigues may have for an instant arrested its progress and smirched its name."

De Leon had a column in the Daily People reserved for the "little kang," under the headline: "Light Is Breaking." In this column the above prophetic warning written by Sanial was kept standing. It was like the feather cast by the eagle that feathered the arrow which pierced the eagle's breast.

The bad tendency did run its course, and Socialism and the Socialist Labor Party did survive. The four-cornered conspiracy disintegrated and most of its leaders, including Sanial, Pierce, Eberle, and others found their way into the Socialist Party, the same party so vehemently denounced by all of them.

In the 1902 election the Socialist Labor Party received over 50,000 votes. The Daily People blazed uninterruptedly its shot of fire against capitalism and its outposts,—the Socialist Labor Party square remained unbroken.

In the 1902 Congressional election the Socialist Party received nearly a quarter of a million votes, votes caught in the manner that fish are caught, and by no means cast for revolutionary Socialism. The opportunistic immediate demands, palliatives, reform of and within the frame of the capitalist political State were the main issues, besides the catering to the American Federation of Labor,—which organization De Leon characterized as being neither American, nor a federation, nor of labor—brought votes to the Socialist Party. If votes alone had been the only factor in decreeing the fate of the Socialist Labor Party, again the wishes and prophecies of its enemies would have been fulfilled, and the Socialist Labor Party would have died once more.

The Socialist Party, intoxicated with its big vote, enlarged and spread out wider its vote-catching nets, heralding every reformer who was suspected of being in favor of government ownership of railroads or municipal ownership of water-works or garbage-burning plants, as "coming our way." And with the possibilities of landing somebody in office the Socialist Party attracted to itself large quantities of would-be intellectuals, physicians without a practice, lawyers without clients, ministers of the gospel without congregations, all with hearts bleeding for the suffering working class, all possessed with the itch for office and the gift of smooth talk. Thus the Socialist Party grew rapidly. Once having gained the numbers, that in turn gave that movement the momentum to gain still larger numbers and still smaller proportions of the kind of numbers that are needed to carry out the social revolution.

S. L. P.'s Tenacity a Surprise

The innocents among the rank and file of the Socialist Party could not understand why the Socialist Labor Party refused to abide by the majority and how it continued its existence. That the Socialist Labor Party could publish a daily paper in the English language was a puzzle to a good many of these innocents, who were bled by the bigger party to maintain its many papers, all privately owned. The leaders of the Socialist Party tried to explain how it was "all on account of that fiend De Leon," "who was being supplied with funds by capitalists," and "whose influence alone kept the Socialist Labor Party together." Other similar tales were told, such as before the period of enlightenment were told to children to keep them well-behaved and afraid of the bad bogey-man.

While mere numbers were thus gathered the Daily People and its editor were held in awe by these story-tellers, because their many schemes to turn a dollar out of the movement by all sorts of fake advertisements, "get rich quick" methods, selling of gold mine stock by "millionaire Socialists," and other gold brick swindles, all under the cloak of Socialism, were promptly exposed in the columns of the Socialist Labor Party organ. So also were exposed the crooked political deals of Socialist Party candidates in accepting endorsements from both

the Republican and Democratic camps of the capitalist political parties.

The Socialist Party editors of the privately-owned papers simply denounced every exposure of their ill-doing as a "Daily People lie," notwithstanding the fact that De Leon offered for inspection in every case documents proving the charges.

Two "answers" the S. P.ites had always ready (and it is so even unto this day) when the incriminating documents were held under their noses: First, that the party was not responsible for the acts of individuals, locals, or state committees; second, that they had the vote anyway. "What was the good of taking the correct position, preventing corruption, and not have votes?"

De Leon's Educational Work

Thus, while the Socialist Party leaders were employing every method to get votes, more votes, with an office captured here and there and everywhere, and Socialism was used by them as a means to feather their own nests, De Leon bent down to the task of supplying the English-speaking proletariat with most useful knowledge, by translating from the German Marx's "The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," Bebel's ("Die Frau und der Sozialismus") "Woman under Socialism," and from the French the monumental masterpiece of Eugene Sue, "The Mysteries of the People, or History of a Proletarian Family Across the Ages."

Again, what a contrast between De Leon and the writers of books, the "authors," in the other camp. There, writers of pamphlets and books mostly without an original thought, a rehash of what others had taught and written, in some instances even plagiarizing De Leon's great lectures, "What Means This Strike?" and "Reform or Revolution," and invariably paid for by a publisher; here, a man who, having all the qualifications of a man of letters, preferred to translate what he thought useful for the training of the class conscious workers, and equipping them with the knowledge requisite for their emancipation, rather than appear as the author on the title page, with his autograph at so much per volume. For all the literary work outside of the editorship of the Daily and Weekly People, in-

cluding the voluminous Sue book translations (21 volumes), De Leon did not accept a cent, and when a magazine such as *The Independent* paid De Leon for an article of his, De Leon turned the amount over to the party. De Leon was denounced by some people as a fanatic. The Socialist Party certainly cannot be charged with having in its midst any such "fanatic"; quite the contrary.

James Connolly's Trip to America

At this time (1902) James Connolly, editor of the *Irish Workers' Republic*, a paper published in Dublin, came to America on a lecturing tour, by invitation and under the auspices of the Socialist Labor Party. Connolly played a very sorry role in after years, so it may be well to tell here how Connolly happened to receive the invitation of the party to cross the big pond and make speeches in America.

The party administration was not very much in favor of inviting men from abroad to deliver speeches in a country in which they were strangers and the conditions of which they did not understand and did not care to study and understand. This attitude was based on the experiences of the Socialist Labor Party with practically all the orators who had been invited before Connolly. Some had turned out to be Anarcho-reformists or reformo-Anarchists, like Serati, who came from Italy, or like Palm of Sweden who, after touring the United States, told his countrymen that America was an Eldorado for workingmen!

The plea that was made in behalf of Connolly by his friends in New York, the reason advanced why he should be invited to lecture for the Socialist Labor Party, was that he would not be coming to teach but to learn; that all the British pure and simple labor leaders who had visited "the States" were misinforming the workers in Great Britain and Ireland about the Socialist Labor Party, and that when Connolly wanted to expose them he was told, "What do you know about the labor movement in America? You were never there; we were." Connolly wanted to visit America to be able upon his return home to grind to dust all the misleaders of labor in Dublin and Cork.

A young, enthusiastic Irishman, a member of Section New York, Barney O'Toole, appeared a number of times before the National Executive Committee urging that Connolly be invited. Connolly came, and an extensive tour was arranged for him. He received a weekly salary while lecturing for the Socialist Labor Party, and was also granted the privilege of selling subscriptions to the Irish Workers' Republic. Connolly made some pretty good speeches, sold quite a number of his subscriptions, and returned home. But soon afterward (as some comrades had predicted) he returned to this country. Evidently he liked things here better than the "annihilating" of labor fakery abroad.

Connolly's Sorry Role

Because a situation was not given him by the party when he arrived, Connolly began finding fault with the editor of *The People*. He insisted upon certain articles of his on wages, marriage, and the church being published in the *Daily People*. Connolly's contention, embodied in these articles, was that Bebel's "Woman under Socialism" was a lewd book. The appearance was that Connolly's letters were inspired by Ultramontanism, and De Leon refused to publish some of them. The 1904 national convention of the party to which De Leon reported the "Connolly matter," endorsed De Leon's action.

Still Connolly's expression of his opinion, contrary though it was to the opinions of the whole membership of the Socialist Labor Party, did not lead to any ill feeling on the part of De Leon toward him nor did the party Sections show any ill will toward Connolly. On the contrary, many of the Sections invited him to deliver speeches at their meetings, and a friend of the Socialist Labor Party secured a job for Connolly in a machine shop.

When a man has the ambition to wield the pen and deliver orations from the public rostrum it is mighty hard to be compelled by cruel fate to use a monkey wrench instead of a pen, and the workshop bench instead of the speaker's stand. Connolly thought himself outraged because he was not employed on the editorial staff of the *Daily People*, and awaited his time to strike a blow at De Leon, who he thought was in his way in reaching his object.

That time came a few years later, the description of which will form another chapter in these reminiscences, but Connolly's subsequent acts will be more easily understood by remembering these happenings relating to his first coming to America.

Western Federation of Miners

The year 1904 was an eventful one in the history of the American Socialist and labor movement. In the Western mining states it seemed that an awakening had taken place. The object lessons given the workers by Governor Peabody of Colorado and Governor Steunenburg of Idaho, two representatives of raw-boned capitalism, were indeed sufficient to warrant such an awakening.

The members of the Western Federation of Miners struck to enforce the eight-hour law, a law the passage of which it had secured through a constitutional amendment in the state of Colorado after a long-drawn struggle. De Leon's statement that "the tiger will fight for the tips of his mustache with the same ferocity with which he would defend his very life," was illustrated in the bitter class war in Colorado in 1903-1904.

The deportations of members of the Western Federation of Miners, the violation of every law of decency by the ruling powers, the erection of so-called bull-pens, where workers were imprisoned without due process of law; the turning of the mining districts of the state into military camps, with all that such a condition implies,—all this was surely enough to create an awakening in the ranks of organized labor.

The Western Federation of Miners had withdrawn from the American Federation of Labor in 1897, and was regarded as a progressive economic organization. The American Labor Union was practically only another name for the Western Federation of Miners, called into existence to give the miners' union a national character. It was the organ of that body, the American Labor Union Journal, that gave cause for the hope that an awakening had taken place. The articles in this paper denounced craft unionism as well as pure and simple Socialist politics. It looked very much as though the leaders of this Western movement had at last grasped the situation and were beginning to heed the teachings of Daniel De Leon.

How much, in this formative period of industrial unionism, the articles in this journal resembled De Leon's position may be seen from the following quotations, the first from De Leon's great lecture, "The Burning Question of Trade Unionism," delivered at Newark, N. J., on April 21, 1904, and the second from an article in *The American Labor Union Journal* in the December issue of the same year. From De Leon's "Burning Question of Trade Unionism":

Followed De Leon's Lead

"The parliament of civilization in America will consist, not of Congressmen from geographic districts, but of representatives of trades throughout the land, and their legislative work will not be the complicated one which a society of conflicting interests, such as capitalism requires, but the easy one which can be summed up in the statistics of the wealth needed, the wealth producible, and the work required—and that any average set of workingmen's representatives are fully able to ascertain infinitely better than our modern rhetoricians in Congress.....

"In the first place, the trade union has a supreme mission. That mission is nothing short of organizing by uniting, and uniting by organizing, the whole working class industrially—not merely those for whom there are jobs; accordingly, not only those who can pay dues. This unification or organization is essential in order to save the eventual and possible victory from bankruptcy, by enabling the working class to assume and conduct production the moment the guns of the public powers fall into its hands—or before, if need be, if capitalist political chicanery pollutes the ballot-box. The mission is important also in that the industrial organization forecasts the future constituencies of the parliaments of the Socialist Republic."

From *American Labor Union Journal*, December, 1904:

"The economic organization of the proletariat is the heart and soul of the Socialist movement, of which the political party is simply the public expression at the ballot-box. The

purpose of industrial unionism is to organize the working class in approximately the same departments of production and distribution as those which will obtain in the Co-operative Commonwealth, so that, if the workers should lose their franchise, they would still possess an economic organization intelligently trained to take over and collectively administer the tools of industry and the sources of wealth for themselves."

The leaders in the American Labor Union were members of the Socialist Party—at least a good many of them were. This made the situation still more hopeful, for if the men who advocated industrial unionism should carry their convictions into the Socialist Party camp it could only mean the recognition of the correctness of Socialist Labor Party principles, and unity would be bound to follow.

The members of the Socialist Labor Party in the East did not question the integrity of the American Labor Union leadership; least of all did De Leon himself, who, judging men by his own standard of sincerity and earnestness, trusted the men at the head of this new movement to be sincere. At the 1904 national convention of the Socialist Labor Party a delegate from Colorado, Chas. H. Chase, who knew most of the officials in the American Labor Union, declared his doubts as to their integrity. Time proved Chase's suspicions well founded. Nevertheless, the events that followed demonstrated that De Leon foresaw the birth of the industrial union from which the revolutionary Socialist could not stand apart, and that, regardless of the character of some of its founders, was a long step toward the social revolution.

De Leon at Amsterdam Congress

At the 1904 national convention of the Socialist Labor Party, Charles H. Corregan of New York and William W. Cox of Illinois were chosen as the party's standard bearers in that Presidential election. Corregan's speech at a ratification meeting held in Cooper Union still lingers in the memory of many Socialist Labor Party men who heard him that night. The "little giant" was at his best.

In August, 1904, the International Congress was held at Amsterdam. De Leon represented at that Congress the So-

cialist Labor Party of the United States, and held also credentials from the Socialist Labor Party of Australia and of Canada.

The Kautsky resolution adopted at the Paris Congress in 1900, which practically confirmed the acceptance of a ministerial post by Millerand, was the most important question to be acted upon by the Congress. Millerand had become a party to the shooting by the military of striking workmen at Chalon and Martinique by remaining a member of the French Cabinet while those butcheries were perpetrated.

The revolutionary spirit among European Socialists was not then so conspicuous by its absence as in these latter days; the words of Wilhelm Liebknecht, that "to parliamentarize means to sell out" were still ringing in the ears of many among the rank and file. The International Congress of 1904 was looked up to to wipe out the shame of the Kautsky resolution. The original Kautsky resolution was not repealed or reaffirmed, but was replaced by another resolution originally adopted at the national convention of the German Social Democratic Party held in 1903 at Dresden. The only resolution submitted that unqualifiedly and without sophistry repudiated the Kautsky resolution was the following one submitted by Daniel De Leon:

De Leon's Resolution Against Compromise

"Whereas, The struggle between the working class and the capitalist class is a continuous and irrepressible conflict, a conflict that tends every day rather to be intensified than to be softened;

"Whereas, The existing governments are committees of the ruling class, intended to safeguard the yoke of capitalist exploitation upon the neck of the working class;

"Whereas, At the last International Congress, held in Paris, in 1900, a resolution generally known as the Kautsky Resolution, was adopted, the closing clauses of which contemplate the emergency of the working class accepting office at the hand of such capitalist governments, and also and especially PRESUPPOSE THE POSSIBILITY OF IMPARTIALITY ON THE PART OF THE RULING CLASS GOVERNMENTS IN THE CONFLICTS BETWEEN THE WORKING CLASS AND THE CAPITALIST CLASS; and

"Whereas, the said clauses—applicable, perhaps, in countries not yet wholly freed from feudal institutions—were adopted under conditions both in France and in the Paris Congress itself, that justify erroneous conclusions on the nature of the class struggle, the character of capitalist governments, and the tactics that are imperative upon the proletariat in the pursuit of its campaign to overthrow the capitalist system in countries, which, like the United States of America, have wholly wiped out feudal institutions; therefore, be it

"Resolved, First, That the said Kautsky Resolution be and the same is hereby repealed as a principle of general Socialist tactics;

"Second, That, in fully developed capitalist countries like America, the working class cannot, without betrayal of the cause of the proletariat, fill any political office other than they conquer for and by themselves."

That De Leon's vote alone was cast in favor of this clear-cut resolution demonstrates that De Leon stood head and shoulders and some more above the leaders of the Socialist movement in Europe. In De Leon's "Flashlights of the Amsterdam Congress" men and conditions in the movement abroad are depicted in a manner which subsequent happenings have proved to be as accurate as pictures of a panorama caught upon the film by the camera. At the Amsterdam Congress the following "Unity Resolution" was adopted:

Amsterdam Unity Resolution

"In order that the working class may develop its full strength in the struggle against capitalism, it is necessary there should be but one Socialist party in each country as against the parties of capitalists, just as there is but one proletariat in each country.

"For these reasons all comrades and all Socialist organizations have the imperative duty to seek to the utmost of their power to bring about this unity of the party, on the basis of the principles established by the International Conventions; that unity which is necessary in the interests of the proletariat,

to which they are responsible for the disastrous consequences of the continuation of divisions within their ranks.

"To assist in the attainment of this aim the International Socialist Bureau, as well as all parties within the countries where unity now exists will cheerfully offer their services and co-operation."

Following the Amsterdam Congress the columns of the Daily People were opened to the discussion of the question of unity, and this theme became the all absorbing topic, interest being increased by the fact that at the same time the Industrial Union movement had begun to take shape, presupposing on the part of its advocates the acceptance or recognition of Socialist Labor Party premises, the necessity of a class conscious economic organization.

A young man just out of college made his début at the 1904 national convention of the Socialist Labor Party. Many thought that the young man was quite an acquisition to the movement. With the physique of an athlete, the air of a college professor, and the politeness of a funeral director at a first class funeral, when the funeral fees are paid in advance, he was hailed by the delegates as the man of the hour. This young man was Frank Bohn.

Advent of Frank Bohn

Bohn was made national organizer of the party, made extensive trips through the country, and wrote very many reports and letters to party headquarters, depicting how he was carrying the message of the Socialist Labor Party to the workers everywhere, aye, even into the darkest corners of the Socialist Party.

De Leon held Bohn in high esteem and regarded him as a man who had the capacity to take his (De Leon's) place in the editorial chair of the Daily People. It may be, too, that Bohn at that time actually was what De Leon and other party members thought him to be—a well-informed, level-headed, studious, able, and devoted adherent of the sacred cause of proletarian emancipation. The fact that a few years later he turned on the Socialist Labor Party, the organization which he himself had declared to be the only true party of Socialism,

does by no means determine insincerity in his earlier days. Men are not born traitors, and the most degraded prostitute was without doubt a virtuous maiden once upon a time.

While traveling as an organizer of the Socialist Labor Party Bohn came into personal contact with some of the leading men who were at the time laboring to bring about a concrete body of the revolutionary forces of the labor movement on the economic field.

Some of the conferences held at Chicago by officials of the Western Federation of Miners, the American Labor Union, and individual members of other organizations for the purpose of calling a convention to form such a union of workers were attended by Bohn, and when the Industrial Union Manifesto was issued in February, 1905, Bohn's signature was one of those attached to it. Bohn was the only member of the Socialist Labor Party who had his signature attached to that document. The other signers were practically all members of the Socialist Party.

Industrial Union Manifesto

Very few members of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance questioned the integrity of the authors of the Industrial Union Manifesto. Some of those who had their signatures attached to that document, however, had an unsavory reputation, such as A. M. Simons and a few more of his kind. It was explained by Bohn, however, that Simons had his signature attached to save the circulation of the International Socialist Review, and that fellows like Simons were the fifth wheel of the wagon anyhow—the men who were actually the prime movers, the head and soul, were Wm. D. Haywood, of the Western Federation of Miners; Clarence Smith, editor of the American Labor Union Journal; Wm. E. Trautmann, editor of the Brewery Workers' Journal; Thos. Hagerty, the ex-priest,—all of whom were known to have publicly given utterance against pure and simple politicianism. Eugene V. Debs, whose signature also was attached to the Manifesto, did not personally participate in the conferences; his signature was obtained by appeals to his consistency, by reminding him of his verbal declarations and his promises.

The Manifesto threw a breath of new life into the Socialist and labor movement; it aroused the working class spirit of class consciousness among men who had formerly not been reached by the advocates of revolutionary unionism; in the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance it was hailed as the "turning of the lane," as a realization and acceptance of all that Daniel De Leon had taught and insisted upon. Among the American Federation of Labor leadership and Socialist Party officialdom it created apprehension of what might be in store for them should the new movement succeed.

The Manifesto called upon all trade union bodies regardless of immediate affiliation and upon all individual members of the working class to attend a convention in July, 1905, at Chicago.

De Leon at First I. W. W. Convention

De Leon and twelve other Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance delegates attended the first convention, where the Industrial Workers of the World was founded. I was not present at the first or the second convention of the I. W. W., but the stenographic reports of the proceedings of these two conventions are today historical documents that can be read by all who are seeking to be well informed.

It is not within the scope of these reminiscences to describe in detail the many interesting and important happenings at the first I. W. W. convention. Suffice it to say that it was due to Daniel De Leon that the stenographic report of that convention was taken. De Leon foresaw what might come. No one can prevent the enemies of the movement, the wolves in sheep's clothing, from spreading their slanders, nor can every slanderer be answered even when he deserves answer.

As regards the motives of De Leon and the S. T. & L. A. delegation, the stenographic report of the first I. W. W. convention answers them all in advance. It shows that De Leon stood for and fought for the essential principles without which Socialism would remain an aspiration and the goal never be reached.

The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was installed in

the Industrial Workers of the World with a membership of 1,400. Not one of the S. T. & L. A. men was elected at the first convention to the General Executive Board, and yet the S. T. & L. A. was the only body that became part of the I. W. W. that had the actual membership it claimed to have, and upon which the vote in the convention was allotted. The Western Federation of Miners delegates claimed 27,000 members, but never actually paid the per capita tax to the organization. The Metal Workers claimed 3,000 members, and the voting strength of its delegates was based upon that number, but it existed only on paper; yet one of its delegates, Sherman, was elected president of the new organization. Wm. E. Trautmann was elected general secretary-treasurer.

Leaving the convention, De Leon delivered his great lecture on "The Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World," at Minneapolis, Minn. This lecture is in itself a strategic chart of the course that must be taken by the organized workers to assure the road to victory.

FROM 1905 TO THE SPLIT IN THE I. W. W. IN 1908

High Hopes Raised by New Union—Perfidy of the S. P.—Discord Within the I. W. W. and S. L. P.—De Leon's Fight Against "Physical Force Only"

The Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance not only actually installed its membership in the Industrial Workers of the World, but became the most active force in the new organization. All the pent-up energy of the S. T. & L. A. was now put into action. Locals of the I. W. W. were organized wherever the S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P. had adherents.

The zeal displayed by these organizations in behalf of the I. W. W. gave the officialdom of the Socialist Party and other reactionary elements a pretense to make all sorts of allegations to the effect that De Leon and the S. L. P. were out to gain control of the I. W. W., to use such control to bolster up "the dying S. L. P.," which after having been proclaimed dead and buried many times, again was attested to be alive and full of vigor. How sincerely the membership of the S. L. P. worked for the I. W. W., expecting the only reward that men and women who hold a cause higher than all else expect, was shown by the fact that the year following the first I. W. W. convention the political propaganda work of the party was considered secondary in importance, and in some states wholly neglected.

In New York city the existing S. T. & L. A. locals, which

were all chartered by the I. W. W., formed the basis for an industrial council, a central body of industrial unions that looked very full of promise indeed. Although the former S. T. & L. A. men were in the majority in this district council they did at no time as much as assert their connection with the S. L. P., so as not to give offense to some delegates who were S. P. members, like Hanneman; ultra conservatives like Keough, of the stationary engineers, or Anarchists like Dumas, of the silk workers.

The self-denying, conciliatory demeanor of the former S. T. & L. A. men was of no avail, for it soon became as plain as day that no matter to what lengths of tolerance the delegates who were true industrial unionists went, there were always some who shouted that they were abused by De Leonites.

High Hopes Raised by Debs

In December, 1905, Debs came to New York to speak for the I. W. W. His first speech was delivered before a large audience in one of New York's largest halls, the Grand Central Palace. This speech was taken down stenographically and afterward published in pamphlet form. Surely none could find fault with anything the speech contained. It was perhaps the soundest speech Debs ever made.

That day, Dec. 10, I saw some of the brightest expressions on the faces of both S. L. P. and S. P. men,—the revolutionary union, presaging the unity of the workers on the political and the economic fields, was here. There were also some very, very sad countenances to behold, such as the notorious peddler, Michaelovsky, for whose special edification De Leon had a "Letter-box" answer appear in The People in Hebrew characters. Michaelovsky, a dyed-in-the-wool S. P.ite, an old man with a white beard, paced nervously back and forth in a room back of the stage while Debs was speaking, with knitted brow and clenched fists. "Ah!" he said to me, sneeringly, "now you have got a new Moses!"

We had our fun with the Volkszeitung, too, then. Shurtleff, the official representative of the General Executive Board of the I. W. W., organizer of "musical industrial unions" and organizer for the New York district of any other kind of in-

dustrial union, etc., etc., was bent upon having the Debs meeting advertized in the Volkszeitung. I accompanied him to the Volkszeitung's office; it was the first time since July 10, 1899, that I had stepped on Volkszeitung premises. The advertisement we presented was not only for the meeting at Grand Central Palace where Debs alone was to speak, but for two other meetings as well, where Debs and De Leon were to speak together. When the Volkszeitung employe saw what the ad contained he changed colors. "Wait a minute," he said, and rushed to the editorial department. He returned more composed and with a forced smile. "All right, we will insert it." "How much?" asked the grand musical organizer, who, I forgot to say, was an S. P. man. "Seventeen dollars," replied his S. P. comrade of the Volkszeitung. The ad went in; the I. W. W. paid the price; it was dear, but it was worth the money.

Debs and De Leon Together

Of course, the Daily People and all other S. L. P. organs published all announcements of meetings of the I. W. W. without asking payment, no doubt some more of that De Leonistic fanaticism, of which Socialist Party papers are utterly devoid.

The night following the Debs meeting at Grand Central Palace, Debs, Sherman, and De Leon spoke in a large hall in the Bronx. Sam French was appointed by the District Council to act as chairman. French was late, and I had to act in his stead as chairman of this memorable meeting—memorable because the first where Debs and De Leon addressed an audience together, and because both Debs and De Leon were at their best. Sherman was sandwiched in between the two and cut a sorry figure.

It was a grand meeting. The audience consisted of men and women from both the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party, members and sympathizers. Debs's speech was better than the one stenographically reported which he had delivered the day before. De Leon's speech was a masterpiece. The audience applauded both speakers loudly and long.

In introducing the speakers I was not prepared to deliver

a eulogy; it is not S. L. P. style, anyhow. I introduced Sherman as the president of the I. W. W., the future Workers' Republic, and Debs as the hero of Woodstock jail. De Leon I introduced as the man "without friends"—and, hesitating there a moment, I added—"among labor fakers."

The principles and form of organization of the Industrial Workers of the World became the all-absorbing topic in the world of labor. It certainly looked as though the new union would carry everything before it. Workingmen flocked to the meetings where the speakers of the I. W. W. were to dwell upon industrial unionism; the atmosphere was getting warm with the heat generated by the propaganda of revolutionary economic action of the working class.

Labor "Leaders" Feared the End

"An injury to one is the concern of all," was to be applied in the everyday struggles of the workers; no more craft divisions to divide the workers; no high initiation fees and dues to bar them from unionizing; no more labor fakers to use the union as a ladder to climb to political office while preaching "no politics in the union."

One thing was sure, that should the I. W. W. succeed in firmly establishing itself and drawing large numbers of workmen and women to its standard, it would be "all off" with the well-paid advocates of the theory of brotherhood between capital and labor, in the old labor unions, and incidentally "all off" with their counterparts, the political hucksters in the Socialist Party, who claimed to be neutral toward unions while supporting the American Federation of Labor craft unionists and advocates of brotherhood between capital and labor. The success of the industrial union movement would sound their death knell, and they were aware of that fact.

The Industrial Workers of the World could not be attacked with the same weapons and in the same manner as the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance had been. The Davis cigar shop tales and other similar falsehoods could not be warmed up and used over again (though such attempts were made), so other means were resorted to to combat the new organization. Men joined the I. W. W. for the sole purpose of creating dis-

sension; to obstruct, create suspicion, and play all the roles that true disciples of St. Loyola are masters of.

New Jersey Unity Conference

How otherwise can one explain the following occurrence? At the beginning of the industrial union agitation, shortly after the Industrial Union Manifesto was issued, at the time when the waves of industrial unionism ran high, a state convention of the Socialist Party of New Jersey invited the Socialist Labor Party to a unity conference to find a basis for unity of both parties. After the invitation had been accepted by the Socialist Labor Party and sessions held (beginning December 17, 1905, and ending March 4, 1906), the delegates of both parties arrived at the same conclusions and unanimously recommended a basis for unity—a basis that was indeed the only kind to bring about unity, namely, the recognition of the necessity of a revolutionary economic organization such as the I. W. W. then was. But the conclusions unanimously arrived at by the delegates of both parties were rejected by a referendum of the Socialist Party in New Jersey with all against some thirty votes! How could it have happened that the thirty "revolutionists" swallowed all their statements made at the unity conference? How could it have happened that one of the thirty, and he a delegate to the unity conference, Wm. Glanz, whose denunciations of the American Federation of Labor and of private ownership of the party press were emphatic, joined both the I. W. W. and the Socialist Labor Party, only to get out again when enough poison of discord had been spread, and with canine felicity return to his vomit and rejoin the Socialist Party?

It goes without saying that the conclusions of the conference were adopted practically with a unanimous vote by the Socialist Labor Party organization in New Jersey. The following is the finding on unionism of the New Jersey Unity Conference, embodied in a manifesto adopted by the conference and rejected by the Socialist Party referendum:

"The Conference holds: that, unless the political movement is backed by a class conscious, that is, a properly constructed economic organization, ready to take and hold and con-

duct the productive powers of the land, and thereby ready and able to enforce if need be, and when need be, the fiat of the Socialist ballot of the working class—that without such a body in existence the Socialist political movement will be but a flash in the pan, successful, at best, in affording political preferment to scheming intellectuals, and thereby powerful only to attract such elements. On this specific head the Conference moreover holds that a political party of Socialism which marches to the polls unarmed by such a properly constructed economic organization, but invites a catastrophe over the land in the measure that it strains for political success, and in the measure that it achieves it. It must be an obvious fact to all serious observers of the times, that the day of the political success of such a party in America would be the day of its defeat, immediately followed by an industrial and financial crisis, from which none would suffer more than the working class itself.

“The Conference holds that for the Socialist political movement to favor A. F. of L. craft unionism is bluntly to deny Socialist principles and aims, for no matter how vigorously the A. F. of L. may cry ‘Organize! Organize!’ in practice it seeks to keep the unorganized, the overwhelming majority of the working class, out of the organization. The facts can easily be proved to a candid world. High initiation fees, limitation of apprentices, cornering the jobs for the few whom they admit into the organization, are but a few of the methods used to discourage organization, which results not only in lack of organization, but by the craft from of what organization they do have, they isolate the workers into groups, which, left to fight for themselves in time of conflict, become the easy prey of the capitalists. On the other hand, the readiness with which certain portions of the exploiting class force their victims to join the A. F. of L. is sufficient condemnation of the organization.

“By its own declarations and acts the A. F. of L. shows that it accepts wage slavery as a finality; and holding that there is identity of interest between employer and employe, the A. F. of L. follows it out by gladly accepting the vice-presidency of the Belmont Civic Federation for its president, Gompers, thus allying itself with an organization fathered by

the capitalist class for the purpose of blurring the class struggle and for prolonging the present system which is cornered upon the exploitation of labor.

"For these reasons the Conference concludes that it is the duty of a political party of Socialism to promote the organization of a properly constructed union, both by elucidating the virtues of such a union and by exposing the vices of craft unionism. Consequently, and as a closing conclusion on this head, it rejects as impracticable, vicious, and productive only of corruption, the theory of neutrality on the economic field. The Conference, true to these views, condemns the A. F. of L. as an obstacle to the emancipation of the working class.

"Holding that the political power flows from and is a result of economic power, and that the capitalist is entrenched in the government as the result of his industrial power, the Conference commends as useful to the emancipation of the working class the Industrial Workers of the World, which instead of running away from the class struggle bases itself squarely upon it, and boldly and correctly sets out the Socialist principle 'that the working class and the employing class have nothing in common' and that 'the working class must come together on the political as well as on the industrial field, to take and hold that which they produce by their labor.'"

S. P. Actions Contrary to Words

In several other states besides New Jersey the Socialist Party, for the sake of expediency, feigned attempts at unity with the Socialist Labor Party. All these ended as the New Jersey Unity Conference had ended. The Socialist Partyites agreed on all occasions with the Socialist Labor Party men in regard to principles and tactics; they agreed that industrial unionism was requisite to the Socialist movement and the realization of Socialism; that the Industrial Union was the Socialist Republic in embryo. They agreed also on other vital questions, such as party ownership of the press, and on the question of discipline in the movement, but they would have agreed with anything and anybody as a means to extricate their party, caught in a cleft stick, as it were. Their actions

did not square with their declarations of desire for the unity of Socialist forces.

The cleft stick the Socialist Party was caught in was this: to oppose industrial unionism openly or to combat it meant certain destruction in case the Industrial Workers of the World should succeed in organizing large numbers of the working class under its banner; openly to line up for industrial unionism, on the other hand, meant to endorse what they had been denouncing as "rank De Leonism"—it meant nothing less than the recognition of the correctness of the Socialist Labor Party position on the question of the attitude of the party toward the economic organization of labor. To oppose the new industrial organization that threatened to sweep everything before it was to be swept into oblivion along with other rubbish; to be allied with it meant to promulgate Socialist Labor Party tenets, promote the growth of that party, and admit the incompetence of their own Socialist Party. Hence all the talk of unity, all the unity conferences, etc.

Perfidy of S. P. Press

There was no sincerity in all the declarations of Socialist Party conferees, as subsequent developments demonstrated. The Socialist Party press, with its self-appointed editors, accordingly did not dare openly to fight against the Industrial Workers of the World, or to fight for it, but all these editors sought to harm the new union by minimizing its successes and magnifying its mistakes and shortcomings, or by resorting to the method employed by the capitalist press toward the Socialist movement, by silence as silent as the grave.

The only means for saving the Socialist Party was to create discord and dissension in the Industrial Workers of the World. Slowly but surely this was accomplished. Insinuations of the basest sort against the Socialist Labor Party in general and against Daniel De Leon in particular were thrown about by men wearing the mask of industrial unionism—all calculated, of course, to disrupt the I. W. W.

The following episode is an instance in point. The star witness in the case is a member of the Socialist Party, a very prominent member too, one of the secretaries of the New Jer-

sey Unity Conference of yore, member of the Socialist Party National Committee a number of times, speaker, lecturer, writer and what not, as sleek as an eel, but not sleek enough to have escaped from the hand of De Leon, who got James Reilly, for it is no other, to give the testimony against his comrade, Algernon Lee, over his own signature in the columns of the Daily People. This testimony of James Reilly throws light in only one dark corner, but it is sufficient to prove my allegation.

A Ghost-Story About De Leon

After a mass meeting held by the I. W. W. on Union Square, New York, where both De Leon and Reilly were speakers, a number of comrades invited De Leon to a glass of Wurzburger. Reilly, too, went along. The conversation was, of course, regarding the situation in the movement, and incidentally the talk turned to the horrible tales that were being circulated about De Leon by his friends of the Socialist Party. De Leon chuckled with glee at the wonderful ghost-stories which were being told, wherein he was the ghost and in which things were implied, to have been guilty of committing which De Leon must needs have been among the living from the time his ancestor, Poncé-De Leon, sought to discover in Florida the Fountain of Youth.

It was then that Reilly volunteered to tell what Algernon Lee, another shining light in the firmament of the Socialist Party, was in the habit of telling confidentially to all who would believe him—that De Leon, while a resident in Germany, was a Bismarck spy! We all thought this as good a ghost-story as we had heard. De Leon himself had his chuckle out of it, but he requested Reilly to write a letter to the Daily People in the form of an inquiry regarding Algernon Lee's allegation. Reilly, after having made the statement, could not refuse to comply with De Leon's request or himself stand branded as a base slanderer. He did write such a letter, which was published in the Daily People with De Leon's answer appended.

It was quite certain that at the second convention of the I. W. W. some attempt would be made to cause dissension, the way having been prepared by the work of the Lees and

kindred spirits. It was for this reason that De Leon sought to secure the promise of Eugene V. Debs at the time of their meetings in New York and New Castle to attend the second convention, and thus disarm the fellows who were circulating the false statements that the I. W. W. was the tail to the Socialist Labor Party kite.

Desertion of the I. W. W. by Debs

Debs promised to come, but did he, the very one who declared with emphasis that a man who turns his back upon industrial unionism betrays the working class, keep the promise made to De Leon, or did he turn his back on industrial unionism at a most critical moment?

The failure of Debs to keep his word and attend the second convention of the Industrial Workers of the World was doubly an act of betrayal of the cause of industrial unionism. Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, three officials of the Western Federation of Miners—then, nominally at least, the Mining Department of the I. W. W.—had been kidnapped in the state of Colorado and taken to Idaho, there to stand trial on a charge of having murdered ex-Governor Steunenberg.

The fact that the Idaho authorities took the three officials of the miners' union by force instead of proceeding according to law by instituting extradition proceedings against the accused men was a sample of the lawlessness practiced by the ruling class of that state. The "starring" of the leading witness for the state was on a par with the mob law methods of kidnapping men whom it was thought difficult to get into custody by due process of law. Harry Orchard, a self-confessed murderer, was this star witness.

A wave of indignation among the workers of the land rose high in protest against the outrage. Workingmen and women, organized and unorganized, Socialists and non-Socialists, radicals and conservatives, demanded a fair trial for Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone.

The Daily People was the first paper to come out boldly and unhesitatingly in favor of the three accused men and against the foul conspiracy of the mine owners and their political hirelings. De Leon's editorials were not hysterical out-

cries against the atrocious acts of the Citizens' Alliance, like many articles in Socialist Party papers, but the question was handled consistently and fearlessly. De Leon's articles and editorials were the real call to arms to the working class, should the capitalists of the Western states carry out their brutal intent to murder men whom they thought dangerous to their interests.

S. L. P. Endorsement of Haywood

The first and only instance in its history of the Socialist Labor Party's lowering its standard and practically endorsing a candidate of another party, occurred at that time. The candidate was Wm. D. Haywood for governor of Colorado, and the party was the Socialist Party. "Theirs the shame and ours the glory," for it does not matter that, since the day that the Socialist Labor Party put up no candidate in opposition to Haywood, he has retrograded and proved a disappointment, and turned upon the true industrial union movement.

In 1906 the Socialist Labor Party, against the protest of some of its members, bowed to the revolutionary requirements of the time, and the S. L. P. men in Colorado voted for the industrial unionist, Haywood, who at that time typified the revolutionary element in the Socialist Party. For that matter, he perhaps typifies it today, only that in 1906 this "revolutionary element" in the Socialist Party was believed to be real, whereas in the decade that has passed since it has proved itself to be very much like the rest of the Socialist Party—revolutionary only in phrase-mongering.

At such a time, however, when by pressure of emboldened capitalism threatening the whole labor movement, a realignment of revolutionary forces was actually expected, for a man like Debs to fail to appear at a convention of the Industrial Workers of the World when it was known that reaction would show its head and would have to be combatted was indeed to betray the working class. Before relating some of the important happenings at the second convention of the Industrial Workers of the World some of the activities and occurrences in the Socialist Labor Party should be mentioned.

Henry Kuhn resigned as national secretary of the party, a

position he had filled for fifteen years. It is safe to say that few men ever worked harder, with more devotion, promptness, system, and efficiency, in any organization. In determination, zeal, and moral and physical courage, Henry Kuhn, national secretary of the Socialist Labor Party, was never found wanting. On many occasions, in the darkest hours of the party's existence, Kuhn was at his post, cool-headed and with a steady hand on the steering wheel, keeping the S. L. P. to its course. During the time that De Leon was worn out by the strenuous days of 1899 and 1901-1902, Kuhn was at the helm and bore the brunt of the battle.

Frank Bohn was elected in Kuhn's place. A German proverb tells of "making a goat the gardener." That is exactly what was done when Bohn was chosen to fill such an important position, as subsequent developments showed.

Second Convention of the I. W. W.

The second convention of the Industrial Workers of the World was a turbulent one; it turned out to be a "battle royal" between the reactionists and the revolutionists. The Western Federation of Miners delegation consisted of four men, two of whom were the leaders among those who sought to turn the organization into a "pure and simple" affair, while the other two Albert Ryan and Vincent St. John, stood for revolutionary principles.

De Leon led the fight against reaction and outgeneraled the bulldozing Mahoney and McCabe who employed all the tricks of common political crooks. After they saw that the large majority of the delegates were against any crab-step taking, this gentry tried methods of obstruction, calculating that many of the delegates who represented numerically smaller locals of the I. W. W., and whose financial resources were consequently very limited, could not remain very long in attendance at the convention, and that they would have to return home and leave the Mahoney kind in full control.

For this purpose the tactics of obstruction were employed, and the convention prolonged for many days. Soon the majority of delegates, who had come equipped with "rations" for only a few days, were without means to pay for meals and

lodgings, while the few reactionaries were well equipped with rolls of greenbacks, of which they occasionally bragged. The convention overcame this difficulty by voting \$1.50 a day while the convention lasted to the delegates without means of subsistence.

Sherman Deluded by S. P. Men

Chas. O. Sherman, the president of the I. W. W., was found out to be the worst kind of man to be placed at the head of any labor organization, much less of one such as the I. W. W. was originally designed to be. The financial reports showed him to have exploited the organization shamefully. This precious president cost the young organization in one year nigh seven thousand dollars in salary, mileage, and incidentals. Sherman, who had called himself a revolutionist at the first convention (though he never was one), later changed his convictions (though he never really had any). He had been with a stock company for some years, playing the part of a villain, and his histrionic abilities had stood him in good stead at the first convention of the I. W. W.—it was all acted. Besides, so far as he was concerned the revolution was accomplished, and he enjoyed the fruits thereof; as for other humans—well, they could wait a few centuries or so.

The Socialist Partyites who were bent upon causing a split in the I. W. W. told Sherman that "millions of workers" would join the organization if De Leon and the De Leonites were removed. Sherman nursed the fond hope of seeing these millions of members come in and send in the per capita tax by freight to the headquarters on W. Madison street.

Fate willed it otherwise, however. Instead of removing the De Leonites, the office of president was abolished by the convention. This was sufficient cause for Sherman and those who used him to repeat the kangaroo act of the disturbers in the Socialist Labor Party in 1899. The whole scheme to sidetrack the I. W. W. was frustrated for the time being by the revolutionary majority at the second convention. Beaten upon the floor of the convention the reactionists resorted to physical force methods. They did not themselves do any slugging, but

hired private detectives, vermin with which the city of Chicago is infested, to do the slugging for them.

Attempt to Split Unsuccessful

Sherman, Mahoney and McCabe took possession in that manner of the headquarters and proclaimed themselves to be the I. W. W. They also took the cash on hand, as well as all supplies. A Socialist Party man, Hanneman of New York, was made "secretary" of the usurpers. Sherman of course remained "president." A few locals stayed with him; his "organization," to be sure, had not a single De Leonite in it to keep out the millions that were to join.

The millions did not join, and the few locals soon stopped paying their per capita tax. The miles upon miles of freight trains running into the various railroad yards of Chicago still kept on running undiminished in number, but nary a one was directed to 148 W. Madison street, filled with dollars, half dollars, quarters, dimes, nickels, or even coppers, and "President" Sherman waited in vain.

On the other hand, the I. W. W., cleansed of the Sherman gang, again made headway. Though the new administration was left without as much as a postage stamp in funds or supplies, money was soon gathered, a new headquarters fitted out in Bush Temple, and the work of organization continued. Trautmann retained his post as secretary-treasurer; St. John was elected general organizer; and Edwards became the editor of the Industrial Union Bulletin, the weekly then started by the I. W. W.

To all industrial unionists who were rightly informed upon what took place in Chicago at the second I. W. W. convention it was clear that the cause of the fight was the attempt on the part of reactionists to disrupt the I. W. W. There were nevertheless many who were misinformed by the false reports of Socialist Party privately-owned papers which were secretly part of the disrupting elements. That De Leon was blamed for what they called "the split" goes without saying. These very papers, that had hardly mentioned the I. W. W. before,

gave much space to the "Sherman faction" now, with the ill-concealed wish to kill both "factions."

The Sherman clique soon petered out. But a serious blow was dealt the I. W. W. from which it never wholly recovered.

That De Leon was to be blamed for the "split" at the second I. W. W. convention, was a foregone conclusion, and no doubt a part of the scheme of those who engineered that "split." It was comparatively easy to blame De Leon among the superficial readers of the Socialist Party papers, who were only too willing to believe anything wicked about De Leon.

De Leon Blamed by His Enemies

Surely, it had to be that De Leon was the cause of all the splits in the labor movement. "Was he not in the Knights of Labor and was there not a split in that organization? Was he not a member of the Socialist Labor Party, and was there not a split there? Even in the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance there was a split. So there had to be a split in the I. W. W."

So argued the pure and simple politicians, and a credulous audience was not wanting. They cited the old proverb in support of their generalities, that "where there is so much smoke, there must be some fire." No specific act of De Leon's in the Knights of Labor, the Socialist Labor Party, or the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance was ever referred to, unless some of the weird tales, such as were whispered by Algernon Lee (that De Leon was a Bismark spy) and by others of the same ilk (that De Leon was a South American Indian) can be called such. To the superstitious it was even whispered that De Leon had underground connections with His Satanic Majesty.

All such statements were again only generalities and had no bearing on the question of the splitting of organizations; yet it is true, without a doubt, that "there must be some fire where there is so much smoke." The fire was there in all those organizations in the shape of pro-capitalist reactionists whom De Leon invariably drove from cover; hence all the smoke and fire whenever De Leon sought to rid the Socialist movement of such creatures.

The stenographic report of the second I. W. W. convention is the authentic document that is another positive proof

of De Leon's integrity and loyalty to the cause of Socialism, and of his ability as well, for such men as Trautmann, Edwards, Heslewood, and a score of others who afterward turned on the organization and became De Leon's enemies, said that De Leon had saved the I. W. W. at its second convention.

The Socialist Party officialdom heaved a sigh of relief, for the rumpus at the second I. W. W. convention, the setting up of a bogus I. W. W., and the withdrawal of the Western Federation of Miners from both "factions" of the I. W. W. extricated their party from a very tight and unpleasant situation.

The Time But Not the Men

All sincere industrial unionists were at that time hopeful that there was at least one man among the leaders of the Western Federation of Miners who would exert all his influence in favor of the bona-fide I. W. W. and against the reactionists of the Mahoney type in that organization. This man was thought to be Haywood as it was generally believed that he would be acquitted, and that once free he would with Vincent St. John turn the tide in the Western Federation of Miners. This expectation, as we shall see later, was not fulfilled.

At times like those, when the brutal, bloodstained hands of the monstrous capitalist class in Idaho sought to stamp out the economic organization of the wage slaves by hanging their leaders; when the only-one-year-old industrial union, the I. W. W., was treacherously wounded in its vitals by the scheming politicians wearing the mask of Socialism and hiding behind a Socialist cloak; and at a time when the masses of workers were at the crossroads, about to choose whether to take the road that leads to Revolution and Industrial Democracy or to continue on the road of reform promises and craft unionism that winds its way to prolonged wage slavery,—at such a time the Socialist Labor Party was in need of strong men at the helm, men with one purpose alone: to serve the working class by standing unflinchingly for the principles for which the party had fought and bled so many years, for an uncompromising, revolutionary attitude on the political field, and for a class conscious union on the economic field. The Socialist Labor Party needed men at the national headquarters

who would have no axes of their own to grind, no ambition but to serve the cause, men such as De Leon himself was.

At this time the party found itself with Frank Bohn as its national secretary, James Connolly as a member of the National Executive Committee, and Justus Ebert in the editorial room of the Daily People. Each one of the trio had his own ambition, each one wanted to become the editor-in-chief of the Daily People, though each one had a different purpose in that desire.

The Self-Seekers in the Party

Bohn, whom I have described as resembling in manners a funeral director, wanted to become the editor of the Daily People so as to be able to turn over the Socialist Labor Party in bulk to the Socialist Party, and thus become the undertaker indeed. Did he not write, after his schemes had failed, in the New York Call: "I have bearded the lion in his den, etc." Yes, he had "bearded the lion in his den"; he bore the scars to prove it.

James Connolly wanted to become the editor of the Daily People because he imagined himself to have been born to be an editor and incidentally because he imagined it a much easier job than to work as a machinist's helper in the Singer sewing machine factory in Elizabethport, N. J. It would pay better and one would not need to get his hands dirty with oil and grease; not to speak of the opportunities to show one's intellectual accomplishments, as, for instance, to demonstrate how a person can be a revolutionary Socialist and yet remain a good and pious son of Mother Church.

Justus Ebert, who had been De Leon's assistant editor of the Daily People for a few years, wanted to become the editor-in-chief just because De Leon's intellectual superiority became galling to him.

At such a critical period when more than ever the party membership needed to draw closer, these three fellows worked up a feeling of distrust among the party membership, and again some good workers for the S. L. P. principles were led astray. It was the last conspiracy De Leon had to combat in the party.

De Leon Burdened by Controversy

In 1907 De Leon went on a lecture tour from coast to coast, enduring many hardships, which, in addition to the convulsions that the Socialist Labor Party was subjected to by the intrigues of the three would-be editors of the Daily People—Bohn, Connolly and Ebert—weighed heavily upon him. The following part of a letter written by De Leon to the N. E. C. Sub-Committee shows how he felt at that time:

“Los Angeles, Cal.,
“March 29, 1907.

“Wm. Teichlauf, Sec'y.

“Dear Comrade:

“Your communication reached me at Ogden, Utah, on the 19th inst., where I arrived tired in body and preoccupied in mind. I was tired in body from a four days' trying railroad travel from Denver, broken up by frequent freight wrecks which delayed my journey; from two consecutive nights' sleeping on the train, and able to board the train, one night not before 1.30 a. m., the second as late as 2.30 a. m.; from being ashore—in Cripple Creek, Florence, and Grand Junction—either addressing meetings, or, up to the late (early) hours of boarding the trains, in constant conference with friends and party members, whom it was necessary to confer with; finally, from the culminating trial of physical endurance experienced in Salt Lake, where my train reached ten hours later than schedule time, and half an hour after the hour announced for the meeting, where, due to this delay, I had to be driven straight to the meeting, and, due to the dining car having been removed at noon, I had to speak upon a ten hours' fast; finally, where I had to address three meetings within twenty-four hours. I arrived in Ogden preoccupied in mind because, from information received at the ticket office in Salt Lake, there was a washout on the Salt Lake, San Pedro and Los Angeles road, thereby rendering doubtful my being able to take, from Rhyolite, the train for Los Angeles at Los Vegas—a contingency, which, had it proved actual, meant the smash-up of the Los Angeles arrangements, besides heavily increased railroad expenses to reach Los Angeles by the wide detour of back to

Hazen, Nev., and down again over Sacramento so as to save whatever could be saved of the Los Angeles meetings. In this state of body and mind I received your letter asking for an early answer.

"Of course, you could not foresee this aggravating conspiracy of circumstances. Nevertheless, it does seem to me that your Committee should have realized that—even under the least adverse circumstances—a party member who, though not a broken down octogenarian, is no longer a spring chicken, sent out on so long a journey and so arduous a party mission as I am sent out upon, should be kept as free as possible from annoyance, all the more seeing that not a question you ask but has been amply answered in advance both by my letter to the New Jersey party man who demanded from me an explanation of the conduct imputed to me by Connolly (Daily People, Feb. 8th), and by my reply to Connolly's attempted answer (Daily People, March 11th), 13 days and 3 days, respectively, before the date of your letter.

"In view of this I concluded to give the right of way to the work upon which I was sent, and postpone answering your letter to the earliest convenience to the party's interests.

"As I said, you had in your possession an ample answer when you wrote to me; nevertheless, never forgetting that discourtesy breeds bad blood, I shall avoid seeming discourteous, and now yield to your wishes."

De Leon then answered the N. E. C. Sub-Committee in New York which allowed itself to be misled by Bohn and Connolly. The following is a synopsis of the Connolly-Bohn matter.

De Leon refused publication to certain articles in the Daily People which emanated from Connolly. Instead of availing himself of the opportunity to seek constitutional redress and appeal against the action of the editor, Connolly, as member of the National Executive Committee, tried a sleight of hand performance, by moving at the January, 1907, National Executive Committee session that the N. E. C. Sub-Committee should have the right to decide whether certain kinds of matter should or should not be printed in the columns of the official organ. His motion defeated, he claimed afterward that the defeated

motion made by him was to clothe the National Executive Committee with such power. The National Executive Committee, being the highest executive body in the Socialist Labor Party, always had such power and it would have been preposterous to take such a vote.

Trickery of Frank Bohn

Any old trick is good enough so long as it serves its purpose, so Connolly, ably seconded by Bohn, set forth the claim that the National Executive Committee members of the Socialist Labor Party had voted down a motion giving them power over those of the editor, that they were manikins of the "pope," De Leon. It was not until almost a year afterward that Paul Augustine, who, having succeeded Bohn as National Secretary, had been in office for several months and had put in order all party documents which under Bohn's administration were lying loose in a harum-skarum condition about the office, discovered the trick that had been played. Augustine found the original motion as written by the recording secretary of the Sub-Committee, and found that it had been falsely transcribed by Bohn so as to read, by leaving out the word "Sub," "to empower the N. E. C., etc."

The motion as originally written was photographed and electrotyped and reproduced in the columns of the Daily People. Bohn was charged with having thus falsified the N. E. C. minutes; he was challenged to refute the charge; he could not. Before facts in this case were fully known by the party membership, Connolly, as a delegate to the New Jersey state convention of the Socialist Labor Party, made, together with Patrick Quinlan, the false allegation as stated above. The part of De Leon's letter quoted related to this Connolly matter.

Before dropping the three former members of the Socialist Labor Party, Bohn, Connolly and Ebert, let it be told what became of them, which better than anything else will show "who's who and why."

Bohn's chief argument against De Leon was that the Daily People was not edited in an up-to-date, twentieth century manner, that the absolutely correct principles of the Socialist Labor Party must be carried to the membership of the Socialist

Party not in long editorials, but in short terse paragraphs such as only Bohn could write. Bohn demonstrated his inimitable style of converting S. P. members to the absolutely correct S. L. P. position by joining the organization he claimed he knew the art to convert, and in the end advocated the using of lead pipe as a means of working class emancipation.

Connolly actually did become an editor, but as he could not be the editor of the Daily People he did as the sinner who was refused admission in heaven and was not wanted in hell, who got himself a bundle of straw and started a place for himself. Connolly became the editor-in-chief of The Harp, a sheet published by the Irish Socialist Federation, an organization composed of James Connolly principally, if not altogether.

Justus Ebert, however, the last of the aspirants to the editorship of the Daily People, the man who blamed De Leon for having gone too far with the Anarchists at the first I. W. W. convention, went over to the Anarchist I. W. W. himself, body, soul, and breeches.

Third Convention of I. W. W.

Upon his return from the lecture tour De Leon sailed to Europe to attend the International Socialist Congress held at Stuttgart, Germany. F. W. Heslewood represented the I. W. W. at this congress. De Leon made strenuous efforts to enlighten the European comrades upon American conditions and the new industrial union movement. All delegates to the Congress were supplied with I. W. W. literature. Heslewood carried with him some striking proof of the pro-capitalist character of the American Federation of Labor, such as copies of a journal published by the Civic Federation in which there was a double-page picture of this Federation in session, showing Gompers, John Mitchell, and other officials of the A. F. of L. sitting alongside of the leading American capitalists like the founder of the Civic Federation, Marcus Hanna, and church dignitaries like Archbishop Ireland, discussing how to establish permanent peace between Brother Labor and Brother Capital.

As soon as De Leon returned to New York from Europe, without having much time to spend with his family, he went

to Chicago to attend the third convention of the I. W. W.

At the third convention of the I. W. W., which opened its sessions on Sept. 17, 1907, in Chicago, almost complete harmony prevailed. The organization had so far recuperated from the blow it had received the year before that several organizers were being employed and many new locals had been formed. A big strike had been conducted by the I. W. W. in Bridgeport, Conn., and some smaller strikes among the silk workers in Paterson, N. J. The Paterson locals alone had sent during that year (Sept. 1906 to Sept. 1907) \$3,500 in per capita tax to general headquarters.

Out of the 130 votes apportioned among all delegates at the third convention according to the number of members they represented, three Paterson delegates were accorded 28 votes. Among these there was the Anarchist, Ludovico Caminita, editor of the Italian Anarchist paper, *La Questione Sociale*, the sheet which was later suppressed by Roosevelt for publishing alleged incendiary articles which were written by Caminita. The other two delegates were Chas. Trainor and myself.

Caminita did not try to conceal his Anarchist notions behind innocently sounding names. There were, however, three or four fellows at that convention who had the same ideas as Caminita, but who indignantly resented being called Anarchists. They were Foote of Kansas City, Axelson of Minneapolis, and Glover of Cleveland. These men, together with Caminita, sounded the only note of discord at the third convention. They were the shadow cast before by the pure and simple physical force craze that came into full swing a year after. The motion made by these forerunners of the "Bum-mery" was to strike out of the preamble to the constitution of the I. W. W. the words "on the political field."

De Leon's Speech For Political Action

In answer to the arguments put forth at the convention by Caminita and Axelson, De Leon took the floor. His speech, taken from the stenographic report of that convention, follows here in full:

"I was delighted that the discussion was not closed. I know

that unless we settle this thing now and for all time, planting ourselves squarely with both feet and without any quibbling of terms upon what experience tells us is the field of civilization, then indeed this body would have gone to pieces, and that is quite the reverse of the manner in which it was suggested by one of the delegates.

"I am delighted that the leading objectors were given twice the time, that is to say, they were allowed to speak twice, so there would be no question about gag law or that they were not given an ample opportunity to be heard.

"There are two principles underlying their position. One a principle that I thoroughly sympathize with, and another a principle that is utterly mistaken. Before taking up those principles, however, and so as to lead to them, I wish to take up the incidental errors that cropped out from their arguments. Your name is Axelson (addressing Delegate Axelson).

"DEL. AXELSON: Yes, sir; Axelson.

"DEL. DE LEON: Axelson, to my great delight, praised Marx, considered him the leading man whose every thought should guide us. Now, Marx did not write the bible, out of which you can take what you like and leave out what you do not like. Marx was a man, as you justly say, who wrote coherently and consistently, and you will not find in Marx one passage kicking a previous one; therefore he who quotes Marx quotes all that Marx said, and among the things that Marx said was that only the economic organization can set afoot the political movement of labor.

"Now, I did not throw over the church in which I was born to stop kneeling before one Pope and then kneel down before another. I am not down on my knees before Marx, but I am on my knees before that talent whose utterances have proved to be correct. Marx is right, not because he is Marx, but Marx is right because experience proves that all he said was correct, and it is passing strange that anyone who quotes Marx should not be an advocate of political action, when Marx was a confirmed foe of that Anarchistic propaganda that has caused so much blood to flow, and he declared himself upon that position which it has been the privilege of American men to be the first to take the position that recognizes the neces-

sity of political action, and knows that without political action economic action is not worth shucks; not worth that much. (Snapping fingers.)

"Now, I pick out these errors in the hope that I may make some progress in the minds of those who are wedded to them. There is a contradiction, they say, in the preamble, where it talks about the political field and then decides to take and hold without affiliation with any political party, and also orders the General Executive Board in the constitution never to engage an organizer from any political party. You call that a contradiction. Well, if that is a contradiction then whatever is the natural result of existing conditions is a contradiction.

"The I. W. W. preamble is built upon present conditions and the men who organized the body realized that it would be premature, and it would be throwing the apple of discord into our ranks, to attach ourselves to any political party. In consequence it was a recognition of existing conditions to order the G. E. B. not to engage any organizer of a political party as an organizer for the I. W. W., because by doing so you introduce in advance of time a question that should not now be introduced, and the position of the I. W. W. is that when the day shall come it shall itself project its own political party. (Applause.)

"There, consequently, is no contradiction in that part of the preamble, but I have endeavored to explain how correct, according to Marx's own principle, it is that you must take and hold without affiliation with any political party.

"The error has gone abroad that a political party can take and hold. It is an error because you cannot legislate a revolution. A political party cannot do it. The nature of its organization prevents it, and that clause was put in there deliberately as a blow in the face to those fellows who imagine that a political movement is capable of a revolutionary act. So far and no further.

"The brother said what he thought about political action. Now, I care not if the day after the election there is not a vote outside of mine cast, for whatever political party I may cast my vote; I am a revolutionist, and I know the agitation

that I have made has done good. The delegate said here the capitalists are such diplomats that they are trying to take away the ballot from us so as to make us anxious to get it. Do they try to take your wages away from you to incite your appetite for wages? That is too far fetched. Why should you forget? Fellow Worker Trautmann yesterday read to you from the agreement of the Mine Workers' Union where they were pledged not to take part in legislative action.

"Every man who lives with his eyes open knows that the capitalist class fears the political agitation of the working people. They fear it because if we place ourselves upon that plane of civilization, of a theoretical peaceful solution, we can demand anything we want, whereas if you do not put yourselves on that plane then they can do whatever they choose. The vote is not the essential part. If you strike out that political clause and leave there the clause to take and hold, you place yourselves entirely upon the plane that has come to be known as Anarchist, and then good-bye to the I. W. W.

"When I said Anarchist I should perhaps make a correction. I do not believe that he is an Anarchist. I do not believe that the I. W. W. thinks he is an Anarchist (laughter), because the word Anarchist properly means a man who denies literally that there is a head, and we have here a chairman, a head.

"Caminita says that if we are strong enough we need not bother with politics. Of course not, that is begging the question. A child in its mother's womb remains in a bag for a long while, and when the child has grown strong enough it breaks that bag and comes wholly before the earth, before the light, and until the day when he is strong enough to break that bag, that bag fulfills a necessary function—it is a shield under which that child can develop.

"It is begging the question to say that we want political action. I come back to this, I refer to the general strike. We want our political reflex on the day that we are strong enough, but we are not quite strong enough for political action now, we need a political shield.

"Then the delegate said, 'What do we care if we are called Anarchists?' Wonderful argument! During these twenty

years I have been called all sorts of things. I have been charged by some with being a Jew and denying it, and by others I have been charged with not being a Jew and claiming to be one. Samuel Gompers charged me with having received \$50,000 from Tom Platt to set up a daily paper. The gentleman in Denver who originated the term 'coffee and doughnut propaganda,' charged me with having sat at the feet of Sam Gompers at the Briggs House. These are slanders. But what would you think of a man thus being slandered who says, 'Well, I will hobnob with Tom Platt and Samuel Gompers?' No, I am not going to give them a handle to justify the slander just because it is a slander; I must be careful not to give them a handle to justify it. I have denied those charges, and if I were to hold to that philosophy I will be charged anyhow; why, I could associate with Tom Platt and with Gompers, and I think they would be very much delighted to see me sitting there. That sort of argument won't do. If a charge is false against us we must see to it that that charge has no hook upon which it can be hung, and failing that, we fail in our duty.

"Now, as to the errors that crop out of Caminita's brain. He certainly is perpetrating a joke, or else he is woefully misinformed.

"He said if you keep the political clause in here, then it is a Socialist organization, but if you will strike out the political clause then you will be greeted as an economic organization. Why, that is a brand new discovery. Socialism is the gospel of the labor movement. Socialism says that labor produces all wealth, but under the capitalist system of production it is not a human being, it is merchandise, and there is no hope of anybody recruiting his wages, and capitalism will lead to worse and worse conditions. That is Socialism, and Socialism says that the emancipation of the working class must be brought about by the collective ownership of the means of production. That is Socialism.

"To say that we do not want to be a Socialist organization is an absurdity. It must be our pride to be a Socialist organization, and to imagine differently is a denial of the best literature upon the subject.

"He said in France the working class were winning. That is not my information. I know they get it in the neck day after day. It was only the other day when battalions were called out on the streets of Paris.

"He said in Italy they are so strong that any day they like they could start a general strike. Why, my dear sir, I am afraid you slander them without knowing it. If they were strong enough for a general strike, they would be cowards if they did not strike. And by a general strike I understand not simply getting out, but doing something, and the fact that they are not ready is shown by the fact that they are not doing it, and it will not do in cases of this solemnity to fritter time away on such words as that, as they are misleading.

"He said if we leave the word political there, we open the doors for the politician. Yes, if we say that alone; but if we strike out the word political and leave physical force alone then we open wide the doors for the agent provocateur, and it is not a thing that is imaginary. It was shown in the Reichstag of Germany by the documents there that it was a Prussian minister who furnished the Anarchists of Europe with money to get bombs to be exploded in Berlin. It was shown that where an Anarchist had thrown a bomb in France he had two letters, one from Rothschild, the banker, and another letter from the Archbishop of Paris.

"Two years ago at the I. W. W. convention there was a delegate from Barcelona who was an Anarchist, he told me. I met him in San Francisco in April of this year and I said to him, 'Are you still an Anarchist?' Well, he shook his head. A Spaniard came to the office and brought me some papers from Barcelona and in those papers were documents showing that men who are imprisoned in Barcelona as Anarchists were not the men who had furnished or manufactured the bombs, but they were manufactured by the college of Jesuits in Barcelona.

"Yes, strike out the words, 'take and hold.' Strike out the words that indicate the necessity of economic organization, and you have invited the scheming politician; you have invited the man who will logically be elected on such a ticket. Do that, and you certainly open the doors to the politician,

but strike out the words 'political action' in the sense I use them and leave the words 'take and hold,' and then, as it was correctly put, instead of the capitalists wishing to hang Haywood, they would have hanged him by this time, and who knows how many of us would have been on the road to the gallows as well.

"Then the delegate asked, 'How do you expect to unite those men who are in the Republican and the Democratic parties into a political party? I would ask him, How do you expect those workmen who are Democrats and Republicans today to unite in an economic organization to overthrow the Democratic and Republican capitalists? The political action is the wedge to get in among those men, it is the wedge that emancipates them from the thrall of political errors, and when all political errors are removed from their minds, then we have a negative united political action, we at least would stand negatively united upon the political field, and when it comes to that, the man who cannot vote right will do everything else wrong. To imagine that you can leave those men there in that position, that we can leave them there, and try at the same time to organize this body, why, it is the old story of Madam Partington trying to sweep the Atlantic ocean away from her back yard. You cannot do it.

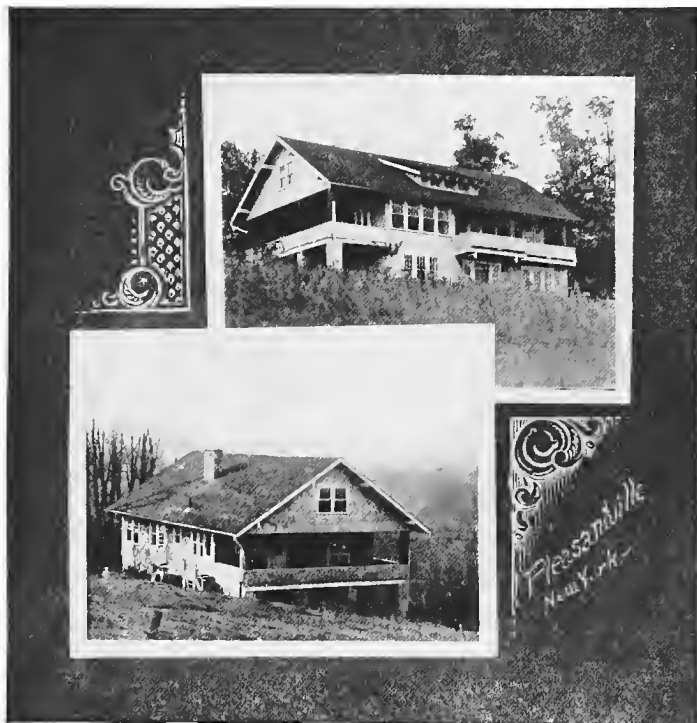
"You may unite a Republican and a Democratic working-man in a pure and simple economic organization that stands upon the principle of the brotherhood of capital and labor and says, 'I ought to have more,' but never can you unite Democrats and Republicans into an organization that says, 'Ours is the earth and the fullness thereof, and we want the whole of it.' Before you can do that you must emancipate their minds of the political errors, and the political movement necessarily does that work. (Applause.)

"He asks what is the difference between the S. P., the S. L. P., and the I. W. W. I will only stop a moment upon that, because the question indicates such a fundamental misconception of matters. The I. W. W. is built along the lines of industries. A railroad knows no state or county line. That is its constituency. The I. W. W. organizes the miners wherever the vein runs, and there is the constituency, whether it is

in Colorado or in Pennsylvania, or any other state. The I. W. W. organizes the cotton workers, wherever cotton is raised, regardless of geographical or political demarkation, that is the constituency. In other words, the I. W. W. is organizing the future constituency of the government of the working class. (Applause.) The I. W. W. is establishing that constituency or those constituencies which will elect their delegates, and some day instead of being a convention hurrying through its work in one week it will be able, at its leisure, to sit as a parliament or congress of the United States. The I. W. W., accordingly, is an association of organized new opinion, the opinion of the proletariat.

"The S. P., or the S. L. P., or any other political party cannot do that, because they are organized upon geographical demarkations, and the bricklayer or shoemaker may go with me to vote at the same ballot-box. A political organization cannot perform a revolutionary act, but a political organization can carry on a revolutionary propaganda. I can get on the stump and say, 'Vote for the principle that will overthrow the capitalist system. Vote for the principle that will put the railroads and all the capitalist institutions of the land into the hands of the workers. Vote for the principle that the man who does not want to work shall be compelled to starve,' and when I do that I am free, I am safe. But let me say on the stump or elsewhere, 'Let us go and take and hold,' and I will have to go then into rat holes and carry on my propaganda; and keep this in mind, the labor movement is one that takes in the masses, and the masses cannot be addressed in rat holes. The masses have to be addressed in the open, and the sun of twentieth century civilization frowns down upon the man who would propose physical force only and reject absolutely the theory of an attempt at a peaceful solution.

"As has been well said, the first man who ran away from this convention was an Anarchist, Moore. We who are not Anarchists know it, and by the way, I forgot to mention this; it is said that this preamble must be more accurate, more exact, that it is ambiguous. It is, is it? You ask Sherman whether he thought it was ambiguous. You ask McCabe whether he thought it was ambiguous. You ask all the pure



DE LEON'S HOME AT PLEASANTVILLE, N. Y.

HE FIRST MOVED TO THIS HOME IN 1913
AND LIVED THERE UNTIL HIS DEATH

and simple economic crooks and their doubles, the pure and simple political crooks, whether the platform was ambiguous. It was so clear that no sooner was it enunciated than all those crooks put their heads together to give us a licking, and we licked them. (Applause.)

"Caminita said that our platform is revolutionary on paper. I want to tell you a joke that Marx cracked on a gentleman who spoke as Caminita did. Marx said that physical force is the midwife of revolution. Anybody who imagines that the ruling class will stand up and peacefully let them do it, is mistaken, but you must exhaust all peaceful means. And Marx said, 'Physical force is the midwife of revolution.' Then an Anarchist arose and said, 'You say physical force is the midwife of revolution. Why, let us take physical force alone.' 'Why,' Marx said to him, 'if that were so, if I want a child all I have to do is to go and get a midwife.' (Laughter and applause.)

"Now, then, we were asked what is civilization? Civilization means that men shall deal with one another as each expects to be dealt with. Civilization means that we shall utilize all the conquests of the human race that have enabled us to do what we are doing here today, talking, although we may disagree, peacefully, without jumping at one another's throat.

"The delegate from Indianapolis made use of a remarkable expression, 'Shall we bother with the capitalist ballot?' That is the vein with which I utterly disagree, and I wish now to take up this thing. Caminita said virtually the same thing.

"There is no such thing as the capitalist ballot-box, any more than there is such a thing as the capitalist ballot, or such a thing as capitalist free speech. These are all conquests that the human race has wrung from the clutches of the ruling class, and for the same reason that I walk proudly and freely on the highway, and for the same reason that we advocate and exercise free speech, for that same reason we stand by the ballot-box, not that it is the ballot of the capitalist, but it is the ballot of the civilized man—the battlefield where we may go and vote and expect to come out without having our bones broken, and the other fellow's bones broken likewise.

"The vein with which I agree is this: I am sure these delegates feel to a great extent the way they do, unknown to themselves, because of the corruption that we know has sprung up in all the parties of labor, and Delegate Young's reference to the Anaconda experience I think covered the point sufficiently; that political movement sprung up; there was no economic organization back of it. It was a rudderless ship, but to say that because political action leads, as we know it does when it is pure and simple political action and not corrupted, therefore, to go to the other extreme is to forget the experiences that we should not forget.

"The labor movement began first with the Anarchistic method of physical force, and swung back to the other extreme, the pure and simple, and it has been oscillating back and forth until the time when the I. W. W. came, and not until the I. W. W. came could that position be established where we have the political action in its right place and the economic action, the necessary basis which gives its reflex to the political, necessary to start the political and necessary to make the political triumph a success.

"Now, perhaps it is not simply for us here in America. I apprehend that the circumstance of my birth, having fallen on this side of the waters, is what made me think we had to do it in America. Marx said it was a revolution in the United States that rung the knell of capitalism, and I came to the conclusion that it was so, and during the last three years in the conventions and congresses I have attended, I have come to the conclusion that it is our duty, and that it would be a crime on our part if we neglected the experiences of the past. Europe needs the education that the I. W. W. is imparting to it. Those young men who are growing up in Europe now are the superiors of anything Europe has ever seen, and they look upon the I. W. W. as the angel of light, and they look for America to give in this generation the signal which was given in seventeen hundred and something against feudalism in Europe.

"Don't let us strike out that clause 'political action.' Let us, on the contrary, understand what it means and carry that information among the working people. Do not let us yield

to the sophistries of the pure and simple politicians who talk about neutrality toward the labor unions. Let us stand upon the square-jointed principle which Heslewood, your delegate, and myself advanced before that congress, and although our time was limited, we got, outside of our own two and a half votes, eighteen votes, the majority of the votes of the French delegation and three votes from the Italian delegation. That resolution says that the industrial organization is the embryo, the seed of civilization.

"Without political organizations we can do nothing; we can never triumph because we array ourselves for a civil warfare, and without economic organizations, the day of political triumph would be, today, that of political defeat. Political Socialism in Europe has shown that backward trend; don't let us give a hand to that, by ourselves going back, but let us take a long step forward today, so long that this same question cannot be brought in here again."

The motion made at the third convention of the I. W. W. to strike out the words "on the political field" from the preamble was defeated by 113 against 15 votes, not a very encouraging result for the advocates of "physical force only." The preamble remained as it was framed at the first I. W. W. convention, declaring for both political and industrial action and unity of the working class.

Haywood's Deficiency in the Crisis

In July, 1907, only a couple of months before the third convention of the I. W. W. opened its sessions, Haywood's trial ended with an acquittal; later Pettibone too was acquitted, and Moyer was set free without trial.

Had Haywood remained true to the organization which he was instrumental in launching only two years before and at the first convention of which he had been the presiding officer, he would have attended the third I. W. W. convention even though the Western Federation of Miners was no longer a part of the I. W. W. Instead Haywood was busy in boosting the Socialist Party, the very organization that did its utmost to destroy the I. W. W., its declarations of "neutrality" toward trade unions notwithstanding.

That the Socialist Party exploited Haywood's popularity goes without saying. Haywood was actually popular then; he became notorious afterward. De Leon had regarded Haywood, as he himself expressed it, as a tower of strength in the labor movement. When the prison doors in Boise, Idaho, opened for Haywood and large numbers of workers turned out wherever Haywood was to appear as speaker; when the true working class instinct asserted itself; when the revolutionary spark only needed to be fanned to become a flame, Haywood's speeches were as weak as mush. Haywood only distantly referred to industrial unionism; did not even mention the Industrial Workers of the World; the supposed "tower of strength" turned out to be the very opposite—simply a "moving picture hero" as he was later characterized by a girl strike leader in the New Jersey silk strike.

Petty Intriguing in the I. W. W.

Yet, Haywood, or no Haywood, when the third I. W. W. convention had concluded its labors, the delegates were more than hopeful that judging by the progress made during the preceding year, in point of membership, influence, and prestige the young organization would forge ahead and that the ailings of infancy were over. This was not the case, however; indeed, "the worst was yet to come." For no sooner had the delegates returned from the third convention than a most malignant "colic" had the I. W. W. in its grip. The germs of this "colic," barely discernible at the third convention, had multiplied rapidly.

Wm. E. Trautmann, the general secretary-treasurer; Edwards, the editor of the Industrial Union Bulletin; St. John, the general organizer, and most of the members of the General Executive Board all showed signs of having turned a somersault, or that they were about to turn one. Trautmann began to find fault with the Daily People, by claiming that E. Markley had been using its columns against the I. W. W. A fellow who was Trautmann's right hand man in the office, who answered all correspondence and was the secretary de facto (by appointment of Trautmann) wrote nasty letters about De Leon. This fellow was Otto Justh, a suspended member

of the Socialist Labor Party. Edwards published letters in the Bulletin written by Pat Quinlan and James Connolly, wherein the S. T. & L. A. was attacked and De Leon slurred.

How careful De Leon was not to arrive at conclusions hastily; how much concerned he was about all that took place in the organization; how he viewed things after the third convention of the I. W. W., and last but not least, under what difficulties De Leon had to perform his work, can be seen from the following letters:

Two Letters From De Leon

"28 City Hall Place,

"New York, Nov. 4, 1907.

"Rudolph, Katz,

"Lancaster, Pa.

"Dear Katz:

"I return the two letters you sent me.

"As to Trautmann's letter:

"His conduct is reprehensible. He does not specify the date of The People containing the alleged objectionable article. When I saw in the last Bulletin (Nov. 2) that he says 'Markley is using the Daily People against the I. W. W.,' I hunted up The People from convention days down to date, that is since September. There is no such article to be found. There are three articles from Markley. Not in the remotest way can they be construed to be against the I. W. W., or any of its officers. Just the opposite.

"In this letter of his to you, however, I imagine I see a light. Can it be that because of Markley's past bad conduct, therefore Trautmann is of the opinion that any article Markley may write in The People, even if that article be upon 'The Immortality of the Soul,' the mere fact of his article being accepted is the 'using of The People against the I. W. W.?' Such a notion is so ridiculous that I wish to dismiss it. And I dismiss it all the more readily because I now have reasons to believe that Trautmann's explosive nature is being exploited, and his credulity played upon by a fellow whom I now make free to call a scamp. That fellow is Otto Justh.

"In order to save me trouble in explaining this matter, I

enclose to you a copy of a letter I received from Justh last Saturday. I immediately sent the original to Trautmann by 'strictly personal' letter, so as to avoid having Justh purloin it. I said, however, to Trautmann that the letter was not personal but official. I asked Trautmann for his opinion on so fishy a letter from his employe, and that Justh was trying to inject New York S. L. P. dissensions into I. W. W. correspondence. I also told Trautmann that some of his letters come signed by him (rubber stamp) with O. J. as counter-sign. This Justh was an S. L. P. man until recently. I understand he was expelled in Chicago for non-payment of dues, or something to that effect. It is clear he is in (underhandedly) with the Connolly crew. How comes he to drag in Connolly? I called Trautmann's attention to the fact that Connolly's name was not mentioned by me or any other delegate on the floor of the convention. Now, then, I suspect that Justh has simply lied to Trautmann about Markley; and he, Justh, being now out of the party, is trying dirty work against it. I also suspect that it is through his 'influence' that Connolly's article was published. For all these reasons it will be well for you to insist upon the date of The People justifying Trautmann's false charges. This matter should not be allowed to rest. Return me the copy of Justh's letter.

"As to your letter to Edwards:

"It is first rate as far as it goes. You might add the point that, when you complained to Trautmann about Quinlan's letter Trautmann said, 'How do we know who Quinlan is?' It so happens that both Quinlan's letter and Connolly's article introduced the writers. Quinlan ridiculed 'the editor of The People'; Connolly slurs the S. T. & L. A. If Quinlan had any real point in economics to make, the point could have been made without throwing ridicule upon me; if Connolly had any real good bit of instruction to convey to the I. W. W. on economics, the thing could have been done without slurring the S. T. & L. A. No one will say that the I. W. W. will be promoted by slurring me or the S. T. & L. A. Both Quinlan and Connolly amply introduced themselves through their slurs.

"If anyone has any right to complain, it is The People

and the S. T. & L. A. element. But we must not play into the hands of mischief-makers. Edwards and Trautmann are doing wrong through inadvertance. I suspect Justh.

"Fraternally,

"D. De Leon."

De Leon's second letter to me on this matter reads:

"28 City Hall Place,

"New York, Nov. 6, 1907.

"Rudolph Katz,

"Lancaster, Pa.

"Dear Comrade:

"I would, under ordinary circumstances, feel cheap to discover that I failed to send in a letter the enclosures that I promise. It is, ordinarily, a mark of reprehensible negligence. In my instance, it does not make me feel cheap, it angers me at the difficulties I have to contend with in this office. I am interrupted constantly. This office is the 'continuation of the street.' The Otto Justh letter goes in now; I also enclose a copy of my letter to Trautmann on that letter of O. J. I did not preserve the copy of the second letter to Trautmann on the subject of his report. Return me the copies.

"I also return within the letter to you signed with Trautmann's stamp, but obviously written by O. J. Your answer, copy of which you sent me, is to the point. O. J. is hedging. Trautmann's report reads, 'Markley is using The Daily People against the I. W. W.' That is a concrete charge, to be proved or disproved by the articles in question. If the charge is true I am guilty. I should not be caught napping by people who wish to use The People against the I. W. W. O. J.'s is still vaguer. He speaks of articles which don't conform with facts. This is an attempt to impeach the veracity of the allegations in articles that do not concern the I. W. W. Insist upon an answer, and upon retraction when the time comes that O. J. can dodge no more.

"Since writing to you, two requests have come to me to answer in The Bulletin the misleading article of Connolly's and set things to right. I don't fancy the idea of taking the initiative in the matter, Edwards having exhibited his woeful

ignorance on economics by publishing such stuff, and also his lack of alertness by allowing such an assault on the S. T. & L. A. [he surely would not have done so had he been more wide-awake] a spontaneous answer by me might wound his susceptibilities. The best way that occurs to me to proceed is this: Should Edwards answer your letter, and its tone justifies the move, you may reply to him suggesting, in view of the importance of economic clearness and historic accuracy, that he write to me for an answer to Connolly's article, confirming or combatting and disproving his contention. Ten to one Edwards will have good reason to do this. Ten to one letters will come in on the Connolly article. An unseemly clapperclaw in The Bulletin may be avoided by a stiff article, written academically, yet without mincing matters, and stating the proposition clearly.

"Fraternally,

"D. De Leon."

FROM 1908 TO DANIEL DE LEON'S DEATH IN 1914

Fourth Convention of I. W. W. Packed by "Bummery" Element and De Leon Unseated as Delegate — Unity Movement — Milwaukee Craze — De Leon's Greatness

All the efforts of De Leon to preserve harmony in the I. W. W. were unavailing. St. John, Trautmann, Edwards, and the majority of the five members of the General Executive Board turned over night, so to speak, against the fundamental principles of industrialism as laid down in the I. W. W. preamble. They no longer recognized political action as necessary. It was a repetition of the stupid Sherman attempt to get rid of the Socialist Labor Party element and thus find it easier to break into the Socialist Party and its much larger membership, and fish in troubled waters.

Once started on the road of inconsistency the "Bummery" stage was soon reached. At a special session of the General Executive Board held in January, 1908, in New York city, De Leon appeared and endeavored to enlighten those who gave signs of being in need of enlightenment. Such examples of wisdom as Trautmann, Williams, and Cole would take no advice from De Leon; they insinuated that De Leon, not being a member of the General Executive Board, had no right to step within the sacred precincts of that highest executive as-

sembly. De Leon was given the floor, but afterward his statements, in the published proceedings, were deliberately misquoted by Trautmann.

I was accused of the monstrous crime of having consulted De Leon before expressing an opinion as General Executive Board member on certain questions. I did not only consult De Leon but frankly so stated in my official communications to general headquarters. How ridiculous would it not sound today if we should read somewhere in the archives of the early history of the Socialist movement that some official of a German or English trade union had been accused of having consulted Marx on questions then confronting the movement! It sounds equally ridiculous even today, and will sound more so as the years roll by and as deeds of yesterday and today become history, to have been accused of consulting De Leon on questions regarding the labor movement. Woe to the enemies of the working class, had the labor union officials all consulted De Leon and acted upon his advice!

Nomination of Preston

Another Presidential election came in 1908. The Socialist Labor Party held its national convention in New York city. For the first time in the history of political parties there was nominated for President of the United States a man who was accused of murder. The Socialist Labor Party in convention assembled did nominate as its standard bearer a man whom the capitalists of Nevada sought to brand as a murderer.

Morrie R. Preston, an official of the Industrial Workers of the World, in exercising the right to picket, was attacked by the proprietor of a restaurant the employes of which were out on strike. The proprietor leveled a pistol at Preston; Preston in self-defense drew his gun and laid low the man who wanted to take his life. Class justice, capitalist class justice, declared that Preston was guilty of murder.

It was not for any sentimental reason that Preston was picked out by the Socialist Labor Party as its Presidential candidate; it was to bring before the American working class the question of the right to picket in a strike, and correctly

did the Socialist Labor Party reason. No picket, no union; no union, no Socialist Republic; wherever the right to picket is denied the workers there can be no organization, and without an organization on the economic field the capitalists can not be expropriated. Preston was exercising his right to picket; the middle class restaurant keeper was the aggressor. Preston had to defend himself or be killed. No jury in Nevada would find a man guilty who had drawn a gun in self-defense—except in a case where a worker stands for his class against capitalist class interests.

The nomination of Preston was a bold stroke against class justice, it was a fearless act in behalf of industrial unionism. Debs was the nominee of the Socialist Party for the Presidency; he still claimed to be an industrial unionist. It was the acid test of Debs's sincerity. Could he as an industrial unionist run against another industrial unionist whose liberty was to be taken for his loyalty to the cause of industrial unionism?

Instead of Debs saving Preston, Preston saved Debs. Preston, confined in prison (having been sentenced to twenty-five years at hard labor) did not measure up to the occasion. Influenced by his attorneys he did not accept the nomination. Thus the opportunity was lost to make the question of a labor union's right to picket a national issue without demanding such a law as a palliative. August Gillhaus was named as proxy for Preston for President and Donald Munro of Virginia for Vice-President.

Turning again to the I. W. W., the whole organization was in a state of unrest. The membership, upon discovering that the officials were acting in a manner that foreshadowed an ugly conflict within the organization, withdrew in large numbers. The financial and industrial panic which was then on had also a very bad effect upon the newly founded local unions of the I. W. W., and many of these lost members.

The Industrial Union Bulletin was then really no longer the journal of industrial unionism but became the mouthpiece of the men in Chicago who sought to overturn the fundamental principles of the I. W. W. As the time set for the holding of the fourth annual convention drew nearer, the contents

and tone of the articles in the Industrial Union Bulletin became more and more hostile toward political action in general and toward the Socialist Labor Party in particular, and the inclinations toward Anarchistic methods more pronounced.

“Overall Brigade” at 1908 Convention

Finally, it was announced that the “Overall Brigade” was coming in force from the Far West to attend the convention. This “Overall Brigade” was really not what the name would seem to imply, namely, men in their working clothes, but consisted of that element that traveled on freight trains from one Western town to the other, holding street meetings that were opened with the song, “Hallelujah, I’m a Bum,” and closed with passing the hat, in regular Salvation Army fashion.

The “Overall Brigaders,” though they traveled in box cars where conductors do not collect fares, were nevertheless upholders of “organized labor” ethics—they would only steal rides on railroad lines that employed union men and would rather walk the ties than “patronize” a scab road. It is safe to say, however, that the directors of such scab railroad lines did not consider a boycott by the “Overall Brigaders” a serious blow.

While the “Overall Brigade” was on its way to Chicago, Executive Board Member Cole, in a letter published in the Industrial Union Bulletin, dared De Leon to come to the fourth convention of the I. W. W. De Leon did come, the open threat of Cole and the implied threat of the “brigaders” notwithstanding. When De Leon did present his credentials from several New York locals, the very same fellows who had dared him to come closed the doors to him when he arrived. De Leon’s seat in the convention was contested and his credentials were rejected on flimsy pretexts.

De Leon was given the floor to state his case, and he did state it in his characteristic fashion. The “Overall Brigade” were seated all in a row on one side of the hall, a tough looking lot. Vincent St. John was in the chair, with sinister mien, wielding the gavel and everything else that could be wielded to keep De Leon out of the convention. Alongside of St. John sat Trautmann, not the same fellow at all that he had appear-

ed to be at the previous conventions; in fact, he too looked as though he had traveled all the way from Seattle by freight train.

De Leon's Rebuke to Slummists

St. John had his physical force well organized to back up his arguments. De Leon had faced many varieties of antagonists in the labor movement, and he faced this variety with the same composure and courage born of knowledge and integrity. Such remarks as, "I would like to get a punch at 'the pope,'" were overheard in the hall among the "Overall Brigaders," but not loud enough to reach De Leon's ears. Had not St. John, ably assisted by Heslewood, the day before the convention opened tried his pugilistic skill on Delegate Francis?

De Leon told them whither they were drifting—to slummism, to Anarchy, to the movement's destruction. When, in the course of his remarks, De Leon mentioned the fact that he had been dared to come, Cole, the very one who had his name signed to the letter in the Industrial Union Bulletin containing the "dare," jumped to his feet and demanded proof that such a letter had been published. De Leon opened his satchel, placed it between himself and delegate Chas. Trainor (formerly of the Locomotive Workers of Paterson, N. J.), and taking out the copy of the Industrial Union Bulletin containing the letter in question, handed the same over to Cole, with the remark: "Here is your letter in cold type. Have you forgotten that you wrote such a letter or was your name placed there without your knowledge and consent? Here I am handing you the copy. I trust you will return it. I hope you have not sunk to the level of petty theft."

The brigaders were shifting nervously; St. John turned red to his ears; Trautmann got very busy writing. Cole read his own letter, admitted De Leon had quoted correctly, handed back the copy and sat down. De Leon proceeded.

The "Overall Brigade" sat in judgment upon Daniel De Leon. St. John was the prosecuting attorney. This man, whom De Leon had befriended and whose life was practically saved by the generosity of Socialist Labor Party women of

New York who had collected funds to have St. John brought from a hospital in Nevada where he was lying with a bullet wound in his right wrist and where, as rumors had it, he did not receive proper treatment, and made it possible for him to go to Chicago,—this same St. John whom De Leon had once confided in, turned on De Leon with all the viciousness of a Western desperado.

St. John, one of those characters described by a magazine writer, who can act as a bouncer in a bar-room, salt a mine, or deliver a sermon or a lecture, charged De Leon with not understanding the proper form of industrial unionism, and with being a member of the Office Workers' Local when he should have been a member of the Printing Workers' Local, of which only a branch (linotype operators) was organized in New York. De Leon was not seated as a delegate upon this flimsy technical pretext.

A sufficient number of other delegates were not seated under other preposterous pretexts as to give the "Overall Brigaders" full control of the convention. It was all the work of a miniature steam-roller such as is frequently used at the conventions of capitalist political parties. Being in possession of all the books of the organization it was an easy matter to disqualify delegates that were not wanted by setting up the claim that the locals which they represented were in bad standing, and seat all those who were wanted. How many of the delegates who were seated represented mixed locals existing merely on paper, only those in possession of the books could know, namely, the general officers, Trautmann and St. John. They guarded that secret well.

Chas. Trainor and I visited De Leon in his hotel before his return to New York. De Leon was in as good a humor as I ever saw him, the action of the packed convention notwithstanding. His faith in the working class and its awakening was unshaken. What he predicted then, subsequent events have proved, that the manufactured majority and the element it represented would seek to drag down the name of the I. W. W. into the gutter of skummism and make it synonymous with Anarchy.

Political Action Repudiated

When, by unseating duly elected delegates, St. John became supreme commander of the "Brigaders," the preamble was changed and political action repudiated. At this convention no stenographic report was taken, and this circumstance gave the St. John clique the opportunity to set up all sorts of ridiculous claims as to what had taken place at the convention. In the Industrial Union Bulletin of Oct. 10, 1908, there appeared what purported to be the speeches of De Leon and St. John relative to the argument on De Leon's credentials. It was Trautmann's "shorthand" report, styled "The Intellectual against the Worker; Extracts from Arguments Made by Daniel De Leon," and "The Worker against the Intellectual; Extracts from St. John's Arguments against Daniel De Leon."

A reader of these "extracts," however, who would not have known who De Leon and St. John were, would most likely have concluded that St. John was the "intellectual," for the representation in the "extracts" of what De Leon had to say was the basest kind of misrepresentation that only a Trautmann could have the audacity to put on paper.

After these happenings in Chicago the district councils of New York and Paterson, together with a number of local unions, called a conference of I. W. W. organizations which was held in Paterson, N. J., on Nov. 1, 1908. The delegates to that conference declared that the doings of the majority of the former general officers had placed them outside of the I. W. W. The conference decided to establish new headquarters in New York city, and elected a general secretary and a general executive board to serve until a regular convention could be held.

The acts of the conference were endorsed by all locals there represented. The pirates in Chicago were repudiated by the I. W. W. organizations generally, as shown by the fact that of the entire membership that voted on the referendum issued by the "Trautmann-St. John Administration," the highest vote cast on any subject was 970, and only three issues of the Industrial Union Bulletin appeared after that packed "convention" had done its deadly work.

Too Much Talk of Unity

The Socialist Labor Party vote in the Presidential election of 1908 was anything but encouraging; it had dropped to 14,237. This was due partly to the enactment of laws in some of the states making it extremely difficult for small political parties to file nominating petitions, so that in some of these states where the Socialist Labor Party had previously had a ticket in the field no Presidential electors were nominated in 1908.

The main cause, however, for failure to nominate Presidential electors in various states and for lack of vigorous agitation generally must be ascribed to too much unity talk. The resolution on unity adopted at the Amsterdam and Stuttgart International Congresses and voted for by the Socialist Party delegates from America; the unity conferences held in various states between Socialist Labor Party and Socialist Party representatives, created a feeling of uncertainty among Socialist Labor Party adherents.

As in all of their dealings the Socialist Labor Party membership and officials were honest and upright, so they were on the question of unity. When the International Congress had adopted the resolutions urging the unification of Socialist forces in countries where the movement was split and where more than one party claimed to be Socialist, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party immediately notified the National Committee of the Socialist Party that the S. L. P. was ready to abide by the decision of the International Congress. The National Committee of the Socialist Party, always playing, like Bret Harte's Heathen Chinee, with 24 packs in its wide sleeves, pretended to favor unity. The S. P. had its delegates voting in favor of unity resolutions in Europe, but thwarted every effort to unite the Socialist forces at home. The request of the Socialist Labor Party that a committee of each party meet to discuss a basis for unity was hypocritically rejected, without, however, the question being put to referendum vote of the membership.

The three years intervening between the International Congress held in 1907 at Stuttgart and the one held in 1910

at Copenhagen were taken up with unity talk, among groups of individuals from both parties. A good many Socialist Party members, a few locals and even a whole state organization sought to bring the matter before the whole membership of the Socialist Party, but without success. The Socialist Party officialdom would not have it. They had trouble enough as it was, mending political fences, preparing catch-penny schemes, and adding additional quantities of sugar and water to their already much diluted "Socialism." Men with S. L. P. training would only be in their way. It is, after all, contrary to the laws of nature and a very unthankful job to try to unite fire and water.

Nevertheless the Socialist Labor Party with all its integrity was seeking to carry into effect the unity proposition of the International Congress. The least the party expected was that the double-dealing of the Socialist Party would be censured severely by the Copenhagen Congress. Up to the time of the Copenhagen Congress much of the Socialist Labor Party's activity and zeal was lost. The unity proposals became lightning rods down which the S. L. P. bolts were conducted, which otherwise might have done a good deal of damage to the S. P. structure. This no doubt was the most important factor that reduced the voting strength of the Socialist Labor Party in 1908.

None other than the Socialist Labor Party could have withstood so severe a reverse. It withstood the setback in point of its reduced voting strength, quickly recuperating; in 1910 the vote again reached nearly 30,000. This, too, at the time when the city of Milwaukee was carried by the Socialist Party by electing Emil Seidel mayor in the spring elections and sending Victor L. Berger to Congress in the fall elections of the same year.

Failure to Oust De Leon From I. S. B.

The Socialist Party went Milwaukee-crazy at that time. Its soap-box orators, like howling dervishes, were shouting, "Milwaukee, Milwaukee, Milwaukee; in Milwaukee; at Milwaukee; to Milwaukee; as Milwaukee; like Milwaukee; Milwaukee, Milwaukee"; "Oh! You Milwaukee." The "Milwaukee

Idea" of opportunism and nonsense was to spread throughout the United States, and then, woe to all capitalists—Morgan, Schwab, Carnegie, Hill, Rockefeller trembled at the very thought of the triumphant Socialist Party buying them out!

De Leon attended the Copenhagen International Congress. Messrs. Berger and Hillquit were there, too. There was an attempt made by Hillquit to have De Leon removed from the International Bureau. First Hillquit maneuvered the Congress into deciding that the number of votes the Socialist Labor Party should be allotted be reduced to one, which was comparatively easily accomplished, as the S. L. P. vote had been only 14,000 in the preceding election. Then Hillquit moved that only such parties should have a representative in the Bureau that had at least three votes in the Congress. This petty scheme the Congress rejected, for while the European Socialists were not abreast of De Leon in his revolutionary attitude, they were not men who would indulge in common trickery. De Leon retained his seat in the International Socialist Bureau.

The "Milwaukee Idea" craze reached its climax when in the Congressional elections of 1910 Victor L. Berger, the foremost advocate of that "Idea" was elected to Congress. All that was necessary to elect Socialist Party candidates to all local, state and national offices, was to emulate Berger's methods. The S. P. men certainly tried hard, and it was not their fault that they failed to accomplish what Berger succeeded in accomplishing. The Socialist Party candidates for public office outdid Berger and his "Milwaukee Idea" a hundred fold. The larger the salary attached to the office for which they were the running candidates, the more pronounced were they in the advocacy of opportunism.

De Leon had entertained hopes that Berger might some day realize, realize before it was too late, that the road of opportunism leads to reaction instead of progress. De Leon credited Berger with being more of a Socialist and a man of more ability and at least willingness to learn, than many of the S. P. celebrities, until he met Berger at the Copenhagen Congress. While at Copenhagen Berger on one occasion (during sessions of the Bureau, as De Leon himself told me)

came around where De Leon was sitting, eager to engage De Leon in conversation. With the familiarity of the ward heeler, Berger said: "Comrade De Leon, why don't you come over and join our party?" When De Leon met Berger personally he abandoned his hopes and sized him up to be a typical politician whose mental vision was limited to the border lines of the county or district where he might be running for office.

Karl Liebknecht in the United States

In 1910 the Socialist Party engaged the eminent German Socialist, Dr. Karl Liebknecht, for a lecture tour throughout the United States—a very clever move on the part of that party, a move that was to give the Socialist Labor Party its death blow, for such must have been the real motive of inviting Karl Liebknecht.

There is hardly another prominent lecturer in the Social Democratic Party of Germany who has less in common with the Socialist Party opportunist stand than Liebknecht. Yet Liebknecht, the leader of the revolutionary wing of the German Socialist movement, was brought over to lecture for the Socialist Party here and thus appeal to the revolutionary element developing in its own midst, just as Legien, the leader of the German trade unions was brought over later to show to Samuel Gompers how truly conservative Socialists are, and thus win the good will of Gompers and his followers.

Liebknecht did not realize that his good name was being used for a bad purpose. De Leon vainly sought to meet Liebknecht upon his arrival in New York, but did finally meet him at Newark, N. J., not without having first to overcome some obstacles laid in the way of a meeting between them by the Socialist Partyites, who were evidently much alarmed lest De Leon should spoil their vote-catching scheme.

Liebknecht placed too much importance upon mere numbers. He lectured for the Socialist Party. Socialist Labor Party men, however, attended the Liebknecht meetings everywhere and used the opportunity offered for the distribution of Socialist Labor Party literature, never forgetting to hand a few copies to Liebknecht himself.

That Liebknecht did place too much importance upon

numerical strength I have positive proof of. I was at the time on an agitation tour and happened to be in St. Paul, Minn., when Liebknecht arrived there to deliver his lecture. I intended to ask Liebknecht a couple of questions relative to his revolutionary position and Socialist Party "revisionism," and made my intentions known to Socialist Party members in St. Paul and Minneapolis with whom I had had many tilts during my stay there and previous to the arrival of Liebknecht. I never asked these questions, however, for no sooner had Liebknecht concluded his lecture than a singing society closed the meeting with the usual "Tendenz-Lieder."

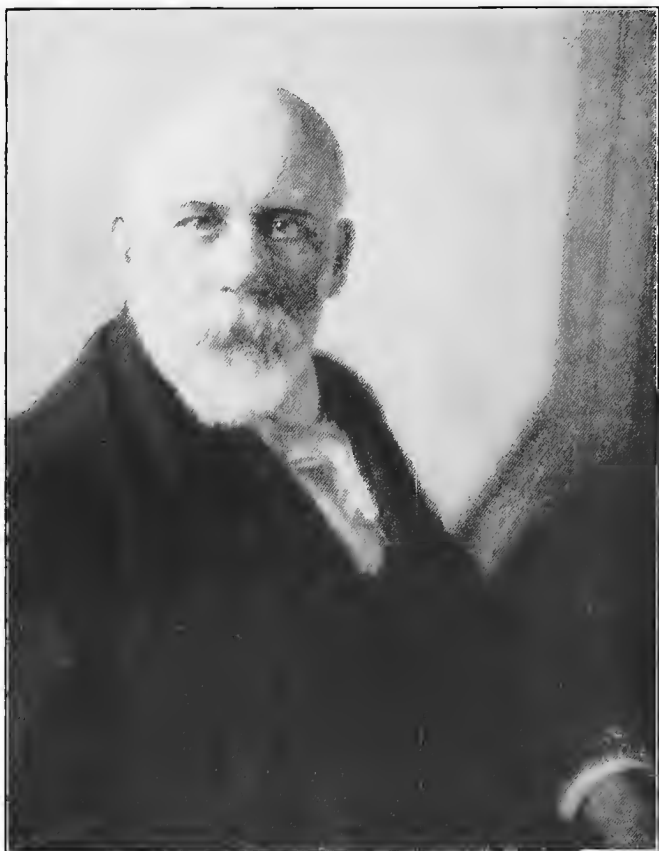
Liebknecht impressed me as a true revolutionist, more by his manner of speech than by what he said. There were no attempts to reach heights of eloquence, no affectation or stage-strutting.

Not having the chance to ask a question publicly, I tried to have my question answered after the meeting was over. In company with several other S. L. P. members I introduced myself to Liebknecht, but the S. P.ites formed a cordon around Liebknecht and I did not get further than the introduction. Comrade Wm. McCue, a tall and broad-shouldered man, elbowed his way to Liebknecht in spite of the ring of "kangaroos," and laying his hand on Liebknecht's shoulder, said: "Dr. Liebknecht, what do you think of the Socialist Labor Party?"

Liebknecht, sizing up the tall questioner, replied with a smile: "Oh, you are all right, but you should join the bigger party. Now the S. P. is the bigger party. I spoke with Comrade De Leon three hours in Newark. Oh, you are all right, but you should join the bigger party."

In coming to St. Paul Liebknecht had passed through Milwaukee. Evidently the numbers had affected him somewhat. Five years after, we find Liebknecht battling, be it said to his honor, almost single-handed against the "bigger party" in Germany, while the policy that sacrificed revolutionary principles to mere numbers finds the working class shedding its blood in the bloodiest of all wars, with the sanction and approval of the "bigger parties."

The warning De Leon had uttered at the congresses of



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the International and that was not heeded was later written on the hills and plains of Europe in the blood and tears of the working class. The "bigger party" in Germany sanctioned the "defense of the Fatherland" by voting billions for the continuation of the slaughter, and—Oh irony of fate!—"the bigger party" also sought to read the revolutionist, Karl Liebknecht, out of its organization.

In a series of brilliant editorials entitled "Berger's Hit and Misses," De Leon paid his respects to "the first Socialist Congressman," Victor L. Berger. These articles, which were published subsequently in pamphlet form, again gave evidence of De Leon's straightforwardness toward friend or foe. It was not a question with De Leon whether Berger was a member of the Socialist Party; he would have criticized a member of the Socialist Labor Party who would not have squared with correct Socialist principles—if anything, even more severely than he criticized the acts of Berger that were contrary to the proper conduct of the first Socialist in Congress, and he would not have bestowed as much praise on an S. L. P. member for any act that did measure up to the standard of a revolutionist as he did upon Berger.

One important incident in the class struggle illuminated vividly, although for a short period, the absolutely correct position of De Leon and what came to be known as "De Leonism." That incident in the class struggle was the strike of silk workers in 1911-1912 that started in Paterson, N. J., and which spread through many cities in New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania.

A Big Strike on "De Leonistic" Lines

The strike was conducted by the Industrial Workers of the World, with headquarters at Detroit, Mich., the organization that had repudiated the Anarchist I. W. W., with headquarters at Chicago. This true industrial union became known as the Detroit I. W. W.; it some years later (1915) changed its name to the Workers' International Industrial Union.

The silk workers in Paterson, becoming tired of A. F. of L. pro-capitalist tendencies, joined the Detroit I. W. W. en masse. The silk workers in Hudson County, Plainfield, Sum-

mit, Phillipsburg, N. J., in New York, in Easton and Allentown, Pa., followed. Thousands of other textile workers joined the Detroit I. W. W. in Passaic, N. J.

This strike movement was conducted differently from the manner in which any other organization "runs" strikes. The opportunity of speaking to thousands of wage workers engaged in a struggle for better conditions was utilized to impart to them class consciousness, to enlighten them upon the goal of the Socialist movement. It was not the old story dished out by the old as well as the new type of "strike leader": "Boys, stick together and you will win," or, "Beat up the scab," etc. The workers were told what they could expect while capitalism lasts; they were told in plain words that the workers produce all wealth and are entitled to all they produce, but that nothing can be gained unless it is gained through solidarity, through united intelligent action on both the political and the industrial fields.

Fifty speakers of the Detroit I. W. W. were on the strike scene; Herman Richter, the general secretary was among them. Arthur E. Reimer, Caleb Harrison, Frank Young, August Gillhaus, Robert McLure, Olive M. Johnson, Margaret Hilliard, Edmund Seidel, M. Angelevski, Boris Reinstein, and many others used their best endeavors and worked overtime to enlighten, encourage, and organize. A number of young people, the sons and daughters of New York comrades, came to Paterson to help in doing clerical work; thousands of membership books had to be issued for which men, women, and boys and girls who had joined the organization clamored, and which could not be made out as fast as applicants for membership demanded them, for in those days nothing was so cherished as a membership card of the Detroit I. W. W.

S. P. and Bummery Treason

But the hand of treason once more destroyed the newly built organization, which at its very birth was thus not only under the fire of the common enemy, the capitalist class, but was attacked from all sides. The fear of the Socialist Partyites on the one hand that a strike conducted by men most of whom were clear-cut S. L. P. members would not increase the

S. P. vote, and of the Anarchist I. W. Wites on the other hand, who feared to lose their much-sought-for notoriety, the A. F. of L., and all the rest of dark reaction all militated against the Detroit I. W. W.

In the midst of the strike William D. Haywood was brought to Paterson and Passaic; the direct action S. Pites as well as their anti-direct action comrades sided in with Haywood, and the apple of discord was thrown among the strikers.

Suffice it to say that the textile workers' strike of 1911-1912 clearly demonstrated that the working class will eventually organize as the workers did then and, ripened by experience, will not be an easy prey to treason and deceit.

De Leon had no illusions about the outcome, when I spoke to him at the inception of the strike. He pointed out the numerous enemies the organization had to combat. I argued that the workers in Paterson had had enough experience and could not be fooled so easily. While the strike lasted De Leon gave it the support it deserved and the Daily People was the only English paper outside of the official organ of the Detroit I. W. W., the Industrial Union News, that reported all the strike happenings from the strikers' viewpoint. The New York Call, of course, supported the other side.

On May 31, 1912, the notorious Recorder Carroll, of Paterson, pronounced a sentence of six months in jail upon me for alleged loitering in front of the Reinhardt silk mill where I was doing picket duty that morning. I was confined in the Passaic County jail until Aug. 12, and had thus to spend the summer under most unpleasant conditions.

The worst feature of jail life is the regulation that compels the inmates to retire each to his cell at a very early hour. At half past five p. m. the bell rang the signal for the prisoners to be put under double lock in the long row of cells. The only thing that comes near to jail life in my experience is a steerage trip on an old-fashioned steamer across the Atlantic. One is sure to get sea sick in both of these places. The most abominable feature is the filth and vermin with which the walls, ceilings and floors of the very small, dark cells are filled.

It often occurred to me how well such a place could be

compared with the capitalist system, inasmuch as neither can be kept clean or reformed because of the very manner of its construction, even when attempts at cleanliness are actually and honestly made. There are bound to be more ills of all sorts, more things to be reformed, under capitalism, than there are reformers; so the vermin in one cell exceeds in numbers the citizens of a populous city or the membership of a reform party. The comparison would also hold good in that it would be as useless to try to reform the capitalists as it would be to try to reform the bed-bugs.

The stone floors of the halls where the prisoners spend the short day are kept scrupulously clean, however. A visitor may easily be deceived, but not if he would stay over night, especially in summer.

Both Frank Young (who was sentenced to three months) and I had a good many visitors, with whom we were permitted to talk through the bars of a door leading into the main hall. I had the "special privilege" to talk half an hour each day to some representative of the Detroit I.W.W. But each day persons were admitted into the jail hall itself, where they could freely converse with the prisoners. These were persons who had some pull with the sheriff.

De Leon's Visit to the Prison

One set of people seemed to have more of this privilege than any other; they were clergymen of all denominations. A minister of the Gospel had evidently the right above anyone else to come when he liked and go when he pleased. These gentlemen preached and held religious services very frequently. Nothing was allowed to interfere with these services or prayer meetings.

One day I was called to the barred door to speak to visitors. The visitors were Comrade De Leon and Paul Augustine, the then national secretary of the Socialist Labor Party. The very sight of De Leon made me and Young forget our tribulations. I asked the guard at the door to let my visitors inside the hall, but he could not break the rule. De Leon turned to the sheriff, who happened to be near, with the request to be permitted to come inside. The sheriff's little eyes

blinked at De Leon's features, and the door was opened.

It was my most pleasant half hour in jail. Later I thought that the sheriff was so overawed by De Leon's venerable appearance and his keen searching glance, that he simply forgot to show his authority which he delighted in showing otherwise, as Victor Hugo's great character, Jean Valjean, was impressed by the countenance of the good bishop. In fact, I had a suspicion that the sheriff of Passaic County did indeed take De Leon for a bishop, and that that was why the door opened for De Leon so quickly.

A few weeks before De Leon was taken seriously ill I called at the Daily People office. "Comrade De Leon, how is your health?" I inquired. "Never felt better in my life," De Leon answered. He then looked the picture of health, robust and strong. The next time I saw him was at the Mt. Sinai Hospital a few days before his death. Daniel De Leon passed away on May 11, 1914.

Greatness of Daniel De Leon

The greatness of this man will be recognized by the whole world. The members of the Socialist Labor Party have held De Leon in high esteem, but not even the most loyal of his comrades could fully appreciate De Leon's genius. His was a master mind. His hand has drawn the strategic plans that will give the working class the power to destroy the forts of capitalism and rear the structure of the Socialist Republic.

De Leon's actions were not prompted by impulse, instinct, whim or policy. The logical deductions of his scientific studies were at all times the determining factors guiding all of his acts. There are perhaps men who possess as much learning as did De Leon, but to be the possessor of knowledge and to give that knowledge acquired by long years of study to the disinherited class of working men and women is quite a different matter. This De Leon did. Not only did he give all his knowledge to the working class, but his whole being as well. He was not only a philosopher but a man of action, taking part in the bitter strife and struggles of the Labor movement.

While others used the Labor Movement as a means to gain applause, or an easy life, or both, and trimmed their sails accordingly, De Leon spurned applause and wealth at the expense of the progress of the movement. He remained poor in the things that money can buy, but was as rich as Croesus in being the possessor of an intellect that all the gold in existence can not procure.

Was De Leon's life a happy one amid the continuous battle against error, prejudice, superstition, reaction, and corruption? Was his life a happy one, with his having to forego many good things and surroundings and companionship congenial to a man of De Leon's culture? It was. The knowledge of having served in such a great measure the lofty cause of Socialism compensated him for the lack of other pleasures. His family life was as pure as De Leon's high standard of ethics. The stern, oft-times grim fighter was like a child among his children.

I never sought to intrude upon De Leon in his home, but being invited I visited him with my family (about the size of which De Leon knew no end of jokes) in the summer of 1912. The picture then presented will ever remain in my mind—Comrade De Leon, his wife, and children seated about him on that summer evening.

Millions of human lives have been destroyed by the ravages of war in Europe. Rivers of human blood have been shed, untold misery and suffering created. "Is it possible that to have followed the teachings of one individual could have prevented that most horrible butchery the world has ever known?" the well-meaning doubter would ask.

Yes, it was the indomitable spirit of a Columbus that would not turn back the vessels which set out to reach land by the western route—one man. Yes, the chart drawn by De Leon's hand will eventually be accepted and followed by the working class. Then all the murderous implements of war will become useless; the enlightened members of the working class, organized in an integral body at the point of production as well as politically, will raise the banner of International Socialism not only over the parliaments and capitals of the Political States, but also over the supply stations of the cap-

italist system, the factories, mills, mines, and end capitalist class rule forever.

When finally all the struggles of the proletariat, all the defeats and victories will have been recorded in history, the greatness and worth will be recognized of that One Man—
Daniel De Leon.



DANIEL DE LEON - 1904

IN THE EDITORIAL ROOMS OF THE "DAILY PEOPLE"
2-6 NEW READE STREET, NEW YORK, NOW THE SITE OF THE
MUNICIPAL BUILDING: ENGAGED AT THE VERY TIME
WRITING HIS REPORT TO THE INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST CONGRESS HELD THAT YEAR AT AMSTERDAM

TO HIS PEN

BY CHAS. H. ROSS.

The bands which held thy comrade's love have burst,
And stark thou art in rust-consuming clutch—
Bereft, alas! of his caressing touch!

Oft have those fingers, pulseless now, immersed
Thee in Pierian springs to quench thy thirst,
The while thou served him faithfully and much;
Fulfilling all thy tasks in manner such
That every line thou traced a cloud dispersed,

So fighting for that age-crushed suffering mass,
Thy point pierced myriad bubbles of untruth—
The forfeiture, majority's acclaim;—
Poured rich reflections on the sensitive glass,
Which turned awry Reaction's stabbing tooth;—
And well-earned trophies crown thy master's name.

DANIEL DE LEON THE PILOT

TO HIS WIDOW

By F. B. Guarnier.

He tarried for a while at the island of the lotus-eaters, a race of visionaries, and scantily partook of their food, but, stronger than Ulysses's, his mind was not dulled by it, and in the social waters he saw a ship being rigged, and to it he went. He inquired whence it came and for where it was to set sail. Fore and aft he examined, and he inspected the hull and the beams and the sides and the masts and the sails, and he put ballast in it and helped in trimming its sails, and he saw that it was fitly caulked for the arduous voyage. And he equipped it with a compass lately devised by one Marx, an old sailor, whose theories on social navigation had been spurned in his age and then were beginning to be circulated.

And the crew proclaimed their Pilot this man who had so endeared himself to them because he was so wise and yet so unassuming, so human. In the distance, but clearly, he saw a beautiful sky, he saw green and flowery fields, he saw a regenerated race of men, he saw freedom, he saw happiness. And he set sail, hands firmly on the wheel, keen-eyed, alert-minded.

He encountered gales, and the huge billows of that unknown sea did not injure the staunch ship. Once they directed its course toward the island of the Cyclopes, but the Pilot discovered that they were one-eyed, and from their un-free actions he saw that their minds were crippled. And he did not anchor there. His eye was fixed on the compass, his mind was fixed on the goal, his hands were fixed at the wheel.

And even the winds of Aeolus were powerless to alter the

movement of the staunch ship, for the Pilot had well drilled his sailors in the manning of the sails.

And when the Aegean Isle was near and some of the sailors on the ship perceived the beauty of Circe's palace, they swam ashore and, satiated of her charms and food, they became as swine. And their mind gradually adapted itself to the body.

In vain did Sirens sing. The Pilot stood at the wheel, keen-eyed, alert-minded, and he grinned because some of the crew fell victims to their ravishing music and to their blandishments.

He saw rocks and he steered the ship clear of them, and he made note of them on his chart. And the icebergs he encountered did not cause him apprehension or fear, and the flower of his crew, encouraged by him, did not relinquish their work.

And Scylla thrust forth her heads, Self-seeking, Ignorance, Slander, Mutiny, Treason, Confusion, and he slew them, and the whirlpool of anarchic Charybdis did not swallow the ship, though many of the crew sought safety and in fear fell overboard or jumped to oblivion.

The Pilot diligently watched the compass and steered his wheel. And his crew received inspiration from him, and cries were heard from a few that had left the ship that its course was insane; from a few that the Pilot was a poor navigator, that the promised land lay in the opposite direction and that he should steer backward.

The sea became calmer, the horizon clearer. Some of the people who inhabited islands nearer to the great land thought him a master pilot, for he had dared go so far and they shouted encouragement to him. And in some of the islands crept reptiles that hissed defeat. But the Pilot stood at the wheel by night and by day, imparting great knowledge to the crew, solaced by the presence of his life-companion and of his children, making charts for the safety of future navigators. And he partook of little food that he might not lose sight of the compass. But the work which he had incessantly, so faithfully done, began to weigh upon him, and the long vigils ex-

hausted him. . And the sight of the approaching island caused his heart to beat faster, weakened his pulse, and the Pilot succumbed at the wheel.

But the sea you charted we shall sail, O Pilot!

DE LEON—IMMORTAL

BY SAM J. FRENCH.

"Since last we met, alas," my comrade said, "De Leon died"——

Forthwith I challenged: "'Tis not so! De Leon cannot, did not, will not die."

Only mortal things go through the change called death and leave no trace of that which in their forms had previously existed.

The stupid bourgeois dies, bemoaning his sad lot as does a bellowing kine foundered in the trackless bog,—and, like unto the kine, sinks into the mire of oblivion, to be forgotten with the passing day.

The churl dies,—and death ends all for him—is thrown into the ground, less valued than the rooting swine whose carcass would at least make food for living men.

The lordling dies, and with much pomp and ceremonial mummerly is laid away—and all posterity recks not that he lived.

The warrior dies, and, truly in his case, "The path of glory leads but to the grave."

The politician dies, and all his cunning tricks and vulgar play at what he deems great statesmanship, availeth not to make his name immortal; e'en though the fool has had it carved in stone on public edifice or shaft, he is as dead as is the stone itself.

The king dies, and if the thing he stands for still survives, some lackey, to another figurehead bows low, and, rising, cries aloud: "Long live the King!"

The great financial master dies, and though with pharisaic glee and much pretence, and gifts galore from his ill-gotten gains, he has besought the world to place his name upon the list of those who loved mankind, his passing off amounts to

simply this: Another worn-out wheel has dropped from out the gears that drive the blood-stained car, the great machine we not inaptly name the "Juggernaut of capitalist sway," and been replaced with one more up to date, mayhap with power more intense than his.

The professorial toady dies,—the tinsel notoriety he gained, the extra crumbs his masters had bestowed, make up the total sum of his reward; to the truly intellectual, he has gone "back to the vile dust from whence he sprung,—unwept, unhonored and unsung."

The priest dies, reluctantly—knowing there is no golden terraced city in the skies with diamond studded gates flung open to receive him; leaving behind a man-made hell of brain-emasculating, superstition-fed ignorance and fear,—to have his memory and calling held in contemptuous execration by enlightened generations yet to come.

Even the gods die,—as human lore expands—and one by one the very names they bore become mere threads with which to weave new nursery tales for children, or themes to illustrate the crude beliefs the race accepted while yet its mental status was infantile.

Aye, in countless thousands mortal things and things begot of mortal wants and fears, are chemically changed, or disappear, and all goes with them that they were or stood for before the transformation.

* * *

When all the preaching charlatans of old, and all the sordid traders of the marts, and all the sturdy fighters of the wars are long forgotten, what names will our posterity revere?

Those that were borne by great and noble minds who gave to us—and, not to us alone, but to all the world: to those who are and those who are to be—new knowledge and grand principles to guide the race upon its upward trend along the glorious spiral to the heights toward which they saw we all must needs aspire if we would reach the fitting goal of man.

Immortal Marx and Engels; many more in divers lines of effort and of thought; the great discoverers of scientific facts; profound expounders of learning and of truth; colossal minds who sent forth to the world vibrations charged with

wisdom undefiled, which traveling swiftly down the lanes of time prompt new ideas in the minds of men, the which in turn give rise to newer thoughts—progression that forever will go on while progress is the watchword of the race.

From our own little corner of the earth, undying **Morgan**, **Franklin**, **Lincoln**, **Paine**, great **Phillips**, worthy **Stephens**, and withal, like **Sirius** shining in the star-flecked sky undimmed by many other sparkling suns, our own **De Leon**.

* * *

When most of the contemporary names, those who have sought for prominence or fame, have passed into oblivion's deepest shade, **De Leon's** will by all the world be spoken as reverently as that of **Marx** today.

When **Castro's** clever rule and feats of arms are known no more, men will remember that the great **De Leon** was of the Venezuelan sun-kissed coast.

Though all forget did Spanish men-at-arms or Dutch first rule in fair **Curacao's** isle, that 'twas the birthplace of this noble mind will be well known to all the world's elect—

De Leon, who taught to labor's struggling hosts the secret of true tactics for the strife; who charted all the pitfalls in the road, warned what to drop, showed what to cultivate, and, with unerring genius, found the course we must pursue if we could win the day;

Who, when the clouds seemed blackest in the sky of all our hopes and aspirations dear, with keen analysis of passing things soon pointed where the sun would next break through and shine with more effulgence than before;

Whose teachings in the maelstrom of today, are more and more being turned to by the wise,—impelled thereto by logic of events—and, we who know them, fully understand that, shall the destinies of our own class,—and with them of the entire human race—be guided right, they must prevail.

That 'twill be so, there is no room to doubt, and yet men say: "Alas, **De Leon** died!"

Ah, no, my friends, I must again repeat: **De Leon** cannot did not, will not die!

DANIEL DE LEON—AN ORATION

BY CHAS. H. CORREGAN.

[Delivered at the second annual commemoration of De Leon's birthday, held at Laurel Garden, New York City, on Dec. 14, 1916.]

Ladies and Gentlemen, Comrades and Friends:

In this celebration of the natal day of Daniel De Leon, I believe we are taking a page from the calendar of the future and dedicating it to the memory of one who will be considered the foremost exponent of the principles of Socialism in America and of his time.

Those who will follow us and will lack the opportunity of seeing and hearing and knowing De Leon which we enjoyed, will look to us for an estimate of his life, his character, and his services, and it is our duty to his memory and to their enlightenment to utilize these anniversaries in order to convey to them the contemporary estimate of the man, that they may truly weigh and determine his place in the history of the struggle waged that they might enjoy freedom and plenty.

One who has been honored by an invitation to speak at the institution of such a day, and for such a man, is prone, too often, to intrude his own personality into the picture, or for the sake of rounding a period or turning a phrase to blur the impression which should be given and thus mar the likeness. I trust that I will not have sinned in that respect.

Again, it is many times the practice to enlarge the figure to heroic size, to magnify the services and exaggerate the claims upon the future. It is not my purpose to place our dead comrade upon a pedestal high above the crowd. Time will give the true perspective of his merits, when we are gone. It is to his greater honor that being thoroughly human and amid the cares and struggles and opportunities and environ-

ment, which were common to all his kind he rose far enough above the level of his time, that future ages will be interested in his work and hold his name and services in remembrance.

De Leon was no demi-god from whom it is natural to expect marvelous things. Even Alexander the Great could not survive the fatal cup of Hercules. The very disadvantages under which a great man carries on his work, his foibles and weaknesses, serve to accentuate his superiority and confirm his genius. It is a plain, a true, and an unvarnished story of his life that throws his greatness into bolder relief. We can not rear a monument to his memory that will outlast the blasts of time except on the foundation he has built and with the material he has supplied.

De Leon was no writer of Bibles, and he founded no sect. He lacked the dreaminess of the idealist and the patient meekness of the proselyter. He drew none to him by his magnetic personality, he bound none to his side by the loveliness of his character, the honesty and purity of his motives, or the beauty of his language, though he possessed all these endearing and ennobling traits.

It was these very qualities that drove men from him. For De Leon was an apostle of Fact. Facts were his ideals, facts alone were honest, facts alone were things of beauty, and facts alone were the things to be worshipped and adored and followed. Idealists disdain facts: their heads are in the clouds, they worship and revere the unseen, the unknown, and the unknowable, and De Leon was for facts, facts, and more facts! for things that were terrestrial, and could be wrestled with, and manhandled, and grasped, and comprehended by every reasoning being. In bringing a cause to the stature of human development and raising it to the dignity of a world-wide movement, this quality of his was indispensable and he proceeded on his entrance into the Socialist Labor Party to divest it of its idealism and build on the solid rock of fact.

De Leon, above all things, was a teacher. His wide reading, his great learning, and his logical reasoning fitted him well for the task of mentor, guide, philosopher, and friend to a class whose position in capitalist society deprives

them of nearly all educational advantages. He had remarkable power of lucid explanation, his aptness of illustration was a marvel of conciseness, and he was adroit in presenting his case. His keen eye penetrated the obscurity in which capitalist henchmen sought to surround every assumption of right, and once he grasped what was necessary to win, he pursued his course with clear view, fixed purpose, and unfaltering steps. Not content with tearing to pieces capitalist sophistries, he found the weak spots in the Socialist movement and directed his energies to strengthen or eliminate them.

There was nothing in the early life or career of De Leon, his associations or training that identified him with the toils, the privations, the aspirations, or the thoughts of the class to whom he afterward devoted his great talents. He was reared and educated amid the surroundings of the well to do, who are instilled with the idea that conditions are everything that can be hoped for, or are content to leave well enough alone. But De Leon was a born fighter, and once he grasped the scope of Socialism he entered the lists as its champion with all the joy and ardor of a Spanish cavalier. It was a movement large enough and wide enough and broad enough and high enough to engage his whole soul, his whole thought, his every action, his very life, and he devoted to it his talents and powers, his pen and speech, while life was in his body, and dying left behind him those whose highest ambition is to emulate his actions and put a period to his work.

Upon his entrance into the Socialist Labor Party, after the single tax movement had spent its force, De Leon's genius was quickly recognized and appreciated, and he soon took a leading and at length a commanding position in its conduct. He became editor of its official organ, and from that point of vantage began to mold it into a party which would be able to cope with triumphant capitalism. With him began the history of a real Socialist movement in America, the foremost country of capitalism. The task before him, however, was no common one, for he had to clean house before he could get fairly started.

He found the movement with no fixed purpose, drifting with every wind and tide, without compass or direction. It was a party of fusion, confusion and compromise, lacking self-confidence and self-sufficiency, seeking to hide its weaknesses behind the skirts of every movement, no matter how absurd, that professed to oppose the powers that be. It was a tail for the Greenback-Labor Party and the United Labor Party, and lost its identity as a Socialist movement in each, until the master hand of De Leon plucked it like a brand from the burning and established it as the only political party in America that was thoroughly self-sufficient and could stand alone, refusing compromise and condemning fusion—the undaunted Socialist Labor Party. He gave it a purpose and a goal.

He found it a movement in the hands of those, however well meaning, who could not grasp the genius or spirit of American institutions, and who while conforming in dress and manners to American ideas, still kept their thoughts and language in glazed peaked caps and wooden shoes, patterning all things political after European models, and endeavoring to train the young giant of the West in the strict and narrow school of European tyranny.

He found its advocates and teachers speaking and working in fustian, aping and phrasing the shibboleths of bourgeois ideals and concerning themselves with bourgeois reforms and measures; looking for success to the barricades or to a jacquerie, or waiting and watching for a Napoleon or a Christ.

He found a movement bowing to everything calling itself labor, without examining its claims or contesting its right, and indirectly party to the misleadership of the workers.

He found in its ranks self-seekers, careerists, those looking for advantage or gain at the expense of the movement, and he drove them ignominiously from the Temple of Labor.

All this he found, and more, and he set himself to the task of remedying it and pursued it untiringly and unrelentingly to completion. Naturally, his greatest opposition came from within the party. Every freak, every faker, every fraud,

every fool, whose pet views or private interests were endangered, arrayed himself against him. Ambition, envy, hatred, malice, and downright dishonesty and ignorance, recognizing that he was the head and front of this movement, assailed him personally and sought to stay his hand. But he met them all staunchly and, conscious of the right, fearlessly pursued his course and left to us a movement whose enemies are without and not within.

He bequeathed to us a movement self-reliant, confident of itself, scorning compromise and fusion, in harmony with the spirit and progress of American institutions and American capitalist development. He gave it a literature and a language all its own, in keeping with its great purpose and sufficient for its great needs. When he entered the party he found Socialism a qualifying adjective—and he left it a noun. He found it credulous; he left it critical. He found it uninformed, intractable, uncertain, uncouth, un-American, inarticulate, almost dumb, and he left it a movement fit to take its place as the great movement of the age and to meet its opponents with vision clear, aim certain and tongue unloosed. And all this was in his time ascribed to him. Others may have aided in the work as unselfishly, and devotedly, and untiringly as he, but those who opposed the movement knew and recognized that he was the master mind that directed it all. For

“Some have been beaten till they know
What wood a cudgel’s of by th’ blow;
Some kicked until they can tell whether
A shoe be Spanish or neat’s leather.”

And well they knew the feel of that Spanish kip, and they unwittingly honored him and recognized his worth, by designating it all by one word—De Leonism.

Let no man shrink from that name, or fear to align himself under that banner. It stands for clearness, courage, constancy, certainty. And as in its growth and development every unclear and unclean element within went down before it and every foe without recognized and felt its strength, now

in full stature, brought to maturity by him, let us keep it a terror to its enemies and a buckler to its friends.

As Marx in his exile in England, in his time the highest developed capitalist nation in the world, found the conditions necessary for a complete and critical analysis of capitalist production, and by his great work, "Capital," was able to point out to less industrially developed countries the methods of capitalist advancement, so De Leon's residence in the metropolis of the New World, where capitalism, unhampered by feudal restraints, was able to press forward to the complete conquest of social and political powers, enabled him to see the effects of capitalist advancement and triumph.

As the highest industrially developed country holds up a mirror to those which are still backward, so De Leon's work for the Socialist movement in America will make him not only a national but an international character. The healthy growth of movements in the British Isles, Australia and other English-speaking countries, along the lines laid down by him and upon the principles he enunciated, shows what in the end will be his position in the estimation of the workers of the world. As I said in 1903 in the preface to the "Two Pages from Roman History," which I wrote at De Leon's request and which met with his unqualified approval:

"While the theoretical contributions of the thinkers of Europe are valuable to the American Movement, capitalist development in this country and the social and political phenomena inseparably connected therewith have peculiarly fitted the American Socialist militant for the practical consideration of questions arising from them. Just now, when Aesop's fable of the philosopher who fell into the well is being illustrated by many of the mental giants in theoretical lore who are leading the working class movement in Europe into the pitfalls of petty bourgeois Socialism, or into the mire of official inactivity, American Socialists can repay their debt of gratitude to the European philosophers by pointing out the dangers that lie in the path along which Socialism must labor. Fact, in America, has taken the place of theory. The tragedy of capitalism is no longer produced on the stage, but is enacted in everyday life. Idealism has given way to

realism; and the 'American invasion' will soon force similar conditions in Europe."

De Leon's voice which at three International meetings was a voice crying in the wilderness, "Prepare ye the way!" will swell into louder and louder tones, and those who ignored the lessons he taught and who heeded not his warnings, will come more and more to recognize his pre-eminent position in the movement for working class emancipation, and his teachings will influence and sway the aroused proletariat for years to come.

The conceit that numbers gathered under a Socialist political banner to overthrow feudal restraints or work out bourgeois reforms, is sufficient, has ended with millions of workers in the trenches, fighting each other and dying for capitalist victories. The pity of it is that this Daniel, who read and interpreted the handwriting on the wall for parliamentarianism, did not live to see the social catastrophe into which the jingoist, office-holding, cabinet-filling political Socialists had led the proletariat, and to draw with trenchant and inspiring pen the lessons that flow from it.

But though his chair may be vacant at the council board of the workers of the world his spirit and counsel will yet animate them, and from the ashes of the old International will arise a new International built on the solid rock of both political and industrial organization—a political organization powerful enough to give the death blow to the capitalist State, backed by an industrial organization prepared and equipped to rear the Socialist Republic.

De Leon, by neither act nor word, attempted to impress those whose advantage, social position, or education was inferior to his own that he was master. He inculcated the principle that himself and they should submit to reason and the party rule. To guide them he used the art of persuasion and good example, which alone can secure sincere and lasting obedience. He was no head-hunter seeking the destruction of others for his own aggrandizement, but the enemies of the party and the enemies of the working class were his personal enemies and he pursued them unrelentingly.

Though compelled by that ostracism, which comes to ev-

ery man who leaves his class to take up the cause of the oppressed upon whom that class battens, to give up the associations, relationships, and relaxations to which he was accustomed and fitted, and to seek companionship with those with whom he labored, it was instinctively felt by all that De Leon was a man apart from the working class. No one ever attempted a familiarity with him, any more than a freshman would be familiar with his professor. All felt the dignity of his personality and would have resented in others a familiarity they would not presume to show themselves. Even by older men he was called by the endearing title, "the Old Man," and while yet in his early career received the homage and consideration that only comes to others with many years and long service.

De Leon struggled hard to enter with heart and spirit into the enjoyments and recreations of the workers, but he never thoroughly succeeded. His presence, however, never acted as a damper upon those who were enjoying themselves to the fullest bent. He loved to see the relaxation of those engaged in the movement and was as solicitous for their pleasure as he was for their loyalty. He did not like long faces. His own hope was large and he had great buoyancy of spirit. He was never long despondent under adversity and always took the brighter view. He liked to hear the laugh go down the battle front, for it showed that the army was not despondent. Those of us who remember the owl-like solemnity with which the routine business of the party was conducted in the early days, and with what frowns even innocent attempts at humor were met, can give thanks to De Leon that he enlarged our views and improved our spirits by digging Artemus Ward from the dusty shelves of memory and furnishing the best proof that our hope was unshaken, our spirit undaunted and strength unbroken.

I remember well the first intimate conversation I had with him, when I came to New York in 1900. After I had paid my respects to the party officers and the staff of the Daily People, De Leon with a serious face requested a private talk. Taking me into his sanctum, he carefully closed the door and seating me in a chair opposite him, he said:

"Corregan, you have been placed in a very ticklish position. As candidate for governor of the state of New York you have been given the acid test of loyalty, and I want to warn you of your danger. You see in me the only survivor of that test, all the others have deserted the party. Now that you know the worst, what do you think?" Taking in the humor of the thing, I assured him that I did not believe it would be long before I enjoyed the unique distinction on which he prided himself, for it was not beyond the range of possibility the way things were going, with old comrades deserting, to see De Leon himself become an anti-De Leonite. That reply placed me upon a friendly footing with him which in all my personal dealings with him I think I never lost. I believe the acid test with De Leon was that a man could still keep his spirit amid difficulties and smile in the face of the foe.

It was because De Leon never fully understood the working class and its limitations that he was so often unfortunate in the selection of his lieutenants. His workingman was an ideal workingman. He did not know how alluring are the prospects that capitalism still holds out to one who seems fated to be a beast of burden. Coming into the struggle wholeheartedly and devotedly by giving his life to it, he could not conceive that one of that class, whose only hope rested upon the success of the movement, could prove untrue. Being without guile himself he did not expect it in others; being honest himself he could not see dishonesty in them; being faithful himself he suspected no treachery. But when he found his confidence abused, when the truth dawned upon him that he was deceived, he pursued them ruthlessly. Again and again the instruments in his hand broke with the strain, or proved useless, but again and again he returned to the work, with renewed zeal, depressed but never broken in spirit.

"For Freedom's battle, once begun,
Though baffled oft, is ever won."

I have touched, and that perhaps briefly, upon the life and work of our dead comrade only as it had a powerful and lasting effect upon the Socialist movement in America. His personal gifts and graces, his intellectual and moral force, his

rare self-abnegation, his sterling honesty, his unflinching courage, his unbounded confidence, the purity of his motives, the dignity of his personality, the suavity of his manner and the charm of his conversation, endeared him to us and held us to him with bands of steel; and made his death a personal loss. These traits and qualities cannot be felt, but may be appreciated by those who come after us.

De Leon's home life was ideal. Love ruled and blessed that family, and its increasing numbers brought not greater cares, but greater joy and comfort. To that home he could go when fatigue and anxiety and disappointment and difficulties beset him, and return refreshed, with doubts removed, spirit buoyant, confidence unshaken and purpose undaunted, to take up again the task which means a future of happiness for the toilers, and a name which to his dear ones will far outweigh in the balance of time the greatest fortune that was ever heaped up on the misery of mankind.

Learned teacher, untiring advocate, revered friend, the class to whom he devoted the best years of his life will hold him in grateful memory. Hammered brass and sculptured stone shall fail to save from oblivion the names of those who sordidly and selfishly pursued their own gain or advantage, but when a triumphant working class shall write—as write they will—the story of these stirring, trying times, his name will be acclaimed foremost among their champions. Let us in dedicating this day to him dedicate ourselves to the cause he espoused so manfully and devotedly, and thereby add greater glory to him who taught us how to harness and direct a revolution and put a bit into the mouth of chance.

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