

socialist

movements, left came to mean greater emphasis on communitarianism and equality, on the state as an instrument of reform. The right,

linked to defensive establishments, has, particularly since World War II, been identified with opposition to government intervention. The rise of Green parties in Western Europe is merely one indication that the contest between these two orientations has not ended. The United States, without a viable Green party, appears as different from Western Europe as ever.

NOTES

1. An Exceptional Nation

1. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, vol. 2 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), pp. 36-37; Engels to Weydemeyer, August 7, 1851, in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848-1895* (New York: International Publishers, 1953), pp. 25-26. For evidence of the continued validity and applicability of the concept see Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), esp., pp. 32-35, 77-109. On American cultural exceptionalism, see Deborah L. Madsen, *American Exceptionalism* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998).

2. See Seymour Martin Lipset, "Why No Socialism in the United States?" in S. Bailer and S. Sluzar, eds., *Sources of Contemporary Radicalism, I* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1977), pp. 64-66, 105-108. See also Theodore Draper, *The Roots of American Communism* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1989), pp. 247-248, 256-266; Draper, *American Communism and Soviet Russia: The Formative Period* (New York: Viking Press, 1960), pp. 269-272, 284.

3. Richard Flacks, *Making History: The Radical Tradition in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), pp. 104-105. See also Kim Voss, *The Making of American Exceptionalism: The Knights of Labor and Class Formation in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993). For other efforts

to deal with "socialist exceptionalism," see also Robert J. Fitrakis, *The Idea of Democratic Socialism in America and the Decline of the Socialist Party* (New York: Garland Publishers, 1993); Mike Davis, *Prisoners of the American Dream: Politics and Economy in the History of the US Working Class* (New York: Verso, 1988), pp. 3-51; Rick Halpern and Johnathan Morris, eds. *American Exceptionalism: U.S. Working-Class Formation in an International Context* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997); and Brian Lloyd, *Left Out: Pragmatism, Exceptionalism, and the Poverty of American Marxism, 1890-1922* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1997).

4. See "Unpublished Letters of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels to Americans," ed. and trans. Leonard E. Mins, *Science and Society* 2 (1938), pp. 368, 375; Engels to Sorge, January 6, 1892, *Letters to Americans*, p. 239; Engels to Sorge, November 29, 1886, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Selected Correspondence, 1846-1895* (New York: International Publishers, 1942), p. 449.

5. Werner Sombart, *Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?* (White Plains, N.Y.: International Arts & Sciences Press, 1976) first published in German in 1906; H. G. Wells, *The Future in America* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1906); Karl Marx, *Capital I* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1958), pp. 8-9.

6. Alexis de Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, vol. 2 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), pp. 36-37.

7. For elaboration of these points, see Seymour Martin Lipset, *The First New Nation: The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective* (New York: Basic Books, 1963; expanded ed., New York: W. W. Norton, 1979); and Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*. Also relevant is Michael Harrington, *Socialism* (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1970), pp. 111-118.

8. Howard H. Quint, *The Forging of American Socialism: Origins of the Modern Movement* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953), p. 380.

9. Sombart, *Why Is There No Socialism*, p. 15. See also Daniel Bell, *Marxian Socialism in the United States* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996).

10. Cited in R. Laurence Moore, *European Socialists and the American Promised Land* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 70.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 58, 102.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

13. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 91.

15. Daniel De Leon, *Flashlights of the Amsterdam Congress* (New York: New York Labor News Co., 1904), p. 133.

16. Quoted in James D. Young, "Daniel De Leon and Anglo-American Socialism," *Labor History* 17 (Summer 1976), p. 344.

17. Quint, *Forging*, p. 380.

18. Max Beer, *Fifty Years of International Socialism* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1935), pp. 109-110.

19. Leon Trotsky, *The Living Thoughts of Karl Marx* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1939), pp. 38-39.

20. Howard Kimeldorf, *Reds or Rackets? The Making of Radical and Conservative Unions on the Waterfront* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), p. 1.

21. Harvey Klehr, "The Theory of American Exceptionalism" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1971). The full discussion of Fraina-Corey is on pp. 126-130.

22. Seymour Martin Lipset, "North American Labor Movements: A Comparative Perspective," in Seymour Martin Lipset, ed., *Unions in Transition: Entering the Second Century* (San Francisco: Institute for Contemporary Studies Press, 1986), pp. 421-471; Thomas S. Axworthy, "Left Turn in Canada?" *Public Opinion* 10 (September/October 1987), pp. 52-54; Seymour Martin Lipset, "American Values and the Market System," in Thomas R. Dye, ed., *The Political Legitimacy of Markets and Governments* (Greenwich, Conn.: JAI Press, 1990), pp. 107-121; Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, pp. 77-109.

23. For a detailed analysis of the differences and similarities between the United States and Canada, see Seymour Martin Lipset, *Continental Divide: The Values and Institutions of the United States and Canada* (New York: Routledge, 1990).

24. On Marx's views, see Lewis S. Feuer, *Marx and the Intellectuals* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday/Anchor Books, 1969), pp. 198-209. On the Workingmen's parties, see Helen Sumner, "Citizenship (1827-1833)," in John R. Commons et al., *History of Labor in the United States*, vol. 1 (New York: Macmillan, 1926), pp. 169-332; Nathan Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States, 1828-1928* (New York: Rand School of Social Sciences, 1928), pp. 13-14; Edward Pessen, *Most Uncommon Jacksonians* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1967), pp. 183-189; and Walter Hugins, *Jacksonian Democracy and the Working Class* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1960), pp. 13, 18-20, 132-134.

25. Thomas Hamilton, *Men and Manners in America* (Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & T. Cadell, 1833). See Feuer, *Marx and the Intellectuals*, pp. 198-209; Maximilian Rubel, "Notes on Marx's Conception of Democracy," *New Politics* 1 (Winter 1962), pp. 83-85.

26. "Republican Education," in Walter Hugins, ed., *The Reform Impulse, 1828-1850* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1972), pp. 135-139.

27. William Appleman Williams, *The Contours of American History* (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1961), p. 238; Edward Pessen, "The Workingmen's Movement of the Jackson Era," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 43 (December 1956), p. 434.

28. Pessen, "The Workingmen's Party Revisited," *Labor History* 4 (1963), p. 225.

29. "Republican Education," p. 135.

30. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *The German Ideology* (New York: International Publishers, 1960), p. 123.

31. Engels to Sorge, February 8, 1890, in *Selected Correspondance*, p. 467.
32. Engels to Sorge, December 31, 1892, in *ibid.*, p. 501.
33. Max Weber, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York: Scribner's, 1935; first published in German), pp. 55-56.
34. Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (New York: International Publishers, 1971), pp. 21-22, 272, 318.
35. Weber, *Protestant Ethic*, pp. 155-183; and Weber, "The Protestant Sects and the Spirit of Capitalism," in *Essays in Sociology*, trans. Hans Gerth and C. W. Mills (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 309, 313.
36. Gramsci, "Americanism and Fordism," in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, p. 305. See also pp. 281, 285.
37. David DeLeon, *The American as Anarchist: Reflections on Indigenous Radicalism* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1978), p. 4. See also pp. 32-34.
38. William M. Dick, *Labor and Socialism in America: The Gompers Era* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1972), pp. 183-184, 116; Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969).
39. Bell, *Marxian Socialism*, pp. 118-120, 160-162; Davis, *Prisoners of the American Dream*, p. 15.
40. Richard Flacks, "Reflections on Strategy in a Dark Time," *Boston Review* 20 (December-January 1995-1996), p. 25.
41. Charles Derber, *What's Left? Radical Politics in the Post-Communist Era* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995), pp. 140-161.
42. William Appleman Williams, *The Great Evasion* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1964), p. 155.
43. C. Wright Mills, *White Collar* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 10.
44. Irving Howe, *Socialism and America* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985), p. 136.
45. "Engels to Weydemeyer" August 7, 1851, in *Letters to Americans*, p. 26.
46. Marx, *Capital I*, pp. 769-770.
47. *Ibid.*, p. 777. Harvey Klehr has pointed out that elsewhere in *Capital*, "Marx maintained that needs were culturally determined, so that the wages paid to workers would vary from area to area, depending on historical factors. Unlike the price of other commodities, the price of labor-power had a historical component." Klehr also notes that Marx's discussion of the relevance of such factors "suggests that American wages might always remain higher and satisfy more needs than those paid in Europe." Harvey Klehr, "Marxist Theory in Search of America," *Journal of Politics* 35 (May 1973), p. 319.
48. Engels to Sorge, October 24, 1891, in *Letters to Americans*, p. 237.
49. Engels to Sorge, December 2, 1893, "Unpublished Letters," p. 375.

50. Karl Marx, "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte," in *Selected Works*, vol. 2 (Moscow: Cooperative Publishing Society of Foreign Workers in the USSR, 1936), p. 324. See also Bell, *Marxian Socialism*, pp. 3-16.
51. Engels to Florence Kelley Wischnewetsky, June 3, 1886, in *Selected Correspondance*, p. 449.
52. Translated by Michael Harrington in *Socialism*, p. 115.
53. Quoted in Gerald Friedberg, "Comment," in John H. M. Laslett and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., *Failure of a Dream? Essays in the History of American Socialism* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday/Anchor Books, 1974), p. 351.
54. Sombart, *Why Is There No Socialism*.
55. *Ibid.*, pp. 97, 109-117.
56. David Hecht, "Plekhanov and American Socialism," *Russian Review* 9 (April 1950), pp. 114, 118-121.
57. Wells, *Future in America*, pp. 105-106.
58. Leon Trotsky, *My Life* (New York: Pathfinder Press, 1970), p. 271.
59. Peter R. Shergold, "Reefs of Roast Beef: The American Worker's Standard of Living in a Comparative Perspective," in Dirk Hoerder, ed., *American Labor and Immigration History, 1877-1920s* (Chicago: University of Illinois, 1983), pp. 95-101. Indeed, Shergold concludes that unskilled workers were better off in Birmingham than in Pittsburgh.
60. Harrington, *Socialism*, pp. 130-131.
61. Flacks, *Making History*, p. 216. See also Lee M. Wolfle, "Socialist Voting Among Coal Miners, 1900-1940," *Sociological Focus* 16 (January 1983), pp. 37-47.
62. Robert W. Smuts, *European Impressions of the American Worker* (New York: King's Crown Press, 1953), pp. 26-27.
63. Wells, *Future in America*, pp. 72-76.
64. See Davis, *Prisoners of the American Dream*, pp. 21-29, for an analysis of their effect on class organizations.
65. Marx to Siegfried Meyer and August Vogt, April 9, 1870, in Karl Marx, *On the First International*, ed. and trans. Saul K. Padover, *The Karl Marx Library*, vol. 3 (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), pp. 499-500 (emphasis in original).
66. Engels to Schliiter, March 30, 1892 in *Selected Correspondance*, pp. 496-497.
67. Quoted in Michael Kazin, "The Right's Unsung Prophet," *Nation* 248 (February 20, 1989), p. 242.
68. Michael Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging* (London: BBC Books, 1993), p. 7.
69. Flacks, *Making History*, p. 99. Flacks describes Americanism as a "new vision," but goes on to stress the importance of the ideological components of that vision.
70. Lipset, *American Exceptionalism*, p. 18-19, 288-292.
71. Hermann Keyserling, *America Set Free* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1929), pp. 237-240, 251-252; Leon Samson, *Toward a United Front* (New York: Farrar and

Rinehart, 1935), pp. 16-17. For an earlier discussion of Samson, see Lipset, "Why No Socialism in the United States?" pp. 75-77; and Seymour Martin Lipset, *The First New Nation: The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1979), pp. 393-394.

72. Samson, *Toward a United Front*, pp. 16-17 (emphasis in original).

73. Gramsci, "State and Civil Society" and "Americanism and Fordism," in *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*, pp. 272, 318.

74. *Ibid.*

75. Louis Hartz, *The Liberal Tradition in America* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1955), p. 28.

76. Morris Hillquit, *Socialism in Theory and Practice* (New York: Macmillan, 1909), pp. 162-165.

77. V. I. Lenin, "Preface to the Russian Translation of 'Letters by J. Ph. Becker, J. Dietzgen, F. Engels, K. Marx and Others to F. A. Sorge and Others,'" in V. I. Lenin, *On Britain* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, n.d.), p. 51.

78. Engels to Sorge, November 29, 1886, in *Letters to Americans*, p. 163.

79. Engels to Florence Kelley Wischnewetsky, December 28, 1886, *Selected Correspondence*, pp. 453-454.

80. *Socialist Review* 2 (1908), p. 566.

81. J. Keir Hardie, "Socialism in America," *Socialist Review* 3 (1909), p. 94.

82. Bell, *Martian Socialism in the United States*, pp. 9-10.

83. Harrington, *Socialism*, p. 122. See also Bell, *Martian Socialism*. Bell argues that the American Socialist party's continual refusal to compromise its principles destroyed its chances of influence.

84. Engels to Sorge, June 29, 1883, "Unpublished Letters," p. 231.

85. Quoted in Sidney Hook, *Marx and the Marxists* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1955), p. 64.

86. Engels to Sorge, November 29, 1886, *Selected Correspondence*, pp. 449-450.

87. Engels to Sorge, May 12, 1894, in *Letters to Americans*, p. 263.

88. V. I. Lenin, "Preface to the Russian Translation," p. 51.

89. Moore, *European Socialists*, pp. 205-206. See also Howard Kimeldorf and Judith Stepan Norris, "Historical Studies of Labor Movements in the United States," *Annual Review of Sociology* 18 (1992), pp. 495-517.

90. Engels to Sorge, September 16, 1886, "Unpublished Letters," p. 358.

91. Karl Marx, "On the Jewish Question," in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Collected Works*, vol. 3 (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1975), p. 151 (emphasis in original).

92. Moore, *European Socialists*, p. 110.

93. V. I. Lenin, *Capitalism and Agriculture in the United States of America* (New York: International Publishers, 1934), p. 1.

94. Lenin, "Preface to the Russian Translation," p. 61.

95. Morris Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the United States* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1910), p. 358.

96. *Ibid.*, pp. 139-140.

97. Beer, *Fifty Years*, p. 113.

98. Sombart, *Why Is There No Socialism*, pp. 50-51.

99. Hillquit, *History of Socialism*, p. 349.

100. Yehoshua Arieli, *Individualism and Nationalism in American Ideology* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1946), pp. 238-239.

101. Hillquit, *History of Socialism*, pp. 359-360.

102. Engels to Sorge, December 2, 1893, "Unpublished Letters," p. 374 (emphasis in original).

103. Friedrich Engels, "The Conditions of England," in *Collected Works*, vol. 3, p. 446.

104. Engels to Sorge, January 6, 1892, *Letters to Americans*, p. 239 (emphasis in original).

105. Sombart, *Why Is There No Socialism*, pp. 12-13.

106. John R. Commons, "American Labor History, Introduction," in John R. Commons et al., *History of Labor in the United States*, vol. 1 (Newark: Macmillan, 1926), p. 3.

107. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

108. Selig Perlman, *A Theory of the Labor Movement* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), pp. 167-168. For a more recent statement by a labor historian see David Montgomery, *Beyond Equality: Labor and the Radical Republicans, 1862-1872* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981).

109. Perlman, *A Theory of the Labor Movement*, pp. 171-173.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 202.

111. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

112. *Ibid.*, p. 164.

113. Commons, "Class Conflict," pp. 761-762.

114. Perlman, *A Theory*, pp. 165-166.

115. *Ibid.*, pp. 168-169.

116. Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to F.D.R.* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), p. 308.

117. Samuel Lubell, *The Future of American Politics*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 55-68.

118. Richard Rose, "How Exceptional Is American Government?" *Studies in Public Policy* 150 (Glasgow: Centre for the Study of Public Policy, University of Strathclyde, 1985).

119. Nathan Glazer, "Welfare and 'Welfare' in America," in Richard Rose and Rei Shiratori, eds., *The Welfare State East and West* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986), p. 62.

120. Flacks, *Making History*, p. 115 (emphasis in original).
 121. Quoted in Moore, *European Socialists*, p. 114.
 122. Sombart, *Why Is There No Socialism*, p. 16.
 123. Quoted in Moore, *European Socialists*, p. 106.

2. The American Party System

1. See Walter Dean Burnham, "The United States: The Politics of Heterogeneity," in Richard Rose, ed., *Electoral Behavior: A Comparative Handbook* (New York: Free Press, 1974), Table 3, pp. 718-719. Under national elections we include both presidential elections and off-year congressional elections aggregated to the national level.
2. The one exception to this, the replacement of the Whigs by the Republican party, resulted because the Whigs split over the slavery issue, and their northern cohorts, together with third-party abolitionists and Free-Soilers, reassembled under a new label.
3. Theodore Roosevelt secured 27 percent in 1912, but this resulted from a split in the Republican party.
4. Maurice Duverger, *Political Parties: Their Organization and Activity in the Modern State*, trans. Barbara North and Robert North (London: Methuen, 1954), p. 217. See also Douglas W. Rae, *The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), ch. 5; and Gary W. Cox, *Making Votes Count: Strategic Coordination in the World's Electoral Systems* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Arendt Lijphart, "The Political Consequences of Electoral Laws, 1945-85," *American Political Science Review* 84 (June 1990), pp. 481-496, confirms the association between the plurality electoral system and the two-party system. Over the period 1945-1985 the plurality systems of the United States, Canada, New Zealand, and Great Britain had an average of 2.5 parties competing in elections (the number represented in legislatures would be even closer to two), contrasted to a little over four for proportional representation (PR) systems.
5. The implications of the existing plurality electoral system can be gauged by imagining what might happen under a proportional system if a party's legislative representation mirrors its share of the vote. Under a proportional system the two major parties might easily be replaced by a variety of smaller, more clearly defined parties representing farmers, trade unionists, southern racists, conservatives, liberals, and socialists. Democratic House Speaker Tip O'Neill once commented that under proportional representation, his party would probably split five ways.
6. La Guardia was elected to Congress in 1924 on the Socialist ticket, though he sat as a Republican.
7. In Australia, a simple plurality electoral system was replaced by the alternative vote system in 1918.

8. In the seven interwar elections the Labour party received an average 33.5 percent of the vote and 23.8 percent of the seats, or the equivalent of over 70 percent of the seats it would have received under a perfectly proportional system of representation.
9. Paul Moller, *Politisk handbog; en samling konkrete oplysninger*; data reproduced in Thomas T. Mackie and Richard Rose, *The International Almanac of Electoral History* (New York: Free Press, 1974), p. 88.
10. In the four elections it fought, the Canadian Labor party received an average of 0.9 percent of the seats on the basis of 1.6 percent of the vote.
11. The electoral system was majoritarian within single member constituencies. If no party gained an absolute majority in the first ballot, the two leading parties would compete in a second ballot. To take two pre-World War I elections: in 1871, the Social Democratic party received 3.2 percent of the vote and 0.5 percent of Reichstag seats and in 1907 the party received 29.0 percent of the vote and 10.8 percent of Reichstag seats.
12. The French presidential electoral system, in place since 1962, allows small parties to gather votes in the first round and trade support to the larger parties or candidates for the final round.
13. While, logically, two parties could agree to share the presidency and vice-presidency, this has never happened—probably because the positions are highly unequal.
14. Of course, these were constituencies, mainly in Milwaukee, where the Socialists were strongest. But if the party were to receive just 1 to 2 percent of the vote in the remaining constituencies, it would have exceeded Debs' total Wisconsin vote. As the state in which the Socialists were strongest in the period as a whole, Wisconsin is an interesting case, but in the absence of corroborating data from other states it must be considered an illustrative one.
15. Absolute levels of Socialist voting in each of these elections were, of course, influenced by numerous factors that cannot be dealt with here. By comparing consecutive elections, we control for differences across presidential and midterm elections.
16. Socialist performance in the years 1900 and 1902 was much poorer than in subsequent years. When we exclude the first case, namely 1900, 1902, and 1904, for each district, the average difference increases to 6.4 percentage points.
17. Cited in Ray Ginger, *Eugene V Debs: A Biography* (New York: Collier Books, 1962), p. 294.
18. Norman Thomas, *Socialism Re-examined* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963), p. 118.
19. Jews tended to be anti-czarist Russia and Germans pro-Germany.
20. Daniel Bell, *Marxian Socialism in the United States* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 120.

21. See, for example, Adolph Strasser's contribution to the debate over the formation of a labor party in *A Verbatim Report of the Discussion on the Political Program at the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor*, December 14-15, 1894, pp. 19-20.

22. Selig Perlman, *A Theory of the Labor Movement* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), pp. 169-171.

23. Sidney Webb and Beatrice Webb, *Industrial Democracy, vol. 1* (London: Longmans, Green, 1897), p. 255.

24. *Report of Proceedings of the Thirty-second Trades Union Congress*, 1899, p. 63.

25. Victoria C. Hattam, *Labor Visions and State Power: The Origins of Business Unionism in the United States* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. ix.

26. Melvyn Dubofsky, *Industrialism and the American Worker 1865-1920* (Arlington Heights, Ill.: AHM Publishing Corp., 1975), ch. 3.

27. Hattam's evidence for the hypothesis that the American Federation of Labor turned away from its legislative agenda because of resistance from the courts is based on an exhaustive compilation of statements to this effect by labor leaders. However, leaders of the AFL in their speeches and writings referred to a variety of reasons for their support of business unionism, including fear of political divisions among workers, their belief that legislation of working conditions would weaken unions as organizations, and their generalized antistatist orientations.

The most striking reference to the courts in Hattam's account is the chapter in Samuel Gompers' autobiography in which he describes his early years in the New York Cigar Makers' Local 144 and the lessons he learned about the difficulty of legislating working conditions (and the relative advantage of collective bargaining) when hard-won legislation prohibiting tenement cigar production was blocked by the New York Court of Appeals in 1884. But Gompers related several reasons for his voluntarist convictions, one of which was his perception of perfidy among socialists, a lesson which was also drawn from the tenement legislation episode (see Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor: An Autobiography* [New York: Dutton, 1925], vol. 1, p. 191), and another of which was his growing disbelief in the value of party-political activity, revealed tellingly in his disappointment with Henry George's 1888 campaign for mayor of New York; see Gerald N. Grob, *Workers and Utopia: A Study of the Ideological Conflict in the American Labor Movement, 1865-1900* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), p. 164-165. In his toughest battles with those who wished to pursue a partisan political strategy, Gompers focused far more on its divisive effects than on the role of courts in making such a strategy impractical. For example, in 1894, addressing the only convention of the American Federation of Labor in which he was turned out of the office of president of the organization, Gompers related a series of legislative initiatives taken by the AFL on immigration, government ownership, seamen's working conditions, a presidential commission on industry, and an eight-hour day for women and children, but criticized heavily the

political program for independent labor representation on the grounds that "if our organization is committed to it, [this] will unquestionably prevent many sterling national trade unions from joining our ranks to do battle with us to attain first things first.... 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." *Report of Proceedings of the Fourteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor*, 1894, p. 14. In explaining the general orientation of the American labor movement before the U.S. Commission on Industrial Relations in 1914 (published as two articles in the *American Federationist* 7 [July 1914], pp. 537-548; 8 [August 1914], pp. 621-635), Gompers made a brief plea for restricting the power of judges to nullify laws, but returned time and time again to the theme of union and worker autonomy from the state in defending business unionism.

28. Theodore J. Lowi, "Why Is There No Socialism in the United States? A Federal Analysis," in Jean Heffer and Jeanine Rovet, eds., *Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?* (Paris: L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1987), pp. 39, 40, 82.

29. The Australian Labor party was more reformist, more closely tied to labor unions, and in its early years more racist than the American Socialist party, while the Canadian Cooperative Commonwealth Federation was more agrarian in orientation. However, it is difficult to see how such differences can save the federalism thesis. The argument that the American Socialist party failed because it was too radical (a hypothesis taken up in Chapter 5) raises a different set of issues. We do not need an explanation couched in American exceptionalism to explain the failure of Marxian socialism across western society.

30. For example, Dennis J. Murphy, ed., *Labor in Politics: The State Labor Parties in Australia 1880-1920* (St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1975); and P. Loveday, A.W. Martin, and R. S. Parker, eds., *The Emergence of the Australian Party System* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1977).

31. Seymour Martin Lipset, *Political Man: The Social Basis of Politics*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982), pp. 76, 199-200, 214-215, 265-266.

32. In the United States, left third parties backed by socialists won office in Minnesota and Wisconsin, but then had to make a presidential choice in national elections, as Canadian parties did not.

33. Frank Farrell, "Socialism, Internationalism, and the Australian Labour Movement," *Labour/Le Travail* 15 (Spring 1985), p. 126.

34. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

35. Jurg Steiner, *Gewaltlose Politik and kulturelle Vielfalt* (Bern: Verlag Paul Haupt, 1970), p. 38.

36. Erwin Bucher, "Historische Grundlegung: Die Entwicklung der Schweiz zu einem politischen System," in Jiirg Steiner et al., eds., *Das politische System der Schweiz* (Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag, 1971), p. 48.
37. Amy Bridges, "Becoming American: The Working Classes in the United States Before the Civil War," in Ira Katznelson and Aristide R. Zolberg, eds., *Working-Class Formation: Nineteenth-Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 192. See also Erik Olssen, "The Case of the Socialist Party That Failed, or Further Reflections on an American Dream," *Labor History*, Fall 1988, pp. 416-449, especially pp. 442f.
38. Martin Shefter, "Party, Bureaucracy, and Political Change in the United States," in Louis Maisel and Joseph Cooper, eds., *Political Parties: Development and Decay* (Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1978), pp. 221-223.
39. Ira Katznelson, *City Trenches: Urban Politics and the Patterning of Class in the United States* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), p. 65.
40. Martin Shefter, "Trade Unions and Political Machines: The Organization and Disorganization of the American Working Class in the Late Nineteenth Century," in Katznelson and Zolberg, eds., *Working-Class Formation*; Richard Oestreicher, "Urban Working-Class Political Behavior and Theories of American Electoral Politics, 1870-1940," *Journal of American History* 74 (March 1988), pp. 1257-1286. Oestreicher summarizes the outcome: "By providing potential access to power, political machines undercut some of the reasons for alternative forms of working-class political mobilization at the same time they dramatically raised the costs of effective alternative mobilization." See also Alan DiGaetano, "The Origins of Urban Political Machines in the United States: A Comparative Perspective," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 26 (1991), pp. 324-353. DiGaetano makes the point that the extraordinary strength of city machines in the United States reflected a combination of early manhood suffrage and political decentralization.
41. P. Dolan, an AFL delegate from the United Mine Workers of America, in a speech to the 1902 British Trades Union Congress. *Report of Proceedings of the Thirty-fifth Annual Trades Union Congress*, 1902, p. 61.
42. Gary Marks, *Unions in Politics: Britain, Germany, and the United States in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989).
43. Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes and Democracy in Five Nations* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1965), p. 205.
44. Steven J. Rosenstone, Roy L. Behr, and Edward H. Lazarus, *Third Parties in America: Citizen Response to Major Party Failure* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1984), pp. 19-25.
45. Norman Thomas, *A Socialist's Faith* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1951), p. 94.
46. *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.
47. This factor was recognized by John Commons and Selig Perlman as a criti-

cal one for the failure of the American Socialist party. Commons argued that while early suffrage led to efforts to form labor parties, these invariably failed because one of the major parties would adopt the planks proposed by the third party. John R. Commons, *Labor and Administration* (New York: Macmillan, 1913), p. 149. Perlman made the point: "It is to this uncanny adaptability of the established American political parties ... that the uniform failure of American independent labor parties has been due." Perlman, *Theory*, pp. 171-173.

48. This was understood by Friedrich Engels. In 1892, when the People's party appeared well entrenched, Engels concluded that "there is no place yet in America for a third party" because of the size, complexity, and heterogeneity of the country. "The divergence of interests even in the same class group is so great in that tremendous area that wholly different groups and interests are represented in each of the two big parties, depending on the locality." Engels to Sorge, January 6, 1892, in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848-1895* (New York: International Publishers, 1953), p. 239 (emphases in original).

49. James MacGregor Burns, *The Deadlock of Democracy* (London: Calder and Boyar, 1965), pp. 40-41.

50. Duverger, *Political Parties*, pp. 418-419; Leon D. Epstein, *Political Parties in Western Democracies* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction, 1980), pp. 264-265.

51. Nelson W. Polsby *Congress and the Presidency* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976), p. 74.

52. This argument is elaborated in Epstein, *Political Parties*, pp. 131-132.

53. Rosenstone, Behr, and Lazarus, in *Third Parties in America*, discuss this perspective.

54. Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), p. 97.

55. Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), p. 213. See also Bridges, "Becoming American," pp. 166-168. Helen Sumner argues that the failure of the Workingmen's parties was the result of two processes: first, the growth of prosperity that shifted workers' interests from "politics to trade unionism," and second, the ability "of the old parties [to take up] some of its most popular demands." See Helen Sumner, "Citizenship (1827-1833)," in John R. Commons et al., *History of Labor in the United States, vol. 1* (New York: Macmillan, 1926), p. 326. Similarly, Edward Pessen observes that the Jacksonian Democrats responded to the electoral successes of the Workingmen's parties by showing "greater concern than ever before for the various reform provisions of the Working Men's program." Edward Pessen, *Most Uncommon Jacksonians* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1967), p. 225. The Workingmen's parties also suffered from the perception that votes for them were wasted, or even counterproductive. Like many subsequent radical third parties, these parties were unable

to surmount the fear that their own successes would contribute to the electoral success of the more conservative major party nominees. An article in the *New York Working Man's Advocate* of November 3, 1832, observed that by nominating their own candidate they would "risk the election of Jackson by dividing the vote." Quoted in Sumner, "Citizenship," pp. 269-270. The newspaper went on to endorse Jackson and Van Buren.

56. Selig Perlman argued along these lines that American unionists rejected an independent labor party because they "grasped the definite limitations of the political instrument under the American Constitution and under American conditions of political life." Perlman, *Theory*, pp. 201-202.

57. Cited in Kenneth C. MacKay, *The Progressive Movement of 1924* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1974), pp. 152-153; Murray B. Seidler, *Norman Thomas: Respectable Rebel* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1961), pp. 64-65.

58. In MacKay, *Progressive Movement*, p. 155.

59. Quoted in Philip Taft, *The AF of L in the Time of Gompers* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1957), p. 484; George G. Higgins, *Voluntarism in Organized Labor in the United States, 1930-1940* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1944), p. 52; Juanita Morris Kreps, "Developments in the Political and Legislative Policies of Organized Labor, 1920-1947" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of Economics, Duke University, 1947), pp. 31-36. For the story of the 1924 Progressive campaign, see MacKay, *Progressive Movement*.

60. Mackay, *Progressive Movement*, p. 250.

61. George Soule, *Sidney Hillman: Labor Statesman* (New York: Macmillan, 1939), pp. 151-152.

62. Daniel A. Mazmanian, *Third Parties in Presidential Elections* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1974), p. 63.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 38.

64. *Ibid.*, p. 137; pp. 185-188; p. 257; pp. 191-192.

65. The Farmer-Labor party arose in Minnesota, the Progressive party in Wisconsin, and the American Labor party in New York. For a good overview of economic protest movements, see Bernard Karsh and Phillips L. Garman, "The Impact of the Political Left," in Milton Derber and Edwin Young, eds., *Labor and the New Deal* (Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1957), p. 77.

66. Robert Burke, *Olson's New Deal for California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1953), pp. 32-33; William Edward Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), pp. 114-115.

67. Albert Anthony Acena, "The Washington Commonwealth Federation: Reform Politics and the Popular Front" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, University of Washington, 1975); Jill Hopkins Herzig, "The Oregon Commonwealth Federation: The Rise and Decline of a Reform Organization" (M.A. thesis, Department of History University of Oregon, 1963).

68. Edward Blackorby, *Prairie Rebel: The Public Life of William Lemke* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), p. 190; Robert L. Morlan, *Political Prairie Fire: The Nonpartisan League, 1815-1922* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), p. 360.

69. Bernard K. Johnpoll, *Pacifist's Progress: Norman Thomas and the Decline of American Socialism* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1987), pp. 57, 96; Svend Petersen, *A Statistical History of the American Presidential Elections* (New York: Ungar, 1981), pp. 89, 91. See also Lawrence Goodwyn, *Democratic Promise: The Populist Movement in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976).

70. By 1940 the Socialist vote had fallen to 116,514. See Petersen, *Statistical History*, p. 97.

71. Peggy Dennis, *The Autobiography of an American Communist: A Personal View of a Political Life, 1925-1975* (Westport, Conn.: L. Hill, 1977), p. 122.

72. Harvey Klehr, *The Heyday of American Communism: The Depression Decade* (New York: Basic Books, 1984), ch. 14.

73. Percentages were calculated from polls reported in Hadley Cantril, ed., *Public Opinion, 1935-1946* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951), pp. 576-577.

74. T. Harry Williams, *Huey Long* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), p. 693; Alan Brinkley, *Voices of Protest: Huey Long, Father Coughlin, and the Great Depression* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1982), pp. 71-74; Seymour Martin Lipset and Earl Raab, *The Politics of Unreason: Right-Wing Extremism in America, 1790-1970*, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1977), pp. 191-194.

75. James Aloysius Farley, *Jim Farley's Story: The Roosevelt Years* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1948), p. 51; Harold Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes: The First Thousand Days, 1933-1936* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1953), p. 462; James Farley, *Behind the Ballots* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1938), p. 250.

76. Letter from Franklin Roosevelt to Edward House (February 16, 1935) in Elliott Roosevelt, ed., *FDR, His Personal Letters, 1928-1945, 1* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1950), pp. 452-453; Patrick Maney, "Young Bob" La Follette (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1978), p. 162.

77. Early in 1935, President Roosevelt "actually used the phrase 'steal Long's thunder'" in a conversation with Raymond Moley and others: Moley, *After Seven Years* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1939), p. 351.

78. Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., *The Age of Roosevelt: The Politics of Upheaval*, vol. 3 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1969), pp. 325-326, 328-329.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 328.

80. *Ibid.*

81. *Ibid.*, p. 329.

82. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, p. 151.

83. On interpretations of the passage of the Wagner Act see the work of Theda

Skocpol and Kenneth Finegold, particularly "Why Not Repression? Why Not Company Unionism? State Capacities, Party Alignments, and Industrial Labor Policy in the New Deal," (Paper presented at the Social Science History Association Meeting, Washington, D.C., 1989), and the debate between them and Michael Goldfield: "Explaining New Deal Labor Policy," *American Political Science Review* 84 (December 1990), pp. 1297-1316.

84. Moley, *After Seven Years*, p. 351.

85. See, for example, George H. Mayer, *The Political Career of Floyd B. Olson* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951), pp. 240-241.

86. Lester F. Schmidt, "The Farmer-Labor Progressive Federation: The Study of a United Front Movement Among Wisconsin Liberals, 1934-1941" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, University of Wisconsin, 1954), p. 375.

87. Rexford G. Tugwell, *The Democratic Roosevelt: A Biography of Franklin D. Roosevelt* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1957), pp. 409-415; Maney, "Young Bob" *La Follette*, p. 190.

88. Schlesinger, *Age of Roosevelt*, p. 592.

89. Prior to 1935, the Communists had engaged in a policy of independent political action. From 1935 on, however, under the slogan of the Popular Front, Communist policy underwent a transformation. The Communists made efforts to work "under the New Deal umbrella in both the Democratic party and the Washington bureaucracy." Derber and Young, *Labor and the New Deal*, p. 128.

90. Harold L. Ickes, *The Secret Diary of Harold L. Ickes: The Inside Struggle, 1936-1939* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1953), p. 395.

91. *Ibid.*

92. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, p. 271.

93. Letter from Franklin Roosevelt to Josephus Daniels, November 14, 1938, in Elliott Roosevelt, ed., *FDR: His Personal Letters 1928-1945*, vol. 2 (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1950), p. 827.

94. Ickes, *Secret Diary*, p. 654.

95. J. Haynes, "Liberals, Communists, and the Popular Front in Minnesota: The Struggle to Control the Political Director of the Labor Movement and Organized Liberalism, 1936-1950" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, University of Minnesota, 1978), pp. 107, 109-111, 177-179.

96. Walter White, former president of the NAACP, reported that President Roosevelt expressly admitted this policy to him in a private discussion at the White House. Roosevelt told White, "I did not choose the tools with which I must work." Frank Freidel, *Franklin D. Roosevelt* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1952), pp. 86, 71-103; Walter White, *A Man Called White: The Autobiography of Walter White* (New York: Viking Press, 1948), pp. 168-169. Nevertheless, Mr. White, according to his own account, remained committed to the president for years to come, primarily because of Eleanor Roosevelt's involvement in the cause.

97. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, p. 224.

98. In addition to works cited above, see Eric Leif Davin and Staughton Lynd, "Picket Line and Ballot Box: The Forgotten Legacy of the Local Labor Party Movement," *Radical History Review* 22 (Winter 1979-80), pp. 42-63; and Klehr, *Heyday of American Communism*.

99. Martin Robin, *Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, 1880-1930* (Kingston, Ont.: Queens University Press, 1968), p. 43.

100. Kenneth McNaught, *A Prophet in Politics: A Biography of J. S. Woodsworth* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959), pp. 165-192.

101. Robin, *Radical Politics*, p. 43.

102. *Ibid.*, p. 273.

103. Gad Horowitz, *Canadian Labour in Politics* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968), pp. 48-49.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

105. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.

106. *Ibid.*, pp. 54-55.

3. The Split Between Unions and the Socialist Party

1. The best pre-World War I result for an explicitly socialist party before World War I in Britain was 1 percent of the national vote—less than fifty thousand votes—for the Independent Labour party in 1895. The Social Democratic Federation, the leading Marxist party in Britain, never received more than 1 percent of the vote in any individual constituency.

2. The Australian Socialist party had some strength in Sydney, but it received a tiny share in national elections. After 1907 the party gave up the electoral ghost and decided on a syndicalist strategy focusing on the trade unions. In New Zealand, the socialists realized that they were not strong enough to fight elections on their own and turned to working within the Labour party.

3. Nathan Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States 1828-1928* (New York: Rand School of Social Science, 1928). Other noteworthy treatments of the topic are Richard W. Judd, *Socialist' Cities: Municipal Politics and the Grass Roots of American Socialism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), p. 16; Nick Salvatore, *Eugene V Debs: Citizen and Socialist* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982); and James Weinstein, *The Decline of Socialism in America 1912-1925* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1967).

4. Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties*, p. 249.

5. The comparative history of union organization in western societies has yet to be written. Clearly, the story is characterized by path dependence, for once a particular form of unionism has been established it constrains future development. Partial analyses are Gary Marks, *Unions in Politics: Britain, Germany, and the United*

States in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1989); Lloyd Ulman, *The Rise of the National Trade Union* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955); and H. A. Turner, *Trade Union Growth, Structure and Policy* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1962).

6. Kim Voss, *The Making of American Exceptionalism: The Knights of Labor and Class Formation in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993), p. 227. See also Leon Fink, *Workingmen's Democracy: The Knights of Labor and American Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983).

7. Marks, *Unions in Politics*, pp. 88-89.

8. Calculated from Leo Wolman, *The Growth of American Trade Unions 1880-1923* (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1924); and Walter Galenson, *The CIO Challenge to the AFL: A History of the American Labor Movement 1935-1941* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960).

9. The adjectives "exclusive" and "inclusive" appear more precise than those used previously by Gary Marks in *Unions in Politics* in setting out the distinction between "closed" and "open" unions.

10. Philip Taft, *The AF of L in the Time of Gompers* (New York: Harper & Bros, 1957), p. 294; Tomlins, *The State and the Unions*, ch. 3; Victoria C. Hattam, *Labor Visions and State Power: The Origins of Business Unionism in the United States* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1993), p. 164.

11. This line of argument owes much to H. A. Turner's ideas, in particular his classic analysis: *Trade Union Growth*, part 5, ch. 1.

12. Robin Archer, "Why Is There No Labor Party? Class and Race in the United States and Australia," in Rick Halpern and Jonathan Morris, eds., *American Exceptionalism? US Working Class Formation in an International Context* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).

13. *Report of Proceedings of the Thirteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor*, Chicago, 1893, p. 36; *Report of Proceedings of the Twenty-second Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor*, New Orleans, 1902, p. 179; *Report of Proceedings of the Thirty-first Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor*, Atlanta, 1911, p. 217; *Report of Proceedings of the Thirty-fifth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor*, San Francisco, 1915, pp. 503-504. See Marks, *Unions in Politics*, Appendix A, for details of the delegate votes for 1893 to 1915.

14. *Report of Proceedings of the Fortieth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor*, Toronto, 1920, p. 419.

15. Ira Kipnis, *American Socialist Movement* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), p. 238.

16. Weinstein, *Decline of Socialism*, p. 41.

17. William C. Pratt, "The Reading Socialist Experience: A Study of Working Class Politics" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, Emory University, 1969), p. 40.

18. A question that arises directly from our analysis is why exclusive unionism was stronger relative to inclusive unionism in the United States than elsewhere. To answer this would demand detailed comparative study that would take us beyond scope of this book. The following hypotheses appear to us plausible enough to warrant empirical investigation:

- The greater the dislocation in the relevant features of the political, economic, and social environment facing unions (e.g., as measured by political and constitutional continuity, rate of industrialization, geographical mobility of labor), the greater the role of inclusive unions in a country's labor movement. Conversely, the greater the political, economic, and social continuity, the greater the predominance of older exclusive unions.
- The greater the heterogeneity of a country's labor force and economy, the greater the predominance of exclusive unions.
- The earlier industrialization, the greater the predominance of exclusive unions.
- The earlier the establishment of the labor movement relative to the establishment of a socialist party, the greater the predominance of exclusive unions.
- The greater the legal constraints on mass industrial action and the weaker the legal constraints on rules that constrict the supply of labor into an occupation, the greater the predominance of exclusive unions. This argument is made by William E. Forbath, *Law and the Shaping of the American Labor Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991).
- The greater the organizational cohesion of employers in the society, the greater the predominance of inclusive unions.

19. The percentages are based on data provided in *Report of Proceedings of the Thirty-second Annual Trades Union Congress*, 1899, and *Report of Proceedings at the Forty-sixth Annual Trades Union Congress*, 1913. For 1899, the following are included as inclusive unions (membership rounded to the nearest hundred): Dock Labourers (12,000); Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Labourers (10,000); Gas Workers and General Labourers (45,000); National Amalgamated Union (21,600); Miners' Federation (213,000); Navvies, Bricklayers, Labourers (5,000); Railway Servants (54,000); Weavers (73,600). The following are included as inclusive unions in 1913: Dock Labourers (32,000); Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers (37,000); Sailors and Firemen (60,000); Gasworkers and General Labourers (82,100); Gasworkers, Brickmakers, and General Labourers (7,600); National Amalgamated Union (51,000); Miners' Federation (600,000); Railwaymen (132,000); Weavers (182,800); Postmen (42,600).

20. A list of affiliated unions is provided in the *Report of the First Annual Conference of the Labour Representation Committee*, Manchester, February 1901.

21. *Taff Vale*, which found unions liable for costs imposed on employers through strikes, convinced even the most politically cautious unions that they had to gain

working-class representation to change the law. See *Second Annual Conference of the Labour Representation Committee*, Birmingham, February 1902; *Third Annual Conference of the Labour Representation Committee*, Newcastle-on-Tyne, February 1903. The role of the Independent Labour party and the grounds for conversion to support for the LRC are discussed in David Howell, *British Workers and the Independent Labour Party 1888-1906* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983), part 1; and Henry Pelling, *The Origins of the Labour Party 1880-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1965), pp. 195-201.

22. John H. M. Laslett, "Labour Party, Labor Lobbying, or Direct Action? Coal Miners, Immigrants, and Radical Politics in Scotland and the American Midwest, 1880-1924," in Camille Gurein Gonzales and Carl Strikwerda, eds., *The Politics of Immigrant Workers: Labor Activism and Migration in the World Economy since 1830* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1993), p. 90.

23. *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 90. Sharon Reitman contrasts the political orientations of the UMWA and the Western Federation of Miners in the years around the turn of the twentieth century. Her assertion that "after the 1897 strike, the UMWA turned its attention away from political change and concentrated instead on working with employers to stabilize competition and increase wages" (p. 215) is at odds with the research of Laslett and others. However, her main contention, that the WFM was the more radical of the two unions, and that this reflected its experience of particularly intense political repression, is consistent with the argument being made here. Sharon Reitman, "The Politics of the Western Federation of Miners and the United Mine Workers of America: Uneven Development, Industry Structure, and Class Struggle," in Scott G. McNall, Rhonda F. Levine, and Rick Fantasia, eds., *Bringing Class Back In: Contemporary and Historical Perspectives* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1991).

25. R. Markey, "The White Ghost of Jefferson," in Ann Curthoys and Andrew Markus, eds., *Who are Our Enemies?* (Sydney: Hale & Iremonger, 1978), p. 75, quoted in Jim Hagan, *The History of the ACTU* (Melbourne: Longman Cheshire, 1981), p. 14.

26. Robin Gollan, *Radical and Working Class Politics: A Study of Eastern Australia, 1850-1910* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1960), p. 141.

27. Archer, "Why Is There No Labor Party?"

28. David DeLeon, *The American as Anarchist: Reactions on Indigenous Radicalism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), p. 102.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 114.

30. Julie Greene, *Pure and Simple Politics: The American Federation of Labor and Political Activism, 1881-1917* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 255-256. The quotation of Samuel Gompers is from "Eight Hour Constitutional Amendment," *American Federationist* 5 (June 1989), p. 110.

31. Selig Perlman, *A Theory of the Labor Movement* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), p. 202.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

33. This applies also to the AFL's attempt to limit immigration, for antipathy to immigration was founded on the belief that it would swell the labor supply and thereby threaten standards.

34. *Ibid.*, pp. 175-176.

35. William M. Dick, *Labor and Socialism in America: The Gompers Era* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1972), p. 118.

36. Christopher L. Tomlins, *The State and the Unions: Labor Relations and the Organized Labor Movement in America, 1880-1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 56-57. Quotations from William H. Sewell, *Work and Revolution in France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 242; Samuel Gompers, "Trade Unions-Their Philosophy," *American Federationist* 17 (1910), p. 696.

37. Quoted in Tomlins, *The State and the Unions*, p. 118.

38. Samuel Lubell, "Post-Mortem: Who Elected Roosevelt?" *Saturday Evening Post*, January 25, 1941, p. 9. See also Lubell, *The Future of American Politics* (New York: Doubleday/Anchor Books, 1965), pp. 55-68.

39. Morris Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the United States* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1910), pp. 247-248.

40. Henry Pelling, *America and the British Left* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1956), p. 63. Leon Fink observes that "the momentum of the 1880s was great. Indeed, examined both at the level of working-class organization and industrial militancy, a European visitor might understandably expect the most to happen here first. At the political level, as well, American workers were in certain respects relatively advanced." Leon Fink, *Workingmen's Democracy*, p. 229.

41. Michael Rogin, "Radicalism and the Agrarian Tradition: Comment," in John Laslett and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., *Failure of a Dream? Essays in the History of American Socialism* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday/Anchor Books, 1974), p. 149. See also Theodore Saloutos, "Radicalism and the Agrarian Tradition," in Laslett and Lipset, *Failure of a Dream?*; Philip Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (New York: International Publishers, 1975), ch. 21.

42. *Report of Proceedings of the Twelfth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor*, 1892, p. 43.

43. See Taft, *The AF of L in the Time of Gompers*, p. 72.

44. *A Verbatim Report of the Discussion on the Political Programme, 1984* (New York: Freytag Press, 1985), p. 63.

45. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*, vol. 2, p. 293.

46. *Report of Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor*, 1895, p. 80.

82. William C. Pratt, "'Jimmie Higgins' and the Reading Socialist Community: An Exploration of the Socialist Rank and File," in Stave, ed., *Socialism and the Cities*, p. 144.
83. Charles Leinenweber, "The Class and Ethnic Bases of New York City Socialism, 1904-1915," *Labor History* 22 (1981), p. 56.
84. Sari Bennett, "The Geography of American Socialism: Continuity and Change, 1900-1912," *Social Science History* 7 (Summer 1983), p. 284.
85. David Paul Nord, "Hothouse Socialism: Minneapolis, 1910-1925," in Critchlow, ed., *Socialism in the Heartland*, p. 135.
86. *Ibid.*, pp. 152-156.
87. *Ibid.*, p. 143.
88. Richard M. Valelly, *Radicalism in the States: The Minnesota Farmer-Labor Party and the American Political Economy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 48.
89. Judd, *Socialist Cities*, p. 16.

4. Immigrants and Socialism: Double-Edged Effects

1. The view that working-class ethnic and racial diversity undermined class consciousness and weakened socialism in America was put forward in 1870 by Marx, who emphasized that American socialists should press for a coalition among workers of different ethnic backgrounds. See Marx to Siegfried Meyer and August Vogt, April 9, 1870, Karl Marx, *On the First International*, ed. and trans. Saul K. Padover (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1973), pp. 499-500.
2. Charles Leinenweber, "The American Socialist Party and 'New' Immigrants," *Science & Society* 32 (Winter 1968), p. 1; Herbert Gutman, *Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America* (New York: Random House, 1977), p. 40.
3. John R. Commons et al., *History of Labor in the United States, 1896-1932*, vol. 3 (New York: Macmillan, 1935), p. 41.
4. Simon Kuznets, *Economic Growth and Structure* (New York: W W Norton, 1965), p. 312. See also Martin A. Schain, "The Development of the American State and the Construction of Immigration Policy (1880-1924)" (Paper delivered at the American Political Science Association Conference, 1994), pp. 2-5.
5. Bureau of the Census, *Immigrants and Their Children, 1920, Census Monographs VII* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1927), p. 62.
6. Joseph S. Roucek, "The Image of the Slav in U.S. History and in Immigration Policy," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 28 (January 1969), pp. 29-48.
7. Peter J. Hill, "Relative Skill and Income Levels of Native and Foreign Born Workers in the United States," *Explorations in Economic History* 12 (1975), p. 25; Paul McGouldrick and Michael Tannen, "Did American Manufacturers Discriminate

- Against Immigrants Before 1914?" *Journal of Economic History* (September 1977), pp.723-746.
8. Engels to Schliiter March 30, 1892, in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Selected Correspondence: 1846-1895* (New York: International Publishers, 1936), pp. 496-497.
 9. Engels to Sorge, December 2, 1893, in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Letters to Americans, 1848-1895* (New York: International Publishers, 1953), p. 258. Max Beer, an Austrian socialist who spent three years around the turn of the century in the United States, made a similar point: "Even when the time is ripe for a Socialist movement, it can only produce one when the working people form a certain cultural unity, that is, when they have a common language, a common history, a common mode of life. This is the case in Europe, but not in the United States. Its factories, mines, farms, and the organizations based on them are composite bodies, containing the most heterogeneous elements, and lacking stability and the sentiment of solidarity." Max Beer, *Fifty Years of International Socialism* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1935), pp. 112-115.
 10. Mike Davis, *Prisoners of the American Dream: Politics and Economy in the History of the U.S. Working Class* (New York: Verso, 1988), pp. 24-25.
 11. Benjamin C. Bacon, *Statistics of the Colored People of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1856), p. 15; quoted in Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 101.
 12. Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, ch. 4.
 13. The consequences of the internal stratification of the American working class for socialist support are discussed in Davis, *Prisoners*, pp. 16-40. Also see K. Gerald Marsden, "Patriotic Societies and American Labor: The American Protective Association in Wisconsin," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 41 (Summer 1958), for a discussion of the intermixture of nativism and anti-Catholicism in the last decades of the nineteenth century.
 14. Walter MacArthur, a leading West Coast unionist, stated in the 1894 AFL convention debate on the political program: "I am in favor of political action. What bothers me is how to do it. I am satisfied that we cannot do it as trade unionists and preserve the efficiency of the trades union. It is all very well to cite our British brethren on the subject, but the illustrations are irrelevant, immaterial.... In San Francisco we have all nationalities in our unions, men who will stand together to a unit on wages and conditions generally in every craft, but if you mix politics, even a suspicion of them, the specter of disintegration arises right there and stays there." *A Verbatim of the Discussion on the Political Program at the Denver Convention of the American Federation of Labor*, December 14-15, 1894 (New York: Freytag Press, 1895), p. 6. Speeches by AFL delegates at TUC congresses and by TUC delegates at AFL conventions provide an interesting commentary on differences of perception in the two countries. In a speech before the 1902 TUC congress, P. Dolan, an AFL dele-

gate from the miners, pointed out: "There was one thing, however, in which America had to give Great Britain best—that was with regard to the Parliamentary representative of Labour. So far, they had totally failed in that direction. They possessed the franchise fully enough, but did not use it in the right way. The Democrats and Republicans adhered to their parties as closely as to their religion.... Many of us think it just as easy to get the most bigoted Roman Catholic and Protestant to kneel down at the same altar to pray as to get the workers to vote together." See *Report of Proceedings of the Thirty-fifth Annual Trade Unions Congress*, 1902, p. 61.

15. Seymour Martin Lipset, *The First New Nation: The United States in Historical and Comparative Perspective* (New York: Basic Books, 1963), ch. 5.

16. Ira Katznelson, *City Trenches: Urban Politics and the Patterning of Class in the United States* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981), p. 19.

17. Catherine Collomp, "Immigrants, Labor Markets, and the State. A Comparative Approach: France and the United States, 1880-1930," *Journal of American History* 86 (June 1999), p. 46.

18. John Commons argued that even if the resistance of native workers was overcome, the potential for class solidarity would continue to be undermined by cultural divisions. John R. Commons, "Is Class Conflict in America Growing and Is It Inevitable?" *American Journal of Sociology* 8 (May 1908), p. 762.

19. Irwin Yellowitz, *Industrialization and the American Labor Movement: 1850-1900* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1977), pp. 128-129. See Gwendolyn Mink, *Old Labor and New Immigrants in American Political Development: Union, Party, and State, 1875-1920* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1986), pp. 165-167, 46-49. Where unions, such as the UMWA, were successful in mobilizing individuals from diverse ethnic groups, this had the effect of breaking down ethnic barriers by focusing on common grievances and socializing workers as Americans. See James R. Barrett, "Americanization from the Bottom Up: Immigration and the Remaking of the Working Class in the United States, 1880-1930," *Journal of American History* 79 (1992), pp. 996-1020.

20. Samuel Gompers and Herman Gutstadt, *Meat vs. Rice: American Manhood vs. Asiatic Coolieism: Which Shall Survive?* (San Francisco: American Federation of Labor, 1902). Ann Archer makes the interesting point that while racial hostility was divisive in the United States, it was inclusive in Australia: "In Australia, hostility towards Chinese and Melanesian immigrants helped to consolidate the new unions by providing them with, a popular rallying cry which enabled them to mobilise cross-class support. Racial hostility also helped to consolidate the fledgling Labor party by enabling it to reinforce its credentials as a national party and to appeal beyond the working class to small farmers and the urban middle class. In the United States, by contrast, hostility towards Chinese immigrants and blacks melded with an earlier tradition of ethno-religious nativism to produce a new racial

nativism which set the old immigrants from northern and western Europe against the new immigrants from southern and eastern Europe." Ann Archer, "Why Is There No Labor Party? Class and Race in the United States and Australia," in Rick Halpern and Jonathan Morris, eds., *American Exceptionalism? U.S. Working Class Formation in an International Context* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997). On the issue of race and American socialism, see also Eric Foner, "Why Is There No Socialism in The United States?" *History Workshop Journal* 17 (1984); Roger M. Smith, "Beyond Tocqueville, Myrdal and Hartz: The Multiple Traditions in America," *American Political Science Review* 87 (September 1993); Mink, *Old Labor and New Immigrants*, pp. 71-121; Ralph Mann, "Community, Change and Caucasian Attitudes Towards the Chinese," in Milton Cantor, ed., *American Working Class Culture* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979), pp. 397-419; Susan Olzak, "Labor Unrest, Immigration, and Ethnic Conflict in Urban America, 1880-1914," *American Journal of Sociology* 94 (May 1989), pp. 1303-1333 (Olzak's research suggests that the growth of unionism coincided with anti-black activity, pp. 1328-1329); and Michael Goldfield, "Class, Race, and Politics in the United States: White Supremacy as the Main Explanation for the Peculiarities of American Politics from Colonial Times to the Present," *Research in Political Economy* 12 (1990), pp. 83-127. Goldfield goes further than any of the other commentators on race and identifies white supremacy as the principal factor that ensured there would be no socialist success in the United States.

21. *Abstracts of Reports of the Immigration Commission*, 61st Congress, 3rd Session, Senate Document No. 747, 1911, p. 780; Michael Harrington, *Socialism* (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1970), p. 132; E. P. Hutchison, *Immigrants and Their Children* (New York: John Wiley, 1965), pp. 114, 138-139, 171. See also Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, *Social Mobility in Industrial Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1959).

22. Isaac Hourwich, *Immigration and Labor* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1912), pp. 9-12, 19, 165; see also Jeremiah Jencks and W. Jett Lauck, *The Immigration Problem: A Study of American Immigration Conditions and Needs* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1922), pp. 165-196.

23. John T. Cumbler, *Working-Class Community in Industrial America: Work, Leisure, and Struggle in Two Industrial Cities, 1880-1930* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1979).

24. Richard Flacks, *Making History: Radical Tradition in American Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), p. 110.

25. John Bodnar, *Immigration and Industrialization: Ethnicity in an American Mill Town, 1870-1940* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977), pp. 150-151. Thomas Gobel, "Becoming American: Ethnic Workers and the Rise of the CIO," *Labor History* 29 (Spring 1988), pp. 173-198.

26. William C. Pratt, "The Reading Socialist Experience: A Study of Working Class Politics" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of Modern History, Emory University, 1969), p. 506.

27. Errol Wayne Stevens, "Heartland Socialism: The Socialist Party of America in Four Midwestern Communities" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, Indiana University, 1978), p. 63. Also see Errol Wayne Stevens, "Main-Street Socialism: The Socialist Party of America in Marion, Indiana, 1900-1921," in Donald T. Critchlow, ed., *Socialism in the Heartland: The Midwestern Experience, 1900-1925* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), pp. 68-89.

28. Garin Burbank, "Agrarian Radicals and their Opponents: Political Conflict in Southern Oklahoma, 1910-1924," *Journal of American History* 58 (June 1971), p. 7. See also H. L. Meredith, "Agrarian Socialism and the Negro in Oklahoma, 1900-1918," *Labor History* 11 (Summer 1970), p. 278.

29. Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), pp. 23-24.

30. Nathan Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States, 1828-1928* (New York: Rand School of Social Sciences, 1928), p. 230.

31. *Ibid.*, p. 231.

32. Sally Miller, "Milwaukee: Of Ethnicity and Labor," in Bruce M. Stave, ed., *Socialism and the Cities* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1975), pp. 50, 61.

33. Marlene P. Terwillinger, "Jews and Italians and the Socialist Party, New York City, 1901-1917." (Ph.D. thesis, Department of Sociology, Union Graduate School, 1977), p. 91. Italian immigrants to the United States came largely from southern Italy, while those in Argentina came largely from northern Italy, a difference we explore below.

34. Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties*, p. 324.

35. Computed from data presented in Bureau of the Census, *Immigrants and Their Children, 1920*, p. 286.

36. Sally M. Miller, "Different Accents of Labor," *Labor's Heritage* 2 (1990), pp. 62-75.

37. Joseph R. Conlin, *The American Radical Press, 1880-1960*, vol. 1 (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974), p. 22.

38. Stan Nadel notes: "There have been times when German-American radicalism seemed to be the only class-conscious radicalism in the U.S. . . . the Socialist Labor Party, the left wing of the American Federation of Labor, or the Chicago anarchists—all predominantly German." Stan Nadel, "The German Immigrant Left in the United States," in Paul Buhle and Dan Georgakas, eds., *The Immigrant Left in the United States* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), p. 45. See also John H. M. Laslett, *Labor and the Left: A Study of Socialist and Radical Influences in the American Labor Movement, 1881-1927* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), p. 9; Paul Buhle, *Marxism in the United States:*

Remapping the History of the American Left, rev. ed. (New York: Verso, 1991).

39. Cited in Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties*, p. 48.

40. Morris Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the United States* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1910), pp. 193-194.

41. Buhle, *Marxism in the United States*, pp. 51-56.

42. Report by Daniel De Leon to the Zurich Congress in *The People*, June 8, 1893, p. 1.

43. This ecological analysis uses county data, which is the only comparative source of data available. Conclusions drawn from these data for individual voting must be tentative, for they assume the absence of countervailing community effects. The proportion of immigrants from a particular country in a county may be a proxy for economic/social variables that we cannot measure separately, yet which help explain the associations we find. For more details, see Gary Marks and Matthew Burbank, "Immigrant Support for the American Socialist Party, 1912 and 1920," *Social Science History* 14 (Summer 1990), pp. 175-202.

44. Klaus Ensslen and Heinz Ickstadt, "German Working-Class Culture in Chicago: Continuity and Change in the Decade from 1900 to 1910," in Hartmut Keil and John B. Jentz, eds., *German Workers in Industrial Chicago, 1850-1910: A Comparative Perspective* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1983); Charles Leinenweber, "The Class and Ethnic Bases of New York City Socialism, 1904-1915," *Labor History* 22 (1981), pp. 31-56; Miller, "Milwaukee"; Miller, "Different Accents of Labor"; Lee Wolfe, *The Seamy Side of Democracy: Repression in America* (New York: Longman, 1978); Klaus J. Bade, "German Emigration to the United States and Continental Immigration to Germany in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in Dirk Hoerder, ed., *Labor Migration in the Atlantic Economies: The European and North American Working Classes During the Period of Industrialization* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1985), pp. 117-142; Hubert Perrier, "The Socialists and the Working Class in New York, 1890-96," in Dirk Hoerder, ed., *American Labor and Immigration History, 1877-1920s: Recent European Research* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983); James L. Lorence, "Socialism in Northern Wisconsin, 1910-1920s: An Ethno-Cultural Analysis," *Mid-America* 69 (April-July 1982), pp. 25-51.

45. John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985), p. 86.

46. Gerald Rosenblum, *Immigrant Workers: Their Impact on American Labor Radicalism* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 152.

47. For details on the decline of German dominance in socialism, see Buhle, *Marxism in the United States*, pp. 44-45.

48. Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties*, p. 234.

49. James Weinstein, *The Decline of Socialism in America, 1912-1925* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1984), pp. 23-24.

50. Ensslen and Ickstadt, "German Working-Class Culture in Chicago," pp. 236-252.

51. *Ibid.*, pp. 236-252.

52. James L. Lorence, "Dynamite for the Brain: The Growth and Decline of Socialism in Central and Lakeshore Wisconsin, 1910-1920," *Wisconsin Magazine of History* 66 (Summer 1983), p. 271. Also see Lorence, "Socialism in Northern Wisconsin."

53. Paul Buhle, "Themes in American Jewish Radicalism," in Buhle and Georgakas, eds., *Immigrant Left*, pp. 46-49, 78; Irwin Yellowitz, "Jewish Immigrants and the American Labor Movement, 1900-1920," *American Jewish History* (1981), pp. 188-217. In his study of Jewish radicalism, Arthur Liebman concludes that "in terms of proportion, the Jewish balloting on behalf of socialism was perhaps exceeded only by that of the German-Americans and the Finnish-Americans." Arthur Liebman, *Jews and the Left* (New York: John Wiley, 1979), p. 48. Also see Peter Kivisto, *Immigrant Socialists in the United States: The Case of Finns and the Left* (Rutherford, N.J.: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1984), pp. 29-31.

54. Arthur Gorenstein, "A Portrait of Ethnic Politics: The Socialists and the 1908 and 1910 Congressional Elections on the East Side," *American Jewish Historical Society* 1 (1961), pp. 202-227; Leinenweber, "Class and Ethnic Bases," pp. 31-56.

55. Buhle, "Themes in American Jewish Radicalism," p. 80.

56. Census data do not categorize immigrants by religion. Of over 1.6 million immigrants classified as "Russian" in 1910, 52.3 percent reported Yiddish or Hebrew as their mother tongue while only 2.5 percent reported Russian as their native language (in addition, 26.1 percent reported Polish, 8.6 percent Lithuanian or Lettish, and 7.6 percent German).

57. Neither New York nor the Bronx is an "influential" case in this analysis using the DFITS measure discussed by Kenneth A. Bollen and Robert W. Jackman, "Regression Diagnostics: An Expository Treatment of Outliers and Influential Cases," *Sociological Methods and Research* 13 (May 1985), pp. 510-542. When we exclude New York (1912) and New York and the Bronx (1920) from the analysis, the coefficients for the proportion of Russian immigrants change only slightly.

58. Nathan Glazer observes that "the circumstances of their lives [in America] had less to do with *making* them Socialists than with *keeping* them Socialists." Nathan Glazer, *The Social Basis of American Communism* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974), p. 21 (emphases in original). The same conclusion is suggested by Paul Buhle, "Italian-American Radicals and Labor in Rhode Island, 1905-30," in Herbert G. Gutman and Donald H. Bell, eds., *The New England Working Class and the New Labor History* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987).

59. Rosenblum, *Immigrant Workers*, pp. 151-153.

60. Gutman, *Work, Culture, and Society*, pp. 577, 571.

61. Arthur Liebman, "The Ties that Bind: The Jewish Support for the Left in the

United States," *American Jewish Quarterly* 66 (1976), p. 301.

62. "In the process of immigration to America, many of the Russian Jews brought with them the political skills, organizational forms, and memories that emerged from their experience or association with the Jewish Left. These were the people who proved to be the major base and architects of a Jewish Left in America." Liebman, *Jews and the Left*, p. 134.

63. United States Senate Documents, 61st Congress, 3rd Session, *Immigrants Commission Report*, vol. 7 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1910), pp. 417-419, 530-531. See Samuel L. Baily, "The Italian and Organized Labor in the United States and Argentina: 1880-1910," *International Migration Review* 1 (Summer 1967), pp. 56-66; Edward Fenton, *Immigrants and Unions* (New York: Arno Press, 1975), pp. 574-575.

64. Joseph Barton, *Peasants and Strangers* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975), pp. 27-36; Fenton, *Immigrants and Unions*, pp. 1-30. See also Irving Howe, *Socialism and America* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985), pp. 124-129. Howe notes that after the Italians, Eastern Europeans had the highest rate of return to their homelands, although there were few Jews among them.

65. See Michael Miller Topp, "The Italian-American Left: Transnationalism and the Quest for Unity," in Buhle and Georgakas, eds., *Immigrant Left*, pp. 119-126. Paul Buhle, writing about Italians, notes: "Hunger riots, landowners' leagues, rural fasci and other forms of 'primitive rebellion' flared up repeatedly and were repressed with great bloodshed. The main activists in these riots, the *contadini* (agricultural workers), combined an unabashed hatred for the rich with elements of fatalism. Confined by the hundreds of thousands to poverty within the 'rural cities,' by and large illiterate, they remained loyal to the traditions of family unity, village provincialism, and superstition (as opposed to institutionalized religion). As a result, the socialists made few inroads into the south. And it was this region which provided the bulk of immigrants to the United States." Buhle, "Italian-American Radicals and Labor," p. 272.

66. Auvo Kostiaainen, *The Forging of Finnish-American Communism, 1917-1924* (Turku, Finland: Migration Institute, 1978), p. 32. See Al Gedicks, "The Social Origins of Radicalism Among Finnish Immigrants in Midwest Mining Communities," *Review of Radical Political Economics* 8 (Fall 1976), p. 28. See also Paul George Hummasti, "Finnish Radicals in Astoria, Oregon, 1904-1940: A Study in Immigrant Socialism" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Oregon, 1975); Kivisto, *Immigrant Socialists in the United States*.

67. Reino Kero found that the right-wing papers' supporters were from the two northern provinces, Vaasa and Oulu, in which the Finnish socialists were relatively weak. Conversely, the population which came from the more radicalized sections of southern and eastern Finland "contributed relatively more material to

the Finnish-American left than it did to the Finnish immigration as a whole." Reino Kero, *The Roots of Finnish-American Left-Wing Radicalism* (Turku, Finland: Publications of the Institute of General History, 1973), pp. 52-53; as cited in Gedicks, "Social Origins of Radicalism," p. 26. Various additional factors have been hypothesized to explain the strength of socialism among rural Finnish immigrants. In the first place, Finns brought with them traditions of resistance to Russian imperialism that reinforced their much-noted lack of respect for authority. See Gedicks, "Social Origins of Radicalism," pp. 1-31; Kivisto, *Immigrant Socialists in the United States*. Rebellious activity was justified in terms of the basic demand for national autonomy. Finnish socialists had the benefit of an experienced set of radical leaders who were driven from Finland by Russophile despots. Barely half of the Finns conscripted to serve in the czar's army in the early 1900s actually served. Second, their ability to organize was facilitated by the strong common traditions symbolized in the communal buildings where they came together to eat, talk, and share their leisure time. In recognition of the communal basis of Finnish radicalism, the resulting socialist movement is aptly termed "hall socialism." The organizational capacity engendered by hall socialism was strengthened by the close-knit, often geographically isolated occupational communities formed by Finns in the copper-mining and lumber industries, industries in which Finns were numerous. See Al Gedicks, "Ethnicity, Class Solidarity, and Labor Radicalism Among Finnish Immigrants in Michigan Copper Country," *Politics and Society* 7 (1977), pp. 127-156.

68. Gedicks, "The Social Origins of Radicalism Among Finnish Immigrants," p. 28. See also Paul George Hummasti, "Finnish Radicals in Astoria, Oregon"; Kivisto, *Immigrant Socialists in the United States*.

69. *Abstract of Thirteenth Census of the United States*, 1910, p. 204.

70. The Census does not provide the number of Finnish immigrants at the county level, but only Scandinavians. The coefficient reported in the appendix to this chapter includes Danes, Norwegians, and Swedish, all of whom were less ardent supporters of socialism than were the Finns.

71. Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties*, p. 326.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 326.

73. David Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967), p. 47.

74. Charles Leinenweber, "Immigration and the Decline and Internationalism in the American Working Class Movement, 1864-1919" (Ph.D. thesis, University of California, Berkeley, 1968), p. 210.

75. Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties*, p. 328; Kivisto, *Immigrant Socialists in the United States*, pp. 185-186.

76. Glazer, *Social Basis of American Communism*, p. 25.

77. Marcus Lee Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History* (New York: Harper

Torchbooks, 1964), pp. 82, 85-96. See also Oscar Handlin, *The Uprooted* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973), pp. 81, 109-110.

78. *Ibid.*, pp. 78-79.

79. *Ibid.*, p. 95.

80. Oscar Handlin, "The Immigrant and American Politics," in David F. Bowers, ed., *Foreign Influence in American Life* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1944), pp. 90-91. See also Handlin, *Uprooted*, pp. 194-195.

81. Richard Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform: From Bryan to FDR* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), pp. 183-184.

82. Handlin, *Uprooted*; Hofstadter, *Age of Reform*; Martin Shefter, "Trade Unions and Political Machines: The Organization and Disorganization of the American Working Class in the Late Nineteenth Century," in Ira Katznelson and Aristide R. Zolberg, eds., *Working Class Formation: Nineteenth-Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), pp. 267-268.

83. Rosenblum, *Immigrant Workers*, p. 143.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

85. Rudolph Vecoli, "Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of *The Uprooted*," *Journal of American History* 51 (1964), p. 407; David Brody, *Steelworkers in America: The Nonunion Era* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1970).

86. Rosenblum, *Immigrant Workers*, p. 125; Jerome Karabel, "The Reason Why?" *New York Review of Books* 26 (February 8, 1979), p. 24; Thomas Kessner, *The Golden Door: Italian and Jewish Mobility in New York City, 1880-1915* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1977), p. 28; Brody, *Steelworkers*, pp. 45-53.

87. Rosenblum, *Immigrant Workers*, p. 79.

88. Report by Daniel De Leon to the Zurich Congress in *The People*, June 8, 1893, p. 1.

89. R. Laurence Moore, *European Socialists and the American Promised Land* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 148-150.

90. Hillquit, *History of Socialism*, pp. 139-140.

91. Harrington, *Socialism*, p. 132.

92. Thomas Mayer, "Some Characteristics of Union Members in the 1880s and the 1890s," *Labor History* 5 (Winter 1964), p. 65.

93. David J. Saposs stressed the "significant and predominant role of the Catholic Church in shaping the thought and aspiration of labor.... Its influence explains, in part at least, why the labor movement in the United States differs from others...." In David J. Saposs, "The Catholic Church and the Labor Movement," *Modern Monthly* 7 (May 1933), p. 225. See also Marc Karson, *American Labor Unions and Politics, 1900-1918* (Carbondale: South Illinois University Press, 1958), pp. 284-287.

94. G. D. H. Cole, *The Second International 1889-1914* (London: Macmillan,

1956), p. 777. Patricia Cayo Sexton, *The War on Labor and the Left: Understanding America's Unique Conservatism* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1991), pp. 41-42.

95. Marc Karson, "The Catholic Church and the Political Development of American Trade Unions, 1900-1918," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 4 (July 1951), p. 528.

96. Saposs, "Catholic Church and the Labor Movement," p. 297.

97. Selig Perlman, *A Theory of the Labor Movement* (New York: Macmillan, 1928), p. 168.

98. Karson, "Catholic Church and the Political Development of American Trade Unions," p. 528.

99. Eric Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, vol. 3 (New York: International Publishers, 1964), p. 3; Laslett, *Labor and the Left*, p. 76. See also Robert E. Doherty, "Thomas J. Haggerty, the Church and Socialism," *Labor History* 3 (Winter 1962), p. 46.

100. Doherty, "Thomas J. Haggerty," p. 46.

101. Perlman, *Theory*, p. 169.

102. Karson, "Catholic Church and the Political Development of American Trade Unions," p. 531.

103. Saposs, "Catholic Church and the Labor Movement," pp. 294-298.

104. *Ibid.*, p. 298.

105. Laslett, *Labor and the Left*, p. 76.

106. Karson, "Catholic Church and the Political Development of American Trade Unions," p. 535.

107. Melvyn Dubofsky, "Success and Failure of Socialism in New York City, 1900-1918: A Case Study," *Labor History* 9 (Fall 1968), p. 372.

108. Aaron L. Abell, *American Catholicism and Social Action: A Search for Social Justice 1865-1950* (Garden City, N.Y.: Hanover House/Doubleday, 1960), p. 147.

109. Cited in Abell, *American Catholicism*, p. 148.

110. *Ibid.*, p. 172.

111. Shannon, *Socialist Party of America*, pp. 58-59.

112. David Paul Nord, "The Appeal to Reason and American Socialism, 1901-1920," *Kansas History* 1 (Summer 1978), p. 84.

113. Abell, *American Catholicism*, p. 171.

114. John Higham, *Strangers in the Land* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1955), p. 180; Abell, *American Catholicism*, p. 172.

115. Abell, *American Catholicism*, p. 171.

116. *Ibid.*, p. 171.

117. Beatrice Golden Schultz, "The Socialist Party Conventions, 1904-1912, and the International Rhetoric" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of Speech, University of Michigan, 1969), pp. 167-170.

118. Handlin, *Uprooted*, p. 199.

119. Dubofsky, "Success and Failure," p. 372.

120. Saposs, "Catholic Church and the Labor Movement," p. 297.

121. Philip Taft, *The AF of L in the Time of Gompers* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1957), p. 336; and Gerald N. Grob, *Workers and Utopia: A Study of the Ideological Conflict in the American Labor Movement, 1865-1900* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), pp. 165-166.

122. Grob, *Workers and Utopia*, p. 166.

123. Foner, *History of the Labor Movement*, pp. 383-384.

124. Weinstein, *Decline of Socialism*, p. 36.

125. Laslett, *Labor and the Left*, p. 5.

126. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

127. As Marc Karson stresses: "Catholics engaged in this [antisocialist] task during a period when American trade unionism, still in its infancy, was developing its institutional traditions. Like all traditions, these would prevail during future generations and tend to become almost conditioned responses. Furthermore, this period also began as one in which the socialist movement seemed on the threshold of becoming a major American political force.... Catholicism could take partial credit for the political philosophy and policies of the federation, for socialism's weakness in the trade union movement, and the absence of a labor party in the United States." Karson, "Catholic Church and the Political Development of American Trade Unions," pp. 528-535. In so commenting, Karson reiterated the conclusion of the first labor historian to deal extensively with the issue, David Saposs, who stated unequivocally that "Catholic domination has more than any other factor made the American Federation of Labor safe for capitalism and a violent opponent of socialism." Saposs, "Catholic Church and the Labor Movement," p. 298. See also Cole, *Second International*, p. 77.

128. Leinenweber, "American Socialist Party," pp. 1-2.

129. Sally Miller, "Americans and the Second International," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 120 (October 1976), pp. 383-385. See also Andrew Neather, "Labor Republicanism, Race, and Popular Patriotism in the Era of Empire, 1890-1914," in John Bodnar, ed., *Bonds of Affection: Americans Define Their Patriotism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996).

130. Cited in Shannon, *Socialist Party of America*, pp. 49-50; Ira Kipnis, *The American Socialist Movement, 1897-1912* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1952), pp. 282-287.

131. As Gerald Friedberg reports: "The convention thus took a position permitting whatever degree of restriction or exclusion Socialists might want, while preserving the spirit of righteousness with a phrase rejecting exclusion because of race alone." Friedberg concludes that opposition to the Hillquit motion "came mainly from those who wanted still greater restriction without what members of all factions viewed as an evasion." Gerald Friedberg, "Marxism in the United States: John

Spargo and the Socialist Party of America" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of Government, Harvard University, 1952), pp. 282-287.

132. For circulation figures, see Weinstein, *Decline of Socialism*, p. 90.

133. David Shannon, *The Great Depression* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1960), p. 48.

134. Edward J. Muzik, "Victor L. Berger: A Biography" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History Northwestern University, 1960), p. 184.

135. Quoted in Leinenweber, "Immigration and the Decline," p. 172. In 1912, the year the party received its highest presidential vote, the official Socialist Campaign Book contained material written by party leader Robert Russell, which discussed the "dangers" flowing from immigration, including what "seem the most important, the likelihood of race annihilation and the possible degeneration of even the succeeding American type." *Ibid.*, p. 128.

136. Kipnis, *American Socialist Movement*, p. 278.

137. Robert Alexander, "Splinter Groups in American Radical Politics," *Social Research* 20 (Autumn 1953), pp. 308-309. See his detailed discussion of the Socialist party's attention to foreign events, p. 309. The alienation and isolation of the earliest socialist movements from mainstream politics has frequently been attributed to the predominance of foreign immigrants among their membership. Samuel Bernstein, in his analysis of the First International in America, explains the failure of the International Workingman's Association to establish itself as part of the labor movement as resulting from the isolation of its foreign immigrant supporters from other workers. He does so in terms which could also be applied to its successor, the Socialist Labor party: "The foreign elements in the organization... lived apart from the American workers, spoke their native tongues and claimed the superiority of their imported cultures. The most culpable were the Germans who at times behaved towards Americans like Prussian schoolmasters." Samuel Bernstein, *The First International in America* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1962), p. 193.

138. Laslett, *Labor and the Left*, p. 4.

139. Rosenblum, *Immigrant Workers*, p. 167.

140. Miller, "Americans and the Second International," p. 383.

141. Glazer, *Social Basis of American Communism*, p. 28; Shannon, *Socialist Party of America*, pp. 77-78.

142. Bernard Johnpoll, "The Demise of the American Socialist Party" (Unpublished paper, Department of Political Science, State University of New York at Albany, September 1976), pp. 11-12.

143. Peter Roberts, *The New Immigration* (New York: Macmillan, 1912), p. 104.

144. Bertram Benedict, "The New Socialism in Great Britain and the United States," *American Political Science Review* 18 (May 1924), pp. 279-280.

145. Leinenweber, "American Socialist Party," p. 14.

146. Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All*, p. 242.

147. *Final Report and Testimony of the United States Commission on Industrial Relations* (Washington, D.C.: 1915), vol. 5, p. 4947; quoted in *ibid.*, p. 151.

148. Alexander, "Splinter Groups," pp. 308-309. See Paul Buhle's discussion of the IWW's involvement in immigrant strikes, "Italian-American Radicals and Labor," pp. 281-283.

149. Thomas M. LoFaro, "The Legitimization and Assimilation of the American Labor Movement, 1900-1940," *Industrial and Labor Relations Forum* 8 (December 1972), p. 11; Rosenblum, *Immigrant Workers*, pp. 164-166.

150. Marks and Burbank, "Immigrant Support for the American Socialist Party 1912 and 1920."

151. Firebaugh, "The Ratio Variable Hoax in Political Science," *American Journal of Political Science* 32 (1988), pp. 523-535.

152. Damodar N. Gujarati, *Basic Econometrics*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1988).

153. Firebaugh, "Ratio Variable Hoax," pp. 525-535; W. P. Shively, "Ecological Inference: The Uses of Aggregate Data to Study Individuals," *American Political Science Review* 63 (1969), pp. 1183-1196.

5. Sectarians vs. Reformists: Were Socialists Undermined by Their Own Strategy?

1. Daniel Bell, *Marxian Socialism in the United States* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), pp. 9-10. See also J. David Gillespie, *Politics at the Periphery: Third Parties in Two-Party America* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), pp. 179-189.

2. Engels referred to "that sectarian land, America," where purists could always count on support. Engels to Sorge, June 29, 1883, in "Unpublished Letters of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels to Americans," ed. and trans. Leonard E. Mins, *Science and Society* 2 (1938), p. 231. Engels repeatedly criticized the first major American socialist party, the Socialist Labor party (SLP), for treating Marxist theory in a "doctrinaire and dogmatic way, as something which has got to be learnt off by heart but which will then supply all needs without more ado. To them it is *a credo* and not a guide to action." Engels to Sorge, November 29, 1886, in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Selected Correspondence, 1846-1895* (New York: International Publishers, 1942), pp. 449-450. In 1894 he criticized the American SLP and the British Social Democratic Federation for being "the only parties that have managed to reduce the Marxian theory of development to a rigid orthodoxy, which the workers are not to reach themselves by their own class feeling, but which they have to gulp down as an article of faith at once and without development. That is why both of them remain sects and come, as Hegel says, from nothing through nothing to nothing." Engels to Sorge, May 12, 1894, in Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels, *Letters to*

Americans, 1848-1895 (New York: International Publishers, 1953), p. 263. Marx, as well, "confessed to a certain suspicion of 'Yankee socialists' as 'crotchety and sectarian.'" Quoted in Sidney Hook, *Marx and the Marxists* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1955), p. 64. Lenin also emphasized socialist sectarianism, which he attributed to the high relative degree of political freedom in America. See V. I. Lenin, "Preface to the Russian Translation of 'Letters by J. Ph. Becker, J. Dietzgen, F. Engels, K. Marx and Others to F. A. Sorge and Others,'" in V. I. Lenin, *On Britain* (Moscow: Foreign Languages Publishing House, n.d.), p. 51. Like Marx, Engels, and Lenin, Trotsky also found it necessary to add to his "materialistic" explanation of the continued strength of bourgeois democracy, the sectarian character of Marxists in America. Leon Trotsky, *The Living Thoughts of Karl Marx* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1939), p. 36. See also Sally M. Miller, "Different Accents of Labor," *Labor's Heritage* 2 (1990), pp. 62-75.

3. Mark A. Lause, "The American Radicals and Organized Marxism: The Initial Experience, 1869-1874," *Labor History*, Winter 1992, p. 79; See also Miller, "Different Accents of Labor."

4. Robert F. Hoxie, "'The Rising Tide of Socialism': A Study," *Journal of Political Economy* 19 (October 1911), pp. 609-631.

5. Samuel Gompers, *Seventy Years of Life and Labor* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1925), pp. 50-53, 57, 104; William M. Dick, *Labor and Socialism in America: The Gompers Era* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1972), p. 20; Richard W. Judd, *Socialist Cities: Municipal Politics and the Grass Roots of American Socialism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), pp. 3-7; Bernard K. Johnpoll, *Pacifist's Progress: Norman Thomas and the Decline of American Socialism* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1987), pp. 108-111; Bruce M. Stave, *Socialism and the Cities* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1975), pp. 188-189; Aileen Kraditor, *The Radical Persuasion, 1890-1917* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), pp. 284-285; Stan Nadel, "The German Immigrant Left in the United States," in Paul Ruble and George Georgakas, eds., *The Immigrant Left in the United States* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), pp. 62-63.

6. Gompers, *Seventy Years*, p. 101; Norman J. Ware, *The Labor Movement in the United States 1860-1895* (New York: D. Appleton, 1929), p. 262.

7. Gompers, *Seventy Years*, p. 202; Miller, "Different Accents of Labor," p. 382.

8. Dick, *Labor and Socialism*, p. 21. See also Henry Pelling, *American Labor* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960), pp. 88-89; Stuart B. Kaufman, *Samuel Gompers and the Origins of the American Federation of Labor 1848-1896* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1973), pp. 190-213; Gompers, *Seventy Years*, pp. 384-389.

9. *Ibid.*, pp. 311-326.

10. Louis S. Reed, *The Labor Philosophy of Samuel Gompers* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), p. 102.

11. Dick, *Labor and Socialism*, p. 31.

12. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

13. Quoted in Reed, *Labor Philosophy*, p. 102.

14. D. H. Leon, "Whatever Happened to the Socialist Party? A Critical Survey of Spectrum of Interpretations," *American Quarterly* 23 (May 1971), pp. 250-251; Morris Hillquit, *Loose Leaves from a Busy Life* (New York: Macmillan, 1934), p. 96; Patricia Cayo Sexton, *The War on Labor and the Left: Understanding America's Unique Conservatism* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1991), pp. 42-44.

15. Gompers, *Seventy Years*, p. 388.

16. Engels to Sorge, January 6, 1892, in *Letters to Americans*, p. 240.

17. Engels to Schluter, January 29, 1891, in *Letters to Americans*, p. 233.

18. Howard H. Quint, *The Forging of American Socialism: Origins of the Modern Movement* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1953), p. 331.

19. Michael Harrington, *Socialism* (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1970), p. 253.

20. John H. M. Laslett, *Labor and the Left: A Study of Socialist and Radical Influences in the American Labor Movement, 1881-1924* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), pp. 271, 217.

21. Quoted in Marc Karson, *American Labor Unions in Politics: 1900-1918* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1958), p. 190.

22. Morris Hillquit, Samuel Gompers, and Max J. Hayes, *The Double Edge of Labor's Sword: Discussion and Testimony on Socialism and Trade Unionism before the Commission on Industrial Relations* (Chicago: Socialist Party National Office, 1914), pp. 44-57.

23. Laslett, *Labor and the Left*.

24. Lewis Lorwin, *American Federation of Labor* (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution, 1933), p. 115.

25. William C. Seyler, "The Rise and Decline of the Socialist Party in the United States." (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, Duke University, 1952), p. 195.

26. Quoted in Dick, *Labor and Socialism in America*, p. 65.

27. Irving Howe, *Socialism and America* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1985), p. 25.

28. Dick, *Labor and Socialism in America*, pp. 62-64, 67, 166, 170; Ira Kipnis, *American Socialist Movement, 1897-1912* (New York: Columbia University, 1952), pp. 124-126, 230.

29. Kipnis, *American Socialist Movement*, p. 125.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

31. Nathan Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States, 1828-1928* (New York: Rand School of Social Science, 1928), pp. 291-294; Dick, *Labor and Socialism in America*, p. 64.

32. Kipnis, *American Socialist Movement*, p. 126.

33. Laslett, *Labor and the Left*, pp. 212-213.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 213.
35. Gerald Friedberg, "Marxism in the United States: John Spargo and the Socialist Party of America" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of Government, Harvard University, 1952), p. 110; Seyler, "Rise and Decline," p. 200.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 203.
37. Quoted in Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties*, p. 296.
38. Quoted in David A. Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967), p. 67; Seyler, "Rise and Decline," p. 199.
39. *Ibid.*, p. 231.
40. Kipnis, *American Socialist Movement*, p. 126.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 126.
42. Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties*, p. 295.
43. Shannon, *Socialist Party*, pp. 16-17; Kipnis, *American Socialist Movement*, pp. 427-428.
44. Cited in David Paul Nord, "Hothouse Socialism: Minneapolis, 1910-1925," in Donald T. Critchlow, ed., *Socialism in the Heartland: The Midwestern Experience, 1900-1925* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), p. 117.
45. Michael Bassett, "Municipal Reform and the Socialist Party, 1910-1914," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 19 (August 1973), pp. 179-187.
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47. Floyd J. Stachowski, "The Political Career of Daniel Webster Hoan" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, Northwestern University, 1966), p. 46.
48. Albert J. Nock, "Socialism in Milwaukee," *Outlook*, July 11, 1914, as cited in Frederick I. Olson, "The Milwaukee Socialists, 1897-1941" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, Harvard University, 1952), p. 246.
49. Stachowski, "Political Career," p. 46.
50. Marvin Wachman, *History of the Social-Democratic Party of Milwaukee, 1897-1910* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1945), p. 75.
51. Olson, "Milwaukee Socialists," p. 246.
52. *Ibid.*, p. 319.
53. Chad Gaffield, "Big Business, The Working-Class, and Socialism in Schenectady, 1911-1916," *Labor History* 19 (Summer 1978), pp. 356-357.
54. *Ibid.*, pp. 356-357.
55. Seyler, "Rise and Decline," p. 233.
56. Shannon, *Socialist Party*, p. 39.
57. Weinstein, *Decline of Socialism*, p. 112.
58. Laslett, *Labor and the Left*, pp. 220-221.
59. These cases are drawn from Judd, *Socialist Cities*, pp. 134-136.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 135.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 139.
62. Weinstein, *Decline of Socialism*, p. 110.
63. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 112.
64. Edward S. Kerstein, *Milwaukee's All-American Mayor: Portrait of Daniel Webster Hoan* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1966), p. 200; W. A. Swanberg, *Norman Thomas: The Last Idealist* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1976), p. 133. Historian David Shannon points out that "most Socialists never saw the value of political organization. They regarded the building of local machines as 'ward heeling,' sordid truckling for votes beneath the ideals of Socialism." "This lack of interest in local matters," Shannon notes, "was a disregard of one of the basic features of American politics." Shannon, *Socialist Party*, pp. 259-260.
65. Quoted in Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties*, p. 371.
66. Jackson K. Putnam, "The Socialist Party of North Dakota, '1902-1918'" (M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of North Dakota, 1956), p. 73.
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 138-142.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 164.
69. Robert H. Bahmer, "The Economic and Political Background of the Nonpartisan League" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, University of Minnesota, 1941), p. 434; Paul John Doure, "A Study of the Nonpartisan League Persuasion, 1915-1920" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of Speech, Northwestern University, 1963), pp. 27-30.
70. Robert L. Morlan, *Political Prairie Fire: The Nonpartisan League, 1915-1922* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), p. 358.
71. Bahmer, "Economic and Political Background," p. 442.
72. Morlan, *Political Prairie Fire*, pp. 237-238.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
74. Putnam, "Socialist Party," pp. 31, 174, 354; Doure, "Nonpartisan League Persuasion," pp. 29-30.
75. Morlan, *Political Prairie Fire*, p. 277.
76. *Ibid.*, pp. 200-202.
77. *Ibid.*, pp. 301-302. See Millard L. Gieske, *Minnesota Farmer-Laborism: The Third-Party Alternative* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1979).
78. Arthur Naftalin, "A History of the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota, 1948), pp. 53-63.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 345.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 346.
81. Friedberg, "Marxism in the United States," p. 212.
82. Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 212; Seyler, "Rise and Decline," p. 425.
83. Friedberg, "Marxism in the United States," pp. 212-213.
84. Doure, "Nonpartisan League Persuasion," p. 30.

85. Jackson Putnam concludes: "The demise of the North Dakota Socialist party was to a considerable extent, an eventuality of its own making." Putnam, "Socialist Party," p. 190.
86. David Paul Nord, "Minneapolis and the Pragmatic Socialism of Thomas Van Lear," *Minnesota History* 45 (Spring 1976), p. 10.
87. Nord, "Hothouse Socialism," pp. 150-152.
88. *Ibid.*, pp. 155-157.
89. Morris Hillquit, *Socialism in Theory and Practice* (New York: Macmillan, 1912), p. 181.
90. Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties*, p. 303.
91. *Ibid.*, p. 304.
92. Shannon, *Socialist Party*, p. 98; also see Bell, *Marxian Socialism*, pp. 101-104; Friedberg, "Marxism in the United States," pp. 209-210.
93. Friedberg, "Marxism in the United States," p. 193.
94. Bell, *Marxian Socialism*, p. 102. David Shannon has pointed out that "the strong European socialist parties had as the basis of their strength the trade unions, which were generally pro-war, and these parties had to compromise their principles to retain their labor support. If the American Socialists ... had possessed a comparable labor strength . . . they too might have not been so militantly antiwar." Shannon, *Socialist Party*, p. 98. See also Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties*, p. 307.
95. Weinstein, *The Decline of Socialism*, pp. 47-49.
96. Olson, "Milwaukee Socialists," p. 393.
97. Howe, *Socialism and America*, p. 44.
98. Milton Cantor, "The Radical Confrontation with Foreign Policy: War and Revolution, 1914-1920," in Alfred F. Young, ed., *Dissent: Explorations in the History of American Radicalism* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1968), p. 230-231.
99. Quoted in Stanley Shapiro, "The Great War and Reform: Liberals and Labor, 1917-1919," *Labor History* 2 (Summer 1971), pp. 332-333.
100. Nord, "Hothouse Socialism," pp. 137-139.
101. *Ibid.*, pp. 149-152.
102. Thomas W. Gavett, *Development of the Labor Movement in Milwaukee* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), pp. 126-131.
103. Gavett, *Development of the Labor Movement*, pp. 130, 128.
104. Quoted in Olson, "Milwaukee Socialists," p. 342. Hoan regretted and privately opposed the party's militant antiwar program and avoided endorsing it publicly. As mayor, he cooperated with the draft registration program, and he served as cochairman of the local defense council. In the latter role, he pressed for "laws against profiteering and aid in raising wages of substandard income groups." *Ibid.*, pp. 345-346.
105. Melvyn Dubofsky, "Success and Failure of Socialism in New York City,

- 1900-1918: A Case Study," *Labor History* 9 (Fall 1968), p. 370; Arthur Liebman, "The Ties that Bind: The Jewish Support for the Left in the United States," *American Jewish Quarterly* 66 (1976), p. 301.
106. Dubofsky, "Success and Failure," p. 169.
107. Franklin L. Jonas, "The Early Life and Career of B. Charney Vladeck, 1886-1921: The Emergence of an Immigrant Spokesman" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, New York University, 1972), pp. 167-168.
108. *Ibid.*, p. 171.
109. Kenneth E. Hendrickson, Jr., "The Pro-War Socialists, the Social Democratic League and the Ill-Fated Drive for Industrial Democracy in America, 1917-1920," *Labor History* 11 (Summer 1970), p. 315.
110. Weinstein, *Decline of Socialism*, pp. 154-157.
111. *Ibid.*, p. 159.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
113. Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties*, p. 326.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 326.
115. Hillquit, *Loose Leaves from a Busy Life*, p. 300.
116. See Nathan Glazer, *The Social Basis of American Communism* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974), p. 32.
117. James Weinstein, *The Decline of Socialism in America, 1912-1915* (New York: Vintage Books, 1969), pp. 222-225; Bell, *Marxian Socialism*, pp. 118-119.
118. Stanley Shapiro, "Hand and Brain: The Farmer-Labor Party of 1920" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, University of California, Berkeley, 1967), pp. 177-181.
119. Scott D. Johnston, "The Socialist Party in the Conference for Progressive Political Action" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of Political Science, University of Minnesota, 1952), p. 14.
120. Johnston, "Socialist Party," pp. 14-15; Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties*, pp. 417-419.
121. Fine, *Labor and Farmer Parties*, p. 424; Weinstein, *Decline of Socialism*, pp. 224-226.
122. Shapiro, "Hand and Brain," p. 165.
123. Dixon, "Issue of Race," pp. 99, 101.
124. Kipnis, *American Socialist Movement*, pp. 403-406; Nick Salvatore, *Eugene V Debs: Citizen and Socialist* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), p. 255.
125. Robert W. Iverson, "Morris Hillquit: American Social Democrat" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, University of Iowa, 1951), p. 134.
126. Weinstein, *Decline of Socialism*, p. 27.
127. R. Laurence Moore, *European Socialists and the American Promised Land* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 207.
128. Salvatore, *Eugene V Debs*, p. 258.

129. *Ibid.*, pp. 258-259.
130. Mike Davis, *Prisoners of the American Dream: Politics and Economy in the History of the US Working Class* (New York: Verso, 1988), pp. 46-47. See also Sidney Lens, *Radicalism in America* (Cambridge, Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co., 1981), pp. 241-242.
131. Kipnis, *American Socialist Movement*, p. 418.
132. Quoted in Moore, *European Socialists*, p. 206.
133. Iverson, "Morris Hillquit," p. 135.
134. Friedberg, "Marxism in the United States," p. 193.
135. Shannon, *Socialist Party*, pp. 16-17, 39-40, 70-71.
136. *Ibid.*, p. 80.
137. Moore, *European Socialists*, pp. 205-206.
138. Hillquit, *Socialism*, pp. 179-181.
139. Moore, *European Socialists*, pp. 204-205.
140. H. G. Wells, *Social Forces in England and America* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1914), pp. 345-346.
141. Henry Pelling, "The Rise and Decline of Socialism in Milwaukee," *Bulletin of the International Institute of Social History* 10 (1955), pp. 91-92.
142. Henry Pelling, *America and the British Left* (London: A. & C. Black, 1956), p. 90.
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145. *Ibid.*, p. 204.
146. The statements made by Berger were reported in the *Social-Democratic Herald*, April 15, 1905, quoted in Wachman, *History of the Social-Democratic Party*, p. 75.
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151. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
152. *Ibid.*, p. 128.
153. J. Dennis McGreen, "Norman Thomas and the Search for an All-Inclusive Socialist Party" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, Rutgers University, 1976), p. 18.
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156. *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 106-107.
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158. Fox, "Paradox of 'Progressive' Socialism," p. 132 (emphasis in original).

159. *Ibid.*, p. 133.
160. Harvey Klehr, "Lenin on American Socialist Leaders and on Samuel Gompers," *Labor History* 17 (Spring 1976), pp. 267, 269. See also Klehr, "Leninist Theory in Search of America," *Polity* 9 (Fall 1976), pp. 81-96.
161. Seymour Martin Lipset, *Rebellion in the University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976), pp. 12-14.
162. Robert J. Alexander, "Splinter Groups in American Radical Parties," *Social Research* 20 (Autumn 1953), pp. 282-283.

6. Socialist Sectarianism and Communist Opportunism in the Thirties

1. Bernard K. Johnpoll, *Pacifist's Progress: Norman Thomas and the Decline of American Socialism* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1987), p. 88. For an extensive look at the history behind socialist newspapers, refer to Elliott Shore, *Talkin' Socialism: J. A. Wayland and the Role of the Press in American Radicalism, 1890-1912* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1988).
2. Frederick I. Olson, "The Milwaukee Socialists, 1897-1941" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, Harvard University, 1952), pp. 485-486, 490-491; Bayard Still, *Milwaukee: The History of a City* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1948), p. 529.
3. Bruce M. Stave, "The Great Depression and Urban Political Continuity: Bridgeport Chooses Socialism," in Bruce M. Stave, ed., *Socialism and the Cities* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1975), pp. 157-158.
4. Johnpoll, *Pacifist's Progress*, pp. 96-98, 106-108.
5. William C. Seyler, "The Rise and Decline of the Socialist Party in the United States" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, Duke University, 1952), p. 471; David A. Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967), p. 223.
6. Seyler, "Rise and Decline," p. 471; see also Norman Thomas, *A Socialist's Faith* (New York: W W Norton, 1951), p. 98. For a review of Norman Thomas' philosophy, see Robert Hyfler, *Prophets of the Left: American Socialist Thought in the Twentieth Century* (Westport, Conn: Greenwood Press, 1984), pp. 121-141.
7. Olson, "Milwaukee Socialists," p. 507; Thomas, *Socialist's Faith*, pp. 250-251.
8. Seyler, "Rise and Decline," p. 540.
9. Aileen Kraditor, *The Radical Persuasion, 1890-1917* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), p. 286. See also Michael Kazin, "The Agony and Romance of the American Left," *American Historical Review* 100 (December 1995), pp. 1510-1511; Robert J. Fitrakis, *The Idea of Democratic Socialism in America and the Decline of the Socialist Party* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), pp. 160-161.

10. Daniel Bell, *Martian Socialism in the United States* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 158.
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13. McGreen, "Norman Thomas," pp. 109-118; see also Fitrakis, *Idea of Democratic Socialism*.
14. Kenneth A. Waltzer, "American Labor Party: Third Party Politics in New Deal-Cold War New York, 1936-1954" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, Harvard University, 1977), pp. 44-45.
15. Nickolai Bakunin, "The Role of Socialists in the Formation of the American Labor Party" (M.A. thesis, Department of History, City College of New York, 1965), p. 10.
16. Nathan Fine, "Socialism," in Albert B. Hart, ed., *The American Yearbook: A Record of Events and Progress, Year 1934* (New York: American Year Book Corp., 1935), pp. 575-576; Johnpoll, *Pacifist's Progress*, pp. 122-126; McGreen, "Norman Thomas," p. 125. The declaration is contained in full in Frank A. Warren, *An Alternative Vision: The Socialist Party in the 1930s* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974), pp. 191-194.
17. Warren, *Alternative Vision*, p. 193; Johnpoll, *Pacifist's Progress*, p. 123; McGreen, "Norman Thomas," p. 123.
18. Johnpoll, *Pacifist's Progress*, p. 125; McGreen, "Norman Thomas," p. 130.
19. Fine, "Socialism," p. 576.
20. On attitudes toward Roosevelt and the New Deal, see works by Norman Thomas, *A Socialist Looks at the New Deal* (New York: League for Industrial Democracy, 1933); *The New Deal: A Socialist Analysis* (Chicago: Committee on Education and Research of the Socialist Party of America, 1934); *The Choice Before Us* (New York: Macmillan, 1934); and Warren, *Alternative Vision*, pp. 123-133.
21. Waltzer, "American Labor Party" p. 54.
22. Thomas, *Choice Before Us*, pp. 230-231.
23. Waltzer, "American Labor Party," p. 55; Bakunin, "Role of Socialists," pp. 44-46, 48-53.
24. Fitrakis, *Idea of Democratic Socialism*, pp. 184-186; Johnpoll, *Pacifist's Progress*, pp. 174-177; Murray Seidler, "The Socialist Party and American Unionism," *Midwest Journal of Political Science* 5 (August 1961), pp. 218-219.
25. Bell, *Marxian Socialism*, p. 169; Louis Waldman, *Labor Lawyer* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1944), pp. 258-274.
26. Johnpoll, *Pacifist's Progress*, p. 157; Waltzer, "American Labor Party," p. 52; McGreen, "Norman Thomas," pp. 173-234; J. David Gillespie, *Politics at the*

- Periphery: Third Parties in Two-Party America* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1993), p. 189.
27. Bell, *Marxian Socialism*, pp. 175-176.
28. Quoted in Shannon, *Socialist Party*, p. 248.
29. Richard Oestreicher, "Urban Working Class Political Behavior and the Theories of American Politics, 1870-1940," *Journal of American History* 74 (March 1988), pp. 1257-1286.
30. Bruce Nelson, "Give Us Roosevelt: Workers and the New Deal Coalition," *History Today* 40 (January 1990), pp. 40-48. Among trade unionists, for example, the 1940 election saw 79 percent of CIO members and 71 percent of AFL members voting for Roosevelt. Gillespie, *Politics at the Periphery*, p. 189.
31. Kazin, "Agony and Romance," p. 1510.
32. Robert S. McElvaine, "Thunder Without Lightning: Working-Class Discontent in the United States" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, State University of New York at Birmingham, 1974), p. 179.
33. Clarence Frederick McIntosh, "Upton Sinclair and the EPIC Movement, 1933-1936" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, Stanford University, 1955), pp. 19-20, 37-38.
34. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
35. McElvaine, "Thunder Without Lightning," p. 209.
36. Warren, *Alternative Vision*, p. 75.
37. McElvaine, "Thunder Without Lightning," pp. 209-210.
38. Johnpoll, *Pacifist's Progress*, pp. 136-137; Bell, *Marxian Socialism*, pp. 161-163.
39. In Johnpoll, *Pacifist's Progress*, pp. 101-105; McElvaine, "Thunder Without Lightning," pp. 183-185.
40. McElvaine, "Thunder Without Lightning," pp. 183-184.
41. Johnpoll, *Pacifist's Progress*, pp. 130-134.
42. *Ibid.*, pp. 171-172.
43. McGreen, "Norman Thomas," p. 290.
44. James MacGregor Burns, *Roosevelt: The Lion and the Fox* (Norwalk, Conn.: Easton Press, 1989), p. 242. For an elaboration of Thomas' critique of Roosevelt and the New Deal, see Norman Thomas, *After the New Deal: Then What?* (New York: Macmillan, 1936), pp. 16-55; and Warren, *Alternative Vision*, pp. 123-133.
45. Thomas, *After the New Deal*, p. 7.
46. McGreen, "Norman Thomas," p. 292; Bell, *Marxian Socialism*, pp. 165-166.
47. Shannon, *Socialist Party*, pp. 247-248; Bell, *Marxian Socialism*, pp. 169-171.
48. Johnpoll, *Pacifist's Progress*, pp. 171; Shannon, *Socialist Party*, pp. 249-250.
49. Fitrakis, *Idea of Democratic Socialism*, pp. 185-186; Johnpoll, *Pacifist's Progress*, pp. 101-105.

50. Johnpoll, *Pacifist's Progress*, pp. 170-174; Bell, *Marxian Socialism*, pp. 177-178; Bakunin, "Role of Socialists," pp. 111-113.
51. William Riker, "The CIO in Politics, 1936-1946" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of Government, Harvard University, 1948), pp. 16-17.
52. Matthew Josephson, *Sidney Hillman: Statesman of American Labor* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1952), pp. 453-454. See also Nelson, "Give Us Roosevelt," pp. 40-48. Just a few years earlier the ACW was actively supporting the creation of a third party rather than backing the Democrats.
53. Saul Alinsky, *John L. Lewis* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), pp. 182-184.
54. Nelson Lichtenstein, "The Making of the Post-War Working Class: Cultural Pluralism and Social Structure in World War II," *Historian* 51 (November 1988), pp. 42-63.
55. Irving Bernstein, *Turbulent Years: A History of the American Worker, 1933-1941* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1970), p. 449. See also Bakunin, "Role of Socialists"; Richard Carter, "Pressure from the Left: The American Labor Party, 1936-1954" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, Syracuse University, 1965), pp. 16-17; William Stewart, "A Political History of the American Labor Party" (M.A. thesis, Department of Political Science, American University, 1959), pp. 3-5.
56. See David Sapos, *Communism in American Politics* (Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1960); Carter, "Pressure from the Left," pp. 11-14. Edward Flynn has described the origin of the American Labor party as follows: "President Roosevelt with Jim Farley and myself, brought the American Labor Party into being. It was entirely Roosevelt's suggestion. Farley and I never believed in it very much, but he felt at the time-and it is true today-that there were many people who believed in what Roosevelt stood for but who, for some reason or another ... would not join the Democratic party. If another party were created, you could bring these people into it actively. That was really why it was created.... Sidney Hillman and David Dubinsky played a great part in it and we couldn't have formed the party without them. They were the nucleus. These and other people were names but the voting strength was from the unions that were controlled by Dubinsky and Hillman. At that time both of those unions were rather leftist-more so than the Democratic party. There again it would attract a great many more who would ... vote for Roosevelt who might not have voted at all." Edward Flynn, "The Reminiscences of Edward J. Flynn" (Interview by Owen Bombard, March 1950, Oral History Project, Butler Library, Columbia University), quoted in Carter, "Pressure from the Left," pp. 13-14.
57. Josephson, *Sidney Hillman*, p. 397.
58. William Leuchtenburg notes that "the defection of Socialist union leaders, and the immense appeal of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal, all but destroyed the Socialist party." William Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), p. 188.

59. Max Danish, *The World of David Dubinsky* (Cleveland: World Publishing Co., 1957), p. 94.
60. Hugh T. Lovin, "The Persistence of Third Party Dreams in the American Labor Movement, 1930-1938," *Mid-America* 5 (October 1976), p. 142.
61. Norman Thomas, *Socialism on the Defensive* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1938), p. 286.
62. Will Herberg, "American Marxist Political Theory," in Donald Drew Egbert and Stow Persons, eds., *Socialism and American Life, vol. 1* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1952), p. 504.
63. Bell, *Marxian Socialism*, p. 177.
64. Jill Hopkins Herzig, "The Oregon Commonwealth Federation: The Rise and Decline of a Reform Organization" (M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Oregon, 1963), pp. 108, 112.
65. Warren, *Alternative Vision*, p. 106.
66. Samuel T. McSeveney, "The Michigan Gubernatorial Campaign of 1938," *Michigan History* 45 (June 1961), pp. 109-111.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 112.
68. *Ibid.*
69. Quoted in Bell, *Marxian Socialism*, p. 179.
70. Brendan Sexton, "The Traditions of Reutherism," *Dissent* 19 (Winter 1972), p. 57; McSeveney "Campaign of 1938," p. 117.
71. Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, *The UAW and Walter Reuther* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1973), p. 195.
72. Waltzer, "American Labor Party," p. 122.
73. Warren, *Alternative Vision*, pp. 94-101; Johnpoll, *Pacifist's Progress*, pp. 191-196; Bell, *Marxian Socialism*, pp. 179-180.
74. Johnpoll, *Pacifist's Progress*, pp. 195-196; Warren, *Alternative Vision*, pp. 104-105.
75. Floyd J. Stachowski, "The Political Career of Daniel Webster Hoan" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, Northwestern University, 1966), pp. 188-189; Lester F. Schmidt, "The Farmer-Labor-Progressive Federation: The Study of a 'United Front' Movement Among Wisconsin Liberals, 1934-1941" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, Northwestern University, 1954), pp. 59-62.
76. Schmidt, "Farmer-Labor-Progressive Federation," pp. 55-56.
77. Olson, "Milwaukee Socialists," pp. 524-529.
78. Stachowski, "Political Career," p. 199.
79. McGreen, "Norman Thomas," pp. 313-314.
80. Stachowski, "Political Career," pp. 199-203.
81. Warren, *Alternative Vision*, pp. 72-73.
82. Stachowski, "Political Career," pp. 212-214.
83. Warren, *Alternative Vision*, p. 73; Olson, "Milwaukee Socialists," p. 530.

84. Harold Gosnell, *Grass Roots Politics: National Voting Behavior of Typical States* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1970), p. 49.
85. Samuel Lubell, "Post-Mortem: Who Elected Roosevelt?" *Saturday Evening Post*, January 25, 1941, p. 92.
86. David Herreshoff, "The Socialist Review: An Introduction and Appraisal," *Labor History 11* (Spring 1970), p. 224.
87. Johnpoll, *Pacifist's Progress*, pp. 203-204.
88. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
89. Warren, *Alternative Vision*, p. 159; Bell, *Marxian Socialism*, pp. 181-182.
90. Michael Harrington, *Socialism* (New York: Saturday Review Press, 1970), pp. 262-263.
91. Lichtenstein, "The Making of the Post-War Working Class," pp. 42-57.
92. Philip J. Jaffee, *The Rise and Fall of American Communism* (New York: Horizon Press, 1975), pp. 133-135; Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, *The American Communist Party: A Critical History, 1919-1957* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1974), pp. 177-191; Bell, *Marxian Socialism*, pp. 138-141.
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101. Earl Browder, "The American Communist Party in the Thirties," in Rita James Simon, ed., *As We Saw the Thirties* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1967), p. 234.
102. Howe and Coser, *American Communist Party*, p. 331.
103. Malcolm Sylvers, "American Communists in the Popular Front Period: Reorganization or Disorganization?" *Journal of American Studies* 23 (1989), pp. 375-393.
104. Peggy Dennis, *The Autobiography of an American Communist: A Personal View of a Political Life, 1925-1975* (Westport, Conn.: Lawrence Hill, 1977), p. 122.

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108. Quoted in William M. Goldsmith, "The Theory and the Practice of the Communist Front" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, 1971), p. 498.
109. Robert Jay Alperin, "Organization in the Communist Party, U.S.A., 1931-1938" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, 1959), pp. 63-65.
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111. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
112. Ernst and Loth, *Report on the American Communist*, pp. 3-4.
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114. Sylvers, "American Communists in the Popular Front Period," pp. 376-378.
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6. Patrick H. Hutton, *The Cult of the Revolutionary Tradition: The Blanquists in French Politics, 1864-1893* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 53-54, 60.

7. Patrick Renshaw, *The Wobblies* (Garden City, N.J.: Doubleday, 1967), p. 119.

8. Cited in Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters*, p. 44.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 44.

10. Terry Wayne Cole, "Labor's Radical Alternative: The Rhetoric of the Industrial Workers of the World" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of Speech, University of Oregon, 1974), p. 262; Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters*, p. 45. Joseph Robert Conlin, *Bread and Roses Too: Studies of the Wobblies* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Publishing Corporation, 1969), discusses the lack of actual violence by the IWW; see esp. pp. 96, 107, 113.

11. Quoted in Daniel Bell, *Marxian Socialism in the United States* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1996), p. 76.

12. Preston, *Aliens and Dissenters*, p. 39; Nelson, "J. Vance Thompson," pp. 45-65.

13. Cole, "Labor's Radical Alternative," p. 265; see also Joseph G. Rayback, *A History of American Labor* (New York: Free Press, 1966), p. 249.

14. Nelson, "J. Vance Thompson," p. 55. Nelson notes the particular hysteria in California against the IWW, particularly with *The Sacramento Bee* advocating the lynching of IWW members. See also John H. M. Laslett, "Three Anglo American Radicals and the Dilemmas of Syndicalism and Social Democracy," *Labor* 25 (Spring 1990), pp. 236-246.

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16. Debs' speech can be found in Albert Fried, *Socialism in America: From the Shakers to the Third International* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1992), pp. 527-529.

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28. Richard J. Walter, *The Socialist Party of Argentina 1890-1930* (Austin: Institute of Latin American Studies, University of Texas, 1977), p. 45.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 43-66.

30. Gaetano Mosca, *The Ruling Class* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1939), p. 191.

31. Irving Howe and Lewis Coser, *The American Communist Party: A Critical History, 1919-1957* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1974), pp. 22-23. A detailed account of the repressive efforts may be found in William C. Seyler, "The Rise and Decline of the Socialist Party in the United States" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of Political Science, Duke University, 1952), pp. 304-324.

32. Laslett, "Three Anglo-American Radicals," pp. 236-246; Andrew Neather, "Labor Republicanism, Race, and Popular Patriotism in the Era of Empire, 1890-1914," in John Bodnar, ed., *Bonds of Affection: Americans Define Their Patriotism* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1996), pp. 89-91. Neather notes the aggressive antisocialist and antiunion position taken by the National Association of Manufacturers and by certain papers, such as the *Los Angeles Times*, which faked photographs of Samuel Gompers stomping on the U.S. flag at a Labor Day rally.

33. James Weinstein, *The Decline of Socialism in America, 1912-1915* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1984), pp. 161, 172.
34. Frederick I. Olson, "The Milwaukee Socialists, 1897-1941" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, Harvard University, 1952), pp. 147-332; Sally M. Miller, "Milwaukee: Of Ethnicity and Labor," in Bruce M. Stave, ed., *Socialism and the Cities* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1975); Richard W. Judd, *Socialist Cities: Municipal Politics and the Grass Roots of American Socialism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1989), pp. 22-25.
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51. James B. Rhoads, "The Campaign of the Socialist Party in the Election of 1920" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, American University, 1965), pp. 79-80.
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54. William C. Pratt, "The Reading Socialist Experience: A Study of Working Class Politics" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, Emory University, 1969), pp. 36-51.
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56. See Henry G. Stetler, *The Socialist Movement in Reading, Pennsylvania 189E-1936* (Storrs, Conn.: privately printed, 1943), p. 79; Pratt, "Reading Socialist Experience," pp. 58-59.
57. Stetler, *Socialist Movement*, pp. 8, 22; Pratt, "Reading Socialist Experience," p. 31.
58. For a full account of the story of Oklahoma socialism, see Howard Meredith, "A History of the Socialist Party in Oklahoma" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of History, University of Oklahoma, 1970); Garvin Burbank, *When Farmers Voted Red: The Gospel of Socialism in the Oklahoma Countryside, 1910-1924* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976); Ellen I. Rosen, "Peasant Socialism in America: The Socialist Party in Oklahoma Before the First World War" (Ph.D. thesis, Department of Sociology, City University of New York, 1975); Green, *Grass-Roots Socialism*; Oscar Ameringer, *If You Don't Weaken: The Autobiography of Oscar Ameringer* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1983).
59. Burbank, *When Farmers Voted Red*, p. 205.
60. For documentation and interpretation, see Seymour Martin Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism: The Cooperative Commonwealth Federation in Saskatchewan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1950).
61. Fried, *Socialism in America*, p. 381.
62. Green, *Grass-Roots Socialism*, pp. 345-395.

63. Meredith, "Socialist Party in Oklahoma," p. 138.
64. Burbank, *When Farmers Voted Red*, p. 111. See also Meredith, "Socialist Party in Oklahoma," p. 165.
65. Green, *Grass-Roots Socialism*, p. 325; Meredith, "Socialist Party of Oklahoma," pp. 167-168; Burbank, *When Farmers Voted Red*, pp. 136-138.
66. Green, *Grass-Roots Socialism*, p. 324.
67. Meredith, "Socialist Party in Oklahoma," p. 192.
68. The Socialists were also linked with "the epidemic of bank robberies," which swept part of Oklahoma in 1914. The best-known outlaw actually announced via the *Socialist Appeal to Reason* that "many of the bankers he victimized were in the 'robbery business too.'" Green, *Grass-Roots Socialism*, pp. 339-342. See also Burbank, *When Farmers Voted Red*, pp. 137-144.
69. Green, *Grass-Roots Socialism*, p. 355. See also Meredith, "Socialist Party in Oklahoma," pp. 170-171; Burbank, *When Farmers Voted Red*, pp. 137-144.
70. Burbank, *When Farmers Voted Red*, p. 145.
71. Ameringer, *If We Don't Weaken*, pp. 347-355; Green, *Grass-Roots Socialism*, pp. 355-361; David A. Shannon, *The Socialist Party of America* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1967), pp. 107-108.
72. Shannon, *Socialist Party*, p. 108; Meredith, "Socialist Party of Oklahoma," pp. 193-194.
73. Ameringer, *If We Don't Weaken*, p. 355; Green, *Grass-Roots Socialism*, p. 368; Burbank, *When Farmers Voted Red*, p. 152-153.
74. Ameringer, *If We Don't Weaken*, pp. 356-358; Meredith, "Socialist Party in Oklahoma," pp. 196-197.
75. Green, *Grass-Roots Socialism*, p. 346.
76. Weinstein, *Decline of Socialism*, p. 161.
77. David Montgomery, "Nationalism, American Patriotism, and Class Consciousness among Immigrant Workers in the United States in the Epoch of World War I," in Dirk Hoerder, ed., *Struggle a Hard Battle: Essays on Working-Class Immigrants* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1986), p. 339.
78. Theodore Draper, *The Roots of American Communism* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1989), p. 158.
79. Nathan Glazer, *The Social Basis of American Communism* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1974), p. 37.
80. Stetler, *Socialist Movement*, p. 38. See also Pratt, "Reading Socialist Experience," pp. 56-57.
81. Carol Jenson, "Loyalty as a Political Weapon: The 1918 Campaign in Minnesota," *Minnesota History* 43 (Summer 1972), p. 57.
82. Robert L. Morlan, *Political Prairie Fire: The Nonpartisan League, 1915-1922* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1955), p. 173.
83. *Ibid.*, pp. 266-267.

84. *Ibid.*, p. 269.
85. Andrew A. Bruce, *Non-Partisan League* (New York: Macmillan, 1921), pp. 160-161.
86. Morlan, *Political Prairie Fire*, pp. 159, 180, 201.
87. *Ibid.*, pp. 157-158. See also Bruce L. Larson, *Lindbergh of Minnesota* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973), pp. 235-242; Jenson, "Loyalty as a Political Weapon," pp. 43-57.
88. Millard L. Gierske, *Minnesota Farmer-Laborism: The Third-Party Alternative* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1979), p. 31.
89. This is the title of ch. 8 of Morlan, *Political Prairie Fire*, pp. 152-182.
90. Theodore Saloutos, "The Expansion and Decline of the Non-Partisan League in the Western Middle West, 1917-1921," *Agricultural History* 20 (October 1946), pp. 235-252.
91. Bell, *Marxian Socialism*, p. 134.
92. John H. M. Laslett, "Social Scientists View the Problem," in John H. M. Laslett and Seymour Martin Lipset, eds., *Failure of a Dream? Essays in the History of American Socialism* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday/Anchor Books, 1974), pp. 52-53. See also Bell, *Marxian Socialism*, pp. 48-49, 52-54.
93. Norman Thomas, "Reflections of an Old Campaigner," *Commonwealth* 41 (December 22, 1944), p. 247.
94. This material is taken from Seymour Martin Lipset, *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1995), p. 190.
95. Laslett, "Social Scientists," pp. 52-53.

8. The End of Political Exceptionalism?

1. In recent decades, the older and tiny Socialist Labor party has put forward a presidential ticket on the ballot in a few states.
2. For recent discussions of American radicalism that identify American exceptionalism with the absence of socialism, see Kim Voss, *The Making of American Exceptionalism: The Knights of Labor and Class Formation in the Nineteenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1993); and Rick Halpern and Jonathan Morris, eds., *American Exceptionalism? U.S. Working-Class Formation in an International Context* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1997).
3. "An Address to the Working-Men of New England ...," Boston, 1832; quoted in Leon Fink, *In Search of the Working Class: Essays in American Labor History and Political Culture* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), p. 179.
4. On American working-class republicanism, see Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City and the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Princeton University Press, 1984); B. H. Moss, "Republican Socialism and the Making of the Working Class in Britain, France, and the United States: A

Critique of Thompsonian Culturalism," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 35 (1993), pp. 390-413. Bernard Moss makes the point that American republicanism was "federalist and property oriented" (p. 412); it was therefore no substitute for socialism. On the paradoxical consequences of individualism see Melvyn Dubofsky, *The State and Labor in Modern America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), pp. 235f.

5. Marvin Wachman, *History of the Social-Democratic Party of Milwaukee* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1945), pp. 34-40.

6. Depending on where one draws the line, Britain and Norway might both fit into this category of societies. Both cases reinforce the conclusions we draw.

7. For a convincing argument along similar lines see Michael Kazin, "The Agony and Romance of the American Left," *American Historical Review* 100 (December 1995), pp. 1480-1512.

8. Sean Wilentz, "Against Exceptionalism: Class Consciousness and the American Labor Movement," *International Labor and Working Class History* 26 (Fall 1984), p. 5. See also Larry G. Gerber, "Shifting Perspectives on American Exceptionalism: Recent Literature on American Labor Relations and Labor Politics," *Journal of American Studies* 31 (August 1997), pp. 253-274; Ira Katznelson, "Working-Class Formation and American Exceptionalism, Yet Again," in Halpern and Morris, eds., *American Exceptionalism*, pp. 36-41; and Aristide R. Zolberg, "How Many Exceptionalisms?" in Ira Katznelson and Aristide R. Zolberg, eds., *Working-Class Formation: Nineteenth Century Patterns in Western Europe and the United States* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1986), p. 397.

9. Zolberg, "How Many Exceptionalisms?" p. 455; James E. Cronin, "Neither Exceptional Nor Peculiar: Towards the Comparative Study of Labor in Advanced Society," *International Review of Social History* 38 (1993); George Fredrickson, "From Exceptionalism to Variability: Recent Developments in Cross-National Comparative History," *Journal of American History* 82 (September 1995); Rick Halpern and Jonathan Morris, "The Persistence of Exceptionalism: Class Formation and the Comparative Method," in Halpern and Morris, eds., *American Exceptionalism*, p. 4.

10. Mary Nolan, "Against Exceptionalisms," *American Historical Review* 102 (June 1997), p. 769-774. Nolan writes: "Arguments about American exceptionalism invariably culminate in the proud conclusion that America had no socialism. Such a sweeping and negative formulation hardly captures the complex nature of class politics and class consciousness in the United States. It ignores the high degree of state and employer violence and coercion and is silent on racial conflict. Of greater importance, such an assertion assumes that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there was a monolithically class-conscious Europe, with strong socialist trade unions and political parties in contrast to an America of business unionism and two-party machine politics" (p. 771). For a nuanced overview of crit-

icisms of American exceptionalism, see Michael Kammen, "The Problem of American Exceptionalism: A Reconsideration," *American Quarterly* 45 (March 1993), pp. 1-43.

11. Barrington Moore, Jr., *Injustice: The Social Bases of Obedience and Revolt* (White Plains, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1978), pp. 192ff.

12. See Chapter 5 for an extended discussion.

13. Henry Pelling, *A History of British Trade Unionism*, 3rd ed. (London: Penguin, 1976), pp. 127-128.

14. Michael Kazin argues that "the replacement of 'Why no socialism?' with 'Look at all the republicanism!' had its costs. The term itself was impossibly fuzzy; any concept that supposedly united James Madison, Terence Powderly, and millions of small farmers explained very little about political conflict; indeed it risked replicating, albeit under another name and for different purposes, the Hartzian concept of a dominant ideological tradition that New Left intellectuals had originally set out to demolish.... In the end, the intellectual vogue did little to clarify how and why socialism, as theory and tentative practice, had proved so unpopular on American soil." Michael Kazin, "Agony and Romance of the American Left," pp. 1500-1501.

15. Sean Wilentz, "Against Exceptionalism," p. 4.

16. Selig Perlman and Philip Taft, *History of Labor in the United States, 1896-1932* (New York: Macmillan, 1935), pp. 623, 625.

17. Eric Foner, "Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?" *History Workshop Journal* 17 (Spring 1984), pp. 57-80; Foner's emphasis. See also Ira Katznelson, *City Trenches*.

18. See Seymour Martin Lipset, "Still the Exceptional Nation?" *Wilson Quarterly* 24 (Winter 2000), pp. 31-45; and "No Third Way," in Daniel Chirot, ed., *The Crisis of Leninism and the Decline of the Left* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), pp. 183-232. Brad Rose and George Ross speak of "postworkerist" socialism. Brad Rose and George Ross, "Socialism's Past, New Social Democracy, and Socialism's Futures," *Social Science History* 18 (Fall 1994), pp. 439-469. See also Christiane Lemke and Gary Marks, "From Decline to Demise? The Fate of Socialism in Europe," in Lemke and Marks, eds., *The Crisis of Socialism in Europe* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1992), pp. 1-25.

19. The implications of the American example were appreciated by Louis Corey (see pp. 18-19).

20. Samuel Beer, "Liberalism Rediscovered," *Economist*, February 7-14, 1998, p. 23.

21. Samuel Beer, "Britain After Blair," *Political Quarterly* p. 68 (October-December 1997), p. 322.

22. Madaline Druhan, "Union Reforms Stay, Labour Leader Says," *Globe & Mail*, April 1, 1997.

23. Desmond King and Mark Wickham-Jones, "From Clinton to Blair: The Democratic (Party) Origins of Welfare to Work," *Political Quarterly* 70 (January-March 1999), pp. 62-74.
24. Michael Prescott, "Labour Assault on Single Mothers," *Sunday Times*, June 1, 1997.
25. Fred Barbach, "New British Budget Offers Aid to the Unemployed," *Washington Post*, July 3, 1997, p. A27.
26. Alison Mitchell, "2 Baby Boomers Who Share a Single View of Democracy," *New York Times*, May 30, 1997, pp. 1, 3; Harris and Barbach, "Blair Savours Colleague," pp. A27-A28.
27. David Wigton, "Job Creation: Clinton and Blair in Joint Initiative," *Financial Times*, May 30, 1997.
28. Quoted in *Economist*, August 14-20, 1999, p. 48.
29. Tony Blair, "No Favours," *New Statesman and Society*, November 28, 1994, p. 33.
30. Francis Castles, Rolf Gerritsen, and Jack Vowles, *The Great Experiment: Labour Parties and Public Policy Transformation in Australia and New Zealand* (St. Leonards: Allen & Unwin, 1996), pp. 212ff. There has been scant evidence of a corresponding decline in welfare commitment on the part of labor governments in these countries. Generally speaking, the shift away from social democracy is most evident in opposition to state ownership of industry and support for market competition and least evident in health care and social welfare.
31. We use the term "labor parties" to refer to the New Zealand Labour party and the Australian Labor party.
32. Quoted in John Warnock, "Lambs to the Slaughter," *Canadian Forum*, November 1989, p. 13.
33. This is to extend the idea elaborated in Katznelson, "Working-Class Formation and American Exceptionalism, Yet Again," that "working class formation has been shaped by the organization of state-society transactions," which has in turn "been affected by the agency of working-class people" (p. 53).
34. The NDP was in office in Saskatchewan from 1944 to 1964, from 1971 to 1982, and again from the late 1980s to the present, in British Columbia from 1972 to 1975 and during the 1980s and 1990s, in Manitoba from 1967 to 1977 and from 1981 to 1986, and in Ontario from 1990 to 1995.
35. Miriam A. Golden, Michael Wallerstein, and Peter Lange, "Postwar Trade-Union Organization and Industrial Relations in Twelve Countries," in Herbert Kitschelt, Peter Lange, Gary Marks, and John Stephens, eds., *Continuity and Change in Contemporary Capitalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 202.
36. Source: Robert T. Kudrle and Theodore R. Mariner, "The Development of Welfare States in North America," in Peter Flora and Arnold J. Heidenheimer, eds.,

- The Development of Welfare States in Europe and North America* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books, 1984), p. 83.
37. Japan is the only developed democracy, apart from the United States, not to provide child support.
38. "Purchasing Power Parity," *World Bank*, <www.worldbank.org/data/databytopic/gnppc97.pdf> (accessed September 17, 1999).
39. For a contrary view, see Lawrence Mishel, Jared Bernstein, and John Schmitt, *The State of Working America, 1996-97* (Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe, 1997), ch. 1.
40. The figure for African-Americans is 26.5 percent, down from 29 percent in 1995, which was the first time in the nation's history that the poverty rate for African-Americans dropped below 30 percent. <www.census.gov/hhes/poverty/bistpov/hstpov3> (accessed September 28, 1999). Other racial groups and other categories have not fared so well in relative terms. For example, the proportion of people under eighteen below the official poverty level in 1997 was 19.9 percent, less than the peak of the 1990s (22.7 percent in 1993), but well above the lowest point of the 1970s (15.1 percent in 1972). The definition of poverty used in the U.S. Census is based on annually updated thresholds that take into account family size. See U.S. Bureau of Census, "Current Population Reports," in *Money and Income in the United States: 1997 (with separate data on valuation of non cash benefits)* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1998), pp. 60-200.
41. In addition to the literature cited below, see Frank Castles, ed., *Families of Nations* (Dartmouth: Aldershot, 1993); and Gosta Esping-Andersen, *Social Foundations of Postindustrial Economies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), esp. pp. 74ff.
42. The causal connection between social democratic governance and level of union organization is substantiated in Bruce Western, *Between Class and Market: Postwar Unionization in the Capitalist Democracies* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997). His argument is parallel to that in this chapter: working-class parties in government can insulate labor movements from competitive market pressures.
43. This was the conclusion of several early studies of neocorporatism, including David R. Cameron, "Social Democracy, Corporatism, Labour Quiescence, and the Representation of Economic Interest in Advanced Capitalist Society," in John Goldthorpe, ed., *Order and Conflict in Contemporary Capitalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), pp. 157-174; Francis Castles, ed., *The Impact of Parties* (London: Sage, 1982), pp. 71-75; Douglas Hibbs, "Political Parties and Macroeconomic Policy," *American Political Science Review* 71 (1977), 1467-1482; Walter Korpi, *The Democratic Class Struggle* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), ch. 9; Gary Marks, "Neocorporatism and Incomes Policy in Western Europe and North America," *Comparative Politics* 17 (April 1986), pp. 253-277. A recent book that builds on and

extends this work is Geoffrey Garrett, *Partisan Politics in the Global Economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

44. All correlations are significant at the 0.1 level except for that with Gini coefficients, which is significant at the 0.05 level.

45. All correlations are significant at the 0.1 level except for those with total taxes and Gini coefficients, which are significant at the 0.05 level.

46. Evelyne Huber and John D. Stephens, *Political Choice in Global Markets: Development and Crisis of Advanced Welfare States* (forthcoming), ch. 3. See Walter Korpi, *The Working Class in Welfare Capitalism: Work, Unions and Politics in Sweden* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1978). For a suggestive application of these ideas to American exceptionalism see Michael Shalev and Walter Korpi, "Working Class Mobilization and American Exceptionalism," *Economic and Industrial Democracy 1* (1980), pp. 31-61.

47. Alexander Hicks, *Social Democracy and Welfare Capitalism: A Century of Income Security Politics* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1999), p. ix. See also Ira Katznelson, "Considerations on Social Democracy in the United States," *Comparative Politics 11* (October 1978), pp. 77-99.

48. Hicks, *Social Democracy and Welfare Capitalism*, p. x.

49. Data are from Edwin Amenta, *Bold Relief Institutional Politics and the Origins of Modern American Social Policy* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998), p. 5.

50. See, for example, John Myles, "When Markets Fail: Social Welfare in Canada and the United States," in Gesta Esping-Andersen, ed., *Welfare States in Transition: National Adaptions in Global Economies* (London: Sage, 1996).

51. Figures are for 1989. Richard Rose, "Is American Public Policy Exceptional?" in Byron E. Shafer, ed., *Is America Different: A New Look at American Exceptionalism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 198.

52. Huber and Stephens, *Political Choice in Global Markets*.

53. This in turn depends on the extent to which government is insulated from those constituencies, as discussed below. *Ibid.*

54. *Ibid.*

55. "A Survey of the World Economy: The Future of the State," *Economist*, September 20, 1997, p. 8. Countries included in these data are Austria (from 1920), Belgium (from 1960), Britain, Canada (from 1920), France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, Norway, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland.

56. Everett Carl Ladd, *The American Ideology: An Exploration of the Origins, Meanings and Role of American Political Ideas* (Stowe, Conn.: Roper Center for Public Opinion Research, 1990), p. 79.

57. Page and Shapiro, *Rational Public*, p. 133.

58. Smith, "Social Inequalities in Cross-National Perspective," p. 24.

59. Karlyn H. Keene and Everett Carl Ladd, "America: A Unique Outlook?" *American Enterprise*, March/April 1990, p. 113.

60. "Taxes," *Economist*, September 28, 1996, p. 22.

61. Thomas Kolosi, "Beliefs About Inequality in Cross-National Perspective" (paper prepared for 1987 conference "The Welfare State in Transition"), p. 33.

62. Benjamin I. Page and Robert Y. Shapiro, *The Rational Public: Fifty Years of Trends in Americans' Policy Preferences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), p. 300.

63. Samuel Lubell, *The Future of American Politics*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1965), pp. 55-68.

64. Richard Oestreicher argues that the 1930s "gave advocates of a more class-based politics the opportunity to partially-but only partially-overcome the structural and cultural biases which had shaped American politics up to that time." Richard Oestreicher, "The Rules of the Game: Class Politics in Twentieth-Century America," in Kevin Boyle, *Organized Labor and American Politics 1894-1994: The Labor-Liberal Alliance* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1988), p. 35.

65. For a similar rubric and insightful discussion of the institutional perspective see Sven Steinmo, "Political Institutions and Tax Policy in the United States, Sweden, and Britain," *World Politics 41* (July 1989), pp. 500-535.

66. Huber and Stephens, *Political Choice in Global Markets*, ch. 1; Amenta, *Bold Relief*, pp. 24-27.

67. Antonia Maioni, *Parting at the Cross-Roads: The Emergence of Health Insurance in the United States and Canada* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1998).

68. Huber and Stephens, *Political Choice in Global Markets*.

69. The only member countries of the European Union in which Green parties have not gained representation are Greece and Portugal.