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Labor in national politics since 1871

Martin Cone
State University of Iowa

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LABOR IN NATIONAL POLITICS SINCE 1871

-By-

Martin Cone

A Dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Department of Political Science of the State University of Iowa in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.
The purpose of this work is to determine to what extent, if at all, Labor has acted as a self-conscious unit in national politics. The word, Labor, here and throughout the following pages, is used in a restricted sense; it is employed to designate the industrial workers as distinguished from those engaged in agricultural occupations. All reform parties which have sought to enlist the support of the workers have endeavored to unite these two elements but generally the wage-earners held aloof while the farmers were the substance of these movements.

So-called Labor parties have been of isolated and sporadic character if the socialist parties are excepted. There is a degree of continuity in the fact that the same leaders reappear in successive reform movements and the same platform has been repeatedly utilized, but each party, in its turn, arose and fell, having practically no connection with any previous or subsequent party.

The material for such a study as this is meager and fragmentary. This fact is due partly to the ephemeral character of these movements - the records perishing with the dissolution of the party—and partly because overshadowed by the major parties, they were considered by the press of relative unimportance. What notice they did receive was usually
unfriendly, if not caustic, criticism. For guidance in more extended reading the main sources of information are here indicated.

Suggestions for Further Readings

From the standpoint of the attitude of organized Labor toward political activity the most satisfactory works are: Documentary History of American Industrial Society (Commons and associate editors); Powderly, Thirty Years of Labor, Mitchell, Organized Labor; and Gompers, Labor and Common Welfare. A full exposition of the American Federation of Labor's position is to be found in the reports of the proceedings of its annual conventions and in its official organ, the Federationist.

There is a profuse socialistic literature. Hillquit, History of Socialism in the United States, however, is the most authoritative and complete work on the organization and development of socialist parties.

The Life of Henry George by his son and Buchanan, Story of a Labor Agitator, present a fair view of labor activities in the political sphere in the late eighties which gave rise to the Union and United Labor parties.

The most comprehensive work on minor parties is Haynes, Third Party Movements. The book as originally planned aimed to cover only third party movements in Iowa but later
its scope was broadened to include the movements as viewed in their national development.

Reliance for data from the viewpoint of politics must be placed in works of general character. Political writers have been content to dismiss the subject with a mere reference to the negligible influence of Labor parties. Stanwood, A History of the Presidency is a record of platforms and the results of canvasses and Rhodes, History of the United States gives a survey of general movements. Short general sketches on the different topics may be found in Bliss, New Encyclopedia of Social Reform and Laylor, Cyclopedia of Political Science, Political Economy and of Political History of the United States.

June, 1931.
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CHAPTER I
THE NATIONAL LABOR UNION

The history of Labor's participation in politics is largely associated with the history of organized labor. To trace the development of Labor parties is to recount the history of that ever present conflict within the ranks of organized labor between those who urged political action and those who were opposed to such activity on the ground that it was inimical to the cause of Labor.

Professor Groat has marked off our industrial development into three stages and has pointed out the character of labor organization in each of these periods. The first stage extended down to 1812. In this period there was no pronounced movement toward uniting labor forces. Any organization that did spring up was occasioned by some local conditions and was of short duration.

The second stage extended from 1813 down to the beginning of the Civil War. In the first part of this period the organization was almost wholly political in character. The year 1827 marked the appearance of the first trades union. The Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations was organized in Philadelphia in 1828. It became a political organization which is referred to by Professor Commons as the first labor party in America.

The Working Men's party of New York was formed in
1829 and followed the development of its predecessor in the field. Its avowed purpose in the beginning was to retain the ten-hour day which already had been secured in some trades. In the following year it placed before the electors a labor ticket which polled less than 3000 votes. That year marked the demise of the second Labor party. Its platform is interesting as an early expression of the views of Labor. It reads:

"Resolved. In the opinion of this meeting, that the first appropriation of the soil of the State to private and exclusive possession was eminently and barbarously unjust. 2. "That it was substantially feudal in its character, inasmuch as those who receive enormous and unequal possession were lords, and those who received little or nothing were vassals. 3. "That hereditary transmission of wealth on the one hand, and poverty on the other has brought down to the present generation all the evils of the feudal system - and that this, in our opinion, is the prime source of all calamities. 4. "In this view of the matter, that the greatest knaves, imposters and paupers of the age are our bankers - who swear they have promised to pay to their debtors thirty or thirty-five millions of dollars on demand; at the same time that they have, as they also swear, only three or four millions to do it with. 5. "That more than one hundred broken banks within a few years
admonish the community to destroy banks altogether.

6. "That more than a thousand kind of counterfeit bank-notes, from five hundred dollars to a single dollar, give double force to the admonition.

7. "That exemption is privilege: and as such the exemption from taxation of churches and church property, and the property of priests, to an amount not exceeding fifteen hundred dollars, is a direct and positive robbery of the people." Schilling refers to this as "the earliest record of a political labor organization, and singularly enough, its platform denounced the private banking system, a feature of every reform platform down to the present day.

The New England Association of Farmers, Mechanics, and Other Working Men was organized in all of the New England States except New Hampshire. There was a tendency in this organization to disregard political activity and in its stead to propose and endeavor to execute a definite trade policy.

This organization holding a convention in Boston, September 6, 1832, it discussed the subject of a ten-hour day to replace the twelve-hour day which then prevailed. Other topics which received consideration in this convention were banks and monopolies; improved education for factory operatives and the working people generally; abolition of the practise of imprisonment for debt; a national bankruptcy law; the extension of suffrage then confined to tax payers;
a lien law and the land question. The New England Artisan
was made the official organ of the movement.

Many local and national unions were organized in this
decade, but their purpose primarily was to assist in supporting
strikes and they had little political significance. Union
activities of all kinds practically disappeared with the
panic of 1837 and there was no marked revival for more than
ten years following.

It will be seen from this brief survey and this is the
conclusion supported by the editors of the Documentary History
that prior to 1833 labor organizations regarded political
action as the most effective weapon in securing their demands
but after that period more reliance was placed on the strike.
Nothing substantial had been gained through these ventures
into politics and invariably such activity had disrupted labor
associations. This experience served to dissuade unions of
a later day from organizing as a political party or entering
into political contests.

In the few years prior to the Civil War the labor
union as it is to-day had its beginning. Its aim was to
improve the working conditions in the trade and it hoped to
accomplish its purpose through the pressure that organization
could exert on employers and public opinion rather than by
political action of any kind. Speaking of the trade unionism
of this period, the Documentary History states: "It steered
clear of all programs of social and political reform, and
confined its activities to improving the conditions of the trade. Its main weapon was the strike; its aim to establish a minimum wage for the trade and maintain it by means of a closed shop. This new and limited program made possible trade agreements between union and employers, which fixed for a stated period the wages, hours, and other conditions of employment."

It is true that during this period political action as a means of advancing the cause of Labor had met with only grudging approval yet always had ardent and hopeful supporters. Particularly the German workmen who had become established in this country favored political action. A national convention of German workmen was held in Philadelphia, October 22-28, 1850; this Hillquit has referred to as the first national convention of German workmen on American soil. Forty-two organizations located in the several large cities and claiming a membership of 4,400 workers were represented. These workmen influenced by the activity of their fellow-workers in Germany, strongly inclined to inaugurate some method of reform, gave consideration to party organization, but, perhaps, realizing their weakness in point of numbers, took no definite action.

National labor organizations were to pave the way for a national labor party and in the decade preceding the

1. Quoted in Groat, Organized Labor in America, 33.
Civil War the movement for combinations into national unions was under way. The International Typographical Union sprang out of national conventions held by the printers who in 1853 effected a permanent organization. One year later, the National Trade Association of Hat Finishers of the United States was formed. On the 3rd of March, 1859, various unions of machinists and blacksmiths came together in the city of Philadelphia and organized the first national union of these trades. Four months later, in the same city, a national organization of iron moulders was effected through the efforts of Wm. H. Sylvis.

Sylvis was destined to play a leading role in the formation of a national organization of all unions and led the agitation for a national political party. Born November 26, 1828, and following the occupation of his father, he became an iron moulder. As a member of the Iron Moulders Union of Philadelphia, formed in 1855, he urged the formation of a national organization which was ultimately accomplished. From 1863 until his death in 1869, he was president of the organization and his efforts in building up this National and the National Labor Union of a later day won for him the title of the "first great labor organizer." He became an ardent champion of currency reform, and, in an address in 1868 declared that the solution of the money question would do away with the necessity of labor organizations.
Sylvis developed into the typical radical reformer. He never openly espoused the cause of socialism but accepted many of its tenents. He was in communication with the European International, a continental socialist organization, and at his death was referred to as the "valiant champion of our cause." His revolutionary tendencies are revealed in a letter which he wrote to the General Council of the International. An extract reads:

"We have made war upon it (the monied power) and we mean to win. If we can we will win through the ballot box: if not, then we will resort to sterner means. A little blood-letting is sometimes necessary in desperate cases." 1

In 1869 Sylvis became proprietor of the Workingman's Advocate, published simultaneously in Chicago and Philadelphia. This paper was the official organ of the National Labor Union.

The Civil War to a great extent interrupted labor organization. It was during this period, however, that the first attempt was made to organize the various Nationals into one grand union. The Machinists' and Blacksmiths' Union in its annual convention of 1863 appointed a committee which should arrange to meet similar committees of other National and International organizations with a view of forming a national trades assembly. The movement did not take definite form until after the close of the war when a national organization of the different trades was accomplished. This

first important federation was known as the National Labor Union. Out of it sprang the first national Labor party.

The beginning of the National Labor Union may be placed as early as 1865 when twelve men headed by Richard Trevellick of Detroit, president of the Ship Carpenters' Union, met in Louisville, Kentucky to discuss means of arousing the workingmen to concerted action. It was decided to call a meeting of all organized bodies of workingmen at Baltimore in the following year. In March, 1866 the movement for the consolidation of labor forces was given a new impetus, when, as a result of a second conference held in New York City, a call was issued for the Baltimore convention, and, the movement for the National Labor Union, and, ultimately, for a national labor party, was launched.

The National Labor Union held its first convention in Baltimore, August 20, 1866. There were present sixty delegates representing sixty labor organizations. Information as to the personnel of this convention is meager but the proceedings show the presence of both the conservative leader and the radical reformer. The movement was important enough to attract the attention of the press. The New York Tribune commented most favorably on the work of the convention and would have its influence general and permanent. The delegates were regarded as representative of the intelligence, education and enterprise of the workingmen.
The subjects discussed in the convention were of wide range but all were regarded as of vital interest to Labor. Some of these subjects were the eight-hour day, trade-unions, strikes, woman and child labor, cooperative societies, public lands, and the national debt and currency. The most important discussion which centered around the eight-hour day, gave to the radical wing an opportunity to urge political action as the only means of securing a shortened day.

A delegate named Schlegel, whom Hillquit refers to as a German socialist, pleaded eloquently for the immediate formation of an independent political party. There were others who seconded his appeal and maintained that the movement must become political before the reforms demanded by the needs of the toiler could be realized. The Convention was not ready to declare the federation a political organization but the resolutions which were adopted indicate the thought of the delegates as to the means necessary to secure needed reforms. The committee on "eight-hours" reported:

"Whereas, the history and legislation of the past has demonstrated the fact that no confidence whatever can be placed in the pledges or professions of the representatives of the existing political parties so far as the interests of the industrial classes are concerned; therefore be it:--

"Resolved, that the time has come when the workingmen of the United States should cut themselves aloof from party ties and predilections, and organize themselves into a National Labor
Party, the object of which shall be, to secure the enactment of a law making "eight hours" a legal day's work by the National Congress and the several state legislatures and the election of men pledged to sustain and represent the interests of the industrial classes."

A later report carried the following amendment: "In view of the fact, we, the representatives of the workingmen of America, in Congress assembled, recommend that steps be taken to form the same (a national Labor party), and which shall be put in operation as soon as possible."

A committee was appointed to formulate an address to the workingmen of the United States. The author was A. C. Cameron, at that time editor of the Chicago Workingman's Advocate. The address was not published until 1867. In it was expressed the hope that the organization of the party would be thoroughly effected, and that branches would be formed in every city, town, and village in order that, for the first time, in 1868, a president would be elected by the people on a platform of justice, equality, and fraternity.

The reason for such action is suggested by the author. Insisting that no antagonism should exist between Labor and Capital yet as a matter of fact he finds it does exist. Back of this antagonism and wholly responsible for it, is an iniquitous monetary system created and perpetuated by a legislature which steadfastly refuses to acknowledge and remedy evil.
The convention appointed a committee to wait on President Johnson and present the views of the workingmen on hours of labor, the public lands, foreign and convict labor. The president assured them that he was in perfect accord with their declarations except in the matter of an eight-hour day. This, he considered, should be adjusted by other processes than legislation. Many of the resolutions passed on in the convention were incorporated in the platform of the Labor party which appeared in 1872.

The next convention of National Labor Union was held in Chicago, August 20, 1867. There were in attendance over two hundred delegates representing labor organizations in all of the Northern States and in three of the Southern States: Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri.

In this convention Mr. Sylvis, absent from the Baltimore convention on account of sickness, had his inning. He urged and had accepted proposals for the establishment of a National Labor Bureau and monetary reform. The latter proposition was strongly opposed. He was defeated, though by a close vote, to have the Union assume a political role.

The committee on political organization had incorporated into its report the recommendation that the industrial classes should separate themselves from existing political parties and unite in the organization of a national Labor party, whose purpose would be to secure industrial reforms through proper legislation. Every friend of labor was urged to support only
those candidates who would pledge themselves unequivocally to remedial legislation.

Cameron introduced a resolution which was adopted, instructing the president to issue a circular to the various organizations requesting an expression of opinion on these two questions:

"First, Shall a National Labor ticket be placed before the people for their suffrages at the next presidential election (1868)?

"Second, If you say "aye" who is your choice for candidate?"

The convention adjourned to meet in New York the following year. While some of the leaders were endeavoring to commit the organization to a policy of political action others were endeavoring to enlist the support of one or other of the existing political parties in putting through Labor's demands. An effort was made to have the National Labor Union's principles incorporated into one of the platforms and then the Labor forces would be urged to unite in favor of the candidates pledged to that platform. The Democrats, for the present out of power and more or less discouraged after the war, were anxious for any alliance that would enable them to return to power. One paper, The People's Weekly of Baltimore, which was nominally democratic and sympathetic to Labor, urged the acceptance of Labor Union principles by the Democratic
party and proposed as a ticket for the coming election
George H. Pendleton of Ohio, for President and William H.
Sylvis of Pennsylvania, for Vice-President.

The third annual convention of the National Labor Union was held in New York, August 20, 1868. The organization was in a flourishing condition having a membership, as estimated by Ely, of 640,000 members. The New York Sun, describing the convention, reported that no finer body of workingmen ever assembled in the city and that many of the delegates had become prominent through their writings in support of labor reforms. Another writer asserted that the membership of the organization now included all classes and conditions of life. But a sinister influence is hinted at in still other accounts. Impressed with the strength of the organization, crafty politicians wormed their way into its councils hoping to destroy it or use it as would best serve their purpose. They did succeed to some extent in creating dissensions and in instilling distrust in the minds of the members. A favorite method of breaking down the morale of this organization, and of kindred organizations since its day, was to attack the integrity of the officials by covertly insinuating that they were betraying the interests of the union.

The movement for independent political action was growing apace. The New York convention, overriding determined opposition, put through the following resolution:
"Resolved, that in the opinion of your committee the very existence of the National Labor Union depends upon the immediate organization of an independent labor party, having for its object the election of representative men to our state and national councils...."

An amendment read: "Provided, this shall not be understood as contemplating the nomination of presidential electors in the States during the pending presidential campaign."

The following resolutions were adopted on motion of Delegate Wallace:

"Resolved, that there be a committee of five appointed from the representatives of each state styled as Executive Committee, with power to organize their respective states in a Labor Party.

"Second - Resolved, that these committees have power to frame laws to govern the action of said party; and make rules for the proper discipline of the same; and that this union recommend the working men of the United States to immediately organize their respective legislative and congressional districts under the same, and place their candidates in the field, and to use their utmost efforts to elect them.

"Third - Resolved, that whenever there is a candidate already in the field standing on the labor platform of the union, it shall be the duty of the Executive Committee to render them (him) all the aid and support in their power, and
use all honorable means to secure their (his) election."

The constitution was modified to meet this new departure. Section 5 of article 4 was made to read: "They [Executive Committee] shall have power, under the direction of the president to organize the workingmen in their respective states into a Labor Reform Party."

William H. Sylvis, the outstanding figure of the convention, was elected president of the Labor Union. He was an indefatigable worker, and, as organizer of the iron moulders, had succeeded in forming nearly two hundred local unions with a combined membership of over ten thousand.

He could be counted on to conduct a vigorous campaign in organizing the workers from mill, mine, factory, farm and forge into a new party. Immediately after the convention, he addressed a circular to every labor meeting of any importance in the country urging workingmen everywhere to cut away from all party ties and organize a working man's party.

Two facts militated against the success of Sylvis' effort to form a new party. There was the group in Labor circles who considered political activity as a defilement of labor and would continue their opposition to committing their organization to any political policy. There was, however, a more formidable barrier to be encountered and that was the deep ingrained loyalty of the workingmen to the party of their choice. These men would consider it little short
of sacrilegious to pass over the candidates on their own ticket and to give their vote to candidates on another ticket even though they were pledged to institute reforms which promised an amelioration of their condition.

The national campaign of the year 1868 turned on the money issue. The West was friendly to the Greenback doctrine, and early, a movement developed in Democratic circles to align that party on the side of the proposed currency reform. In the national convention, held in New York on July 4, George H. Pendleton was urged as the candidate to lead the reform forces. He manifested considerable strength in the beginning but the opposition of the East was too strong and Horatio Seymour of New York was the party's choice. Whether influenced or not by the consideration of the National Labor Union's support, a proposal for currency reform, substantially that of the National Labor Union, was written into the platform. The platform also contained a somewhat colorless Labor plank. It was not reported by the Committee on Resolutions but was offered and accepted on the floor of the convention. It read: "Resolved, that the convention sympathizes cordially with the workingmen of the United States in their efforts to protect the rights and interests of the laboring classes of the country."

U. S. Grant, the Republican candidate, was nominated on a platform declaring for "hard" money. Despite the fact that the Democrats seemed in favor of, and, the Republicans
opposed to reforms urged by the Labor organizations, Grant succeeded in piling up unusually large majorities even where Labor was most strongly organized. If the Democrats hoped to draw the Labor vote by such methods, they failed, and, more determined efforts of the kind since that time have met with no better success.

There is little information available on the next convention of the National Labor Union held in Philadelphia, August 16-23, 1869. A report written by Mr. Sylvis was read and a Labor lobby is suggested in the statement that a committee of five had been appointed to reside in Washington during the session of Congress to further the interests of Labor. Comment was made on speeches delivered in Congress by Samuel F. Cary, Benjamin F. Butler, and Senator Sprague which had attracted the attention of the country to the Union's reform program. President Lucker addressing the convention urged the formation of a National Labor party which would capture Washington in 1872 "not with bullets but with ballots."

A National Colored Labor Convention was held January 12-13, 1871 in Washington, D. C. Its platform had not much in common with the platform of National Labor Union. In the convention of 1871, the president, Isaac Meyers, ridiculed the labor reform party as "a grand farcical claptrap, cunningly worked...by intriguing politicians..." He condemned paper money as a standard of value and designated the attempt to establish a rate of interest for the United States at three
per cent as impolitic as it is impracticable.

Mr. Powderly gives two different accounts of conventions held in Cincinnati in 1869. The first account apparently refers to the Philadelphia convention and the other to the Cincinnati convention held in 1870. In any case the information is significant. He stated that the convention bore little resemblance to the conventions of previous years. There was a marked falling off in attendance and enthusiasm and many men long prominent in the movement had withdrawn their support. The reports of the officers gave further evidence of decreasing influence yet it was determined to push forward the organization. The movement had reached the crest of its strength and was clearly on the wane.

Nevertheless, the convention held the following year in Cincinnati claimed to represent 400,000 men though Powderly refers to it as a shadow of what it ought to have been. Honorable S. F. Cary who had addressed Congress, urging consideration of the proposals of the National Labor Union, was invited to take a seat in the convention and was greeted with flattering applause.

President Trevellick in his annual address recommended that the organization should declare itself a distinct political party which should be known as the Labor Reform party. He further urged that national and state conventions should be held to nominate candidates for various offices. After considerable discussion a resolution was adopted, by a vote of
sixty to five, authorizing the president to appoint a committee which would arrange for a national convention and accomplish the formation of a National Labor party. This party, however, would be distinct from the National Labor Union and the constitution was revised so as to constitute a purely industrial organization. The cleavage was made complete in the convention of the following year.

A conference of the Executive Committee of the National Labor Union was held in Washington January 17, 1871. President Trevellick reported that at this meeting the National Labor party was organized. The decision to enlist the sympathies of the farmers by adopting planks designed to set forth the farmers interests resulted in the withdrawal of some of the strongest trade unions. The wreck of the National Labor Union was about complete. Further defections followed in the next year when prominent organizations such as the Workingmen's Assembly of New York, the Cigar Maker's International Union, and the Bricklayers' International Union refused to appoint delegates to the St. Louis Convention. This meeting was poorly attended and little of significance was accomplished. Such reformers as Wendell Phillips and Benjamin F. Butler were present and the platform adopted was largely a presentation of current reform ideas with little bearing on the specific Labor demands.

Explicit announcement was recommended by the president
as to whether the organization was a political or an industrial body. After discussion the separation was made by calling respectively a convention of the National Labor party to be held at Columbus, Ohio in February 1872, and the National Labor Union to be convened at Nashville, Tennessee, in September of the same year. Nashville was changed later to Cleveland, Ohio, as the place of meeting.

The call for a national convention to nominate a President and Vice-President contained a statement of the purpose and aims of the new party, as follows:

"In making this call, and presuming to enter into competition with existing parties it is meet that we should give to the world our reasons as well as the remedies which we propose for the wrongs of which we complain.

"We need only point to facts...the mass of the people have no supply beyond their daily wants, and are compelled from these unjust conditions, in sickness and misfortune, to become paupers and vagrants, (2) Pauperism and crime are the prevailing questions of the modern statesmanship...(3) Chattel slavery has been abolished, but the rights and relations of labor stand just where they did before emancipation, in respect to a division of its products... the interests of all labor become common, and they must fight their battles in unity if they would succeed." The platform follows which will be considered at length in the next chapter.

The "Industrial" Congress met at Cleveland, September 16,
with only seven persons present, including Trevellick and Cameron. A committee was appointed to open correspondence with the presidents of the various state, national and international trade and labor unions in an effort to revive the Union in its non-political character. The movement, however, was dead.

In July of the following year an industrial Congress held in Cleveland elected Robert Schilling as president but his campaign for organization met with decided opposition. Many of the tenents of National Labor Unions were endorsed which action was looked upon as an attempt to revive the disastrous policy of independent political action. At the meeting in Rochester, New York, April 14, 1874, President Schilling declared that the organization was not a political party but would urge members to "vote for men of honesty and ability and against corruptionists and monopolists."

Writers on the Labor movement all agree that politics and politicians have been the bane of Labor organizations. Powderly has been quoted and John Mitchell writes in the same vein in pointing out the causes of the National Labor Unions' downfall. "The union suffered the fate of organizations which are solely political in their aims, and have no central idea or program and no definite industrial policy." Mr. Gompers addressing the Cigar Maker's Union in 1906 said: "Labor has never yet formed parties or undertaken to form one
but what the control has been wheedled out of their hands by a lot of faddists, or self seekers, and thus perverted from its true labor interests and working class characteristics."

F. A. Sorge who had represented a union of German Workingmen in several of the National Labor Union conventions, and, who later had become identified with the International, with some bitterness, charged that the ambition or other selfish motives of so-called leaders had betrayed the movement into the hands of the political parties of the ruling classes. As evidence of the betrayal, he compared the platform prepared in the first National Labor Congress at Baltimore with the platforms formulated in Cincinnati and St. Louis in 1870 and 1871. He endeavored to show that the first platform was concerned entirely with workingmen's interests - hours of labor, formation of trade unions, and improvement of labor conditions; but that the later platforms were concerned with our money and banking systems.

In the year 1871 two excellent articles appeared setting forth the underlying features of the Labor-Political movement. One writer took occasion to deprecate the prevailing notion that Labor and Capital are antagonistic.

"The key to every position is already found to be, not antagonism, but cooperation.... Organized 'labor reform' in America is especially becoming an unrestrained appeal to the forces of political combination, an absolute faith in the
all-sufficiency of programmes drawn up in the interest of a 'laboring class' and enacted into laws to settle every element of the most delicate and complex problems.\textsuperscript{1} The other article is a survey of the Labor Movement in Europe particularly as evidenced in the expressed aims of The International. Referring to the situation in America, the author says: "Political action is here always the earliest thing aimed at. The freedom of the ballot naturally leads men to organize for success through that potent instrumentality. Hence the first formidable manifestation made of a labor-reform issue comes before us in the form of a political party." He refers to the "National Labor Union as a loose sort of federative association, which grew out of the trades union, but has nearly lost its direct relation therewith, being now in the main representative of a number of political clubs and leagues known as 'labor unions,' which are the chief representatives of the political labor movement in America...\textsuperscript{2}\)

The first American Labor party to enter the field of national politics labored under a tremendous handicap. It had been virtually repudiated by organized labor which it was supposed to represent. The facts set forth in these pages will aid in interpreting the complete fiasco of the so-called Labor Reform party.

\textsuperscript{1} Johnson, Labor Parties and Labor Reform, The Radical (1871), IX, 241-265.

\textsuperscript{2} Hinton, Organization of Labor, Atlantic Monthly, (May 1871), XXVII, 544-559.
CHAPTER II
THE LABOR REFORM PARTY

The Labor Reform or National Labor party held its first and only national convention at Columbus, Ohio, February 21-22, 1872. The time and place had been decided upon at the Labor convention held in St. Louis the preceding year. Representatives of seventeen states were present and included in the list were Connecticut, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Missouri. Trade union delegates and disgruntled members of the old parties constituted the convention. Political adventurers and trade union bosses were the words used by one writer in describing the gathering, though it was admitted that there were able men present. Names prominent in the National Labor Union and listed among the delegates were Troup of Connecticut, Cameron of Illinois, Trevellick of Michigan and Lucker of Ohio. Over two hundred votes were cast on the third ballot for President, and which this record is perhaps an indication of the number of delegates present. The device of voting by proxy is often made use of in minor political conventions but there is no evidence to indicate that such procedure obtained in this convention.

John Siney of the Miners and Laborers' Union of
Pennsylvania was chosen temporary chairman, and Edwin M. Chamberlain, Labor delegate from Massachusetts, was elected permanent chairman. The convention was in session for two days and adopted a platform substantially that formulated in the several conventions of the National Labor Union. Resolutions were offered by Eliott of New York favoring government ownership of public utilities and the referendum, but both of these propositions were voted down. The convention was determined to select men as its candidates who were prominent in the political life of the nation and whose integrity and competency would be unquestioned. The record of the ballots cast for the different candidates is an earnest of their intentions to accomplish their purpose. The record of balloting is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Candidates for President</th>
<th>Informal</th>
<th>1st</th>
<th>2nd</th>
<th>3rd</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>John W. Geary</td>
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Candidates for President: Infor.: 1st. 2nd. 3rd

Geo. W. Julian of Indiana
6 5

B. Gratz Brown of Mo.
14

Horace Greeley of New York
11

Candidates for Vice-Pres.: 1st. 2nd.

E. M. Chamberlain of Massachusetts 72 57

Joel Parker of N. Jersey 70 112

Alanson M. West of Mississippi 18

Thomas Ewing of Ohio 31 23

W. G. Bryan of Tenn. 10

A careful historian has stated that the nominees, Judge Davis and Governor Parker, were men of eminent ability and candidates who would have dignified almost any convention. Farther on commenting on the radical character of the platform Stanwood continues:

"But if the convention went mad in its platform it was evidently directed by skillful tacticians in making its nominations. Judge Davis was popularly credited with having
political aspirations and was known to be no longer in full sympathy with the Republican party. It seems to have been hoped that the united opposition would adopt this ticket.\(^1\) Other press notices referred to the nominations as rational and practical.

David Davis at this time was a judge of the Federal Supreme Court, an appointee of Abraham Lincoln. He had been a delegate at large to the convention that nominated Lincoln in 1860. He was proposed as a candidate for the presidency before the Liberal Republican Convention at Cincinnati in 1872; this action called forth a protest from such editors as Halstead of the Cincinnati Commercial, White of the Chicago Tribune, Bowles of the Springfield Republican, and Watterson of the Louisville Courier-Journal, for they regarded his selection as a move fatal to the integrity of the convention.

In 1877 he was elected to the United States Senate from Illinois as an Independent, the members of the Greenback party in the Illinois legislature giving to him their support.

The movement received a decided check, when, four months after the Columbus Convention, both Judge Davis and Governor Parker addressed letters to the Executive Committee of the Labor Reform party declining the nomination tendered to them.

Judge Davis offered as the reason for his withdrawal

\(^1\) Stanwood, A History of the Presidency, I, 339.
the fact that he had permitted the use of his name before the Cincinnati Convention and that he must free his friends from any supposed obligation to support him, a result which might follow if he were to permit his name to continue on the Labor Reform ticket.

Governor Parker in declining wrote that it would be inconsistent for him to appear as the nominee of one party since he was bound in honor as well as by inclination to stand by the party whose success he considered essential to good government and the elevation of the working classes.

The failure of these candidates to stand for election was attributed by Schilling in his pamphlet "to the fear that the opportunity for success was small." The Nation regarded it as evidence of trickery on the part of the Democratic leaders, who would thus destroy the new party to insure the success of their own party.

Following the receipt of the letters, a conference of working men was called for in New York on July 30. At this conference it was decided to call a convention of delegates of the party to meet in Philadelphia August 22, and it was at this convention, with only a small number of delegates present, that Chas. O'Conor of New York was nominated for President although no nomination was made for the Vice-Presidency.

Resolutions were adopted condemning the action of Judge Davis and Governor Parker whose belated refusals engendered
the suspicion that mercenaries of Grant and Greely were respon-
sible for the withdrawals.

The platform was looked upon as very radical for its time, though it defined issues which were to reappear in many succeeding campaigns. It contained sixteen articles and was largely devoted to purely Labor concerns but included a number of proposed political reforms. It apparently did not coincide with the views of the Socialists; for, the Committee of the International Workingmen's Association of America bewailed the fate of the National Labor Union whose leaders had been ensnared by wily politicians and its program of labor reforms displaced by a program of political reforms. A comparison was made between the platform adopted in the first convention in 1866 which was devoted to the workingmen's interest and the platforms of '70 and '71 which were the basis of the political platform of 1872.

The 1866 platform was entirely concerned with such measures as the eight-hour day; the organization and extension of trade-unions, the abolishment of prison labor, amelioration of the working condition of women workers, the tenement housing problems and the disposal of public lands. The latter platform disposed of the labor interests summarily and

1. The Documentary History reports that the Executive Committee in a conference held in August decided that it was too late to nominate candidates.

2. See Appendix A.
substituted a declaration of monetary and banking reforms. Such points as a more elastic currency, the discontinuance of the private banking system, the payment of interest on bonds, the unequal distribution of taxes and the modification of tariff laws were emphasized. This view of the Labor Reform party was accepted by many in the ranks of labor who regarded the formation of a political party as a betrayal of the cause of Labor into the hands of politicians.

Yet the currency issue was destined to sway American politics for many years to come. The attitude of Labor to the issue, inasmuch as the National Labor Union and the Reform party represented Labor, might well be presented here. For years the monetary reforms had been the cardinal doctrine of the National Labor platforms and singularly enough the scheme proposed was not the invention of either a designing politician or a professional reformer. Mention has already been made of the successful efforts of William H. Sylvis to have a monetary plank incorporated into the Labor platform. The interchangeable bond and money proposition which there appeared was the product of the mind of Edward Kellogg whose work on currency came to the attention of Mr. Sylvis.

Kellogg was a New York merchant who went down in the financial crash of 1837. He was unable to account for his failure since he conducted his business with the greatest punctiliousness. He finally devoted himself to a study of
finance and a book which was the result of his labors has been referred to, as the bible of the early currency reformers. Sylvis was so enthusiastic over the proposal of Kellogg that he declared that if the monetary reform could be accomplished it would revolutionize society and do away entirely with the necessity of trade-unions. It was mainly through his efforts that resolutions embodying the proposal were presented and accepted in the Chicago convention of the National Labor Union. It was declared:

"That the wrongs, oppressions and destitution which laborers are suffering..., do not result from the insufficiency of production but the unfair distribution of the products of labor between non-producing capital and labor.

"That money is the medium of distribution..., the rate of interest determining what proportion of the products of labor shall be awarded to capital for its use and what to labor for its productions;

"That the power to make money and regulate its value is an essential attribute of sovereignty..."  

The convertible bond and medium feature distinguished the system from the greenback doctrine. This idea was discussed by J. C. C. Whaley and we quote a portion of his address explaining the Labor Unions position. He said:

"It is by means of making bonds convertible into money

1. Documentary Hist. IX 176-183 From Workingmen's Advocate August 24-31, 1887.
and money into bonds at the will of the holder that we hope to keep down the system of inflation. When there is too much money in the market it will go to the government and be converted into bonds. The holders of these bonds finding they can get a larger percentage for their bonds by converting them into money and in placing them in commercial enterprises will do so. This is the key to the whole question.

"There are three or four men before the country seeking election to Congress on the principles of this platform; if you reject the platform you will injure their cause."¹

The resolution in the platform adopted in Philadelphia specified the rate of interest which the bonds should bear, namely, three per cent per annum, which, in the platform under discussion is changed to read "not to exceed 3.65 per cent subject to future legislation by Congress." Usher referred to this plank in the National Labor party's platform as "Kellogg's proposition with improvements."

This proposal was discussed in a scholarly article appearing in the Radical a periodical published in Boston. It ridiculed the position of the National Labor party that Congress should perform the function of "regulating the interest on bonds and the value of currency to effect an equitable distribution of the products of labor between money or non-producing capital and productive industry." The writer hailed as omnipotent and omniscient a Congress which

could effect this division. Despite the opposition within and without the ranks of the National Labor Union, a plank containing a modified doctrine of currency reform was given prominent place in the Labor Reform party's platform.

In line with monetary reform the banking system received attention. The opposition to banking corporations was due to a long standing prejudice and touching this point Usher remarked, "It is notable that all of the political movements which have had origin among those who assume to be the 'producing classes,' - the Trade Unionists, Knights of Labor, Farmer's Alliance, Peoples' Party; etc. have regarded banks as their natural enemies and financial methods as a point for a successful attack upon the bulwarks of money and privilege."¹

The exemption of government bonds from taxation had always been deprecated by National Labor Unions but the tone of their plank in the Labor Reform platform is softened much beyond that of previous declarations. In the Chicago platform of 1867 the practice is denounced as "a species of dangerous and unjust class legislation opposed to the spirit of our institutions and contrary to the principles of sound morality and enlightened reason." ² But opposition to the exemption from taxation of government bonds was not confined to

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¹ The Radical, (November 1871) IX, 8.
² Documentary Hist., IX, 179.
Labor Reform circles. The Democratic platform of 1872 went on record in favor of taxing government securities.

It has been asserted that the Labor Reform movement developed into disguised greenbackism yet it is noteworthy that one of the pet doctrines of paper currency advocates does not appear in the platform. It was urged in the campaign of 1868 that government bonds bought during the Civil War with greenbacks should be redeemed in greenbacks though the holders demanded payment in gold. One Labor platform (1869) did stigmatize this claim as "unjust and extortionate." The National Greenback party in 1878 went on record for payments in currency yet reference to the proposal is not included in the Labor Reform Party's platform of 1872. It may be said, however, that the issue was evaded by the ambiguous wording of the plank demanding the payment of the National debt in good faith and according to terms of the original contract. This issue of monetary reform was destined to reappear in each succeeding canvass down to the canvass of 1912 after which the incoming Democratic regime inaugurated the Federal Reserve system giving greater elasticity to our currency.

The fourth plank, on public lands, is a reiteration of a plank adopted in the first convention of the National Labor Union held in 1866, and, in compliance with a resolution passed in that convention to the effect that all organizations of the National Labor Union should declare in their platforms that
the whole public domain should be disposed of to actual settlers only.

Two practices were aimed at in these limitations on the disposal of public lands. There was, on the one hand, a determined opposition to any further grant of public land in the aid of railroads or other internal improvements, and there was on the other hand, evidence of abuses that had developed in the administration of the homestead law whereby a title could be gained under a mere residence qualification and the payment of $1.25 per acre. Under this law hundreds of thousands of acres of the best government lands of the West had been taken over, and, after the barest improvements were made, turned over for a nominal cash consideration to speculators and syndicates. The same abuses reappeared under the desert land laws when valuable grazing lands passed into the control of speculative corporations. Flagrant abuses of the same kind attended the disposal of timber and coal lands. The platforms of all other parties, entered in the canvass of 1872, contained a plank of similar import on the public land issue.

The article on the expulsion of Chinese laborers imported by capitalists is significant. Stanwood sees in it an indication of the origin of the Labor Reform movement intimating that it was inspired by the action of a Massachusetts shoe manufacturer who imported a car load of Chinese from California to take place of his striking operators. It is perhaps to this incident that the Springfield Massachusetts Republican
referred in reporting the arrival at North Adams of 75 Chinamen imported by C. T. Sampson, shoe manufacturer, to "free him from the cramping tyranny of that worst of American trades—Unions, the Knights of St. Crispin."¹

The National Labor Union previously had gone on record in this matter. In its convention in 1866 it demanded "the rigid enforcement of the law of Congress of 1861 (passed in 1862) prohibiting Coolie importation and the above article is a repetition of an article incorporated into the Union's platform of 1870. The agitation for Chinese exclusion was met with withering condemnation. Said the Radical: "When American legislation...yields itself to this exclusive policy towards industrious immigrants, it will have proved false to the cosmopolitan faith which has hitherto distinguished us as the Nation of Nations, and built up our noblest traditions and hopes."² The National Labor Union is said to have supported voluntary emigration but it was bitterly opposed to the contract system. Regarding the attitude of the Unionists, it is not regarded as "race hostility or of feeling against the Chinamen as such, but a lively dread that his condition makes him a convenient instrument in the hands of oligarchic capital where-with to destroy aspiring and ambitions labor."³

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¹ Springfield Republica, June 17, 1870, quoted in Documentary Hist., IX, 84.
² The Radical, (Nov. 1871), Johnson, IX, 241-265.
Closely allied with Chinese exclusion as a distinctive Labor measure is the declaration in favor of the abolition of the system of contract labor in prisons and reformatories. Within the decade three states appointed commissions to examine the complaints of Labor in this regard. At a joint meeting held in New Haven, Connecticut, October 9, 1879, with Massachusetts, New Jersey and Connecticut represented, among the declarations are found the following:

"The right of the state to make its prisons self supporting should be conceded: but it should not expect to make a profit out of the labor of its criminals...to the injury of the industrial classes.

"The product of convict-labor, when compared with that of the entire mechanical industry of the nation is insignificant; but its concentration upon a very few branches of industry may be seriously injurious to the citizens engaged in those branches.

"The injury to any branch of industry from prison labor may be reduced to very small proportions by the greatest practicable diversity of employments in the prisons. A resolution declaring that "it is not expedient to abolish the contract system" was not concurred in by New Jersey and Connecticut commissions.

Labor's preeminent concern in this period was the establishment of an eight-hour work day. It was the agitation

1. Appleton, The Annual Cyclopedia 1880, 495,496.
of workingmen's organization that led Martin Van Buren, then President to issue a proclamation April 10, 1840 establishing the ten-hour system for all employes of the United States government in the Navy Yards. Impetus was given to the eight-hour movement by agitation through the Civil War period. It occasioned the reorganization of old unions and the creation of national and international associations. The first eight-hour bill was introduced in Congress in 1866 but no final action was taken upon it. In 1867 a second bill was introduced but it was not until June 25, 1868 that an act of Congress was approved constituting "eight-hours...a day's work for all laborers, workmen and mechanic now employed or who may be hereafter employed, by or on behalf of the United States Government; and that all acts or parts of acts inconsistent with this act be, and the same are hereby repealed."

It was an extension of this law that the Labor Reform platform demanded. It would have its provisions include all those indirectly employed by the government through firms doing government work and oblige cities and towns to conform to this standard through amended articles of incorporation.

The hand of the reformers is to be seen in the articles declaring for civil reform, a single term for the President, and government control of railroads and telegraph corporations. Usher refers to the last provision as, "the first proposal of Federal control of corporation."

Labor's instinctive distrust of the military is reflected in the fourteenth declaration. Due to the trouble in the South, following the enfranchisement of the negro legislation was approved April 21, 1871 to take cognizance of conspiracies and unlawful combinations directed against the government or its officials or deprivation of any class of its rights and privileges. The President was empowered to use the Army and Navy to suppress insurrection, domestic violence, or combination. The presence of the Federal troops in the Southern states under this legislation provoked protest against the military usurping civil authority.

Social and political reform activities were not confined to the Labor Reform movement. Many of the reformers of the period elected to correct conditions by getting control of existing parties. A split was impending in the Republican party for several years and reached its culmination in the Liberal Republican convention held in Cincinnati May 1, 1872. In this convention Horace Greeley of New York was nominated as President and B. Gratz Brown of Missouri was the choice for Vice-President. The candidates and platform were accepted by the Democratic convention at Baltimore which pledged the support of the party to the ticket. This action was repudiated by a group of Democrats known in history as the Straight-Out Democrats who met in Louisville Kentucky, September 3, 1872 and selected as their candidate Charles O'Connor of New York and John Quincy Adams
of Massachusetts. Both nominees subsequently declined but the withdrawals were not accepted. The standard bearers of the regular Republicans were U. S. Grant of Illinois and Henry Wilson of Massachusetts.

Resolutions to mollify Labor and nullify the influence of the Reform party were inserted in the platforms of all of the regular parties. The Straight-Out Democrats declared that the interests of Labor and Capital should not be permitted to conflict but should be harmonized by legislation. While there is conflict, labor, which is the parent of wealth, should have paramount consideration. The Republican platform asserted that legislation should be so shaped as to secure full protection and the amplest field for capital; and for Labor, the creator of Capital, the largest opportunities and a just share of the mutual profits.

These meaningless generalities drew forth caustic comment from the independent press. One writer saw in them nothing more than the fact that laborers were gradually usurping the places of the soldiers and sailors as objects of the enthusiastic homage of politicians. Labor planks in state and national platforms were condemned by another writer because they created in the minds of the working classes the impression that in some way the government could better their conditions yet refrained from doing so. Reformers were called upon to state definitely the way in which the so called wrongs of labor
could be redressed by legislation.

Platforms or their provisions counted for naught in this canvass. It was a contest between the regular Republican party and its disaffected members aided by the Democratic party who lent its machinery to accomplish the defeat of the party in power. The coalition was unsuccessful. The Republicans were returned by a decisive majority of the popular vote and secured 366 of the 431 electoral votes. No vote was recorded for Labor Reform electors.

The Labor Reform party was hardly more successful in state elections than in its national campaign. For several years it had been active in state politics with rather indifferent success. The party was organized in Massachusetts in the fall of 1869 and nominated candidates for State offices. About 15,000 votes were polled for the ticket. In 1870 Wendell Phillips, a candidate for governor, had the support of the Labor Reform and Prohibition parties. The combined vote for Phillips was 21,946 with 75,549 and 48,536 for the Republican and Democratic candidates. In 1871 Labor independently polled 6,848 votes. The Atlantic Monthly explained the vote of 1869 placed at 13,000, as due to the refusal of the legislature to grant to the Crispins a charter for holding property because of the exclusiveness of the society which was charged with seeking to establish a hereditary caste. The greater part of the vote came from the shoe making district which was the headquarters of the Crispins.
The Labor Reform party held conventions in three states in 1872. At Bridgeport, Connecticut on January 3, an elaborate Labor platform including the St. Louis platform of 1871 was adopted. Delegates were required to pledge themselves to leave any other party with which they were identified and to support the platform of the general convention. The two prominent political parties were charged with having broken faith with the wealth producing classes; consequently, it was their duty to form and maintain a political organization under the name of the "Labor Reform Party" of Connecticut.

The convention held in Framingham, Massachusetts, August 21, 1872 was poorly attended, an evidence that the movement was almost dissipated in that state. No nominations were made.

In May, 1872, a convention was held in Williamsport, Pennsylvania. A vigorous effort to force the acceptance of a protective tariff resolution was defeated. This little incident suggests one of the difficulties which must beset a Labor party organized on a national scale. Issues of that character having a different significance for different localities would militate against the integrity of the party. The salient features of the Labor Reform party may be written in a few lines. The convention was held in February and was made up of Labor leaders sincere in their effort to advance the cause of working-men but lacking the support of the rank and file. Cooperating with these leaders were reformers who were for the most part
sincere and whose hope was to use the workingmen as the medium of putting through their reforms. The platform was written and the candidate selected men who, it was thought, would amalgamate the forces of discontent and who, in truth, were worthy of the suffrage of the people. Their belated refusals to stand for election—not issued until June—sapped what strength the movement might have had. The meeting in Philadelphia in which Charles O'Conor was selected as the party's candidate was a last desperate effort to stay a vanishing cause but without leaders and without organization the cause was lost. Schilling sympathetic to the National Labor Union wrote that the leaders had taken advanced ground in favoring political action and currency reform but the workingmen were not yet conscious of the power they could wield and the movement, started with best of purposes, died from lack of appreciation on the part of the very men whom it was designed to benefit.

Others have assigned as the principal cause of its failure the intrusion of the professional politician who entangled it in alliances, watered its platform, obscured its identity as a labor movement and skillfully directed attention to the regularly organized parties as the surer means of securing reforms. These, perhaps, are the underlying reasons which account for the failure of the Labor Reform movement and other efforts to weld the workingmen into an effective political organization.
CHAPTER III
THE NATIONAL INDEPENDENT OR GREENBACK PARTY

For ten years following the collapse of the National Labor Union efforts to organize labor on a national scale had failed. The unsuccessful attempt of Robert Schilling to reorganize the remnants of the old organization into an Industrial Brotherhood has been noted. In 1876, at the instance of John Davis, editor of the National Tribune a meeting was held in Pittsburg to inaugurate a movement with a view to consolidating the Labor forces of the country. It was a heterogeneous gathering of one hundred and six men representing every shade of political belief and every current reform. The socialists came prepared with a definite program outlined, and, acting as a unit, easily dominated the convention though they were only twenty in number. This meeting is typical of the response which Labor gave to the agitation for national organization.

Though it has been insisted upon, and properly, that politics was in a large measure responsible for the dissolution of the National Labor Union, and, that it was the fear of the re-appearance of politics that militated against every effort towards reorganization, yet the panic of 1873 and the unsettled condition of the following years are considerations not to be overlooked in accounting for the demoralized state of Labor organization in this period.
Nor was Labor as a factor in politics regarded as inconsequential. The old parties, particularly through their State platforms, were courting the favor of Labor and currency reformers and were making an open bid for Labor's cooperation. The Independent party organized in 1874 was destined to appear in 1878 as the Greenback-Labor party.

The controversy in political circles during this decade revolved around two questions: the retirement of Greenbacks and the payment of Government bonds.

The Greenback problem grew out of the method of financing the Civil War. An act authorizing the issue of United States Notes (Greenbacks) was approved on February 25, 1862. It was provided that "these notes shall be lawful money and a legal tender in the payments of all debts, public and private, within the United States, except duties on imports and interest (on government bonds and notes) as foresaid...." The same act authorized the issue of the five-twenty bonds "redeemable at the pleasure of the United States after five years, and payable twenty years from date, and bearing interest at six percent per annum..., and all stocks, bonds and other securities of the United States shall be exempt from taxation...." The same act authorized the issue of the five-twenty bonds "redeemable at the pleasure of the United States after five years, and payable twenty years from date, and bearing interest at six percent per annum..., and all stocks, bonds and other securities of the United States shall be exempt from taxation...."

At the close of the war the Republican administration favored the retirement of the greenback currency and insisted

that it was the function of the banks to issue the requisite paper currency. The act of March 12, 1866 provided for gradual retirement. A temporary stringency followed the process of deflation and so pronounced was the opposition that a bill, passed February 4, 1868, forbade further retirement.

The financial panic of 1873 increased the agitation for a greater volume of money. The so-called inflation bill passed by both houses of Congress in 1874 but vetoed by President Grant provided for the redemption and reissue of bank notes, with the gradual payment of notes in coin or bonds after January 1, 1876. Grant's action raised a storm of protest especially in the West. A bill for resuming specie payments passed in 1875 was the next step in our wavering monetary policy, followed by still another measure in 1878, by which further retirement or cancellation was forbidden; such is practically the status of greenback currency today.

The five-twenty bonds issued under the act of February 25, 1862 afforded two points of attack. First, it was proposed to pay the principal of the bonds in greenbacks, it being urged that such action was within the letter of the law. The opposition insisted that the spirit of the law required that the principal as well as the interest be payed in coin. The tax exemption feature of the bonds, the second point of attack, was bitterly assailed. The Democrats had gone on record in the canvass of 1868 as favorable to the payment of all government
obligations (except where payment in coin has been expressly stated) in the lawful money of the United States. The idea won the support of such prominent Republicans as Theddeuis Stevens, Benjamin F. Butler. Even John Sherman seemed to concede that the proposition was within the meaning of the law.

The Independent party grew out of the agitation of these two questions. The state organization of the Independent party of Indiana held a meeting August 12, 1874 at which a resolution was adopted authorizing the appointment of a committee which would meet with similarly appointed committees from other states whose purpose would be to organize a national party. The chairman stated the aim of the meeting, namely, to consult on the advisability of issuing an address and to provide for a preliminary convention of the party with a view to calling a national convention of the Independent party to nominate candidates from the Presidency and Vice-Presidency in 1876.

The next meeting was held in Indianapolis November 25, 1874. At this meeting there were outlined three proposals which became the fundamental doctrine of all greenback platforms. It was provided, first, that the currency of all national and state banks and corporations should be withdrawn; secondly, that the only currency should be a paper one and that issued by the government; thirdly, that coin should only be paid for interest on the present national debt and for that portion of the principal for which coin has been specifically promised. The
Democratic state conventions in many states made bold to appropriate these three measures, an action interfered with the development of the new party.

The committee on organization and declaration of principles, consisting of ten men, included A. C. Cameron, who was prominently identified with the National Labor Union and Labor Reform party and who had formulated many of the principles of these organizations. Alexander Troup, also active in Labor circles and editor of the Union, of New Haven, Connecticut was another member. The committee in its report asserted that "the proper solution of the money question more deeply affects the material interests of the people than any other question" and recommended the following resolutions:—

"First, that it is the duty of the government to establish a monetary system based upon the faith and resources of the nation...To this end circulatory notes of all National and State Banks as well as national currency should be withdrawn from circulation, and paper money issued by the government directly to the people without the intervention of any system of banking corporations...,

"Second, the interest on the present public debt and that part of the principal of the same which by express terms of the law creating it, is payable in coin, shall be so paid."

The committee further recommended that a "National convention

of all the people who can agree to the foregoing financial proposition, to assemble in National convention at Cleveland on the 11th day of March 1875, to perfect a National platform and to appoint the time and place for holding a National Independent Convention to nominate candidates for President and Vice President."

The executive committee composed of seventeen members included, besides A. C. Cameron, R. F. Trevellick and Robert Schilling as representatives of the Labor forces.

About sixty delegates representing twelve states attended the convention at Cleveland in March 1875. Preparations for the convention had been under the immediate direction of the Workingmen's Association and considerable attention was given to the interests of labor. One evening session was devoted to speeches on Labor reform. The Chicago Tribune referred to it as "the convention of Grangers and Laboring men, otherwise known as the Greenback convention."

The Conference ratified the action of the Indianapolis convention and adopted a motion offered by Schilling providing for the creation of a National central committee. This was composed of thirteen members chosen at the conference now in session and the Executive committee previously selected at the Indianapolis convention. This joint committee was empowered to call a National convention for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice-President. A meeting of the
committee was held after the conference and issued a call for a National convention to be held at Indianapolis, Indiana, on May 17, 1876. An account is given of a clash between the labor representatives and the farmer delegates, the latter led by Horace Day, who was ambitious to control the Cleveland conference. Day and his cohorts, less skilled in parliamentary tactics than the Labor party, was out-maneuvered and routed. After the withdrawal of Day there was a "hearty union of the farm and wage-worker element."

The Independent National or "Greenback" party met in its first convention at Indianapolis, Indiana on the 18th day of May 1876. Two hundred and thirty nine delegates representing nineteen states were present. Ignatius Donnelly of Minnesota was selected as temporary chairman, and Thomas J. Durant of Washington, D. C. was made permanent chairman. The agricultural states of the middle West strongly favored Judge Davis as candidate for the Presidency but on the first ballot Peter Cooper of New York was nominated. Senator Newton Booth of California was chosen as the candidate for the Vice-Presidency but later declined and Samuel Cary of Ohio was substituted by the executive council.

Mr. Cooper was a successful manufacturer and a philanthropist. He was particularly interested in the free education of the industrial classes and had founded the Cooper Institute which offered courses on social, political, and
technical subjects.

In 1869 he was complimented by the National Labor Union for his "well timed defense of our American Monetary system." He presided at a large mass meeting of workingmen held in New York in January, 1876. The purpose of the meeting was to urge the government to give work to a large number of unemployed by putting through needed public improvements. At this meeting Cooper insisted that the primary cause of our industrial difficulties was a faulty monetary system. Samuel Cary also had won favor with the National Labor Union. In 1867 the Workingmen's Advocate urged him as a candidate for the Presidency and later he was admitted to one of the Labor conventions (1870) because of his address before Congress (40th) endorsing the measures of the National Labor Union.

Mr. Cooper accepted the nomination provisionally, asserting that "there is a bare possibility if wise counsels prevail—that the sorely needed relief from the blighting effects of past unwise legislation relative to finance...may yet be had through either the Republican or Democratic party, both of them meeting on National Convention at an early date." ¹

The Democratic platform was silent on Labor reforms but denounced the financial policy of the Republicans who had failed "to make good the promise of the legal tender notes" and "made no advance towards resumption." It demanded the repeal

¹. McPherson, A Handbook of Politics 1876, 234.
of the resumption clause of the act of 1875 which is a "hindrance" to resumption and the substitution of a judicious system of public economies by official retrenchments and by wise finance. The convention was non-committal on the specie resumption clause.

The Republican platform declared faith in its policy of "continuous and steady progress to specie payment." It re-echoed a provision of the Labor Reform platform of 1872 in declaring that "It is the immediate duty of Congress to fully investigate the effect of immigration and importation of Mongolians upon the moral and natural interests of the country."

It was an opportune time for a Reform party to gain a hearing. Mr. Hayes the Republican nominee was not sufficiently well known to arouse enthusiasm and his party was on the defensive. The Democrats urged reform but offered very indefinite proposals for relief. But Labor was not responsive to the call of the new party. The convention was apparently dominated by the monetary reformers who would have no other question cloud the central issue. They wished to assure Labor that the present money system was the root of all industrial ills and that the system must be corrected. But Labor remained unconvinced.

The strength of the movement was in the agricultural states. Of the 81,737 votes cast, 53,503 were the contribution of Indiana, Illinois, Iowa, Kansas and Michigan. Though New York was the home of Peter Cooper, that state returned but 1,987
votes to his credit. The appeal for a paper currency was not strong enough to tempt Labor to break with the old parties. In the East where group consciousness of labor was strongest, there was little heed given to the greenback doctrines. What strength the new party did develop was largely at the expense of the Republican party.
CHAPTER IV

THE NATIONAL OR GREENBACK-LABOR PARTY

A historian asserts that from the close of the Civil War to the end of the century the gulf between Capital and Labor was widening and that the tendency was accelerated by the autocratic reduction of wages in 1877, and, by the strikes and riots which ensued. In the depression following 1873 the railroads keenly felt the business stagnation and the trunk lines in an endeavor to get business engaged in a fierce rate war.

This was continued through the years of 1874 and 1875 until late in December when an agreement was effected only to be broken two months later. Satisfactory arrangement finally was made in April 1877 when a pooling agreement was made on west bound tonnage.

The railroads immediately inaugurated a policy of retrenchment and a first step was a reduction of ten per cent in the wages of employes. A strike was inevitable. It began at Martinsburg, West Virginia, on July 16, where firemen of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad resisted the reduction and abandoned their trains. The strike spread into Maryland which occasioned the calling out of militia and federal troops. The Pennsylvania railroad followed up its orders for a ten per cent reduction by introducing the practise of "double headers" thus doing away with one train crew. This precipitated the trouble at Pittsburg where there was rioting from July 19, to July 23, with loss of
life and with millions of dollars damage to railroad property.

The industrial disturbances of the period crystallized the opposition of labor to existing conditions and local labor organizations were more disposed to unite with the greenback movement in the hope of wresting control from the old parties both of whom had promised much but accomplished little. Alliances between the Greenback and Labor parties were made in several states in 1877, and these seemed to indicate a drift to the formation of a new party which would hold the balance of power if not replace one of the older parties.

The independent movement met with surprising success in Toledo, Ohio. A ticket called the National was put in the field and it carried both the city and the country by a substantial majority over both the regular parties. The movement spread over the state and in the same year without any well-organized effort nearly 40,000 votes were cast in favor of the independent ticket.

The success of the party prompted Dr. D. B. Sturgeon, who was chairman of the State committee of Ohio and who aspired to be the head of the new movement in the United States, to call a national conference at Toledo, for February 22, 1878. The promoters of the conference secured the signatures of a few of the members of the national committee which had been selected at the Indianapolis convention in 1874 when the old Independent party was organized. This procedure apparently nettled the
other members of the committee yet for the sake of harmony they approved the action as regular.

The purpose of the meeting as stated by a member of the executive committee was to nationalize the combinations of Labor and greenback forces which hitherto had been scattered and local. The movement was regarded by many as the work of extremists and radicals who were bent on resorting to any means, even violence, to overturn the prevailing social order. Extremists were present at the convention but the great body were earnest, thoughtful, well-intentioned men who considered that there were glaring abuses in our social system which the old parties were either unable or not disposed to rectify. The greenbackers as a party of protest were hopeful of enlisting the support of the dissatisfied workingmen.

A lively contest was precipitated over the choice of a name for the new party. Members of the convention who had been identified with the movement from the beginning stood staunchly for the retention of the title, Independent or National. The new element was in favor of discarding both of these designations and contended that the word "Labor" should be part of the name. Pomeroy and his followers insisted that the party should be known as the Greenback-Labor party. Pomeroy claimed to have organized 6,000 Greenback Clubs and as chairman of these was entitled to recognition. This claim was disputed by others who could discover no basis of organization other than that of
being on the subscription list of Pomeroy's paper. The name "National" was officially sanctioned by the Convention, yet, mainly through the influence of Pomeroy's paper, it became popularly known as the Greenback-Labor party.

The committee on resolutions were ready to go to any length to win the support of the industrial classes. The platform of the National party is the old Labor Reform platform revised. The international bond and currency provision is eliminated from the later platform and in its stead Congress is required to "provide money adequate to the full employment of labor, the equitable distribution of its products and the requirements of business. The graduated income tax feature and free coinage of silver are proposed for the first time in a National platform. Governmental development of all resources to the end that Labor may be fully and profitably employed is borrowed from the Greenback platform of 1876. The taxation of government bonds, the restriction on the disposal of public lands, a shortened working day, establishment of state and National labor bureaus, the abolition of contract labor and the suppression of the importation of Chinese labor, are planks found in previous Labor platforms. It would appear that the Labor leaders had for a time abandoned agitation for the eight-hour day due perhaps to the general industrial depression which

1. See Appendix B.
was then only slowly beginning to be dissipated.

The Executive Council, appreciating the need of organization, met in New York, May 10, 1878 for the purpose of "devising plans for the thorough and systematic organization of the party in all the States preparatory to the election in September and November...."

In the Congressional and State elections which followed, the results were surprising. Over one million votes were polled for the new party and fourteen representatives were elected to Congress. Three were elected from Pennsylvania, two each from Indiana, Missouri, Texas, North Carolina and Alabama. Professor Haynes states as reasons for the increase in Greenback votes: (1) the effect of business depression beginning in 1873, (2) the unrest indicated by and resulting from the great strikes of 1877, (3) the dissatisfaction with the settlement of the disputed presidential election of 1876, and (4) the difficulties due to the contraction of greenbacks, the resumption of specie payments and the coinage of silver."

It is impossible to estimate the labor vote in the election of 1878 though the following table offers the basis of a general analysis. The table records the number of votes cast by the National party in the three years in which it evidenced its greatest strength.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>STATES</th>
<th>1876</th>
<th>1877</th>
<th>1878</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>6,675</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>289</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>44</td>
<td></td>
<td>39,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1,300</td>
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<td></td>
<td>128</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td>9,901</td>
<td>34,288</td>
<td>123,577</td>
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<td>7,776</td>
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<tr>
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<td>662</td>
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<td>10</td>
<td></td>
<td>8,883</td>
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<td>779</td>
<td>3,551</td>
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<td></td>
<td>70,000</td>
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<tr>
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<td>2,320</td>
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<td>New Hampshire</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>223</td>
<td>6,385</td>
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</table>
The most general basis of analysis is the territorial distribution of the vote between the East and the West—one taken to represent the industrial, and the other, the agricultural vote. Sixteen states are credited with approximately 850,000 votes. Five Eastern states contributed 350,000 of this total and eleven Western states about 500,000; these statistics indicate the relative strength of the two elements. The figures, however, are subject to some modifications.

The Labor Reformers did constitute the bulk of Green—
back-Labor party in Maine, New York, Vermont, and Massachusetts where the ticket was, as a rule, supported chiefly by the laboring classes. The vote in Pennsylvania came principally from the mining regions where the new movement had been cordially supported. California is listed among the agricultural states yet the vote received there must be in a large measure attributed to industrial conditions and the activities of the Workingmen's party which had a brief but spectacular career.

The industrial depression of the early seventies was not felt in California until near the close of the decade. There was much unemployment particularly in the large cities and the situation was aggravated by the presence of large numbers of Chinese who had recently been released, following completion of the Central Pacific railroad. The popular discontent found expression in the formation of the Working-Men's party of California. The leading spirit of the party was Dennis Kearney a drayman, uncouth in manner and in speech but with a faculty of stirring up a crowd.

In January 1878, as president of the Working-Men's party, he addressed a letter to the state senate declaring that his party was a power and destined to rule the state. He was vigorous in his denunciation of the Chinese and adopted as a slogan "The Chinese must go...." Later in the month a convention was held in which the Chinese cheap labor was denounced as a menace to the country and the principles of the National
party accepted. The party succeeded in forcing a constitutional convention and influenced the formulation of a constitution. This was its most significant accomplishment; for, with the first signs of returning prosperity, it collapsed.

Following the congressional elections of 1878, the Central Executive Committee of the National party met in Washington, D. C. December 21, and issued an address to the country at large. It was declared that the new party in two years had increased its voting strength to 1,260,000. This was not a measure of the movement's full strength for in many places where there were sympathizers there was no organization and no candidates. The total strength of the party was estimated at from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 voters.

The state elections in 1879 further increased the expectations of the leaders in the movement. The Greenback-Labor candidate for mayor in Maine received 47,590 votes as against 68,766 and 21,688 given to the Republican and Democratic candidates respectively. In Massachusetts Benjamin F. Butler as the fusion candidate of the Democrats and Republicans polled 109,149 to 122,751 given to the Republican candidate.

A preliminary conference of the National party was held in Washington in January 1880 with over one hundred delegates present including lawyers, workingmen, editors and farmers representing many different shades of political, social and industrial reform. Representatives from trade and labor
organizations were few. The national nominating convention was scheduled for Chicago, June 9. "Brick" Pomeroy who had essayed the role of insurgent from the beginning of the party's history was in evidence at a convention held in St. Louis in March of the National Greenback-Labor party. It claimed to represent 10,000 clubs and 2,000,000 voters in the country at large. Stephen B. Dillaye of New York was nominated for President and B. J. Chambers of Texas for Vice-President though the former had wired that he would not accept the nomination pending action of the Chicago convention. In June this faction met in Chicago but was finally induced to take seats in the regular convention.

The Chicago convention convened the 9th of June. The regular delegates numbered over six hundred and two hundred others included the bolting Farewell Hall faction and the Socialists. In the call that had been issued for the convention all who were interested in financial reform and labor legislation were invited to participate. Among the delegates were Dennis Kearney and Susan B. Anthony. Every reform movement was represented. The currency reformer, the land reformer, the Chinese exclusion advocate, and the pure and simple trade unionist were present to urge their cause.

The Rev. Gilbert De La Matyr of Indiana was chosen as temporary chairman and Richard Trevellick of Michigan was selected as permanent president. The balloting for nominations
began early in the morning of June 12 after a stormy all-night session. Seven names were voted for on the informal ballot, but the strength of James B. Weaver of Iowa was soon evident and he was the unanimous choice of the convention. Candidates proposed for Vice President were Alanson M. West of Mississippi and B. J. Chambers of Texas. After the first ballot Mr. Chambers' nomination was made unanimous. The acceptance of Mr. Chambers was regarded as a concession to Pomeroy and his followers.

The greenback doctrine was a dead issue. The financial stringency had passed, and, as a consequence, two other mild monetary planks were written into the platform though the unlimited coinage of silver was demanded. The industrial features were made more definite. It was declared that the eight-hour law should be enforced; the sanitary condition of industrial establishments placed under rigid control; the competition of contract labor abolished; a bureau of labor statistics established; factories, mines, and work shops inspected; the employment of children under fourteen years of age forbidden; and wages paid in cash. Federal regulation of interstate commerce and such control as to secure moderate, fair, and uniform votes for passenger and freight traffic were urged. Protest is registered against those, "who, having dominion over money, over transportation, over land and labor, and largely over the press, and the machinery of government,
wield unwarrantable power over our institutions, and over
our life and property.

The old parties apparently were not dismayed by the
presence of a new party in the field.

The Republican platform made no reference to labor
or labor reforms. The framers of the Democratic platform con­
tented themselves with the following declaration: "The
Democratic party is the friend of labor and the laboring man,
and pledges itself to protect him alike from the coromant and
the commune."

The result of the election amply justified the non­
chalance of old party leaders. The Garfield electors received
4,449,053 votes and the Democratic electors were a close
second with 4,442,950. Of the nearly ten million votes
cast but 307,306 were in favor of the Greenback-Labor ticket,
less than a third of the vote totalled in the congressional
and state elections two years previous. This showing was a
disappointment to the leaders of the new party. Two facts
militated against their success in this canvass; first, the
general improvement in industrial conditions which had allayed
much of the discontent, and secondly, the disposition of voters
generally in a national campaign to stand by the party with
which they have established allegiance.

The more pronounced defections from the party were
in states having a large industrial vote - California,
Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, New York, and New Jersey; these in 1878 had cast 346,659 votes, but in this campaign, returned only 43,598 votes for Weaver. The losses in these states ranged from 96 per cent in Massachusetts to 80 per cent in Pennsylvania. Were the industrial workers ever disposed to sever their connections with the old parties and unite in a movement that they could dominate to their own advantage, now was their opportunity. The relative successes of 1878 should have made them hopeful; the movement was organized and wide spread; they could count on the cooperation of the farmers. Yet, the refusal of the workers to countenance the movement was decisive.

The leaders of the National party made one more effort to enlist the sympathy of the workingmen but with little, if any, success. A convention was held in St. Louis in 1882 to which delegates were invited from the various trades unions and other labor organizations. A national convention was held in Cincinnati, May 28, 1884. The candidates selected were Benjamin F. Butler for the Presidency and Alanson M. West for the Vice-Presidency. General Butler two weeks previous had been nominated by the Anti-Monopoly party.

This party had its origin in New York and was sponsored by F. B. Thurber and W. A. Henry. Its first and only National convention was held in Chicago May 14, 1884 which was not largely attended. Only seventeen states and the District
of Columbia were represented on the Committee on Resolutions. The platform urged upon Congress the necessity of legislation to control the great agencies of commerce, transportation, money, and the transmission of intelligence for the reason that these great monopolies were impoverishing labor and crushing out competition. The graduated income tax and the direct election of Senators were reforms supported. The labor provisions demanded enforcement of the eight-hour day, arbitration of labor disputes, the prohibition of foreign labor under contract and other reforms for the protection of united labor. Recognition of the farmers' claims were also demanded. General Butler, accepting the nominations tendered by the Anti-Monopolists and Greenbackers, urged a consolidation of all groups into a People's party. His candidacy created little enthusiasm even in Massachusetts where he had had a large personal following, as his vote was under 25,000. In the whole country he received but 175,370 votes—just half the vote to General Weaver if we neglect the largely personal vote of Massachusetts. The final chapter of the party's history was written in 1888 when a call for a convention to be held at Cincinnati brought only eight delegates. No nominations were made and the National party disappeared from the stage of American politics.

During this period both of the old parties seem disposed to give heed to the specific demands of Labor. The Democrats in their very lengthy platform of 1884 incorporated
many of the proposals of Labor which had been formulated by the American Federation of Labor recently organized. The competition of convict and imported labor with the labor of American workingmen was scathingly denounced. Very guarded reference was made to the monopoly issue. The Republicans borrowed several of the Labor parties' provisions. A national bureau of labor was proposed and enforcement of the eight-hour law urged. The importation of contract labor was denounced. Laws restricting Chinese immigration would be enforced and any further legislation necessary to render the laws effective would be provided. Tariff reform, regulation of interstate commerce and railway corporations were promised. As far as platforms go, the old parties had gone far in meeting the demands of labor and other reformers.
CHAPTER V
THE UNITED AND UNION LABOR PARTIES

The extent and effectiveness of labor organization is largely determined by general business conditions. In times of prosperity the ranks of Labor are strengthened but demoralization closely follows business depression. Any attempt, however, to modify concessions already won is sufficient to unite the workers in determined opposition. And this protest may find expression through the ballot as was the case in 1878 when the bitterness engendered by the great strikes of the year previous was recorded in the surprising gains made by Greenback-Labor party especially in the Eastern states. The ebb and flow of prosperity in the period now under consideration is marked. Little relief was experienced from the depression following the financial panic of 1873 until 1879. Two factors were responsible for the improved conditions in that year. One was the return to specie payments due almost entirely to John Sherman and the other was the bountiful crops of grain and cotton which ultimately started a flow of gold to this country. The assassination of Garfield in 1881 followed by the failure of crops again checked prosperity, and, until 1884, the slowing up in business continued.

In the beginning of the decade Labor had become more confident and aggressive and the slight depressions following,
rather accelerated than checked organization. The American Federation of Labor dates its origin from 1881 when one hundred delegates representing more than 25,000 workingmen met in Terre Haute and perfected an organization which was to include unions in Canada as well as in the United States. The Knights of Labor of earlier origin had a phenomenal growth in this period. The membership in 1883 was 52,000 and in 1886 the estimated strength of the organization has been placed at from 500,000 to 800,000. The leaders of neither of these bodies countenanced organized political activity though there was an insistent demand within and outside the ranks of these organizations for political action.

As a result of this agitation, local labor parties sprang up all over the country and these gave impetus to the movement for a new national party to represent the working men. The movement culminated not in one but in two national parties—the United Labor party and the Union Labor party.

The United Labor party which held a national convention in 1888 originated among the workingmen of New York City and owes whatever prominence it gained to Henry George. The movement was a symptom of unrest much like to the Greenback-Labor party of nine years previous. Strikes were of frequent occurrence during the year 1886 having increased in number 125 per cent over the preceding year. The most serious strikes occurred on the Southwestern railroads which at once
occasioned the remarkable growth of the Knights of Labor and caused the downfall of that organization.

During the depression of 1884 the Southwestern system ordered a general reduction in wages and this was followed by another cut in March 1885. The result was a strike, and, as the sympathy of the public was with the strikers, the railroad officials at the solicitation of the governors of Missouri and Kansas revoked the orders for a reduction and the scale prevailing previous to September 1 was restored. This easy victory started the drift into the Knights of Labor and ultimately brought it to disaster.

A labor agitator named Irons, referred to by a congressional investigating committee as a dangerous if not pernicious individual, brought about a strike on the Missouri Pacific. He inveigled the Knights of Labor into an endorsement of the strike but this time public opinion was against the strikers and their cause was lost. As a result of this defeat, the power of the Knights was forever broken.

Not less significant as a sign of the unrest of the times was the general strike for an eight-hour day which culminated in Chicago in the famous Haymarket riot. The United Labor party and similar organizations was an evidence of this same general discontent occasioned by a long period of business depression.

The most significant attempt made by the workingmen
to gain control in politics originated in New York City in 1886 when in a conference of Trade and Labor Unions it was decided to have a ticket representing the workers in the next city election. It was known as the United Labor ticket. The Labor forces sought about for a candidate to head the city ticket and all eyes turned to Henry George who recently had returned from his second trip to Great Britain.

A committee from the conferences waited on Mr. George but he steadfastly refused to accept the nomination. He was approached three times in all, and finally, being persuaded by his friends, he consented. He told the members of the committee that he felt that the only remedy for the ills they complained of was through the ballot but that trade unionists themselves did not support their candidates. Impressed with Labor's remissness in this regard, he imposed one condition as determining the acceptance of the nomination. That there should be "no ignominious failure," he requested thirty thousand signatures to a petition endorsing his candidacy.

The nominating convention was held in Clarendon Hall September 23. There were present 409 delegates representing 175 organizations. The managers of the old parties alarmed by the apparent strength of the movement put forward their strongest men. Tammany selected Abraham S. Hewitt and Theodore Roosevelt was nominated by a citizens committee of 100 and endorsed by the Republican organization. Mr. Hewitt
was a son-in-law of Peter Cooper and member of the large iron manufacturing firm of Cooper, Hewitt & Co. Roosevelt had already exhibited some of those sterling qualities which later put him amongst the foremost statesmen of his time. George had the support of Patrick Ford, editor of the Irish World. Powderly of the Knights of Labor and Gompers of the American Federation of Labor also endorsed his candidacy. The press admitted that there were unprecedented signs of harmony among the Labor Unions.

The election was marked by intense excitement and on the face of the returns the Democrats won by a comfortable margin. Hewitt received 90,552 George 68,110 and Roosevelt 60,435 votes. Mr. George was firm in the belief that he had been "counted out." In any event the showing was remarkable in view of the fact that the working men had no political machinery and had no representatives at the polling places to count the votes. The law required that the parties in the contest must print and distribute their own ballots. Because of the defective organizations some districts were without ballots and distributors. Even at this late day, bribery, intimidation, and miscounting were not uncommon practices. It is significant that in the years immediately following, there was increasing agitation for the adoption of the Australian ballot and for the elimination by law of corrupt election practices. The demand for the Australian ballot was taken up
by trade unions and labor organizations which had the support of other agencies of reform. So insistent was the demand that most of the states in a short time had adopted some sort of a reform ballot and ultimately all of the states have removed the grosser defects of our election system. Though defeated, the New York workingmen were emboldened by their first venture into politics. At a meeting at Cooper Institute November 6, 1886 resolutions were adopted declaring for permanent political organizations in New York and elsewhere to accomplish a land and ballot reform. It was determined to hold a state convention for the purpose of nominating candidates for state offices to be filled that year. The Socialists had supported Henry George in the mayoralty contest but they now insisted upon an extension of the George doctrine to include the abolition of all private property in the instruments of production. George opposed the idea of the Socialists and in the contest which developed in the convention in Syracuse, August 17, the Socialists were excluded from participation in the proceedings. Mr. George was selected to head the state ticket as Secretary of State and made a determined canvass. The result of the election was a bitter disappointment to Mr. George and his followers. Though the Republican and Democratic Candidates made no campaign yet the United Labor leaders received but 72,000 votes out of a total of 1,000,000. In New York City where Mr. George had
had received 68,000 votes the year before in this election he secured but 38,000. The United Labor party had collapsed. The two principal contributing factors to the defeat as alleged by Mr. George was the opposition of the Catholic Church to his land doctrine and the defection of the Socialists.

The opposition of the Church authorities to the land doctrine was heightened because of the prominence of Dr. McGlynn who espoused the cause of Henry George. Dr. McGlynn was pastor of one of the large city parishes and had a large personal following. The archbishop of New York took the stand that George's land doctrine virtually amounted to the confiscation of private property and his pronouncement was sanctioned by the authorities in Rome. Dr. McGlynn was requested to withdraw his support from the movement but this he refused to do, and so he was temporarily suspended from his duties. Later, he was called to Rome for an investigation of his case. He failed to comply with this request and continued his advocacy of the land policy ultimately inviting excommunication.

As the presidential year of 1888 approached, it became evident that the tariff issue would be a big factor in the campaign. Henry George realizing that the United Labor party movement could command no appreciable following abandoned the party and declared himself in favor of Cleveland who had urged in a recent message to Congress tariff reform. Other leaders in the Labor Reform party urged organization at least in the
doubtful states and this policy George in the column of his paper, The Standard, characterized as leading the "United Labor Party into the same ignominious death trap into which Butler lead the Greenback-Labor Party" in 1884. The implication was that Butler's candidacy was designed solely for the purpose of drawing strength from the Democratic party to aid in the election of the Republican candidate, James G. Blaine,

The United Labor party had an effective local organization in Chicago. In the city election of 1887 they secured 24,000 out of 78,000 votes and elected one alderman. The candidates were in every instance workingmen and members of local labor organizations. The candidate for mayor was an iron moulder. The party did not command support outside of labor circles; for, the popular mind was distrustful of the purpose of the aggressive labor groups and associated them with anarchistic designs. Nevertheless leaders in New York and Chicago were anxious to test their strength and despite the refusal of Mr. George to countenance the movement a call for a national convention was issued in February 1888, at the instance of the executive committee of New York wing and the Land and Labor Club of that city.

In response to this call ninety delegates representing nine states assembled in Cincinnati May 16. The meeting was referred to as a conference yet an organization was perfected,
candidates chosen and a platform adopted. The chairman chosen by the convention was William B. Ogden of Kentucky. Robert H. Cowdrey, a Chicago druggist, was selected as the candidate for President and W. H. Wakefield of Kansas received the nomination for Vice-President. The platform is said to have been written by Dr. McGlynn.

Among the reforms demanded was a shortened work-day, prevention of child labor, abolition of competing convict labor, sanitary inspection of factories, tenements, and mines and the correction of the abuses of the conspiracy laws. Declaration was made in favor of government control of railroads and telegraphs. The cardinal doctrine of the platform was the provision for land reform.

The evils resulting from our present system of land ownership were set forth. Access to farming land is denied to labor which is driven into the city subjecting the wage earners to unnatural competition. Business and professional men are condemned to a bitter and often unavailing struggle to avoid bankruptcy. It is asserted that these evils are traceable to a fundamental wrong — "the making of land on which all must live the exclusive property of but a portion of the community." The remedy proposed to correct these ills is expressed in the following words: "What we propose is not the disturbing of any man in his holding or title; but by taxation of land according to its value and not according to
its area, to devote to common use and benefit those values which arise, not from the exertion of the individual, but from the growth of society, and to abolish all taxes on industry and its products."

Simultaneously with the development of the United Labor party, another labor party was organizing along national lines and out-distanced its rival in the campaign of 1888. During the summer of 1886 a call had been issued for a general conference of Greenbackers, Knights of Labor, Farmers' Alliance and other labor organizations to be held in Indianapolis September 1. There were present at this meeting a number of representatives from various labor organizations. Currency reformers were in evidence and one B. S. Heath was made chairman of the executive committee. The story of Mr. Heath's career is parallel with that of Edward Kellogg, the herald of the greenback doctrine. Once during the Civil War, and again, in the panic of 1873, he was forced into bankruptcy. He afterwards devoted much time to the study of our monetary system and was associated with Pomeroy after 1876 in editing various publications devoted to the greenback cause.

The call for a national convention issued by the Indianapolis conference invited each congressional district to send one delegate from each of the following organizations: Knights of Labor, Trades Unions, Farmers' Alliance, Patrons of Husbandry, Anti-Monopoly league, Peoples' Party, Farmers'
and Laborers' cooperative union, the Agricultural Wheels and soldiers organizations.

The proposed gathering, referred to as a National industrial convention, was scheduled for Cincinnati February 22, 1887. It was at this meeting that the Union Labor party was organized. A contest developed over the name of the party. The committee had recommended the name People's party but in the conference this was voted down and the word "Union" substituted for "Peoples." Proposals for designating the new party "Labor" or "Industrial" were laid on the table. This action provoked the labor delegates who threatened to bolt the convention and as a consequence the motion tabled was reconsidered. The word "Labor" was added so the party materialized as the Union Labor party. As objections to the word "Labor" it was urged that the designation would be construed too narrowly and exclude brain workers and further that the prejudice engendered by the Hay Market riots would react to the disadvantage of a party so labelled.

The next step in the development of the new party was taken on May 15, 1888 when two hundred and seventy-four delegates representing twenty five states assembled in Cincinnati for the purpose of nominating candidates for President and Vice President. S. F. Norton of Chicago was chosen temporary chairman, and John Seitz was selected as
permanent chairman. Alson J. Streeter of Illinois was nominated for President. Authorities differ as to the candidate for the Vice-Presidency, and, as there is no record of a substitution, the reason of the discrepancy is not apparent. Stanwood and McKee state that Samuel Evans of Texas was the candidate but in Appletons Encyclopedia and McPherson's Handbook of Politics, Charles E. Cuningham of Arkansas is declared to be the candidate. Inquiry made to the Congressional Library has confirmed Stanwood's account in which it is recorded that on the first ballot Samuel Evans received 124 votes as against 32 cast for Charles Cuningham.

The platform is a medley of reform measures suggesting the mixed character of the party promoters. The currency reformers were still insistent upon their demands for a "circulatory medium, in necessary quantity and full legal tender...issued directly to the people." Postal Savings banks and free coinage of silver are also demanded. A proposal to meet the land reform agitation is inserted. The forfeiture of unearned grants, the limitation of land ownership, and the prevention of speculation in land are the solutions offered for the land problem. It was hoped that these declarations would reconcile the United Labor party and bring about a merger of the two parties.

The Labor demands are reasonably conservative—perhaps

1. See Appendix C.
too conservative to entice Labor to the support of the party. Arbitration should take the place of strikes and other injurious methods of settling labor disputes. Perhaps, the lookout and boycott are the "other" methods deprecated. Prohibition of the contracting for convict labor, reduction of the hours of labor commensurate with the increased production of labor-saving machinery, protection from bodily injury, equal pay for equal work for both sexes, compulsory education of children, Chinese exclusion and prohibition of the importation of foreign contract labor are measures supported. Other reforms include the graduated income tax, direct election of United States senators and woman suffrage.

The selection of A. J. Streeter as the candidate for President was a concession to the farmers. Mr. Streeter, a farmer, had long been prominent in Illinois politics and had served in both branches of the state legislature. He was an uncompromising foe of monopoly interests and was identified with the anti-monopoly party serving as temporary chairman in the national convention of 1888. His letter accepting the nomination of the Union Labor party displayed his impatience with the policies of the old parties and his hostility to the trusts which have forced on the country another irrepressible conflict. Reform within either of the old parties is a hopeless task; the only remedy lies in a new organization. He explained the absence of reference to the tariff issue which
now was becoming the prominent issue in National campaigns as due to the great diversity of opinion on that subject. This was an admission of weakness in a party bidding for national wide support - a weakness in any party devoted to class interests exclusively.

Following the convention of the two Labor parties, several unsuccessful attempts were made to combine their forces in support of one ticket. A final effort was made at a conference in Chicago on August 2, when representatives of both parties met in an endeavor to adjust the differences between them. There was little spirit of compromise in the Union Labor representatives who insisted that the United Labor ticket must be withdrawn. Indeed there was scant ground for compromise. The Henry George doctrine of land policy and the mild reforms proposed by the Union Labor party could scarce be harmonized. From the standpoint of expediency tax on land values would be a poor shibboleth to win the votes of farmers. At all events attempts at a merger failed. The United Labor party made no active campaign and the only votes recorded in favor of its candidates were 150 received in Illinois and 2668 in New York. These undoubtedly were the remnants of the organizations formed in Chicago and New York two years before.

The Union Labor party was organized in many of the Southern and Western states. Practically full state tickets
were presented in Arkansas, Alabama, Missouri, Texas, Colorado, Kansas, Minnesota, Michigan, Nebraska, Ohio and Wisconsin. In Arkansas the Republicans endorsed the Union Labor ticket which had the support of farmers' organizations. One senator and two representatives were elected to the state legislature in Missouri and representatives chosen from the remaining districts were fusion candidates of the Republican and Union Labor parties. The Independent party and the Union Labor united in Texas and ultimately secured the endorsement of the Republican party.

The vote for the national labor tickets is recorded in the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>States</th>
<th>Union Labor</th>
<th>United Labor</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>174,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>10,613</td>
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<td>1,266</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>240</td>
<td></td>
<td>153,978</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>39,787</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td></td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Death Rate</th>
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<tbody>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>150</td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nevada</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>New Jersey</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>626</td>
<td>2,668</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rhode Island</td>
<td>18</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>48</td>
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</table>
Texas : 29,459 : : 357,513
Vermont : : 63,440
Virginia : : 304,093
West Virginia : 1,064 : : 159,188
Wisconsin : 8,552 : : 354,614

: 146,935 : 2,818 : 11,388,038

It will be seen from the above record that the East manifested little interest in either Labor party and its vote was negligible. The little strength that the Union Labor party developed was due to fusions with the old parties. Four states Arkansas, Kansas, Missouri and Texas cast nearly 66 percent of the entire vote which represented from seven to ten percent of the total vote of these states. Their combined vote was 96,430 as compared with 25,092 votes cast in 1884. This large increase, Woodburn remarks, was presumably among the Democratic constituencies. Judged by the territorial distribution of votes, the Greenback-Labor party was a farmers' party. Analyzed on the same basis the Union Labor party had a still smaller portion of industrial workers among its adherents. Four states in the industrial group, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania which in 1878 had given the Greenback-Labor candidates over 300,000 votes, in 1884, had fallen to 61,915. Massachusetts and New York failed to
return any vote in favor of the Union Labor party in 1888. New Jersey gave a paltry 626 and Pennsylvania but 20,947. The Union Labor party commanded less of the labor vote than had the Greenback-Labor party in 1878.

A variety of reasons might be offered for the failure of the Union Labor party to enlist the support of the working-men. The particular reason is suggested in the Nation's comment in the collapse of the United Labor party in New York. "The difficulties of organizing a national labor party in this country multiply, as the most prominent leaders array themselves in opposition to each other on vital issues."

Reference is made in particular to the tariff issue which was then the burning question of the day. Henry George deserted the United Labor party to affiliate with the Democratic party which was contending for tariff reform. Mr. George was a free trader but T. V. Powderly the leader of the Knights of Labor was a protectionist. The old parties could take a definite stand on the issue accommodating their position to the attitude of the section in which their strength lay. The Republicans, strong in the manufacturing districts, could declare for a high protective tariff and the Democrats, strong in the South, and bidding for the vote in the agricultural states would declare in favor of a moderate schedule to give the consumer the benefit of foreign markets. The new tariff issue was too complicated for a new party to assimilate.
only recourse was not to declare at all in the matter which was a fatal weakness. The campaign turned on the tariff issue. The nominee's letter of acceptance emphasized it. The press and campaign orators kept in constantly before the electorate. It was on the tariff issue that the electorate voted.

One other fact militated against any general acceptance of a new party by the workingmen. The two most prominent labor organizations were opposed to independent political action. The Knights of Labor had become more or less active in politics but it was in defiance of the policy of Mr. Powderly. The American Federation of Labor had insisted that it was not a political organization and that its only activity in this direction would be to secure remedial legislation. Various labor bills had been introduced in Congress during this decade. The American Federation of Labor demanded legislation legalizing the incorporation of National Trade Unions which passed Congress and received the approval of the President in June, 1886. In the forty-ninth congress, second session, three measures were proposed. A bill was enacted charging the Secretary of the Treasury with the enforcement of an act of 1885, prohibiting the importation and immigration of foreigners and aliens under contract. Other bills provided for voluntary arbitration "between common carriers ... and their employees," and the prohibition of contracting for convict labor. Both
of these bills failed of securing the President's consent before the adjournment of Congress. The progress made in securing favorable legislation seemed to justify the Federation's policy and emphasize the uselessness of a labor party.

Three other national conventions were held during 1888 all seeking means of benefiting the industrial classes. The Industrial Reform party met in Washington, D. C. February 32, and selected candidates for the approaching election. Albert E. Redstone of California, and John Calvin of Kansas were designated as nominees for President and Vice-President respectively. The party made no canvass and exercised no appreciable influence in the election. The Grand Council of the Independent Labor party held a conference in Detroit on the sixteenth of July. The council discussed the various parties and candidates and finally endorsed the Republican ticket.

The American party came into existence on August 14, in the city of Washington. Its purpose was to combat unrestricted foreign immigration. New York and California were represented by 65 of the 126 delegates present. A controversy developed on the second day of the convention as to the apportionment of votes. New York and California insisted upon the delegates counting their votes as individuals while the other states contended that the voting should be by states or
congressional districts which was the procedure in other
conventions. The issue produced a split. The New York and
California delegates held their own convention nominating
for President James Langdon Curtis of New York and for Vice-
President James P. Greer of Tennessee, who subsequently
deprecated.

The platform branded the Protection vs. Free Trade
issue a fraud and a snare. It declared: "One of the greatest
evils of unrestricted foreign immigration is the reduction
of the wages of the American workingmen and working-women to
the level of the underfed and underpaid labor of foreign
countries; therefore, Resolved: That we demand that no
immigrant shall be admitted into the United States without a
passport obtained from the American counsel at the port from
which he sails; that no passport shall be issued to any
pauper, criminal or insane person, or to any person who in the
judgment of the consul, is not likely to become a desirable
citizen of the United States; and that for each immigrant
passport there shall be collected ... the sum of one hundred
dollars...." Other resolutions demanded the repeal of the
naturalization laws of the United States, the restriction of
property holdings by aliens, the complete separation of church
and state and the taxation of all church property.

California, neglecting no opportunity to go on record
in favor of restricted immigration, gave the American party
1591 votes the only recorded votes to its credit.

The Reform movement is regarded by Robert Schilling as having reached its lowest ebb in 1888. He intimates that Labor's unresponsiveness was due to the attitude of T. V. Powderly who discountenanced any political alliance on the part of the Knights of Labor whose membership of one million members would have assured the success of any party with which it would have been affiliated.
CHAPTER VI

THE PEOPLE'S PARTY

The People's Party was an outgrowth of the Grange and Farmers' Alliance. The Grange movement had its origin in the Patrons of Husbandry, a secret organization formed in Washington in 1867. Subordinate lodges or granges were established in Illinois, Wisconsin, and other states. The purpose of the organization was declared to be non-political and designed solely to encourage cooperative efforts among its members. Yet in 1873-1874 the Granges declared war on railroad corporations and succeeded in gaining control of the legislatures in Illinois and Wisconsin though this is denied by Drew.

The committee on Transportation in national session in New York 1879 recommended "farmers to make such alliance... as will enable them to elect from their own numbers an even handed fair share of representatives state and national."

The alliance organizations originated in the South. In 1876 W. T. Bigget organized a Farmer's Alliance in Texas to oppose spoliation of public lands and to bring to justice land and cattle thieves. In 1879 a union was effected with the Farmers Union of Louisiana.

2. Documentary History, IX, 32.
The movement spread to other states, finally to be merged with the Agricultural Wheel organizations then a-plenty in Arkansas, Mississippi, Kentucky and Tennessee. The union was completed at Meridian, Mississippi in 1888, the organization being called the "Farmers' and Laborers' Union of America."

The National Farmer's Alliance, sometimes called the "Northern Alliance," was organized in Chicago 1877 and spread through Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, Kansas, and the Dakotas. Its object was to unite the farmers for promotion of their interests socially, politically, and financially. An unsuccessful attempt was made to unite the "Northern" and "Southern" Alliances in 1889 but a Union between the latter organization and the Knights of Labor was effected at the meeting which was called the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union. This body declared itself opposed to independent political action but would seek to influence legislation in accord with the proposals in its platforms. The Northern Alliance, on the contrary, favored political action independent of all existing political parties.

In February 1890, the presidents of the various state organizations received a letter from H. L. Loucks president of the National (Northern) Alliance requesting them to hold

special sessions to determine on political action within their respective states. He urged that labor organizations should be invited to participate. The result was that independent political parties were formed in Nebraska, Minnesota, Michigan, Indiana, Wisconsin, North Dakota, and South Dakota. Mr. Loucks, as president of the South Dakota Alliance, called a meeting on the 6th day of June and organized the Independent party, the name of which was later changed to People's party.

Kansas also effected an organization. The call was issued in April 1890 and, in June, delegates, representing the Farmer's Alliance, Knights of Labor, Single Tax clubs and other reform organizations met and organized the People's Party of Kansas. In the ensuing state election, the party succeeded in gaining control of the lower house of the State legislature.

The remarkable success of the new party stirred the other alliances and a demand was growing for political action on a national scale. Leaders of the various farmer's and labor organizations met with L. L. Polk, president of the Farmers Alliance and Industrial Union, and issued a call for a conference to be held in St. Louis, February 22, 1892. The Kansas enthusiasts would not brook this long delay and initiated a movement which resulted in a convention in Cincinnati, Ohio on May 19, 1891. The call stated as the purpose of the meeting "to arrange a Union of all reformers
Page number 100

was omitted in the original.
demanding relief on the issues of currency, land and trans-
portation ... adopt a platform ... and make such arrangements
for the conflict of 1892 as the conference may deem fitting." National and State officers of each Alliance, assembly and
association together with ten delegates from each county or
district organization, and managers and editors of papers be-
longing to the Reform Press Association, would comprise the
representation. Among the signers to the call were men
prominent in the Union Labor party. There appear the names
of P. P. Elder, national chairman of the Union Labor party,
A. J. Streeter, the Labor Union's nominee for President in the
last election, John McGovern of the Chicago Express, E. H.
Gillette, Chairman of the Union Labor party of Iowa and Robert
Schilling, secretary of the national committee of the Union
Labor party.

The Cincinnati convention was attended by 1418
delegates chiefly from Kansas, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois,
Missouri, and Nebraska. Charles E. Cunningham of Little Rock,
Arkansas, whose name had been presented for Vice President
in the Union Labor Convention of 1888 was temporary chairman
and Wm. A. Peffer of Kansas was made permanent chairman.
T. V. Powderly of the Knights of Labor was present but not as a
delegate. The proposal for independent political action was
not put through without determined opposition. The delegates
from Georgia headed by Representatives Livingston and Moses
who had been elected to congress on Democratic tickets endorsed by the Alliance fought the movement vehemently.

The platform emphasized currency and tax reforms and endorsed the platforms adopted at St. Louis in 1889, in Oscala, Florida 1890 and Omaha, Nebraska 1891. Apparently, an effort was made to harmonize all elements. The platform further urged the attendance of all "progressive organizations" at the convention scheduled for February 22, 1892.

The party figured in three senatorial contests in 1891. Holding the balance of power in the Illinois legislature, it threw its strength to the Democratic candidate John M. Palmer and brought about his election. William A. Peffer was elected Senator in Kansas defeating the Republican candidate John J. Ingalls who had represented the Senate since 1873. The Independent candidates in South Dakota, Rev. James H. Kyle with the assistance of the Democratic legislatures won over Thomas Sterling the Republican candidate.

Over seven hundred delegates, representing twenty-two different organizations attended the St. Louis conference in February of 1892. The relative strength of the farmers' and labor's organizations is evidenced in the apportionment of delegates. The farmers were represented by 630 delegates and the Knights of Labor were given but 82 representatives. All of the Alliances were predominantly composed of farmers with a sprinkling of industrial workers and mechanics. Efforts
to have the conference endorse prohibition and woman suffrage were unavailing. The majority determined to limit the action to problems of money, taxation, and transportation. The Southern delegates vigorously opposed independent political action as foreign to the policy of the Alliances. There was hopeless confusion, and, as a result, the conference adjourned to reassemble as independent citizens, and, in this meeting the action of the Cincinnati convention was ratified and a committee appointed to confer with a committee of the People's party. In the meeting which followed it was agreed to hold a nominating convention on July 4th. The place of meeting was left to the national committee which decided on Omaha, Nebraska.

The convention assembled in Omaha on Saturday July 2, The date was pushed forward in order that the preliminaries might be disposed of to permit the nomination of candidates on July 4 as originally planned. Representatives of the labor organizations championed by Powderly and Hayes of the Knights of Labor sought to bring about the nomination of Judge Walter I. Gresham for President. Judge Gresham was a Republican but several decisions rendered by him in which railroad interests were involved stamped him as a man of independent action. Mr. Gresham refused to permit his name to be considered and with the way now clear the old Greenback element swept General Weaver into position as leader of the new party.
and gave him the nomination. The East and the Northwest favored a younger man and one not committed to the oft repudiated greenback doctrine. They could muster but 295 votes as against nearly a thousand controlled by the Middle West. General James G. Field was the choice of the convention for Vice-President.

The more significant portions of the platform read:

"We declare, First, that the union of the labor forces of the United States this day consummated shall be permanent and perpetual. Second, Wealth belongs to him who creates it, and every dollar taken from industry without an equivalent is robbery ... The interests of rural and civic labor are the same; their enemies are identical.

"Third: We believe that the time has come when the railroad corporations will either own the people or the people must own the railroads; ..."

The demands of the platform were grouped under three headings—currency, transportation and land. Provision should be made for "a national currency, safe, sound and flexible, issued by the general government only ... without the use of banking corporations ...."

Free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one, the increase of circulatory medium to not less than fifty dollars per capita, a graduated income tax and postal savings banks were also demanded. The railroads and
telegraphs should be owned and operated by the government. The declarations on the land question were relatively mild. The monopolization of land for speculation purposes and alien ownership of land were condemned. Land granted to railroads in excess of their actual needs should be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only. There was little in their declarations to win the industrial vote though the principle concerning the ownership of wealth had a strong socialistic flavor.

The committee on resolutions made a supplementary report which better represented the aims of Labor. It was pointed out, however, that these resolutions were not a part of the party platform but expressed the opinion of the party. Resolutions four, five, and six were framed in the interests of Labor. They were as follows:

"Resolved, That we condemn the fallacy of protecting American labor under the present system, which opens our ports to the pauper and criminal classes of the world, and crowds out the wage earners; and we denounce the present ineffective laws against contract labor and demand further restriction of undesirable immigration.

"Resolved, That we cordially sympathize with the efforts of organized workingmen to shorten the hours of labor and demand a rigid enforcement of the existing eight-hour law on government work, and ask that a penalty clause be added
to said law.

"Resolved, That we regard the maintenance of a large
army of mercenaries, known as the Pinkerton system, as a menace
to our liberties, and we demand its abolition and we condemn
the recent invasion of the Territory of Wyoming by the hired
assassins of plutocracy, assisted by Federal officials."

The first resolution was the American party's platform
of 1888 in condensed form. The provision for a shorter
working day and the enforcement of the eight-hour law are
familiar labor demands reiterated in every reform platform for
the past quarter of a century.

Not alone was the predominance of the farmer element
manifested in the platform but in the representation as well.
It is highly significant that New York, Pennsylvania, and
Massachusetts in the balloting cast 59, 31 and 28 votes
respectively while Texas cast 60 votes, Illinois 83, and North
Dakota 35.

The hand of the labor forces was more evident in
several of the state platforms adopted during the year. In
Michigan a demand was made for an eight-hour day in factory,
mines, and ships. Nebraska endorsed the eight hour law but
excepted farm labor from the provision. Mississippi would
limit the employment of convict labor to the manufacture of
cheap cotton-bagging and Minnesota would employ such labor
only in producing binding twine. The hostility of the laboring
man to the Pinkerton service found expression in the platforms of many states among them Indiana and South Dakota.

The canvas of 1892 presented no striking features. The tariff was the principal issue but the silver issue was coming to the fore. The silver men in the Republican convention wanted a declaration in favor of the free coinage of silver but the opposition was too strong and a compromise on a weak money plank was the result. The party had lost control of congress in 1890 and the chief factor in its defeat was its position on the tariff question. The platform reaffirmed its faith in protection but on all imports coming into competition with the products of American labor there should be levied duties equal to the differences in wages abroad and at home. The agitation for election reform is strongly voiced. It was asserted that "the party will never relax its efforts until the integrity of the ballot and the purity of elections shall be fully guaranteed and protected in every State."

Labor received very special consideration. Specific reforms included demands for "more stringent laws and regulations for the restriction of criminal, pauper, and contract immigration."

The protection through legislation of the life and limb of employees of transportation companies, engaged in carrying on interstate commerce, is demanded and there is recommended legislation by the respective states that will protect employees
engaged in state commerce, mining and in manufacturing.

The tariff was a stumbling block for the Democrats and the free trade disciple and radical reformers carried the contest to the floor of the convention. The committee report was an assurance to business that the reduction of the tariff would be such as to injure no industries but the article which was finally accepted denied to the federal government the right to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purposes of revenue only. On the tariff issue the Democrats hoped to take their stand in the coming campaign. Chinese exclusion and the importation of foreign contract labor incurred the customary protest but attempts to restrict the immigration of the worthy and industrious was denounced. It was an ambitious program of labor reform legislation that was proposed including besides the protection urged for transportation employes the abolition of the notorious sweating system, convict contract labor, and the employment in factories of children under fifteen years of age.

The Populists, the name by which the People's party was popularly known, went into their first campaign well organized in the West and in some States in the South. They effected a fusion with one or other of the older parties whenever it was possible. In Colorado, Idaho, Kansas, North Dakota, and Wyoming, the Democrats nominated no electors. In Colorado and Kansas they controlled the conventions and forced
acceptance of the People's candidates. Nor were the Democrats adverse to the fusion where it would entail the loss of relatively sure states to the Republican party thus enhancing their own chances for success. In Louisiana and Alabama there was a coalition with the Republicans and in Florida the field was left free to the People's Party and Democrats.

Michigan is perhaps typical of the response of the workingmen to the movement. A conference for the political federation of labor organizations was held at Lansing December 29, 1891. At a later conference delegates were selected to attend the Omaha convention but no one could qualify as a delegate who had not severed his connection with other political parties. A resolution declaring strongly against fusion was adopted. In the November election Michigan cast nearly 500,000 votes and less than 20,000 of these were given to the Populist's candidates.

This insignificant vote is largely indicative of the attitude of labor towards the party. In seventeen states in the West and South the Populists had state tickets in the field and out of a total of 2,741,537 votes these states polled 696,132, or 22 percent of the total vote. The New England group together with New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania cast 3,543,519 votes of which the Populists received 30,172 or less than 1/2 of one per cent. Manifestly, the party received but scant consideration from the workingmen in the large industrial
centers of the East. In the West, however, according to one writer an analysis of the vote in 1892 as compared with the vote of 1890 showed that the Populists made gains in the cities in 1892 and lost heavily in the country districts.

The strength of the Populists movement was in the Southern and Western agricultural states. Though the McKinley Bill of 1890 had for the first time put agricultural products on a tariff schedule, still the farmers were suspicious and linked this party rather than the Democrats with the monied interests and railroads of the country. As has been remarked above, this tariff bill which was to win over the farmers' vote to the Republican party was instrumental in wresting control of Congress from the party. Nor were the farmers mollified in 1892. Though it was a year of general industrial prosperity, the farmers profited little, a circumstance which the more confirmed them in their determination to effect a change.

It is quite impossible to appraise with any degree of accuracy the strength of the laborers' contribution to the Populists vote in 1892. All indication would seem to justify the conclusion that it was relatively insignificant. Labors cooperation was confined to the activities of a few leaders who were convinced that the hope of the working men was in independent political activity. Some of the leaders were wedded to the idea for upwards of a quarter of a century; others
like Powderly gave it but grudging assent. One writer sums up the situation accurately. "To a casual observer, the participation of the Knights of Labor in the St. Louis conference might warrant the assumption that practically the union of all important classes of producers is an accomplished fact." The writer then goes on to show that the Knights of Labor were no longer representatives of the workingmen generally; that the numerical strength of the order was gone and all that remained were the leaders. He concludes that the presence of the Knights of Labor representatives at the St. Louis convention was "rather the personal endorsement of intelligent and farseeing leaders than an assurance of the assent and cooperation of city workingmen."

An attempt is made by one author to account for the avidity with which the farmers affiliated themselves with reform movements as compared with the reluctance of the industrial worker to become identified with such movements. Because of their environment the farmers are of more independent spirit and are in closer contact with the political life of the community. They are more conscious of the control which they may exert through the ballot, and so, when convinced that there were grave causes for discontent following the line of least resistance they asserted themselves politically. Flushed with this success in local campaigns, they broadened their activities to county and state elections. The city dweller is further

1. Arena, V, 1891-1892, 728.
removed from the administration of municipal affairs and his vote is often influenced by the attitude of his employer. He is skeptical of any power which he can exert and contents himself in keeping faith with the party of his choice.

Labor has always shown itself as unsympathetic with independent party action. Its intent has been rather to work through one of the regular parties to further its designs. This was the inspiration of the Knights of Industry, founded in New York in January, 1892, and was the policy to which the American Federation of Labor adhered.

The Knights of Industry professed themselves to be in no sense a rival of the Knights of Labor. Rather it was intended to supplement the work of that Order which in principle was non-political by political activity. It would launch a campaign of education. Branches were to be established in all the industrial centers and an endeavor made to organize the workmen. This body would be in readiness to throw its support to that party or those candidates who endorsed its program. Representatives would attend the National Conventions and urge acceptance of Labor's principles - the reduction of the hours of labor, legislation in favor of factory inspection and against convict labor. Child labor was to be abolished and the differences between the capitalists and the producers were to be settled by arbitration. This organization soon disappeared without having accomplished anything of importance.

1. Arena, V. 728-731, 1891-1892.
Another organization that sought to enlist the support of the working men was the American Bimetallic League which originated in St. Louis in 1889. Among leaders of importance present at the St. Louis meeting were William J. Bryan, Governor Davis H. Waite of Colorado, Benjamin R. Tillman of South Carolina, Robert Schilling, Terence Powderly and Ignatius Donelly. Its aim was to further the cause of free silver and at a meeting in Washington invitations were extended to every labor and industrial organization in the state to send delegates to future meetings of the League. This organization passed out of existence with the acceptance of the free silver doctrine by the Democrats in 1896. Labor's attitude toward the silver issue is shown in the canvass of that year.

It should be remarked, in passing, that in the congressional elections in 1894 the Populists increased their vote by about forty-two percent. The gains were largely in the Southern states and may be attributed to the activities of the several Alliances which supported the Populist tickets. Notable gains were made also in Minnesota and California, a fact which is further evidence that the movement developed its strength among the farmers.

The campaign of 1896 has little significance as far as the labor vote is concerned unless to emphasize the fact that the labor vote has no reality. The silver issue was to the fore in this canvass and caused a split in every party. The
efforts of party managers to sidetrack the silver question by emphasizing the tariff issue were unavailing.

In the Prohibition Convention in May there were the "broad urgers" who stood out in favor of a comprehensive platform including all of the leading issues and the "narrow gaugers" who would confine their declarations to prohibition and were particularly opposed to a "free coinage plank." The "broad gaugers" ultimately succeeded and in a convention in Pittsburg, May 28, organized a new "National" party. The platform contained one plank urging the suppression of all traffic in intoxicating liquors. Twelve other articles voiced the party's demand for reforms.

The free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold, at the ratio of 16 to 1, forfeiture of unearned land grants, government ownership and operation of railroads, telegraphs, and other national monopolies, abolition of the convict labor system, revision of immigration laws, adoption of the initiative and referendum, and proportional representation, direct election of the President, Vice-President, and United States Senators - these were the reforms demanded.

The Republican convention was composed of three factions - those openly opposed to free coinage, those avowedly in favor of the doctrine and a third group who would evade the issue. The party finally was committed by this platform to the preservation of the existing gold standard and opposed to free coinage
of silver except through international agreement. Ample protection to the products of the mine and field as well as those of the shop and factory was promised. Enforcement of the immigration laws to protect the wages of our workingmen against the fatal competition of low-priced labor was demanded and the creation of a National Board of Arbitration to settle and adjust differences between employers and employes engaged in interstate commerce was favored.

The silver forces gained control of the Democratic convention and the platform declared against a single gold standard and in favor of "the unlimited coinage of both silver and gold at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."

The issuance of notes intended to circulate as money by national banks was denounced as derogatory to the Constitution. The Supreme Court's decision invalidating the income tax provision was protested. A vicious monetary system is alleged as the cause of depressed prices of farmer's products. With the artisan and the laborer we must be protected through legislation in all his rights. The principle of arbitration in settling disputes between employers engaged in interstate commerce and their employes is accepted. The arbitrary interference by federal authorities in local affairs is condemned. Government by injunction is branded as a new and highly dangerous form of oppression. A dissenting report offered by a minority
of the committee on Resolutions condemned "many declarations" as "ill-considered and ambiguously phrased, while others are extreme and revolutionary of the well-recognized principles of the party." A substitute financial plank was offered declaring for the continuance of the gold standard but was overwhelmingly defeated.

The Populists was likewise obliged to deal with contending factions - the "middle-of-the-road men" who were opposed to affiliation or alliance with any organization and the other wing which favored acceptance of the Democratic candidates. A compromise was effected whereby Thomas Watson of Georgia was given the nomination for Vice-President and William J. Bryan accepted as the party's candidate for President. The platform adopted was essentially the same as the previous platform of the party. It was clearly perceived that the separate tickets on which Bryan appeared would divide his vote with consequent advantage to the Republicans. Accordingly many of the Populist's party managers in spite of the protests of the middle-of-the-road wing and Mr. Watson accepted fusion tickets out of which alliances came the designation "Popocrat." The income tax and opposition to government by injunction were measures on which they agreed together with the free coinage issue. The merger won for the Democrats Kansas and Nebraska, and the mining states except California. The other Populists strongholds in the South normally democratic gave the ticket immense majorities
The East went solidly against the free silver doctrine with the democratic states; Maryland, West Virginia and Kentucky also listed in the Republican Column. The vote in the New England states and in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania was particularly decisive and it was unquestionably the silver issue which swung sentiment to the Republicans.

The Democratic platform was particularly partial to the specific interests of the working men but the money question overshadowed all other issues and determined the vote. There was perhaps a lurking idea in the minds of the workers that the Republican party was the party of the money class but the earnestness of the Republicans and the apathy of the Democratic leaders in the East gave the victory to the Republicans. Bryan apparently made an impression in Ohio and Indiana for these states fell short of Republican expectations though rolling up safe majorities for McKinley. The Populist movement had spent itself without the labor vote crystallizing in its favor. It was a protest against monopolistic control and the domination of the monied interests but if the workers were alive to these alleged abuses they were not convinced that the way to remedy them was through repudiation of the old parties.
Prior to the Civil War, Socialism found concrete expression in various communistic schemes of which the principal were associated with the names of Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. These men were theorists and their efforts were of little if any practical import. It was German refugees who quit the fatherland after the Revolution of 1848 who were the prime movers in the development of Socialism in this country. These emigrants were numerous especially in Pennsylvania, Ohio, New York, and Maryland. In the early thirties a society called Germania was founded in the city of New York having for its express purpose the organization of the political refugees who would be prepared to return to Germany in the event of another political revolution. Other organizations sprang up among them, such as debating societies, cooperative associations, trade organizations and the like but notably Free Soil Clubs which organized at the behest of the Free Soil party. For the most part these organizations were isolated and unconnected.

It was in 1850 that efforts to unify the German working-men's organizations in America bore result. Wilhelm Weitling was instrumental in having assembled the first national convention of German workmen on October 22, 1850 at Philadelphia. The convention represented organizations in St. Louis, Louisville, Baltimore, Pittsburg, Philadelphia, New York, Buffalo, Williamsburg...
Newark, and Cincinnati. These societies claimed a membership of 4,400. Sessions were held over a period of six days and among the questions discussed was political party organization. A platform embodying the demands of the Free Soil party was adopted and a central political committee of seven was appointed, for each city who would cooperate with one another in state and National elections. No official name was given to the organization but it finally came to be designated as the "General Workingmen's League." The league continued its existence until 1858. It failed to realize the high expectations of its founder who soon withdrew his support and the society had but a nominal existence thereafter.

The Gymnastic Unions held a national convention in the same year in which the Working-Men's League was formed and though they affiliated with the Free Soil party they declared that it was their intention to form a Socialist party in the United States. Professor Ely and Sortorius Von Walter Lansen, a German historian, are disposed to credit the Gymnastic Unions with considerable influence in the development of early socialism in the United States, but F. A. Sorge disagrees with the contention and Morris Hillquit seems inclined to accept Sorge's view.

The Civil War interfered with any further development of socialist organizations and the thinning of their ranks due to the war so paralyzed the movement that no progress was
made until 1867.

The socialist party of New York and vicinity was the first socialist party in the United States. It was formed at a meeting held in New York in December 1867 which was called by men prominent in German labor circles. The convention adopted a platform which was based on the platform of the National Labor Union and the declarations of the International. An independent ticket was selected for the city of New York but the vote was so meagre that no record of it is to be found. The party disappeared with that campaign.

The General German Working-Men's Association was the next organization to espouse the Socialists principles and it accepted the pure Marxian doctrine. The membership was made up exclusively of wage workers of any possible trade. The association affiliated with the National Labor Union in 1868 but after the convention of 1870 withdrew from the organization.

In 1869 it had affiliated also with the European International and aided in the organization of other sections of the International in the United States. Besides in New York, sections were established in Chicago, San Francisco, New Orleans, Washington and other cities, totaling about thirty sections with a membership of 5000. At the national convention which was held in New York City in 1872 the name chosen for the organization was North American Federation of the International Working-Men's Association. The depression following
the panic of 1873 drove many men into the new organization. In New York public demonstrations were conducted by the International to focus interest in the problem of the unemployed. In Chicago similar demonstrations were held. A parade numbering 20,000 men so impressed the city council as to wring from them the promise to take the matter of unemployment under consideration. The demonstration led to no practical results and out of the agitation that followed the Labor Party of Illinois was born as a rival to the International. Several sections of the International breaking away from the parent organization formed the Social Democratic Working-Men's party of North America.

The defection of these groups was reflected in the scant attendance at the Philadelphia convention of the International in 1874. Only twenty-three sections sent delegates. The following resolutions touching on political action were adopted:

"The North American Federation rejects all cooperation and connections with the political parties formed by the possessing classes, whether they call themselves Republicans or Democrats, or Independents or Liberals, or Patrons of Husbandry (grangers) or Reformers or whatever name they may adopt. Consequently, no member of the Federation can belong any longer to such a party.

"The political action of the Federation confines itself
generally to the endeavor of obtaining legislative acts in the interests of the working class proper, and always in a manner to distinguish and separate the working-men's party from all the political parties of the possessing classes.

"The Federation will not enter into a truly political campaign or election movement before being strong enough to exercise a perceptible influence, and then, in the first place, in the field of municipality, town or city (commune) whence this political movement may be transferred to the larger communities (countries, States, United States) according to the circumstances, and always in conformity with the Congress Resolutions."

The International was dissolved in 1876 when at a convention in Philadelphia only ten delegates were present. In every country in Europe the International had previously given up the struggle but the proclamation sounding the demise of the North American Section and ascribing the collapse of the movement to the present political situation in Europe predicted a new union of the working men of all countries in a common struggle. One historian sees the prediction realized in Paris in 1887 when the first of another series of international socialist conventions was held with 395 delegates present from twenty countries in Europe and America.

The Social Democratic Working-Men's party of North America had sapped the strength of the International. In its
convention in New York, July 4, 1874 there were represented also radical labor unions of New York, Williamsburg, Newark and Philadelphia. A platform which was revised a year later contained the following declarations of principles:

1. Abolishment of the present unjust political and social conditions.

2. Discontinuance of all class rule and class privileges.

3. Abolition of the working-men's dependence upon the capitalist by introduction of cooperative labor in place of the wage system so that every laborer will get the full value of his work.

4. Obtaining possession of the political power as a prerequisite for the solution of the labor question.

5. United struggle, united organization of all working men, and strict subordination of the individual under the law framed for the general welfare.

6. Sympathy with the working men of all countries who strive to attain the same object.

The second convention of the organization held in the year in which the International voted to dissolve was largely attended. The convention determined on an effort to unite the various socialist organizations but conferences held in the hall brought no results: It was in the following year that efforts were being made to revive the National Labor Union into a new political party. The Socialist's representa-
tives from various Socialists bodies met on the eve of the meeting and effected an organization with which they dominated the convention though having only 20 of the 106 delegates which constituted the gathering. As a result of this action the several groups were inspired to agree upon a national convention which would accomplish the union of the Socialist forces.

The convention met in Philadelphia July 19, 1876 and remained in session for four days. Delegates represented the North American Federation of the International Working-Men's Association, the Social Democratic Working-Men's Party of North America, the Labor Party of Illinois, the Socio-Political Labor-Union of Cincinnati. The aggregate membership of these organizations was about 3000. The first work of the convention was to consolidate the several organizations into one party to be known as the "Working-Men's party of the United States."

Two committees were selected, a national executive committee of seven with headquarters at Chicago, and a board of supervisors to which the executive committee was subject, located at New Haven, Connecticut. Two papers published in New York and one in Chicago were designated as the official organs of the party. The platform was an exposition of the Marxian principles of Socialism. In the second convention of the party held in Newark in December, 1877 the name was changed
to the Socialist Labor party of North America. For twenty years this party held the field. One of the difficulties under which the party labored and which hampered its growth was the fact that in this period not ten per cent of the membership was made up of native Americans. Even the leaders of the movement were men of foreign birth, often with little knowledge of the English language and less knowledge of American institutions. Hence it was, according to an apologist for the party, that the leaders of the movement from the first considered it their special mission to acclimatize the movement and to leave its further development to the American working-men. The endeavor to "Americanize" the Socialist Movement is the keynote to the activity of the Socialist Labor Party throughout its entire career." The great question then was how to reach the American working-men. Two avenues of approach were open, the one through the trade union movement, and the other through independent political activity. The choice of method provoked much discussion and both policies were at different times tested. The Knights of Labor was at this time active and the American Federation of Labor would begin its existence in a few years. To many the trade organizations seemed to be the proper medium through which to reach the working-men and the endeavors in this direction will be examined in later chapters.

Those who defended political action were mainly

influenced by the success of the socialists in Germany. For ten years they had been active in German politics and at this time numbered nearly 500,000 members. Though the reforms which they hoped to accomplish were purely economic, they were convinced that the more direct way of reform was to get hold of the political machinery and establish their system through legislation. Moreover, the campaigns would present an opportunity of getting their doctrine before the masses and their vote would be an evidence of their strength.

The time seemed propitious for launching a party which was to make its appeal to the masses. The year, 1877, has already been referred to as a period of great discontent, consequent on the industrial depression then at its height. Wages had been reduced and further reductions were threatened. It is estimated that no less than three million men were out of employment. The Socialists seized the opportunity and held mass meetings in many of the large cities. Two meetings were held in Philadelphia and an expression of sympathy was given to the striking miners and railway employes. A meeting in Brooklyn numbering 2000 men declared in favor of the public ownership of railroads. Twelve thousand people assembled at Tompkins Square in New York City and were addressed in German and in English. One of the resolutions drafted declared that it had become necessary "to form a political party with a platform based upon the natural rights of the workingmen, and with the aim of enacting legislation against the monopolies
which oppress the people."

The party organization did not limit its activities to conducting mass meetings but had lecture tours arranged to which their most persuasive speakers were assigned. These tours covered the entire country. Twenty four newspapers either friendly to or avowed champions of the cause of Socialism sprang up in 1876 and 1877. Eight of these were in the English language, one of which, The Star in St. Louis, was a daily, the others, weeklies. There were fourteen papers including seven dailies printed in the German language. Two other weeklies were in Bohemian and Swedish. Such were the favorable conditions which preceded the founding of the Socialist Labor Party of America in 1877.

The convention held in Newark, N. J. on December 26 was made up of thirty eight delegates representing thirty-one sections. The convention which had met in Pittsburg the preceding year in an endeavor to unite the forces of Socialism had determined that the mission of the new party was to spread broad cast the gospel of reform and its platform and constitution emphasized the tenants of the new creed. The attitude of that convention towards political action was indicated in a resolution requesting "the members of the party and working-men generally, for the time being to refrain from participation in elections and to turn their backs upon the ballot-box."
The convention at Newark reversed this position and reorganized the party on a basis of political reorganization. The constitution and platform were modified to meet this change in aim and method. In the following year the party made notable growth. There were in existence at the close of 1878 about one hundred sections in twenty-four states and claiming a membership of 10,000. The boom period of 1879 witnessed a growing indifference on the part of working men to the new teaching. The membership of the party fell off rapidly, sections were dissolved and the socialist press had practically disappeared. The eight papers in the English language in existence at the time of the Newark convention had discontinued publication and a new party organ established in May 1878 survived but a year.

The second national convention of the party met December 26, 1879 at Allegheny City. The delegates present numbered twenty-four, representing twenty sections. No statement was made of membership but one writer estimates the number at 2,600 and another at 1500. The convention decided to return to its former plan of engaging in Socialist propaganda and divided the country into four sections so as to organize the agitation. Though the outlook was not promising, the question of participating in the presidential campaign of 1880 was discussed but no definite action taken. Less spirited was the convention of 1881 held in New York City when there
were but twenty delegates present and the most of these from New York and Brooklyn.

The development of anarchism in this country served to weaken the prestige of socialism. Anarchism found its devotees among the more radical of the socialists both in the old countries and in America. The philosophies of the two systems are radically different yet anarchists were associated with socialists in the public mind. Nor less were they in fact; for, when in the convention of 1879 the executive committee was censured by a majority vote of the convention because it had condemned certain movements of radical character, the more radical socialists groups formed a "Revolutionary Socialist Labor Party" which blossomed into pure anarchism under the leadership of John Most. The anarchist movement drew heavily from the already weakened socialist Labor party until in 1883 the party had but 1500 members. The Revolutionary groups had organized into the "International Working People's Association at Pittsburg and to this meeting the Socialist Labor party was invited to send delegates. It declined on the score that there was no common ground between Social Democrats and anarchists.

The Socialist Labor party, however, was impelled to reach out after the radical members who had deserted its ranks, and, at the convention at Baltimore in 1883, it adopted a most radical tone. It declared that politics was merely a method
of propaganda and that the privileged classes would never relinquish their advantages unless compelled to do so by force. Yet, it was asserted; "We do not share the folly of the men who consider dynamite bombs as the best means of agitation."

The party took on new life in its opposition to the anarchists and gradually increased its membership through a systematic campaign of education. Thirty sections were represented in the convention of 1884 and three party papers were established. The Voice of the People in New York, The Evening Telegram in New Haven, and The San Francisco Truth in San Francisco. None of these publications were long-lived.

The fifth national convention was held in Cincinnati October 5, 1885 with thirty-three delegates representing forty-two sections.

In the meantime the International had grown apace and in the year 1885 counted eighty organized groups and a membership of 7,000.

The anarchists rode to their fall in 1886. The industrial crisis of the preceding years had given them the opportunity to disseminate their revolutionary doctrine. Two years before the American Federation had launched a movement for an eight-hour day. There had been more or less active agitation until finally May 1, 1886 was set as the day for a general strike to force the issue. The movement culminated

in the Hay market riot of Chicago. The trouble began at the McCormick Reaper workers where strikers were fired upon by the police and six were killed. The anarchist spies rushed to the office of the Arbeiter-Zeitung and published an inflammatory proclamation urging the working-men to avenge the "brutal murder." A mass meeting that evening was attended by 2000 working men. Speeches were made but threatening clouds drove many away and the remainder were being harangued by an anarchist named Feilding when a squad of police marched up to disperse the meeting. A bomb was thrown into the midst of the police and immediately both sides opened fire. As a result of the fray, seven policemen were killed and sixty wounded. The casualties on the other side were four killed and fifty wounded. The conviction and execution of the principal leaders followed and the anarchist movement was ended.

The Socialist Labor party now had a clear field. Its membership increased and extensive lecture tours were arranged which gave considerable prominence to the movement. In the annual convention held in Buffalo, New York in September 1887, it was reported that seventy sections now comprised the party. At this meeting an effort was made to unite with the organization the International Working-Men's Association.

The International Working-Men's Association, which is not to be confused with the International Working-People's Association referred to above, was an organization of working
men and farmers. It had a membership of 6000 chiefly
confined to the far Western states and Washington territory.
The party principles were a mixture of anarchism and socialism
though they deprecated violence, rejected the ballot, and placed
their sole reliance on education to accomplish reforms. The
uncompromising opposition of the party to political action
precluded the possibility of unification.

In the Buffalo convention the discussion centered
around what kind of political activity the party should engage
in. Some favored independent party action; others would
hold aloof from politics until such time as the party could
make its power felt. The result was a compromise by which
the members were directed to support the party or candidates
which were the more progressive.

The controversy was by no means ended with that
recommendation. The Socialist press took up the question.
The New York Volk Zeitung decried political activity and
urged that results could better be achieved through the trade
union movement. The Workman's Advocate and Der Socialist
ridiculed the trade union policy and rigorously supported an
independent political party. The difference of opinion
ultimately led to an open rupture and the two factions held
separate conventions in 1889.

The Volkzeitung faction held the party organization,
yet the Chicago convention of 1889 accepted a political
platform drawn up by Lucian Sanial. The Socialists became
active again in New York in 1890 and nominated a full state ticket which received 13,704 votes. The party entered the field of national politics in 1892 but its history from that time on is associated with the development of another organization, The Socialist Party, which is the subject considered in the following chapter.
CHAPTER VIII
THE SOCIALIST PARTY

The Social Labor Party entered the field of national politics in 1892, when, for the first time, it selected candidates for the office of President and Vice-President. This action was determined upon in a meeting at the headquarters in New York in September, 1892. Representatives from New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Connecticut and Pennsylvania, eight in number, were present at the conference. The candidate for the Presidency was Simon Wing of Boston, Massachusetts a manufacturer of photographic instruments. Chas H. Matchett of Brooklyn, an electrician was nominated for the Vice-Presidency. Six states were organized in the canvass of that year and the party polled 21,512 votes for its national ticket.

In the presidential canvass of 1896 the National ticket was headed by Chas. H. Matchett as candidate for President and Matthew Maquire for Vice President. Twenty states returned votes for the ticket giving a total of 36,275 votes. Two years later the party polled a total of 82,304 votes which marks the crest of the party's power. From 1899 it was on the decline losing most of its support to a rival party which appeared in 1901.

The downfall of the Socialist Labor party may be attributed largely to its association with the Socialist Trade and Labor Alliance. This Association sprang up as a rival
association to the American Federation of Labor and Knights of Labor. Socialists had failed to make an impression on these orders and the rival organization was the result. It was amalgamated with the Socialist Labor party in its convention of 1896 but its attitude of hostility toward existing labor organizations drew down odium not alone on itself but on the Socialist movement generally. Leaders of the party sensed the harm of such activity to the cause and sought to counteract the influence. Internal dissension resulted in a complete split the two factions holding separate conventions in 1898 but each clinging to the name Socialist Labor party. Ultimately the courts decided that the name belonged to the "regular" faction but the opposition called a convention in Rochester which was attended by fifty-nine delegates and remained in session five days. The convention is notable for two reasons. The platform then adopted is essentially the present Socialist platform and it was in this convention that overtures were made for affiliation with the Social Democratic party.

The Social Democratic party of the later nineties is the Socialist party of today. It developed out of a merger of two movements. One of these was the Brotherhood of the Cooperative Commonwealth, which, following the leadership of the Appeal to Reason, was promoting cooperative colonization schemes. The other was a remnant of the American Railway Union
which had been developed under the leadership of Eugene V. Debs but disintegrated after the Pullman strike. The organization met in Chicago June 13, 1897 and formed the "Social Democracy of America."

The new party emphasized the colonization feature but gradually the demand for political activity was asserted and prominent leaders among them Victor L. Berger backed the movement.

The contention as to whether the organization should further its colonization schemes, was aired in the Chicago convention in 1898. A bolt was the result and the new Social Democratic party was born. The National Executive board consisted of Eugene V. Debs, Victor L. Berger, Jesse Cox, Seymour Stedmann and Frederic Heath.

In the following year the new party placed tickets in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Connecticut, Maryland, Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri, and California. Two representatives to the state legislature were elected in Massachusetts and Haverhill and Brockton elected mayors on the Socialist ticket.

The first national convention was held March 6, 1900 at Indianapolis. The party then claimed a membership of 5,000. The convention was governed by a unique method of representation. Any member of the party might attach his signature to the credentials of a delegate who would thus be empowered to cast
on the floor of the convention as many votes as there were signatures attached to his credentials. Sixty seven delegates at this convention had a voting strength of 2,136.

As noted above, the Rochester wing of the Socialist party had appointed a committee to attend the Indianapolis convention with a view to bringing about a union of the two parties. The sentiment of the convention was decidedly in favor of the merger. The leaders of the new party seemed somewhat wary of the union but consented to the appointment of a committee which would draw up the plans of merger. It was provided, however, that the proposed plan of union would be submitted to the membership of both parties and their vote would determine the acceptance or rejection of the plan. Moreover, it was insisted that the name Social Democratic party should be retained. Before the convention adjourned Eugene V. Debs was nominated as the candidate for President and Job Harriman as the candidate for Vice-President, the former representing the Social Democratic party and the latter the Rochester faction.

The committees of the two parties met in New York City, March 25, 1900 and were in session for two days. The question of candidates and platforms were readily disposed of. It was agreed to accept the candidates as chosen by the Indianapolis Convention and adopt the platform of the Socialist Labor party formulated in the Rochester convention. The
choice of a name occasioned heated discussion. United Socialist party was the choice of the Rochester wing while the newer organization insisted upon retaining Social Democratic party. It was finally determined that the issue between the names should be decided by a vote of the membership of the parties.

The union apparently accomplished was short-lived. Before a week had passed, the National Executive Committee of the Social Democratic party issued a proclamation declaring the merger terminated. The committee was sustained in its action but by a very close vote of the membership. This action confused the situation and caused a rift in the ranks of both parties. Finally it was decided that the ticket agreed upon by the joint committee would be supported by all factions in the coming elections. A brief but energetic campaign was conducted and 97,730 votes were cast for the ticket. The campaign created a spirit of good feeling among the members of the different factions and prompted another effort toward amalgamation.

In response to a call issued by the Executive board at Chicago a joint conference of all socialist organizations met at Indianapolis July 29, 1901. The New York wing of the Socialist Labor party was the only group not represented. The combined membership of the organizations participating was 10,000. The system of representation which was adopted
at the previous convention in Springfield prevailed. There were actually present 124 delegates who had signatures to credentials representing the vote of 6,683 individual members. Of the delegates present less than 25 per cent were of foreign birth, an evidence of the changing character of socialist organizations which previously were predominantly composed of foreigners. The convention adopted a new constitution and platform and accepted as the official name of the united forces the Socialist party.

The Socialist Labor party and the Socialist party have participated side by side in the last five presidential campaigns. The former, however, has evidenced steadily diminishing strength though the latter up to 1912 has had remarkable growth. The Socialist Labor party in 1899 cast for its candidates 82,204 votes but in 1900 it was able to muster but 34,191. In the canvass of 1904 there was little change in its strength, a nominal increase of but fifty votes being recorded. There was a marked falling off in 1908 when only 14,021 votes were secured. In the convention of that year a proposal was made to place Eugene V. Debs at the head of the party's ticket but after a long discussion the convention rejected the proposal unanimously. It is interesting to note, in view of the action of the Socialist party in 1920, that this convention placed in nomination for the Presidency Martin B. Preston, then serving a term in the penitentiary for
murder of an employer whom he had shot while on picket duty. The candidate was below the legal age and August Gilhaus was substituted for him. The party regained some of its lost ground in 1912 when a ticket headed by Reimers and Francis secured 29,259 but in 1916 the vote was reduced to 16,787. The candidates in 1920 were Wm. W. Cox of St. Louis and Albert Gilhaus of Brooklyn. The party polled approximately 21,000 votes which is not the full strength of the party, as in some states the party has been listed as the Independent, Independent Labor, and Industrial party.

The Socialist party made steady progress from its inception. In 1904 one hundred and eighty four delegates, representing thirty-three states and two territories were present at the national convention in Chicago. A proposal was made to effect an alliance with the trade union organizations but the majority insisted that the trade union movement was too narrow in its scope and the only alliance which would be considered was one in which the trade unions would join the Socialist party. The platform stressed the vital socialist principles.

The nominees were Eugene V. Debs of Indiana and Benjamin Hanford of New York. In this canvass the socialist vote reached a surprising figure 402,895. Every state in the Union was represented in the socialist column. The same candidates appeared in 1908 and though the aggregate vote for all candidates increased over that of the election of 1904
by nearly 10 percent the socialist gain was slightly over 4 percent. The recorded vote for the party was 420,890. A survey made of the party at this time revealed the fact that 71 per cent of the membership were American born, 9 per cent German, 5 per cent Scandanavian, 4 per cent English, 2 per cent French and 9 per cent other nationalities. They were distributed in the occupation as follows: 62 per cent were members of labor unions, 17 per cent farmers, 9 per cent commercial men and 5 per cent professional men. As regards previous party affliction, it was found that 35 per cent had been Republicans, 40 per cent Democrats, 15 per cent Populists, 6 per cent Independents, and four per cent prohibitionists. This survey regarded only the dues paying members of the party.

The Socialist Party reached the crest of its strength in 1912 when 897,011 votes were cast for Debs and Seidel. The increase was well distributed over the country at large. However it was at that time pointed out that the party was relatively stronger in the agricultural and mining states of the West than in the industrial states of the East. In seven Western states, Oklahoma, Nevada, Montana, Arizona, Washington, California, and Idaho, the Socialists polled 10 per cent or over of the total vote, yet in New York where propaganda had been carried on for forty years the Socialists controlled but 4 per cent of the total vote and in the typical industrial state

1. Figures submitted by National office. Stanwood; A History of the Presidency credits the party with 901,873 votes.
of Massachusetts but 3.7 per cent. Kansas, Minnesota and Texas have a proportionately larger Socialist vote than New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey.

There was the usual falling off in the congressional elections two years later but it is significant that while in Oklahoma, New Mexico, Arizona, California and Idaho, the vote was reduced but 8 per cent over 1912, in New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, Illinois, Ohio, New Jersey, Michigan and Connecticut there was a 40 per cent decrease. Five western states returned a higher vote than in 1912 but there was a decrease of over 50 per cent in Pennsylvania, Illinois and Michigan.

The year 1916 was more disastrous for the Socialist party and the relatively poor showing has been generally ascribed to the attitude of Socialists to the war. They were opposed to war on principle and were regarded as especially sympathetic to Germany. The party held no national convention in that year but adopted its platform and nominated its candidates by a referendum vote of the entire membership of the party. The candidates were Allan L. Benson of New York and George R. Kirkpatrick of New Jersey. The platform contained besides the customary statement of Socialist principles and an industrial program an expression of its unalterable opposition to war. The total votes cast were 585,113 a loss of nearly 35 per cent over 1912.
The party leaders found new ground for hope in what they considered the success of the party in local elections in 1917 and 1918. Mr. Hillquit in contesting for the mayoralty of New York City and Victor Berger as a candidate for United States Senator from Wisconsin polled 25 per cent of the total voting strength in their respective localities whilst heretofore but rarely had the Socialist portion been over 10 per cent. In estimating the significance of this vote account must be taken of the popularity of the candidates and the fact that many German sympathizers took opportunity to register a protest against what to them was an intolerable attitude of government toward German residents in the United States during the war.

The eighth annual convention of the Socialist party was held in New York City opening on May 8, 1920. Twenty-four states were represented by one hundred and forty-two delegates and one representative from the District of Columbia. The party platform" which would state the Socialist movement in the light of enthusiastic and uncompromising temper of the Socialist movement" was drawn by Morris Hillquit, Victor L. Berger, Joseph E. Cohen, James O'Neal and Gustave Hoehn. The committee had been engaged in formulating the platform for two months. Not much emphasis was placed on the program of industrial reform but the revolutionary declaration as to stripping the Supreme Court of its power to declare legislation

1. See Appendix, D.
unconstitutional was retained.

Eugene V. Debs who is serving a ten years sentence in the federal penitentiary at Atlanta was for the fifth time chosen as the party's candidate for President. Seymour Steadman who had been active in defending Socialists charged with violation of the espionage act and associated with Hillquit in the Albany ouster proceedings was the convention's choice for the Vice-Presidency.

The vote of the Socialists in the 1920 canvass totalled 914,918. This was but a 2 per cent increase over the vote of 1912 which was the highest ever received. In the same time the total vote in the country had increased approximately 75 per cent due primarily to the influx of women voters. In 1912 the Socialists had nearly 6 percent of the entire vote, in 1920 less than 3½ per cent. There were marked losses in all of the Western states and in Ohio and Pennsylvania there was a falling off of 40 and 20 percent, respectively. There were, however, gains in the industrial states of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, New York and New Jersey. New Jersey gained 75 percent, Rhode Island over 100 percent, Massachusetts 150 percent, and New York 225 percent. New York was credited with 203,078 votes representing nearly 1/4 of the Socialist strength and 7 percent of the voting strength of the state. Two agricultural states Minnesota and Wisconsin showed an increase of 100 and

1. The national office of the party on March, 1 1921 reported the total vote as 915,302.
150 percent respectively. Wisconsin's poll represented nearly 12 percent of its voting strength.

The Socialist party had made no notable progress since 1912 rather it has lost ground. There were occasional spurts in different localities but these are never sustained. In only a few states has the progress been consistent and substantial. This fact is particularly true of New York and Wisconsin, largely on account their organization and dissimination of propaganda. The editor of the Review of Reviews commenting on the returns of the 1920 canvass remarks "the Socialist party as a National movement is not growing" and noted that the party "has not been adopted by the American workingmen to any serious extent." Its showing in the last four campaigns has scarcely borne out the prediction of political writers impressed with the increase of 1912 that the Socialist party would be increasingly a factor to be reckoned with in American politics.

Some interesting facts concerning the Socialist party were brought out in the investigations conducted by the Commission on Industrial Relations. The social philosophy of the movement was summed up by one writer as "the nationalization of the industries" which was reduced in concrete terms to the collective ownership of the principal tools, sources and resources of wealth production. It was asserted that the Socialist party is not a political party in the sense in which

1. Review of Reviews, December 1920, 579.
the old parties are inasmuch as its scope is broader. Aside from its endeavor to gain control of the governmental machinery, it is an educational agency for disseminating socialist doctrine, and it has from time to time thrown its support to the working men in industrial disputes.

There is a difference of opinion as to whether the movement is primarily educational or political, yet it is contended by leaders that there is not or should not be any conflict between the socialist party and the American Federation of Labor since the latter is engaged in the economic field exclusively while the Socialist party is primarily political.

The present attitude of the party toward other Labor parties was set forth by the National Executive Committee in January of 1919. The following notice was issued to members of the organization following the agitation for the formation of Labor parties, in many of the industrial centers:

"1. That State and National Constitutions of the Socialist party forbid members from joining any other political organization.

"2. That the endorsement of any political organization by any member or sub division of the Socialist party is equally forbidden.

"3. That even though the new Labor party may proclaim in favor of industrial democracy, may enunciate the fact of class struggle, and may profess internationalism, the history of all such organizations has shown that they must be judged
by their deeds rather than their promises."

Though the party has valiantly striven to maintain its identity, it has been weakened by dissensions and splits. In 1905 a faction united with the American Labor Union, an off-shoot of the Western Federations of Miners in organizing the Industrial Workers of the World. This element was later forced out of the party because it openly avowed its endorsement of sabotage.

The war issue accounted for further defections. When it became evident that the United States would be drawn into the world conflict, the National Executive Committee called a convention to be held in St. Louis, April 7, 1917. Two hundred delegates from forty states responded. Unalterable opposition to America's participation in the war was written into the majority report and accepted by the convention but this action occasioned the withdrawal of many prominent men of the party.

The latest defection occurred in 1919 when a left wing movement which had been developing organized into two parties known as the communist and communist Labor parties. The promoters of these organizations were impatient of the slow progress made by the parent organization and were eager to emulate the tactics of their Russian brethren.

The future of the Socialist party is problematic. Observers who were impressed with its rapid growth prior to
1912 in the light of later developments would be slow to hold out much promise to the party. It is a question whether or not it will ever again make the strides which marked its early development.
CHAPTER IX
NATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATIONS IN POLITICS

The Knights of Labor represent the second attempt of Labor to organize on a national scale. Its history may be briefly stated. The tailors in Philadelphia had a strong organization known as the Garment Cutter's Union. Its prestige however was weakened by the action of the government which during the war had contracted for cheap clothing with the result that the standards of the trade were broken down. Moreover, considerable opposition had developed on the part of the employers towards members of the organization so that it was deemed wise to dissolve the union. This action was urged by certain members of the old organization who had a new plan for a reorganized association.

Under the leadership of Uriah S. Stephens a secret society was formed in 1871 under the title of the Noble Order of Knights of Labor. In the beginning the membership was limited to tailors but a policy was adopted whereby members of other trades could become affiliated with the parent organization of tailors and having familiarized themselves with its workings could go out and organize their own trade or craft. These separate organizations were known as assemblies and multiplied rapidly. In the city of Philadelphia alone twenty seven assemblies were formed in 1873.

The next step was to determine on some plan of
amalgamation, and, in 1873 a first district assembly was organized. Four years later, a general assembly was formed in a meeting held in Reading, Pennsylvania which was attended by delegates from seven states and representing fifteen trades. Originally, the assemblies were composed of members of a single trade or craft but later the membership was open to all workers unskilled as well as skilled.

The secrecy feature of the Order has aroused the suspicions of the public generally and has incurred the open condemnation of Church authorities. In 1881 the general assembly abolished the secrecy provision and from that time on the society had remarkable growth. The first official figure issued in 1883 gave the membership at 52,000 and in 1886 it had reached the crest of its strength numbering then over 700,000 members. The decline of the organization was no less remarkable than its growth. It had been drawn into expensive sympathetic strikes with disastrous results. Its dual character of organization was a fatal weakness inviting no end of dissension. Besides the mixed labor assemblies which have been described national organizations of different trades had become affiliated impairing the harmonious working of the Order. A third cause contributing to its downfall as indicated by writers generally was the society's participation in politics. Yet, it is to be remarked that the Knights of Labor as an order never actively engaged in politics. Leaders
within the Organization who had committed the society to political action did so on their own responsibility and they never succeeded in enlisting the support of the rank and file of its members.

The founders of the order were deeply distrustful of politics and the constitution which was a redraft of the constitution written G. E. McNeil for the Industrial Brotherhood contained the following paragraph:

"It is not a political party, it is more for in it are crystallized sentiments and measures for the benefit of the whole people; but it should be borne in mind, when exercising the right of suffrage, that most of the objects herein set forth can only be obtained through legislation, and that it is the duty, regardless of party, of all to assist in nominating and supporting with their votes such candidates as will support these measures. No one shall, however, be compelled to vote with the majority."

Mr. Powderly who was elected President at the third annual assembly and annually reelected until 1893 refused steadfastly to be drawn into any political alliance. He did give his support to Henry George in his campaign for mayor of New York in 1886 but justified his action on the score that it was not a political party which was behind Mr. George's candidacy but a spontaneous movement on the part of the workingmen of New York City to rid the local government of
dishonest and corrupt politicians.

There were other men prominent in the Councils of the Order who were desirous of more definite Commitment of the society to political activity and who insisted that such a policy was in harmony with the declarations of the constitution. Joseph R. Buchanan, a printer, was persistent in his efforts to unite the workingmen on candidates who were in sympathy with Labor. Through his paper "The Enquirer," published in Denver, he waged a vigorous campaign in the canvass of 1884 for General Butler but was chagrined with the results though he found some consolation in the fact that Colorado's percentage of the whole vote cast was higher than that of any other state. The experience for a time destroyed his faith in the ballot as a medium of reform and he went over into the I.W.W. camp. Two years later, he backed the United Labor party's campaign in Chicago. In 1888 he proposed a nine word proposition declaring for the government ownership and operation of railroads and telegraphs as a platform on which all reform forces elect a president. His program was that adopted although it was urged by Dr. McGlynn as a basis of amalgamation for the Labor parties of the country.

Nevertheless, Mr. Buchanan criticized the policy of Grand Master Workman Powderly's administration. He attributed the decline of the order to the lack of a definite policy on the part of the officers and to the internecine strife which
had been going on within the order for months. Several circulars had been sent out by the Master Workman which in turn condemned strikes, political action, and assessments of the members to further strikes. This condition obtained for a few years longer until Mr. Powderly, finding himself wholly at variance with the executive board, refused re-election in 1893. In the meantime the People's party had invited the Knights of Labor to participate in the new political movement with the results recorded in the last chapter.

The story of the Knights of Labor's participation in politics is told in the experiences of Powderly and Buchanan. Mr. Powderly was resolutely opposed to committing the fortunes of the order to any political party. He endeavors to hold the organization free from entangling alliances. In later years he was obliged to compromise to the extent of attending conventions of reform movements but in a private capacity rather than as a representative of the Knights of Labor. Mr. Buchanan and his associates contended for united political action but never succeeded in getting the members generally to endorse or support their position. Their personal ventures finally convinced them of the hopelessness of convincing the workingmen that the way of bettering their conditions was through independent politics.

The American Federation of Labor grew out of a desire on the part of trade organizations to unite for their mutual
interests. The plan of organization differed from that of the Knights of Labor which aimed to embrace in one union all the working men without regard for particular employments. The American Federation of Labor represented an effort to nationalize existing trade unions. It was in 1881 that a conference was called of all international and national unions, trade councils and local unions for the purpose of confederation and to further the general interests of labor.

The convention met in Pittsburgh, November 15 and there were present about 107 delegates representing 250,000 men. Forty eight of these delegates represented local assemblies of the Knights of Labor. The convention adopted the name Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. The title suggests its character and scope. Annual conventions were held until 1886 when reorganization gave the Federation the form it has today.

It was not the purpose of the Federation to displace the Knights of Labor. It became evident that there was little occasion for the presence of both bodies and advances were made by the Federation for amalgamation which were uniformly rejected by the Knights. These efforts kept Labor circles in constant turmoil, and, as a result, several trade-unions despairing of any accomplishment in the interests of Labor, met in Columbus, Ohio for the purpose of forming an independent organization. The Federation anticipated the move and called
a convention for the preceding day at the same place.

There assembled in Columbus delegates representing twenty-five National organizations with a membership of 316,469. All differences were harmonized, the constitution was modified and the American Federation of Labor began its career with Samuel Gompers as its first president.

In defining the attitude of the Federation towards politics, Mr. Mitchell in his work on organized labor is careful to point out a distinction between political action which has legislation as its goal and the organization of an independent labor party. The Federation has been opposed always to the formation of a labor party but in nearly every convention it has urged that the interests of the workingmen cannot be harmonized with those of other classes of society and consequently that a labor party should be formed. The Socialists were particularly diligent in their endeavor to commit the organization to such a policy. Not only has the Federation refused to contenance a labor party, but its leaders have been opposed to associating the movement with any existing political party.

The general policy of the organization was set forth by President Gompers in his annual report made before the convention in Kansas City in 1898. He declared that what the Federation wanted was legislation in the interests of labor. To carry out this program effectively, it would be necessary to have trade unionists in Congress, in the state legislatures,
in executive offices, and on the Bench. Such a policy could be inaugurated and carried out by action as trade-unionists rather than through the medium of political organization.

This was the policy of the Federation from the beginning. In the first convention of the parent organization in 1881 it was stated that one of the four chief objects of the order was to secure legislation favorable to the working classes. A legislative committee was appointed whose duty it was to oversee legislation opposing what would be imimical and urging legislation furthering labor's interests.

The legislative demands were formulated into a platform of thirteen articles including the recommendation of laws for the incorporation of labor unions, regulation of child labor, enforcement of the eight-hour law, abolition of the contract system for prison labor, lien laws, repeal of conspiracy laws, establishment of labor bureaus, protection from cheap foreign labor and foreign contract labor. A further recommendation urged "all trades and labor organizations to secure proper representation in the law making bodies by means of the ballot, and to use all honorable measures by which the result can be accomplished." The movement, however, to accomplish these ends must be non-partisan in character and legislative committees were warned against endorsing publicly any of the political parties. The convention of 1882 reported progress had been made in realizing the purposes of the
organization. Favorable legislation had been secured and men in sympathy with labor had been given positions of influence in the government while enemies had been defeated by the united efforts of trade-unionists.

The next important step in working out a political program was determined upon in the convention of 1883 when it was decided to send committees in the name of organized labor in the United States to the national conventions of the two prominent parties which would assemble in the following year. Lack of funds interfered with the arrangement and instead letters were sent presenting the demands of the Federation.

The Socialists within the organization persistently dissented from this policy and in 1885 presented a resolution advocating a strict working-men's party. The committee on resolutions reported unfavorably on the declaration and it was lost on the floor of the convention.

It has been noted in another chapter that labor parties sprang up in a dozen or more states in the year 1886. A national labor party seemed to be imminent and as an endorsement of the movement the following resolution was adopted in the convention of 1886:

"Whereas, This subject is one which has, in the past, been a prolific source of dissension and trouble in the ranks of the working men; but, happily, the revolution recently witnessed in the election contest in several states, notably,
the remarkable and extraordinary demonstration made by the working men of New York, Milwaukee, Chicago, and other places, shows us the time has now arrived when the working people should decide upon this necessity of united action as citizens at the ballot box...therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the convention urge a most generous support to the independent political movement of the working men."

The national officers of the Federation and particularly Mr. Gompers were decidedly apathetic to the idea and refused to recognize the measure as countenancing an independent Labor party. Mr. Gompers reiterated his position in his annual report to the convention in 1869 when he declared that though many of the delegates considered an independent political party representing the claims of Labor as desirable still he insisted that in view of recent experience such action would be extremely unwise. He was referring evidently to the failure of the Labor parties in the campaign of 1888. He pleaded for the concentration of power on securing the enforcement of the eight-hour law expressing his faith in the practical results which could be obtained by creating a healthy public opinion. In the convention of the following year, a resolution recommending the formation of a political party embracing the American Federation and the Knights of Labor was rejected.

It was in the year 1890 that President Gompers
particularly displeased the socialists. The trade unions in New York had been affiliated in one central body to which a charter had been granted by the Federation. Shortly afterwards, a rupture occurred in the New York organization and the unions with socialist sympathies withdrew to form another central organization. This body applied to the Federation for a charter which was refused on the ground that the Socialist Labor party was one of the units and since it was a political organization could not be received into the Federation. The matter came up in the convention held in Detroit in 1890 and the action of the Federation officials in denying the charter was sustained. Mr. Hillquit suggests that the vote on this question was an indication of the strength of the Socialists in the Federation. The committee's report affirming the decision of President Gompers was accepted by a vote of 1,699 to 535.

The Socialists did not give up the struggle to force the issue of a Labor party. A set of resolutions was introduced in the Chicago convention of 1893 calling attention to the fact that the Trade Unionists in Great Britain had adopted the principle of independent labor politics and with gratifying results. It was decided by the convention to submit the matter to the affiliated unions and guided by their action dispose of the resolution in the next convention. The contention provoked President Gompers to remark as follows in his annual address in the convention of 1894 held in Denver:
"He would indeed be short sighted who would fail to advocate independent voting and political action by union workmen. We should endeavor to do all that we possibly can to wean our fellow workers from their affiliation with the dominant political parties, as one of the first steps necessary to insure wage-workers to vote in favor of wage-workers' interests, wage workers questions, and for union wage workers as representatives.

"During the past year the trade unions in many localities plunged into the political arena by nominating their candidates for public office, and, sad as it may be to record, it is nevertheless true that in each one of these localities politically they were defeated and the trade union movement more or less divided and disrupted."

Despite the opposition of President Gompers, the convention accepted the resolutions as presented by the Socialist contingent, eliminating however the vital doctrine of collective ownership of the means of production and distribution for which had been substituted a plank calling for the grant of public lands to actual settlers only. It was at this convention that James McBride of the United Mine Workers was chosen President of the Federation though Mr. Gompers returned to power the following year and has held the office continuously since. One more attempt was made by the Socialists to commit the

Federation to political organization. Max S. Hayes in the convention held in New Orleans in 1902 presented a resolution which read:

"That the twenty-second annual convention of the American Federation of Labor advise the working people to organize their economic and political power to secure for labor the full equivalent of its toil."

This measure and kindred measures offered in subsequent conventions and uncompromisingly opposed by President Gompers were invariably defeated. He let it be known, however, that his policy had reference only to the Federation as such. In one of his reports he acknowledges the autonomy and independence of the affiliated unions which are entirely free to take any political action they may deem advisable. But he contended that political action did not necessarily mean a political party. Unwavering allegiance to any party, he condemned as the abomination of American politics and urged such independence on the part of the voters as would leave them free to support that party most competent to manage the affairs of the government in the interests of all.

Thus, for forty years, the Federation has resisted all pressure to go the length of countenancing an independent Labor party or of aligning itself with any existing party. As one of the leaders has said we must be "partisan for a principle and not for a party."
Another phase of political activity may be considered here. It is incident upon the efforts of the Federation to put through favorable legislation. The Executive Council of the order met in Washington in 1906 and drafted a "Bill of Grievances" which was submitted to Congress as an expression of Labor's demands. The Republicans were in control and the failure of Congress to act on the proposals was interpreted as indifference if not actual hostility to Labor's interest. This prompted the Federation's officials to get the attitude of the legislators on Labor questions with a view to rewarding friends and punishing enemies.

Their most conspicuous endeavor was in the second congressional district of Maine where they sought to secure the defeat of Charles E. Littlefield who was branded as a foe of labor. The Federation sent its ablest men into the district to organize the workers against Mr. Littlefield. The Republican managers accepted the challenge and arrayed against Labor representatives were such notable leaders as Joseph Cannon, William H. Taft, Senators Lodge and Beveridge. It was a tense struggle but Littlefield was returned to Congress not, however, without a greatly reduced majority. Mr. Gompers reported the results of the activity of that year and asserted that several candidates hostile to Labor's interests were defeated and that the majorities of those of our opponents who were elected, heavily cut down. Two years later, the Federation
formulated "Labor's Protest to Congress" wherein it called upon the workers to "oppose and defeat our enemies." What was apparently accepted as a threat was answered in a challenging tone by a leader of the majority party in Congress who declared that "the Republican party was willing to accept the responsibility for legislation accepted or rejected."

As regards the benefits accruing through pressure for remedial legislation, opinion is divided. The Socialists scoff at the little that has been accomplished and assert that much that has been secured in legislation was afterward nullified by court interpretations and decisions. Without going into this subject, it might be noted that the Federationist of March 1917 stated that all except one of the demands of the Bill of Grievances formulated after Labor's Protest, had become the law of the land. Professor Groat writes in reference to legislative activity: "It will be perfected into a still stronger agency and will continue to be a powerful weapon in the hands of labor leaders to be used at such time, in such manner and for such measures as may be dictated by a policy that is above all sternly practical."

When Congress adjourned in 1908 without giving any heed to Labor's demand for special legislation it was determined to go before the convention of the two great political parties. It will be remembered that the procedure was determined upon in

the first convention in 1881 but was never executed. Identical demands were made on each party. The principal demand was for restrictions on the issuance of writs of injunction. The declaration urged by the Federation was opposed by the Committee on Resolutions of the Republican party but on the ground that it was not a political issue. A rather mild acknowledgment of the necessity of more specific legislation was recommended and adopted. The Democratic party in convention at Denver practically adopted the labor program in toto," and, as a result the officers of the Federation, openly espoused the cause of that party. One writer insists that the result revealed the limitations of the movement and to Professor Hoxie it was evidence that there is no such thing in America as the labor vote.

Again in 1912 representatives appeared before the convention of the Republican and Democratic parties. Labor received little recognition in the regular Republican Convention but the Progressive wing in its convention incorporated all of Labor's demands into its platform. The Democrats made no notable declarations yet the officers of the Federation again endorsed the Democratic party. It would be idle to attempt an analysis of the vote but there is nothing that would indicate that the vote of labor was swayed either by the endorsement of the officers of the Federation or by the rosy promises of the Progressives. Nothing distinctive marked the campaign of 1916
and 1920 as far as the regular parties are concerned. In 1916 the Republicans reiterated their demand for certain remedial legislation, the Progressives were concerned with our position as a nation in the world conflict and the Democrats contented themselves with the statement that the administration had secured to the working men the right of voluntary association and had protected the rights of the labor against the unwarranted use of writs of injunction. The war issue obscured all other questions and the division in the ranks of the Republicans permitted the Democrats to return to power.

The Republicans in 1920 declared for collective bargaining, favored a tribunal of arbitration for disputes on public utilities the decisions of which should be morally but not legally binding. Voluntary arbitration was recommended in adjusting differences in private industries. The Democrats recited their accomplishments in behalf of Labor—the establishment of a Department of Labor with "a practical workingman" at its head, the establishment of employment bureaus, passage of workingmen's compensation act, a child-labor act and an eight-hour law. Collective bargaining was also endorsed. Strikes and lockouts were regarded as unsatisfactory devices for settling disputes especially when the health or lives of people are endangered.

The results as far as a labor vote is concerned in no wise differed from the results of previous campaigns.
The editor of the Reviews of Reviews was of the opinion that union labor at the polls was fairly divided and that the voters rejected the imputation that Democracy was on the side of Labor and human rights, and Republicanism was devoted to corporate wealth and Wall Street.

The policy of the Federation officials in endorsing party candidates has not met with any significant results especially in national campaigns. Mr. Gompers' denial that he pledged 2,000,000 votes of workmen to the Democratic party or that he carried around in his vest pocket the workmen's vote is an admission of the short comings of such a policy. The President evidently was anxious to refute any insinuation that the Federation did or could control the vote of its members. He emphasized the fact that the only vote he could control was his own.

Four different phases of political activity may be ascribed to the Federation. First, there are maintained at all of the state capitols and at Washington labor lobbies which seek to secure the passage of favorable legislation and prevent legislation considered obnoxious. Secondly, the trade unions are urged to support trade unionists for public office or at least give their support to those in sympathy with Labor's demands. Thirdly, the officers attend the National conventions and endeavor to have the several parties incorporate labor's program in their platforms. Fourthly, attention
is given to the record of legislators so as to oppose those who are hostile to Labor and return those sympathetic to the cause. It would be difficult to estimate the benefits which these activities have secured for Labor though it is undeniable that much special legislation has been enacted and that Labor does exert no little influence in our national and state legislatures. Whether Federation officials will continue to have the prestige under the present administration that they have enjoyed under the Democratic regime of the last eight years is a matter of speculation.

As regards the Federation's attitude toward sponsoring a Labor party, it seems certain that no such action will be taken as long as President Gompers and his associates are in control. The organization of Labor parties in New York and Chicago within the last two years has been another attempt to dislodge Mr. Gompers and change the policy of the organization but it has been no more successful than such attempts have been in the past. The sentiment of the trade unionists is still decidedly in favor of the traditional policy of aloofness from political entanglements.
CHAPTER X
FARMER-LABOR PARTY

In the month of July, 1920 seven different groups met in the city of Chicago for the purpose of holding national conventions. Prominent among them were the Committee of Forty-Eight and the American Labor party. Other groups represented were the Non-Partisan League, the Triple-Alliance, the Labor League of Montana, the World War Veterans, the American Single Tax League, the Private Soldiers and Sailors League, and the Rank and File Veterans Association.

The Committee of Forty-Eight was a remnant of the Progressive party organized in 1912 and it had been in the process of organization for over a year. This committee comprised a representative from each of the forty-eight states which circumstance gave this group its name. The leaders of the movement in Chicago were Amos Pinchot, J. A. H. Hopkins, Robert C. McCurdy, and Dudley Field Malone.

The American Labor party was a reaction against the American Federation of Labor's traditional policy of opposition to independent political action. There had been agitation for party organization in local unions and in New York and Chicago particularly local labor parties had been formed. These parties were endorsed by the Central federated unions. This activity led to a demand for a national convention of trade unionists which was held in Chicago in November, 1919 at which the National American Labor party was formed.
Attending the convention were delegates from thirty-five states together with representatives of the Railway Brotherhhoods and fifty-nine unions affiliated with the Federation. In all there were over 1200 delegates of which the Mine Workers had 179, the machinists 40 and the Railway Brotherhhoods 65. The movement was not to be confined to trade unionists but would include all workers both hand and brain. The national committee was to be made up of two delegates from each state one of whom was to be a woman. The Socialist plan of a referendum on campaign issues was adopted as also a provision for expelling any member who accepted a nomination from another party.

The constitution provided that "No member of the Labor party shall permit his name to be placed in nomination by any political party other than the Labor party, and no branch of the Labor party shall endorse the nominee of any other party:

"Provided, that nothing here in contained shall prevent a working alliance between any branch of the Labor party and any organized Farmers' group which shall endorse the principles and platform of the Labor party, or other progressive organization or party which shall subscribe to and support the principles and platform of the Labor party. The National Committee shall expel any member or organization offending against the foregoing provisions."

The local party organized in Chicago was known as the
Illinois Labor party and had secured the endorsement of the Chicago Federation of Labor. Many of the local unions in Chicago had become affiliated with this new party and in the city election a ticket headed by John Fitzpatrick polled 55,990 votes. Later elections involving judgeships and ward alderman resulted in a decreased vote for the Labor party. Yet there were leaders among the labor organizations who were encouraged by the results in local elections and determined to launch a national party.

The temper of the leaders in the movement is reflected in the remarks of Mr. Kehn, chairman of the American Labor party in New York. He asserted that there must be political organization to carry out the policies of the American Federation of Labor and that Labor would be mollified no longer by pre-election promises of political parties controlled by corporate interests. He considered a Labor party inevitable and that only such a party can furnish competent labor representatives.

At the 1920 convention the Labor party was represented by 600 delegates but two-thirds of these were from Illinois and Indiana. These delegates represented trade unions or trade union federations and Labor party branches. Fifteen states had organized Labor party branches but the bulk of the delegates were trade Unionists from independent locals and from city and state federations. The United Mine Workers were represented by delegates from several locals but the national organization was not represented although in the convention of the preceding year its officers had been instructed to proceed with the organiza...
The Non-Partisan League was formed originally by the farmers of North Dakota. It was in protest against the control exercised particularly by banks and railroads which was considered as detrimental to farmers' interests. The League declared for the establishment by the state of grain elevators, a state marketing system, state insurance, state agency to purchase and distribute farmers' supplies and a state bank through which loans could be made to farmers on a four percent basis.

Its membership was to be confined to actual farmers whether tenants or land owners. Though designedly not political in character, it selected members of the League for various state offices and all members regardless of their party affiliation were obliged to support these candidates. Its policy had been to work through organizations of existing parties and only in a few instances did it appear as an independent ticket. Neither did it intend to become national in its scope but merely to organize along state lines. The meeting in Chicago, however, was indicative of a drift toward independent political action.

The Non-Partisan Leaguers who were party to the Chicago coalition numbered twenty-four delegates from South Dakota representing 35,000 farmers.

The Committee of Forty-Eight, the American Labor party
and the Non-Partisan League representatives were the principal elements in the merger about to be effected. The Committee of Forty-Eight already had been assured of the cooperation of all groups with the exception of the Labor party, but no coalition would be considered successful which did not unite these two elements. The Committee of Forty-Eight took the initiative and representatives of the two organizations consisting of twenty members from each group went into conference and in all night session discussed the possible bases of amalgamation. There were two points which threatened to wreck any union of these forces. Both factions apparently could agree on a candidate. La Follette was the first choice of the Forty-Eighters and not unacceptable to Labor. The choice of a name and a platform seemed to present difficulties which would be more difficult to surmount.

The representatives of the Labor party insisted that it be given recognition in the official name of the new party but the Forty-Eighters would not agree to have the word "Labor" incorporated in the official title because such a designation would carry the implication that the organization was a class movement. Later the Forty-Eighters seemed willing to waive objection to the word "Labor" and among the names suggested were Farmer Labor, Labor Union, Union Labor, Peoples party and the American party.

The conservatives of the Forty-Eighters however were
determined not to accept the radical planks in the Labor platform. The principal objection was urged against the provision for the nationalization of mines, the endorsement of the Plumb plan and the declaration for a capital levy tax. The committee refused to endorse amalgamation on the conditions proposed by the Labor party but presented a minority report to the joint convention. The leaders here were repudiated and the convention overwhelmingly voted in favor of the amalgamation.

Five representatives of the Forty-Eighters and five representatives of the Labor party were selected to draft the platform. A majority and minority report was returned, the latter signed by Amos Pinchot, George L. Record and Gilson Gardner and modelled after the platform formulated at the St. Louis conference in December. The majority report supported by the Labor representatives was written by Robert M. Buck, editor of the New Majority, a Labor paper. Heated discussions followed the presentation of reports but the minority report was defeated by the decisive vote of 308 to 125. This vote came after the announcement was made that Mr. La Follette would accept the candidacy as President of the new party on the minority platform but that he could not accept Labor's platform because of its radical and socialistic tendencies. It was the repudiation of the more conservative platform which occasioned the withdrawal of members of the Committee of Forty-Eight, and the re-opening of the original convention.
These leaders claimed to represent 90 percent of the original body and reorganization in accordance with long known ideals was discussed. The convention adjourned without any definite action but after adjournment various groups united under the leadership of Robert McCurdy and launched the Liberal party which adopted the platform as formulated at the meeting in St. Louis the previous year. This platform proposed the following:

1. Public ownership of transportation, including stock yards, large abattoirs, grain elevators, terminal ware houses, pipe lines and tanks. Public ownership of other public utilities and of the principal natural resources, such as coal, oil, natural gas, mineral deposits, large water powers, and large commercial tracts.

2. No land (including natural resources) and no patents to be held out of use for speculation to aid monopoly. We favor taxes to force idle land into use.

3. Equal economic, political, and legal rights for all, irrespective of sex or color. The immediate and absolute restoration of free speech, free press, peaceable assembly, and all civic rights guaranteed by the Constitution. We demand the abolition of injunctions in labor cases. We endorse the effort of labor to share in the management of industry and labor's right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of its own choosing.
One writer favorable to Labor insisted that it was not on concrete proposals that the Committee of Forty-Eight and the Labor groups broke. It was an irreconcilable difference in their philosophies - the first group were proponents of an individualistic philosophy and the Labor representatives were wedded to collectivism. One of the leaders of the Committee of Forty-Eight wrote that beneath all the superficial manifestations there was a fundamental, irreconcilable difference of opinion between a leadership insistent upon an American political party aiming at the welfare of all the people and a leadership insistent upon a class party devoted to the interests of the workers alone. In his mind an effort was being made by leaders of the Labor party through political propaganda to reach the minds of the rank and file of the American Federation of Labor and so wrest control from the present officials hoping ultimately to bring about a system of guild socialism.

The defection of the Forty-Eight leaders carried other groups out of the new party because it was through this group with which they had previously been united that the coalition was effected.

The Single Taxers now determined to perpetuate their identity as a party reconvened and adopted a brief platform declaring that the government should collect as taxes the full rental value of land and exempt all other sources. Twenty-one
states were represented in the convention and it was planned to place a ticket in each one of those states. The candidates were Robert C. McCurdy of Philadelphia and R.C. Barnum of Cleveland, Ohio.

There remained in the new party after the several bolts the trade unionists and apparently all of the farmers. The National Non-Partisan League had declared that it would not acknowledge any merger but the farmers in the convention acting as individuals enthusiastically accepted the radical platform of Labor and endorsed the candidates, Parley Christensen of Salt Lake City and Max S. Hayes of Cleveland. Mr. Christensen was a former city prosecutor at Salt Lake City and had been prominent in political and labor affairs of the West. He was born in Idaho and is 49 years old. He was identified with the Republican party until the formation of the Progressive party. In 1916 he voted for Wilson. He was a delegate from Utah to the convention of Forty-Eight and had been selected as chairman of their convention. In the joint convention later when the members of the Forty-Eight had gone over to the Labor convention J.A.H. Hopkins was presiding but confusion was rife and the situation beyond his control. The gavel was passed to Max Hayes who also failed to secure quiet when an insistent demand was made for Parley Christensen. He took his place and dominated the convention thereafter. Previously unknown outside the confines of his own state, yet
with La Follette out of the way and no other prominent figure to turn to, he was the inevitable candidate for the Presidency.

Mr. Hayes, the Vice-Presidential candidate, is an editor and a prominent Labor leader in Cleveland. He has been associated with the Socialist party.

The platform which the Forty-Eighters had considered revolutionary contained many of the concrete proposals of the Socialist party. There was a plea for the Americanization of the federal courts by making the judges elective for a short term and subject to recall. It favored the curbing of the courts power to issue anti-labor injunctions and to declare unconstitutional laws passed by Congress.

The industrial program called for an increasing share in the responsibilities and management of industries. The conservatives fought this declaration but would agree to the substitution of the word "effective" for "increasing." There was demanded the public ownership and operation of railroads, mines, and natural resources including stock yards and grain elevators. National and State owned banks with guarantees of adequate credit to individuals or groups was favored. Consumption taxes and all indirect taxation for governmental purposes were opposed and a staple graduated income tax with exemption of salaries under $3000 was endorsed. Labor's Bill of Rights was appended which in the main contained legislative proposals previously formulated by organized Labor.

1. See Appendix E.
The party succeeded in getting on the ballot in only nineteen states but no general campaign was organized. The total vote cast for presidential electors was 272,002. Three states, Illinois, South Dakota, and Washington polled nearly sixty percent of the entire vote. Not one state usually included in the industrial group of the East gave the party one percent of its suffrage. Though a New York Labor party was instrumental in organizing the Farmer-Labor movement, that state returned a surprisingly small vote. It is suggested as an explanation that voters who might be expected to further such a movement were more intent on administering a rebuke to the Democratic party. To do this they would support the Republican candidates and assure them an overwhelming majority rather than throw their votes to a ticket which had no chance of success. Dudley Field Malone, as candidate for Governor received 130,000 votes but a vote for Mr. Malone who had previously broken with the Wilson administration could not be interpreted as an endorsement of the Democratic regime. Pennsylvania's contribution too was relatively small. Massachusetts and Ohio, other states in the industrial group, had no Farmer-Labor electors. Two percent of Illinois' total vote was cast for the Christensen electors of which 37,288 were polled by the men and 12,342 by the women. The Labor party had made no notable gains in Illinois. It will be remembered that in 1919 John Fitzpatrick as candidate for
mayor of Chicago received in the city 55,990 votes. As a candidate for United States Senator in this campaign, he received but 50,749 votes in the entire state.

Minnesota had no presidential electors for the Farmer-Labor party but the candidate for Secretary of State received 193,658 votes which is over twenty-five percent of the total vote of the state. The third party movement was even more successful in 1918 when the Independent candidate for Governor received 111,948 votes against 166,515 and 76,793 cast for the Republican and Democratic candidates respectively.

South Dakota is another state in which the Farmer-Labor electors pressed close upon the Democratic electors. The Non-Partisan adherents supported Christensen and 34,406 or eighteen percent of the total was cast for the Farmer-Labor candidate. The Non-Partisan candidate for Governor polled 48,413 votes while the Democratic candidate polled but 31,862. The Republican candidate received 103,517 votes.

It is perhaps unnecessary to state that in both of these states the preponderant vote is that of the farmers.

The Farmer-Labor party manifested the greatest strength in the state of Washington which gave to the Christensen electors nearly twenty percent of its voting strength. The candidate for Governor received 121,371 votes nearly double the number received by the Democratic candidate. The Republican candidate polled 210,622 votes. Washington is
unique in that it is the only state in which the industrial workers rallied to the support of the new party. The bulk of the vote was polled in three western counties in which are located Tacoma, Seattle and Everett. Miners and railroad men constitute the population of these sections. The activities of the I. W. W.'s particularly in Seattle would seem to be a reflection of the radical tendencies rife in these sections.

A survey of these figures forces the conclusion that the Farmer-Labor party was no more successful in enlisting the support of industrial workers than had other so-called Labor parties of the past. Unlike movements of this character in the past, it was initiated by members of organized Labor and had the backing of trade unions, yet the farmers were the more disposed to make the movement effective. Every Labor party is handicapped as long as the officials of the American Federation of Labor discountenance independent action of that character and the industrial workers of the East where the spirit of conservatism is strong apparently will not support any movement which is radical in tone or which is under a radical leadership.

The leaders in the movement are not discouraged. The National committee in conference in Chicago adopted the following resolution:

"Resolved, that the National committee of the Farmer-
Labor party expresses its gratification at the progress made in the first campaign of the party—progress never equaled by a political party in the history of the nation, the Farmer-Labor party having captured second place in three states and having established itself on the ballot in nineteen states, in addition to having been organized in twenty other states.

It was decided to wage a vigorous campaign "to establish a party and press with a view of putting in the field full national, state and local tickets in every election."

The program embraced the following activities:

1. An effort to enlist the support of all the international unions.

3. A drive to interest progressive farmer organizations and local labor unions and state and city central bodies.

3. An organized effort to secure all party members as readers of the official organ of the party, The New Majority.

4. Aid for all communities where local Farmer-Labor party papers can be established.

5. Organization of Women's Auxiliary Activities.


7. Establishment of a bureau of research at Washington to provide party speakers and editors with facts and statistics.

The drafting of bills to carry out the party platform, and especially for election reform and submission of such bills to the voters in states having the initiative and
The policy of the party toward labor organizations was couched in the following words:

"It is no part of the duty or function of the Farmer-Labor party to criticize or seek to influence, change or modify the policies, choice of officers, or methods of the labor movement or any of its factions, branches or subsidiary organizations. We invite the unions to join us in an effort for united independent action of the workers, by sending delegates to our conventions. Our task is to save labor and farmers by striving to execute their political program. The places for men and women to comment on and seek to influence the course of the labor movement is in their labor unions."

The Farmer-Labor party faces tremendous odds as any new party in American politics must do. Over twenty-six millions of voters participated in the last election. They are divided between two well organized parties with an effective organization that reaches into the remotest village in the country. Organization must be met with organization and the type developed in our politics is not the creature of a day but of slow calculating growth. The lack of organization will seriously handicap any new party.

It would seem that the trade unions would be a nucleus around which a labor party could be formed but as long as the American Federation of Labor's officials oppose
a labor party there will be little hope of such a movement gaining headway. As these pages are written President Gompers enters the annual convention at Denver with his leadership not seriously threatened. The rank and file of unionists have thus far sustained him in his policy of opposition to independent political action. With the passing of Mr. Gompers a new policy may be inaugurated.

The Farmer-Labor party is still active in extending its organization. The test of its strength will be made in the congressional election two years hence. Its showing then may determine whether it will go the way of its predecessors or become a permanent factor in the political life of the nation.
APPENDIX A

NATIONAL LABOR REFORM PLATFORM OF 1872

We hold that all political power is inherent in the people, and free government founded on their authority and established for their benefit; that all citizens are equal in political rights, entitled to the largest religious and political liberty compatible with the good order of society, as also the use and enjoyment of the fruits of their labor and talents; and no man or set of men is entitled to exclusive separable endowments and privileges, or immunities from the Government, but in consideration of public services; and any laws destructive of these fundamental principles are without moral binding force, and should be repealed. And believing that all the evils resulting from unjust legislation now affecting the industrial classes can be removed by the adoption of the principles contained in the following declaration, therefore,

RESOLVED, That it is the duty of the Government to establish a just standard of distribution of capital and labor by providing a purely National circulating medium, based on the faith and resources of the Nation, issued directly to the people without the intervention of any system of banking corporations, which money shall be legal tender in the payment of all debts, public and private, and interchangeable at the option of the holder for Government Bonds bearing a rate of interest not to exceed 3.55 per cent, subject to future legislation by Congress.

2. That the National Debt should be paid in good faith, according to the original contract, at the earliest option of the Government, without mortgaging the property of the people or the future exigencies of labor, to enrich a few capitalists at home and abroad.

3. That justice demands that the burdens of Government should be so adjusted as to bear equally on all classes, and that the exemption from taxation of Government Bonds bearing extravagant rates of interest is a violation of all just principles of revenue laws.

4. That the public lands of the United States belong to the People, and should not be sold to individuals nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the People, and should be granted the landless settlers only, in amounts not exceeding one hundred and sixty acres of land.
5. That Congress should modify the tariff so as to admit free such articles of common use as we can neither produce nor grow, and lay duties for revenue mainly upon articles of luxury and upon such articles of manufacture as will, we having the raw materials, assist in further developing the resources of the country.

6. That the presence in our country of Chinese labor, imported by capitalists in large numbers, for servile use, is an evil, entailing want and its attendant train of misery and crime on all classes of the American People, and should be prohibited by legislation.

7. That we ask for the enactment of a law by which all mechanics and day laborers employed by or on behalf of the Government, whether directly or indirectly, through persons, firms, or corporations contracting with the State, shall conform to the reduced standard of eight hours a day, recently adopted by Congress for National employees, and also for an amendment to the acts of incorporation for Cities and Towns by which all laborers and mechanics employed at their expense shall conform to the same number of hours.

8. That the enlightened spirit of the age demands the abolition of the system of contract labor in our prisons and other reformatory institutions.

9. That the protection of life, liberty, and property, are the three cardinal principles of Government, and the first two are more sacred than the latter; therefore money needed for prosecuting wars should, as it is required, be assessed and collected from the wealthy of the country, and not entailed as a burden on posterity.

10. That it is the duty of the Government to exercise its power over railroads and telegraph corporations, that they shall not in any case be privileged to exact such rates of freight, transportation, or charges, by whatever name, as may bear unduly or unequally upon the producer or consumer.

11. That there should be such a reform in the civil service of the National Government as will remove it beyond all partisan influence, and place it in the charge and under the direction of intelligent and competent business men.

12. That as both history and experience teaches us that power ever seeks to perpetuate itself by every and all means, and that its prolonged possession in the hands of one person is always dangerous to the interests of a free people, and believing that the spirit of our organic laws and the stability and safety of our free institutions are best obeyed on the one
hand, and secured on the other, by a regular constitutional change in the chief of the country at each election; therefore, we are in favor of limiting the occupancy of the presidential chair to one term.

13. But we are in favor of granting general amnesty and restoring the Union at once on the basis of the equality of rights and privileges to all, the impartial administration of justice being the only true bond of union to bind the States together and restore the Government of the People.

14. That we demand the subjection of the military to the civil authorities, and the confinement of its operations to National purposes alone.

15. That we deem it expedient for Congress to supervise the patent laws, so as to give labor more fully the benefit of its own ideas and inventions.

16. That fitness, and not political or personal considerations, should be the only recommendation to public office, either appointive or elective, and any and all laws looking to the establishment of this principle are heartily approved.
The Civil Government should guarantee the divine right of every laborer to the results of his toil, thus enabling the producers of wealth to provide themselves with the means for physical comfort, and facilities for mental, social, and moral culture; and we condemn, as unworthy of our civilization, the barbarism which imposes upon wealth-producers a state of drudgery as the price of a bare animal existence. Notwithstanding the enormous increase of productive power by the universal introduction of labor-saving machinery and the discovery of new agents for the increase of wealth, the task of the laborer is scarcely lightened, the hours of toil are but little shortened, and few producers are lifted from poverty into comfort and pecuniary independence. The associated monopolies, the international syndicates, and other income classes demand dear money, cheap labor, and a strong Government, and, hence, a weak people. Corporate control of the volume of money has been the means of dividing society into hostile classes, of an unjust distribution of the products of labor, and of building up monopolies of associated capital, endowed with power to confiscate private property. It has kept money scarce; and the scarcity of money enforces debt, trade, and public and corporate loans; debt engenders usury, and usury ends in the bankruptcy of the borrower. Other results are deranged markets, uncertainty in manufacturing enterprises and agriculture, precarious and intermittent employment for the laborer, industrial war, increasing pauperism and crime, and the consequent intimidation and disfranchisement of the producer, and a rapid declension into corporate feudalism. Therefore, We declare:

First, That the right to make and issue money is a sovereign power, to be maintained by the people for their common benefit. The delegation of this right to corporations is a surrender of the central attribute of sovereignty, void of constitutional sanction, and conferring upon a subordinate and irresponsible power an absolute dominion over industry and commerce. All money, whether metallic or paper, should be issued, and its volume controlled, by the Government, and not by or through banking corporations; and, when so issued, should be a full legal tender for all debts, public and private.

Second, That the bonds of the United States should not be refunded, but paid as rapidly as practicable, according to contract. To enable the Government to meet these obligations, legal-tender currency should be substituted for the notes of the National Banks, the National Banking System abolished, and the unlimited coignage of silver, as well as gold, established by law.
Third, That labor should be so protected by National and State authority as to equalize its burdens and insure a just distribution of its results. The eight-hour law of Congress should be enforced; the sanitary condition of industrial establishments placed under rigid control; the competition of contract convict labor abolished; a bureau of labor statistics established; factories, mines, and workshops inspected; the employment of children under fourteen years of age forbidden; and wages paid in cash.

Fourth, Slavery being simply cheap labor, and cheap labor being simply slavery, the importation and presence of Chinese serfs necessarily tends to brutalize and degrade American labor; therefore immediate steps should be taken to abrogate the Burlingame Treaty.

Fifth, Railroad land grants forfeited by reason of non-fulfillment of contract should be immediately reclaimed by the government; and henceforth the public domain reserved exclusively as homes for actual settlers.

Sixth, It is the duty of Congress to regulate inter-state commerce. All lines of communication and transportation should be brought under such legislative control as shall secure moderate, fair, and uniform rates for passenger and freight traffic.

Seventh, We denounce as destructive to property and dangerous to liberty, the action of the old parties in fostering and sustaining gigantic land, railroad, and money corporations, and monopolies invested with and exercising powers belonging to the Government, and yet not responsible to it for the manner of their exercise.

Eighth, That the Constitution, in giving Congress the power to borrow money, to declare war, to raise and support armies, to provide and maintain a navy, never intended that the men who loaned their money for an interest consideration should be preferred to the soldiers and sailors who perilled their lives and shed their blood on land and sea in defense of their country; and we condemn the cruel class-legislation of the Republican Party, which, while professing great gratitude to the Soldier, has most unjustly discriminated against him and in favor of the Bondholder.

Ninth, All property should bear its just proportion of taxation, and we demand a graduated income tax.

Tenth, We denounce as dangerous the efforts everywhere manifest to restrict the right of suffrage.
Eleventh, We are opposed to an increase of the standing army in time of peace, and the insidious scheme to establish an enormous military power under the guise of militia laws.

Twelfth, We demand absolute democratic rules for the government of Congress, placing all representatives of the people upon an equal footing, and taking away from committees a veto power greater than that of the President.

Thirteenth, We demand a Government of the People, by the People and for the People, instead of a Government of the Bondholder, by the Bondholder, and for the Bondholder; and we denounce every attempt to stir up sectional strife as an effort to conceal monstrous crimes against the people.

Fourteenth, In the furtherance of these ends we ask the co-operation of all fair-minded people. We have no quarrel with individuals, wage no war on classes, but only against vicious institutions. We are not content to endure further discipline from our present actual rulers, who, having dominion over money, over transportation, over land and labor, over the press and the machinery of Government, wield unwarrantable power over our institutions and over life and property.

Fifteenth, That every citizen of due age, sound mind, and not a felon, be fully enfranchised, and that this resolution be referred to the states, with recommendation of their favorable consideration.
After an introductory paragraph the following declaration of principles is made:

Land.—While we believe that the proper solution of the financial question will greatly relieve those now in danger of losing their homes by mortgages and foreclosures, and enable all industrious persons to secure a home as the highest result of civilization, we oppose land monopoly in every form, demand the forfeiture of unearned grants, the limitation of land ownership, and such other legislation as will stop speculations in land, and holding it unused from those whose necessities require it.

We believe the earth was made for the people, and not to enable an idle aristocracy to subsist, through rents, upon the toil of the industrious, and that corners in land are as bad as corners in food, and that those who are not residents or citizens should not be allowed to own lands in the United States. A homestead should be exempt, to a limited extent, from execution or taxation.

Transportation.—The means of communication and transportation should be owned by the people, as is the United States postal service.

Money.—The establishment of a national monetary system in the interest of the producer, instead of the speculator and usurer, by which the circulating medium, in necessary quantity and full legal tender, shall be issued directly to the people, without the intervention of banks, or loaned to citizens upon land security at a low rate of interest, to relieve them from extortions of usury, and enable them to control the money supply. Postal savings banks should be established. While we have free coinage of gold, we should have free coinage of silver. We demand the immediate application of all the money in the United States Treasury to the payment of the bonded debt, and condemn the further issue of interest-bearing bonds, either by the national government or by States, Territories, or municipalities.

Labor.—Arbitration should take the place of strikes and other injurious methods of settling labor disputes. The letting of convict labor to contractors should be prohibited, the contract system be abolished in public works, the hours of labor in industrial establishments be reduced commensurate
the increased production by labor-saving machinery, employees protected from bodily injury, equal pay for equal work for both sexes, and labor, agricultural, and coöperative associations be fostered and encouraged by law. The foundation of a republic is in the intelligence of its citizens, and children who are driven into workshops, mines, and factories are deprived of the education which should be secured to all by proper legislation.

Pensions.—We demand the passage of a service pension bill to every honorably discharged soldier and sailor of the United States.

Income Tax.—A graduated income tax is the most equitable system of taxation, placing the burden of government on those who can best afford to pay, instead of laying it on the farmers and producers, and exempting millionaire bondholders and corporations.

United States Senate.—We demand a constitutional amendment making United States senators elective by a direct vote of the people.

Contract Labor.—We demand the strict enforcement of laws prohibiting the importation of subjects of foreign countries under contract.

Chinese.—We demand the passage and enforcement of such legislation as will absolutely exclude the Chinese from the United States.

Woman Suffrage.—The right to vote is inherent in citizenship, irrespective of sex, and is properly within the province of state legislation.

Paramount Issues.—The paramount issues to be solved in the interests of humanity are the abolition of usury, monopoly and trusts, and we denounce the Democratic and Republican parties for creating and perpetuating these monstrous evils.
APPENDIX D

NATIONAL PLATFORM SOCIALIST PARTY 1920

The platform contained the customary statement of general principles to which was added the following working program:

1. Social.

1. All business vitally essential for the existence and welfare of the people, such as railroads, express service, steamship lines, telegraphs, mines, oil wells, power plants, elevators, packing houses, cold storage plants and all industries operating on a national scale, should be taken over by the nation.

2. All publicly owned industries should be administered jointly by the government and representatives of the workers, not for revenue or profit, but with the sole object of securing just compensation and humane conditions of employment to the workers and efficient and reasonable service to the public.

3. All banks should be acquired by the government, and incorporated in a unified public banking system.

4. The business of insurance should be taken over by the government, and should be extended to include insurance against accident, sickness, invalidity, old age and unemployment, without contribution on the part of the worker.

5. Congress should enforce the provisions of the Thirteenth, Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments with reference to the Negroes, and effective federal legislation should be enacted to secure to the Negroes full civil, political, industrial and educational rights.

2. Industrial.

1. Congress should enact effective laws to abolish child labor, to fix minimum wages, based on an ascertained cost of a decent standard of life, to protect migratory and unemployed workers from oppression, to abolish detective and strike-breaking agencies and to establish a shorter work-day in keeping with increased industrial productivity.

3. Political.

1. The constitutional freedom of speech, press and assembly should be restored by repealing the Espionage Law and all other
repressive legislation, and by prohibiting the executive usurpation of authority.

2. All prosecutions under the Espionage Law should be discontinued, and all persons serving prison sentences for alleged offenses growing out of religious beliefs, political views or industrial activities should be fully pardoned and immediately released.

3. No alien should be deported from the United States on account of his political views or participation in labor struggles, nor in any event without proper trial on specific charges. The arbitrary power to deport aliens by administrative order should be repealed.

4. The power of the courts to restrain workers in their struggles against employers by the Writ of Injunction or otherwise, and their power to nullify congressional legislation, should be abrogated.

5. Federal judges should be elected by the people and be subject to recall.

6. The President and the Vice-President of the United States should be elected by direct popular election, and be subject to recall. All members of the Cabinet should be elected by Congress and be responsible at all times to the vote thereof.

7. Suffrage should be equal and unrestricted in fact as well as in law for all men and women throughout the nation.

8. Because of the strict residential qualifications of suffrage in this country, millions of citizens are disfranchised in every election; adequate provision should be made for the registration and voting of migratory workers.

9. The Constitution of the United States should be amended to strengthen the safeguards of civil and political liberty, and to remove all obstacles to industrial and social reform and reconstruction, including the changes enumerated in this program, in keeping with the will and interest of the people. It should be made amendable by a majority of the voters of the nation upon their own initiative, or upon the initiative of Congress.

4. Foreign Relations.

1. All claims of the United States against allied countries for loans made during the war should be canceled upon the understanding that all war debts among such countries shall
likewise be canceled. The largest possible credit in food, raw materials and machinery should be extended to the stricken nations of Europe in order to help them rebuild the ruined world.

2. The Government of the United States should initiate a movement to dissolve the mischievous organization called the "League of Nations" and to create an international parliament, composed of democratically elected representatives of all nations of the world based upon the recognition of their equal rights, the principles of self-determination, the right to national existence of colonies and other dependencies, freedom of international trade and trade routes by land and sea, and universal disarmament, and be charged with revising the Treaty of Peace on the principles of justice and conciliation.

3. The United States should immediately make peace with the Central Powers and open commercial and diplomatic relations with Russia under the Soviet Government. It should promptly recognize the independence of the Irish Republic.

4. The United States should make and proclaim it a fixed principle in its foreign policy that American capitalists who acquire concessions or make investments in foreign countries do so at their own risk, and under no circumstances should our government enter into diplomatic negotiations or controversies or resort to armed conflicts on account of foreign property-claims of American capitalists.

5. Fiscal.

1. All war debts and other debts of the Federal Government should immediately be paid in full, the funds for such payment to be raised by means of a progressive property tax, whose burden should fall upon the rich and particularly upon great fortunes made during the war.

2. A standing progressive income tax and a graduated inheritance tax should be levied to provide for all needs of the government including the cost of its increasing social and industrial functions.

3. The unearned increment of land should be taxed; all land held out of use should be taxed at full rental value.
A lengthy preamble inveighs against the domination of the government by the financial powers. Then follows a statement of national issues to which all candidates of the party are pledged:

1. **100 Per Cent Americanism.**

Restoration of civil liberties and American doctrines and their preservation inviolate, including free speech, free press, free assemblage, right of asylum, equal opportunity, and trial by jury; return of the Department of Justice to the functions for which it was created, to the end that laws may be enforced without favor and without discrimination; amnesty for all persons imprisoned because of their patriotic insistence upon their constitutional guarantees, industrial activities or religious beliefs; repeal of all so-called "espionage," "sedition," and "criminal syndicalist," laws; protection of the right of all workers to strike, and stripping from the courts of powers unlawfully usurped by them and used to defeat the people and foster big business, especially the power to issue anti-labor injunctions and to declare unconstitutional laws passed by Congress.

To Americanize the federal courts, we demand that federal judges be elected for terms not to exceed four years, subject to recall.

As Americanism means democracy, suffrage should be universal. We demand immediate ratification of the nineteenth amendment and full, unrestricted political rights for all citizens, regardless of sex, race, color or creed, and for civil service employes.

Democracy demands also that the people be equipped with the instruments of the initiative, referendum and recall, with the special provision that war may not be declared except in cases of actual military invasion, before referring the question to a direct vote of the people.

2. **Abolish Imperialism at Home and Abroad**

Withdrawal of the United States from further participation (under the treaty of Versailles) in the reduction of conquered
peoples to economic or political subjection to the small
groups of men who manipulate the bulk of the world's wealth;
refusal to permit our government to aid in the exploitation
of the weaker people of the earth by these men; refusal to
permit use of the agencies of our government (through dollar
diplomacy or other means) by the financial interests of our
country to exploit other peoples, including emphatic refusal
to go to war with Mexico at the behest of Wall Street;
recognition of the elected government of the Republic of
Ireland and of the government established by the Russian
people; denial of assistance financial, military, or otherwise,
for foreign armies invading these countries, and an embargo
on the shipment of arms and ammunition to be used against the
Russian or Irish people; instant lifting of the blockade
against Russia; recognition of every government set up by
people who wrest their sovereignty from oppressors, in
accordance with the right of self-determination for all
peoples; abolition of secret treaties and prompt publication of
all diplomatic documents received by the State Department;
withdrawal from imperialistic enterprises upon which we already
have embarked (including the dictatorship we exercise in
varying degrees over the Philippines, Hawaii, Haiti, the
Dominican Republic, Porto Rico, Cuba, Samoa and Guam; and
prevention of the imposition upon the people of the United
States of any form whatever of conscription military or
industrial, or of military training.

We stand committed to a league of free peoples, or­
ganized and pledged to destruction of autocracy, militarism
and economic imperialism throughout the world and to bring
about a world-wide disarmament and open diplomacy, to the end
that there shall be no more kings and no more wars.

3. Democratic Control of Industry.

The right of labor to an increasing share in the
responsibilities and management of industry; application of
this principle to be developed in accordance with the
experience of actual operation.


Immediate repeal of the Esch-Cummins Law; public
ownership and operation, with democratic operation of the
railroads, mines and natural resources, including stock-yards,
large abattoirs, grain-elevators, water-power, and cold-
storage and terminal ware-houses; government ownership and democrat­
ic operation of the railroads, mines and such natural resources
as are in whole or in part bases of control by special interests
of basic industries and monopolies such as lands containing coal, iron, copper, oil, large water-power and commercial timber tracts; pipe lines and oil tanks; telegraph and telephone lines; and establishment of a public policy that no land (including natural resources) and no patents shall be held out of use for speculation or to aid monopoly; establishment of national and state owned banks where the money of the government must, and that of individuals may, be deposited; granting of credit to individuals or groups according to regulations laid down by Congress which will safe-guard deposits.

We denounce the attempt to scuttle our great government-owned merchant marine and favor bringing ocean-going commerce to our inland ports.

5. Promotion of Agricultural Prosperity.

Legislation that will effectively check and reduce the growth and evils of farm tenancy; establishment of public markets; extension of the federal farm loan system, making personal credit readily available and cheap to farmers; maintenance of dependable transportation for farm products; organization of a state and national service that will furnish adequate advice and guidance to applicants for farms and to farmers already on the land; legislation to promote and protect farmers' and consumer's co-operative organizations conducted for mutual benefit; comprehensive studies of costs of production of farm and staple manufactured products and uncensored publication of facts found in such studies.


We demand that economy in governmental expenditures shall replace the extravagance that has run riot under the present administration. The governmental expenditures of the present year of peace, as already disclosed, exceed $6,000,000,000—or six times the annual expenditures of the pre-war period. We condemn and denounce the system that has created one war-millionaire for every three American soldiers killed in the war in France, and we demand that this war-acquired wealth shall be taxed in such a manner as to prevent the shifting of the burden of taxation to the shoulders of the poor in the shape of higher prices and of increased living costs.

We are opposed, therefore, to consumption taxes and to all indirect taxation for support of current operations of the government. For support of such current operations, we favor steeply graduated income taxes, exempting individual incomes amounting to less than $3,000 a year, with a further exemption allowance of $300 for every child under 18 and also for every child over 18 who may be pursuing an education to
fit himself for life. In the case of state governments and of local governments we favor taxation of land value, but not of improvements or of equipment, and also sharply graduated taxes on inheritance.

7. Reduce the Cost of Living.

Stabilization of currency so that it may not fluctuate as at present, carrying the standard of living of all the people down with it when it depreciates; federal control of the meat packing industry; extension and perfection of the Parcel Post system to bring producer and consumer closer together; enforing existing laws against profiteers, especially the big and powerful ones.

8. Justice to the Soldiers.

We favor paying the soldier of the late war as a matter of right and not as charity, a sufficient sum to make their war-pay not less than civilian earnings. We denounce the delays in payment, and the inadequate compensation to disabled soldiers and sailors and their dependents, and we pledge such changes as will promptly and adequately give sympathetic recognition of their services and sacrifices.


During the years that Labor has tried in vain to obtain recognition of the rights of the workers at the hands of the government through the agencies of the Republican and Democrat parties, the principal demands of Labor have been catalogued and presented by the representatives of Labor, who have gone to convention after convention of the old parties—to Congress after Congress of old-party office holders. These conventions and sessions of Congress have, from time to time included in platforms and laws a few fragments of Labor's program, carefully rewritten, however, to interpose no interference with the oppression of Labor by private wielders of the power of capital. It remains for the Farmer-Labor Party, the people's own party, financed by the people themselves, to pledge itself to the entire Bill of Rights of Labor, the conditions enumerated therein to be written into the laws of the land to be enjoyed by the workers organized or unorganized, without the amelioration of a single word in the program. Abraham Lincoln said: "Labor is the superior of Capital, and deserves the highest consideration."

We pledge the application of this fundamental principle
in the enactment and administration of legislation.

(a) The unqualified right of all workers, including civil service employes, to organize and bargain collectively with employers through such representatives of their unions as they choose.

(b) Freedom from compulsory arbitration and all other attempts to coerce workers.

(c) A maximum standard 8-hour day and 44-hour week.

(d) Old age and unemployment payments and workmen's compensation to insure workers and their dependents against accident and disease.

(e) Establishment and operation, through periods of depression, of governmental work on housing, road-building, reforestation, reclamation of cut-over timber, desert and swamp lands and development of ports, waterways and water-power plants.

(f) Re-education of the cripples of industry as well as the victims of war.

(g) Abolition of employment of children under sixteen years of age.

(h) Complete and effective protection for women in industry, with equal pay for equal work.

(i) Abolition of private employment, detective and strikebreaking agencies and extension of the federal free employment service.

(j) Prevention of exploitation of immigration and immigrants by employers.

(k) Vigorous enforcement of the Seamen's Act, and the most liberal interpretation of its provisions. The present provisions for the protection of seamen and for the safety of the traveling public, must not be minimized.

(l) Exclusion from interstate commerce of the products of convict labor.

(m) A federal department of education to advance democracy and effectiveness in all public school systems throughout the country, to the end that the children of workers in industrial and rural communities may have maximum opportunity of training to become unafraid, well-informed citizens of a free country.
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