

Title	An economic interpretation of the socialistic movements in the United States. III.
Sub Title	
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Publisher	慶應義塾理財学会
Publication year	1919
Jtitle	三田学会雑誌 (Keio journal of economics). Vol.13, No.5 (1919. 5) ,p.613(67)- 632(86)
JaLC DOI	
Abstract	
Notes	論説
Genre	Journal Article
URL	https://koara.lib.keio.ac.jp/xoonips/modules/xoonips/detail.php?koara_id=AN00234610-19190501-0067

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AN ECONOMIC INTERPRETATION OF THE SOCIALISTIC MOVEMENTS IN THE UNITED STATES. III

Senjiro Takagi.

III. Modern Socialism.

Soon after the publication of the Communist Manifesto, the doctrine of Karl Marx was introduced into the United States and several movements of minor importance were started. During the Civil War, however, they did not make themselves heard. But, after the war, with the changed conditions of industrial organization and the occurrence of numerous strikes and lockouts, socialist movements were again set on foot with renewed vigor, and in many parts of the country, the socialists even carried local elections.

Of these modern socialist movements, we shall give a brief history of each of the following: the General Workmen's Union (Allgemeiner Arbeiterbund), the Socialistic Gymnastic Union (Socialistische Turner Bund), the Communist Club, the National Labor Union, the International Working Men's Association (European), the International Working Men's Association (American), the Inter-

national Working People's Association, the Socialist Labour Party and the Socialist Party.

The General Workmen's Union.

Wilhelm Weitling, a follower of Marx and Engels, came to the United States towards the end of 1846, upon the invitation of a group of German Free Soilers to take the editorial charge of the "Volkstreiben". During 1850, Weitling published "Die Republik der Arbeiter". In the same year a "Central Committee of United Trades" was formed in New York under his influence and was composed of delegates of labor organizations, representing a total membership of 2,000 to 2,500 Germans. The first general convention was held in Philadelphia in October, 1850, and adopted the views of Weitling, including his scheme for "Exchange Banks", in which any person could deposit his wares, receive a certificate for them and buy other articles with it. But the domineering managers of Weitling soon disgusted the members of the Union and he withdrew from it. In 1853, a call for a second convention to be held in New York was issued. But the delegates who assembled represented only one trade, that of typesetters. Joseph Weydeneyer, a personal friend of Marx and Engels, and Gustav Struve, a revolutionist of Germany, strove to infuse a new spirit into the Union, but in vain. It was finally dissolved before the Civil War broke out.

The Socialistic Gymnastic Union.

Many associations were formed by German Americans during the fifties for practising regular gymnastic exercises, such as were prevalent then in Prussia. The members also discussed social and political questions of the day. In 1850 a convention of these associations was held in Philadelphia and a national union was formed under the name "United Gymnastic Unions of North America" (Vereinigte Turnvereine Nordamerica's). In the following year, the name of the organization was changed to "Socialistic Gymnastic Union" (Socialistische Turnerbund). The association was in sympathy with the general movement of Socialism, but it does not appear to have had much effect on the movement.

The Communist Club.

This was organized in 1857 in New York City and its membership seems "to have been composed principally of men of the middle class who had received a good education in Germany".¹ Their Communism was more academic than practical, and their influence on the general socialist movement was insignificant.

The National Labor Union.

¹ Hillquit: History of Socialism, p. 170.

This was a federation of trade-unions and was organized in 1866. In the first convention held at Baltimore in August, 1866, Edward Schlegel, a German socialist of the Lassallean school, representing the German Working Men's Association of Chicago, tried to persuade the convention to form an independent political labor party, but his efforts ended in failure. In the second convention held at Chicago in 1867, Jesup, president of the Union, and also one Sylvis attempted to persuade the convention to establish connections with the European International Workingmen's Association, but they failed to attain their object. The third convention of the Labor Union was held in 1868 in New York City. At this convention, the National Reform Party, an independent political organization, which had been the dream of Sylvis, was organized, and he was elected its president. Under the able leadership of this ambitious socialist, the National Labor Union and the National Reform Party had a more or less vigorous career. But his death, which occurred on the twenty-seventh day of July, 1869, proved fatal to the progress of the National Labor Union. It rapidly lost its influence and, together with the National Reform Party, finally went out of existence after discouraging conventions held at Columbus and Rochester in 1873 and 1874 respectively.

The International Workingmen's Association (European) in the United States.

The first organizations directly affiliated with the European International Workingmen's Associa-

tion, which was formed in London in 1868, appeared in the United States during the same year. These were small societies in New York, Chicago and San Francisco and were composed almost exclusively of German socialists. These affiliated societies of the International Workingmen's Association were called its sections. They organized a Social Party of New York and Vicinity in 1868 and nominated an independent ticket for the election of that year, but its vote was insignificant. Immediately after this election, the party was dissolved and the "General German Labor Association" (Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein) was organized in its place. This association became "the first strictly Marxian organization of some strength and influence on American soil, and the latest phase of the socialist movement in the country may be said to date from the organization of that society."¹

In 1870, a French section and a Bohemian section of the International were formed in New York City. Previous to this, in 1868, as indicated above, a German section had been formed in San Francisco and another in Chicago in 1869.

In the numerous strikes of 1871, of which that of the anthracite coal miners involved 30,000 men, the International enlisted their sympathies with the strikers and made a large number of converts

¹ Hillquit's History of Socialism in the United States, p. 195.

among them. During this one year, the number of sections increased from six to thirty or more, distributed among New York, Chicago, San Francisco, New Orleans, Newark, Springfield, Washington and Williamsburg, and the total membership was about 5,000, including Americans, Irishmen, Frenchmen, Germans, Bohemians and Scandinavians.

The first convention of these American sections of the International Workingmen's Association was held on July 6, 1872, in the City of New York with the representatives from twenty-two sections. At this convention, an executive committee of nine was elected. It was composed of three Germans, two French, two Irishmen, one Swede and one Italian. In the following year, the panic gave some impetus to the movement. But, in the second convention, held in Philadelphia in April, 1874, disputes arose over the programme of the Association's activities, some members insisting that more attention be given to the labor problem at home than abroad, and chilled the ardor of the men. The convention to have been held in 1875 was dispensed with for lack of enthusiasm. The next and last convention was held in Philadelphia in July, 1876. Only eleven delegates attended the convention, ten from the United States and one representing a group of members in Germany. To continue the activities of the Association under the circumstances was impossible and the delegates proceeded to undertake the task of dissolution.

The International Workingmen's Association (American)

This Association was organized in the latter part of 1881 and was composed of American workmen and farmers mostly on the Pacific coast. Their aims were: "To print, publish, and circulate labor literature; to hold mass-meetings; to systematize agitation; to establish labor libraries, labor halls, and lyceums for discussing social science, to maintain labor press; to protect members and all producers from wrong; to aid all labor organizations, etc."¹ In 1887, according to Hillquit,² the International Workingmen's Association had an enrolled membership of about 6,000. They were distributed as follows:

Washington Territory (now State) and Oregon	2,000
California	1,800
Colorado, Utah, Montana, Dakota, Wyoming	2,000
Scattered in the East and the South	200

About this time an attempt was made to consolidate the Association with the Socialist Labor Party and a resolution was adopted at the joint convention for such consolidation. But it was not

¹ Hillquit History of Socialism, p. 254

² Hillquit History of Socialism, p. 254.

carried into effect and the International Workingmen's Association was soon dissolved.

The International Working People's Association.

The Association was formed in October, 1883, in Pittsburg at a joint convention of revolutionists and anarchists, who, at the same time, adopted the so-called "Pittsburg Proclamation". This document set forth the object of the movement as "the destruction of the existing class government by all means, i.e., by energetic, implacable, revolutionary, and international action".¹ In 1885, the Association "embraced eighty organized groups, with a total of 7,000 enrolled members, and its press was represented by seven German, two English and two Bohemian papers."²

The Socialist Labor Party.

In the first part of 1874, some sections of the International Workingmen's Association (European) seceded from the organization and formed an independent party in New York, on the fourth of July, of the same year, with some labor organizations of New York, Williamsburg, Newark and Philadelphia. The new association was called the Social Democratic Workingmen's Party of North America. The name was, however, changed at the second convention of the Party held at Newark,

¹ Hillquit: *History of Socialism*, p. 238.

² *Ibid.*: p. 243.

N. J., in December, 1877, to Socialist Labor Party of North America.

In 1878, according to Robert Hunter,¹ the membership of the party was about 10,000. In the beginning of the following year, according to Hillquit,² the sections of the Party numbered 100 distributed among twenty-five different states, with a total enrolled membership of about 10,000. But, during this year, which was the year of the resumption of specie payment and of prosperity, it dwindled down to a few thousand men in December of the same year. Of the eight English papers of the Party reported at the Newark convention of 1877 as existing in that year, not a single one survived the year of the resumption of specie payment. Even the German papers suffered and only three of them remained. Nor did the Party make any gain in the years following, for the prosperity continued and there were also many anarchist seceders from the ranks of the Party. In 1883, the membership was only about 1500.³

In the same year, the fourth convention met at Baltimore from the twenty-sixth to the twenty-eight of December. It was the saddest convention the Party had ever held. Only sixteen delegates

¹ Hunter: *Socialists at Work*, p. 358.

² Hillquit: *History of Socialism*, p. 226.

³ Hillquit: *History of Socialism*, p. 228; Hunter: *Socialists at Work*, p. 359.

attended, of whom four came from Baltimore, and ten from New York and vicinity. In 1889, the number of sections was seventy; in 1896, two hundred; and in 1899, it increased to three hundred and fifty.

In the fall of 1877, the Party was engaged in its first important political campaign. In 1878 and 1879, members of the organization supported the Greenback Party unofficially. In 1880, the Socialist Labor Party officially supported the Greenback Party, but only lukewarmly. In the municipal campaign of New York, the Party supported Henry George, although not accepting his views. In the following year, the Party, in conjunction with the United Labor Party, was engaged, under the name of the Progressive Labor Party, in the State campaign, but the total number of votes cast was only 5,000. This was the last campaign in which the Socialist Labor Party was affiliated with other parties, and in 1892, the Party, for the first time, nominated candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States.

The number of votes the party received since the first campaign of 1877, is as follows: ¹

1877 (fall) 7000 (Chicago), 9000 (Cincinnati), 3000 (Cleveland), 7000 (St. Louis).
1878 (spring) 12,000 (Chicago).

¹ The writer regrets that, for various reasons, he has not been able to bring the figures in the following tables up to date.

1878	(fall)	12,000	(Chicago).
1879	Less than	10,000	(New York State).
1888	Less than	3000	(New York State). 586 (Milwaukee), 82 (New Haven).
1890		13,704	(New York State).
1891		14,651	(New York State), 1429 (Mass.), 472 (New Jersey).
1892		21,512	Several States.
1893		25,666	"
1894		30,120	"
1895		34,889	"
1896		36,275	"
1897		55,550	"
1898		82,204	"
1900		34,191	"
1902		53,763	"
1904		33,536	"
1906		24,880	"

The Socialist Party.

Faithful followers of Eugene V. Debs among the members of the American Railway Union united, in 1897, with the Brotherhood of Coöperative Commonwealth and, at the joint convention held in

Chicago on June 18th, 1897, a new party was formed under the name: Social Democracy of America. Its original aims and purposes were mainly socialistic, but the first activity of the Party was its proposal for colonization. Meanwhile, many seceders from the ranks of the Socialist Labor Party joined the new party and its character became more socialistic.

In the first convention of the Party held at Chicago in June, 1898, there were two factions, one in favor of the colonization scheme and the other against it. After a long debate, the former faction came out victorious and proceeded to establish two small colonies in the State of Washington. But the colonist faction as well as the colonies soon passed out of existence.

Meanwhile the minority faction seceded from the Party and established a new organization under the name of "Social Democratic Party of America. It discarded all Utopian principles and was entirely socialistic in its aims and activities. The new Party rapidly grew in strength and, in 1898 and 1899, it nominated State or local tickets in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, Connecticut, Maryland, Illinois, Wisconsin, Missouri and California. In the fall election of 1899, the Party elected the first two socialist representatives in the Massachusetts State legislature, and, in December of the same year, socialists were elected as mayors in Haverhill and Brockton, in the same state. In the first convention of the Party held at Indianapolis, in March, 1900, it had an enrolled

membership of about 5000.

In the Presidential election of 1900, the Social Democratic Party and the Springfield faction of the Socialist Labor Party conducted a joint campaign with Eugene V. Debs of the Social Democratic Party as candidate for President and Job Harriman of the Springfield faction of the Socialist Labor Party as candidate for Vice-President. The number of votes cast for these candidates in that election was 97,730. In July of the following year, a joint convention of the Social Democratic Party and Socialist Labor Party was held in Indianapolis. This convention was attended by delegates from various organizations, representing a total enrolled membership of 10,000. The so-called New York faction of the Socialist Labor Party, of which the other clique was called the Springfield faction, did not send representatives to the convention. At this meeting, a new party was formed under the name of Socialist Party and a new platform was adopted. In 1903, the number of local organizations affiliated with the Party was estimated at 1,200 with an enrolled membership of more than 20,000.¹ Towards the end of 1903, the Party had about 1,900 local organizations with a total

¹ Hillquit: History of Socialism, p. 341.

membership of 35,000¹ who paid dues of three dollars a year.² In 1903, the Socialist Party published about thirty dailies and periodicals in different languages,³ but since then the number has rapidly increased.

The votes cast for the Socialist Party in the various elections between 1898 and 1906 are as follows:

1898 (mostly Mass.)	9,545
1900	97,730
1902	229,762
1904	408,230
1906	330,158

CONCLUSION.

Of the different socialist movements briefly sketched above, there are only two that have ever attained the dignity of national importance. They are the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party. They are also the only ones that have taken any active part in the local, State and national politics. Their influence in politics was very small and the increase of votes cast for the Socialist Labor Party was slow before 1898. But the number of socialist votes suddenly increased since that

¹ Hillquit: *Recent Progress of the Socialist and Labor Movements in the United States*, p. 10.

² Robert Hunter: *Socialists at Work*, p. 361.

³ Hillquit: *loc. cit.*

year. The total socialist votes cast between 1888 and 1906, as far as ascertained, are as follows:

1888	2,068 (New York City)
1890	13,331 (New York State)
1891	14,651 (New York State)
1892	21,159 (Several States)
1893	25,665 "
1894	33,133 "
1895	34,889 "
1896	36,564 "
1897	55,550 "
1898	91,749 "
1900	131,180 "
1902	283,525 "
1904	439,978 "
1906	355,038 "

The sudden increase in 1898 and the large annual gain since that year until 1904 may be at-

least partly due to the rise of prices that began in 1898 and has continued until recently. The following table of index numbers published by the Bureau of Labor, while it may not be accepted as accurate, seems to be of some interest in this connection :

Year	Index Number ¹
1890	112.9
1891	111.7
1892	106.1
1893	105.6
1894	96.1
1895	93.6
1896	90.6
1897	89.7
1898	93.4
1899	101.7
1900	110.5

¹ Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor, No. 57, March, 1905.

The wages rose in almost the same proportion. But, as the wages always follow the rise or the fall in prices, the psychological effect of the rise in prices in the latter half of the nineties on the workingman is clear.

Whatever may have been the principal cause or causes of the recent increase in socialist votes, however, it does not seem to be large enough to have any practical effect on the national politics. The total number of popular votes cast in the Presidential election of 1900 was 13,964,702 and the combined votes of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party were 131,180, or 0.94 per cent. of the total votes cast in the election. In the next Presidential election of 1904, the total number of votes polled fell to 13,506,968, but the combined socialist votes, on the contrary, increased to 406,442, or 2.99 per cent. of the grand total. In the election of 1906, however, the combined votes of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party fell to 355,038. This decrease of socialist votes is attributed by Morris Hillquit¹ to "the numerous reform parties and movements [which]

¹ Hillquit: Recent Progress of the Socialist and Labor Movements in the United States, p. 9.

cut heavily into the Socialist Party vote." But it does not appear that the Socialist Party vote suffered much more than the votes of other parties. It should be remembered that 1906 was an "off" year and in an "off" year there is always a falling off in the votes of various parties. While the Democratic party lost in 1906 only four per cent. of its votes of 1900, the Republican party lost 18 per cent. The loss of the socialist parties, on the other hand, was only one per cent. more than that of the Republican party. There is no doubt that the candidacy of Mr. William Randolph Hearst drew some of the more conservative socialists to his standard. But the elections of 1906 could not be taken as a criterion of the real strength of Socialism.

Whatever may be the tendency of the future strength of Socialism in the United States, it should be acknowledged that the modern socialist movement has made more gains in the recent years than popularly supposed. Nevertheless, it has been unable to let the public visualize its strength by electing its candidates for important positions of public trust. In 1904, the combined votes of the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Party were more than the total votes cast by all parties in the States of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Vermont and New Hampshire. Even in 1906, when their votes fell off, the socialist parties polled only fifteen thousand less than the entire votes cast in those states.

Yet, the socialist agitation in this country has not been entirely without its fruits. In contrast to its futile efforts in the Presidential elections, the socialists have often been successful in local politics. Even as early as 1878, the Chicago socialists elected a member of the Common Council and four aldermen in the spring election of that year. In the fall of the very same year, three socialists were elected to the State legislature of Illinois. In 1898, the socialists of Haverhill, Mass., elected their candidate for mayor, and, in the same year, four members were returned by the socialists to the State legislature. In 1903, the socialists were still more successful. The Massachusetts socialists sent three members to the State legislature. Haverhill, Mass., again saw the socialist candidate for its mayor elected, and the socialist mayor of Brockton was also reelected. Throughout the country no less than twenty cities had one or more successful socialist candidates for various offices including as many as five mayors, and the city of Anaconda, Mont., was carried by the socialists.

But it is perhaps in the State of Wisconsin that the efforts of the socialists have been crowned with the greatest success. In that state they have been able to gain some practical results of their work, of which Robert Hunter says, "In the State Legislature the six socialist members have introduced no less than 72 measures of industrial and political reform, about a fourth of which have been put on the Statute book. They have got established an eight hour day for telegraphers, and important modifications in child laws. In the Milwaukee City Council the party has twelve socialist

aldermen, and, among other things, they have got established a public electric lighting system, secured a three cent fare on a part of the street car system, and an increased tax on street railway property.”¹

Thus it is an undeniable fact that Socialism is making some progress and producing practical results. But, when we compare its gains in this country with those made by Socialism in some countries in Europe, we find that the movement of Socialism has only begun in the United States. Take, for instance, the increase of socialist votes in France, as shown in the following table :

Year	Socialist Vote	Deputies
1893	440,000	32
1898	751,554	38
1900	863,159	44

Thus, as early as 1893, the French socialists polled more votes than the American socialists did in their very successful campaign of 1904, and elected 32 deputies to the national legislature.

¹ Robert Hunter : Socialists at Work, p. 362.

² The Americana.

藝 術 と 經 濟 (五)

(文藝復興期の經濟史的研究)

阿 部 秀 助

法王廳の徴税に對して、之れが保管の任務に當る銀行の數が餘りに多數に失せしことは法王マンチン四世をして改革の必要を感じしむるに至り、其結果、獨逸方面に關するものは全部スピグラチスピニ之れが委任を受け、英國方面はスピグラチスピニ以外にプルチ、ブオンシノリー、リチアルデ、アマンナチの都合五個の銀行によりて營まるゝに至れり、斯くて徴税事務が頗る統一の緒に就くと共に、其間、フロレンスの勢力も亦た漸次見る可きもの多く、次で法王の位に上りしサペリ家のホノリウス四世は既に前時代に於て親しく財務上の樞機に參與せし結果、統一の必要を感じしことは敢て前代と異ならざりしも、然かも之れが撰擇に就きては多少、マルチン四世の場合と相違してプルチ、ブオンシノリー、リチアルヂよりも當時フロレンスに於て最も勢力を有せしスピグラチ、デ、モッチとアルファニを専ら信頼する