
RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

A. D. 1911.

For The Public.

With sullen countenance the Nation views
Its chosen men prate idly from the thrones
Of countless seats of power, where thoughtless
drones

Might do less mischief, could they bring us news—

News of hope—some lifting of the weight
That crushes all mankind unto the dust.

But more the serfs, whose lives and freedom must
Be toll for Privilege insatiate.

THORWALD SIEGFRIED.

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THE TRUE MONUMENT IDEA.

Speech of Joseph Fels at Commemoration of Sec-
ond Anniversary of Francisco Ferrer's Death,
Held at South Place Chapel, Finsbury, Lon-
don, October 13, 1911. Reported for
The Public by Leonard J.
Simons.

After Mr. Joseph McCabe's rousing account of Ferrer's work and martyrdom, and expression of his hopes as to Spain's great future, Mr. Joseph Fels, of land-reform fame, continued the subject by suggesting that Ferrer's great work was an indication of the spirit of the Spanish nation, Ferrer, however, being twenty years ahead of his time, according to Mr. McCabe's prophecy that within twenty years Spain will become a republic.

"I hope," added Mr. Fels, "Spain will become something more than merely a republic. My country, the United States of America, is an alleged republic, and yet we are not as free as we were five years after we were supposed to have wrenched our independence from the Mother Country. There is to-day in the United States an antagonism to free speech in almost every large city; there is an anti-semitic feeling second to that in few countries in Europe; and so, too, we have a persecution of those people who are advocating free thought which is comparable to what Mr. McCabe has told you about the doings in Spain. We need not puff ourselves up with any ideas that because a country is called a republic it is necessarily free.

"I take the country in which I am now speaking, as the freest in the world. You have got a king, and oddly enough you feel you must have a king. I do not think kings are altogether harmful in this country—in fact they are more or less harmless.

"I have received from New York some particu-

lars of some schools which are called 'Ferrer Schools,' which are being started in the United States. They are called 'Ferrer Schools,' I suppose, because they are teaching some of the principles laid down by Ferrer; and that is the best kind of monument. The Brussels monument will be thought of for perhaps five years, by those who have the memory of the man clear; but the money raised for building that monument, if put into those things which Ferrer himself loved, would have acted as a very much better monument.

"I have another man in mind, Tom L. Johnson, Mayor of Cleveland, U. S. A., who has left his impress on his country. Within a week after he died, letters were being sent out soliciting funds to raise a monument to him; and I honor those who said that the best monument would be that which he himself tried to erect—it would be a greater monument to put the money into agitation for those reforms to which he devoted his life.

"Similarly with Ferrer. You can best perpetuate his memory by carrying out those things for which he struggled. Put the spirit of enthusiasm which you have for Ferrer into agitating for the freedom of Spain. And if he simply agitated for freedom being taught in the schools, a single school of such a kind would be better than all the monuments that could be raised."

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THE UNITED LABOR PARTY.

Recollections, Twenty-five Years Afterward, of the
Political Party Out of Which Socialism and
the Singletax Came Into American Politics.
Written by Louis F. Post, for The Public.

Fourth Part.

It is a short story from the decision against the Socialist Labor Party by the Syracuse convention of the United Labor Party* to the close of the episode in American politics of which I have been trying to tell.

I. Subsequent Party Socialism in American Politics.

Upon returning from Syracuse to New York City, the Socialist Labor Party delegates—those who had been excluded, those who had been enrolled but withdrew at once upon the exclusion of the others, and those who remained in the convention to "raise points" in its further proceedings—reported to a mass meeting in New York City. Nominally this was a Labor union meeting, and in fact there were in attendance and participating as speakers persons who were not members of the Socialist Labor Party; but it was very distinctly a Socialist Labor Party affair.

The immediate outcome was the "Progressive Labor Party," which was organized September 28, 1887, at a convention wherein subdivisions of the

*See last week's Public, page 1173.

Socialist Labor Party and labor unions dominated by that party were in control.

The platform adopted was a Socialist platform, the candidates were Socialists, the party was managed by the Socialist Labor Party, and in the New York campaign of 1887 it was regarded as the Socialist Labor Party. In all but name its own members so regarded it. This new name for the Socialist Labor Party, only temporarily held, had been adopted for the purpose of nominally carrying out its policy of operating through inside control of other organizations.

The campaign of the "Progressive Labor Party" is treated by Socialist writers as the last in which the Socialist Labor Party fused with other parties. It was rather the first in which, albeit under another name, the Socialist Labor Party did not fuse—the first in which it stood out openly as an uncompromising Socialist party in American politics. Its vote was small, only about 5,000 in New York City, and hardly more in the entire State.

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Since that year the Socialist Labor Party has been continuously in politics in its own name.

In 1888 it polled about 2,500 votes in the city of New York and 500 in the rest of the State. In 1890 its vote in that State rose to 13,704, and in 1891 to 14,651; and it had 1,429 in Massachusetts and 472 in New Jersey. In 1892, the first year in which it had a Presidential candidate (although it had nominated Presidential electors in New York in 1888), it had electoral tickets in six States and polled a total vote of 21,164. This rose to 36,274 in 1896 and to 49,699 in 1900.

Another Socialist party came into the political field in 1900. It was composed of new elements, principally out of the West, and of dissatisfied elements of the Socialist Labor Party both East and West, the Socialist Labor Party having made itself offensive to American trade unionism in much the same way in which it had provoked expulsion from the United Labor Party. The younger party, with Eugene V. Debs as its candidate, polled 85,971 votes in 1900, 386,955 in 1904, and 420,793 in 1908.

As the Socialist Labor Party has steadily declined in voting strength since 1900, having polled 49,699 in that year, only 29,222 in 1904 and 13,825 in 1908, its elements may be fairly regarded now as having merged in the Socialist Party, which although statutory requirements necessitate its use of a different name in some States, is the party of Socialism in American politics which has elected Victor Berger to Congress and Emil Seidel, Duncan of Butte, Lunn of Schenectady and Stitt Wilson to Mayoral chairs, and won numerous other victories throughout the country, including the nomination of Job Harri-man at the head of the direct primary poll for Mayor of Los Angeles.

II. Disintegration of the United Labor Party.

Although the United Labor Party vote in the New York election of 1887 was more than ten times as large as the vote for the Socialist Labor Party, conclusively showing that the discrimination against the latter at Syracuse had been representative, yet it was hardly more in the entire State than it had been in the city a year before, and in the city it fell off almost half.

Evidently this was not due in any important degree to loss of Socialist votes, since the Progressive Labor Party polled only 5,000 for its candidate for Secretary of State, to 38,000 polled by the United Labor Party in New York City alone for Henry George.

Socialist leaders argued that the loss of some 30,000 which George sustained in the city (where alone there was any Socialist vote at all) was due indirectly to Socialist Labor Party opposition. But this argument showed nothing more than inferior political judgment on the part of those who made it. Some allowance there must be of course for the indirect influence of the Socialist Labor Party. Doubtless it would have been more effective in bringing votes to the United Labor Party, with the latter's prestige of the previous year, than in bringing them to its own party with the new name. It may be inferred therefore that the United Labor Party would in 1887 have polled a vote larger by more than 5,000 than it did poll, if the Socialists had supported it. Yet the larger part by far of the lost 30,000 votes is manifestly accounted for by normal reaction.

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After the Socialists had withdrawn from the Syracuse convention, the United Labor Party nominated Henry George for Secretary of State—the highest office to be filled that year. On the ticket with him were H. A. Wilder for Comptroller, Patrick H. Cummins for Treasurer, Denis C. Feeley for Attorney General, and Sylvanus H. Sweet for Surveyor.

Henry George was averse to accepting the nomination. Personally he had no taste for office nor for running for office. Politically his nomination was the poorest kind of politics conceivable, for it put the prestige of his 68,000 votes of 1886 in New York City at stake in a campaign of no importance and over a vast area. Vainly did John McMackin and Gaybert Barnes urge his acceptance against vigorous protests from Mr. Croasdale on political grounds and the disinclination of Mr. George on personal grounds; but when Dr. McGlynn appealed to the latter in an impassioned speech to rise to his duty, and was vociferously seconded by the convention in mass, George accepted the unwelcome burden and acquiesced in the ill-considered policy.

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An extensive speaking campaign was made

throughout the State, funds being raised by a great fair under William T. Croasdale's management at Madison Square Garden, and through personal contributions large and small from thousands of adherents, among the better known of whom were John P. Cranford, August Lewis, Thomas G. Shearman and Tom L. Johnson. The platform adopted had been drawn by George. It was like the platform of the year before, but with added clauses to adapt it to country as well as city agitation, and upon its declarations the speaking campaign was made. George and McGlynn, the principal speakers, traversed the whole State, George being accompanied by two star correspondents, one from the World and the other from the Herald.

One of the New York City meetings was jointly held by the Progressive Labor Party and the United Labor Party, and at this meeting, presided over by Samuel Gompers, the question of Socialism versus land socialization was debated by Shevitsch and George. Of the merits of this debate every one may judge for himself by turning to the Standard of October 29, 1887 (at page 3), where the speeches are reported in full.*

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Much agitational and educational work was done by and in the name of Henry George in that campaign, and also by Dr. McGlynn and many others. Seed was sown that has borne wholesome fruit of many varieties. But the collapse at the polls—although ordinarily a vote of 37,316 in New York County, and 72,281 in the whole State, was large for any third party at that time—was a discouraging signal.† Persistence along third party lines could hardly result in anything but a decaying organization, of use only to crooked managers within and corrupting bosses without. Henry George saw this in time, but others did not, and a Presidential ticket was named in 1888. It polled an aggregate popular vote of only 2,808, of which it got but 2,668 in New York State. The remainder, 140, it got in Illinois.

III. Beginning of the Singletax Movement in American Politics.

Meanwhile Henry George, the original candidate of the United Labor Party for Mayor of New York, had, together with his supporters, notably William T. Croasdale, adopted new lines of policy for promoting the cause he especially represented. They gave it the name of Singletax.‡ The story of this movement I told in The Public of Septem-

*Files of The Standard may be found in the Crerar Library at Chicago, in the library of the State University at Madison, Wis., and in the library of the Reform Club of New York City.

†See The Standard of January 7, 1888, pages 1 and 3; January 14, 1888, page 5; and February 18, 1888, page 4.

‡See The Standard of May 28, 1887, page 6. Article by Thomas G. Shearman.

ber 1, 1911. My purpose in these Recollections has been to tell that of the political party out of which the Singletax movement came, and of the circumstances under which present day Socialism in American politics emerged from the same party.

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THE WEAPONS OF LIBERTY—INITIATIVE, REFERENDUM AND RECALL.

For The Public.

Arrive glad tidings from the Golden Gate
That California—great and noble State—
Has joined the Emancipated Sisterhood
Whose high resolve is once more to make free
These Banded Commonwealths from sea to sea;
That Liberty for which so bravely stood
One April day those patriotic bands
May nevermore be left in faithless hands;
And which declares that we must strive until
"Throughout the length and breadth of this fair land"
No traitor 'gainst the people dares to stand,
And no law governs but the People's Will.

My brothers, it is fitting, it is well,
That Switzerland which still remembers Tell
Should give this high Ideal to the world,
And show how boodling Treason which enslaves
A state while yet the Flag of Freedom waves,
May headlong flaming to the Pit be hurled!
But neither let us in this hour forget
That State which here the first example set—
The State that listens to Columbia's roar;
And let us pay due honor to U'Ren,
That quiet man who loves his fellowmen,
Who shows them liberty and asks no more.

We would not meet you, Leader of the Way,
As shouting thousands loyal for a day;
We long to grasp in gratitude your hand,
And greet you with assurance that as long
As Cato has been loved for hating wrong,
You'll be remembered by a grateful land!
For Lincoln gave his life with godlike grace
To liberate a lowly alien race
That priceless Liberty had never known;
But you, O Friend, without the awful crown
Of martyrdom to sadden your renown,
Have shown the Way of Freedom to your own.

O Heirs of Freedom, were it not a shame
If ye whose fathers lit that Sacred Flame,
And rescued Cuba from the hand of Spain,
Should suffer from within a trait'rous foe
To deal sweet Liberty so foul a blow,
And place upon your limbs the galling chain?
I see you rising in your might this day
To seize those Weapons which alone may slay
The Beast that all but has you in its gorge!
By these alone will ever ye have power
To make the Snarling Monster cringe and cower,
Or heed the high behest of Henry George.

CHARLES B. BAKER

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In giving man truth as an end, God gave him free investigation as a means.—From the Swiss author, Rillist de Candolle.