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THEN AND NOW

On the 100th Anniversary of the First General Strike in the U.S.

• The Black Revolt • Forgotten Women Hegelians
• Marx and the First International

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Introduction

THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY of the very first General Strike in the United States —1877 in St. Louis—takes us, at one and the same time, back to history and forward to our age of sharp class struggles. What Marx called the "red sea of Civil War" preceded the General Strike. That culmination of the multitudinous events, from the question of slavery and the Black dimension, through the first appearance of the Feminist Movement (Seneca Falls Convention, 1848), to the labor struggles, ended with the strife-ridden 1880s and 1890s. It was the period of a revolution in thought, the philosophy of liberation which did not stop with the abolition of slavery. Inherent in its dialectic is the uprooting of capitalism itself.

Far from Marxism being a foreign philosophy "imposed" on the United States, its American roots were deep in the Abolitionist movement and in the class struggles; in the rise of Hegelianism as well as in the publication of Marx's great historic work, **The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte**, in 1852—17 years before its publication in Europe.

Some of the events in the period this pamphlet covers, 1857-1877, may not appear to have a direct relationship to each other and to our time. Thus, the St. Louis Hegelians were academics, uninterested in labor. But some of the Ohio Hegelians were semi-Marxists and participated in labor struggles along with the Marxists. The first philosophic journal in the United States, the **Journal of Speculative Philosophy**, was Hegelian, not Pragmatist. All the early Hegelians did unite in their opposition to slavery and participated in the Civil War on the side of the North. Joseph Weydemeyer, Marx's closest collaborator in the United States, was in the actual leadership of the Union forces in the Civil War. The chapter on Weydemeyer develops this dialectical relationship.

Weydemeyer's death in 1866 did not end the international relationship. On the contrary, some of the leaders of that 1877 General Strike in St. Louis were members of the First International headed by Marx.

The aim of this pamphlet is to present these two critical decades of United States development **as a totality**. First, because this great period of mass upheaval makes explicit the continuity within the freedom movement itself, in which eventually Black and white workers together challenged the whole basis of human relations in St. Louis in 1877. The years 1857 to 1877 marked the period of Marx's greatest theoretical works, the period in which he was most intensely concerned with **developments in America**; the period of the Civil War in the United States which led to the creation of the International Workingmen's Association as well as the greatest revolution of Marx's time, the Paris Commune.

Secondly, the focus on the liberating energies that gave shape to this whole age illuminates both the Hegelian roots of American philosophy (which are even less known than the American roots of Marxism), and women Hegelians, who are not known at all. Chapter four "The Forgotten Philosophers, Anna C. Brackett and

Susan E. Blow—and the Black Dimension" is devoted to the contributions of women Hegelians.

The two decades in focus, which include the greatest conflict in our history, the Civil War, were characterized by the sharpest contradictions in the whole of society and released elemental energies of whole classes and created new departures in thought. It is at such crucial historic turning points, when the Black movement, the class struggle, and philosophy all come together, that reality is transformed. We ignore the relationship between theory and practice at our own peril.

With this in view, we have attempted in this pamphlet to deal with the essential thought and action which manifest the actualities and the developments of philosophical thought. Thus chapter one begins with the high point, 1877. Chapter two traces the Marxists, Weydemeyer especially, in the Civil War. Chapters three and four look at the original St. Louis Hegelians and the women philosophers. Chapter five examines the Hegelians and Abolitionism in Ohio. Chapter six both covers the relations and ramifications of the First International and gives an overview of the entire two decades.

Pragmatism notwithstanding, the first philosophic journal in America was not only Hegelian but pragmatism evolved from it, not vice versa. Indeed, that relationship stretched all the way to John Dewey of our era. The **Journal of Speculative Philosophy** had a great influence both in its own time and in ours. It is only in the 1960s, with both the Black revolutions and student rebellions, like the Free Speech Movement of 1964 which centered on the concept of alienation, that the impulse to study Hegel's theory of alienation became actual.

This study also aims for a new vantage point—to look at this period with the eyes of a women's liberationist, emphasizing both labor and the early women philosophers whose influence on education stands to this day. We are only now discovering that an American woman Hegelian, Susan E. Blow, had such an impact on Dr. James Jackson Putnam, Freud's most avid spokesman and disciple in America, that he was impelled to challenge Freud for his disregard of Hegelian philosophy.

Or take the question of Marxism and feminism arising along with Hegelianism. Though each developed separately, one red thread running through all three was the **recognition of the Black dimension** as one of freedom, and an appreciation of what it meant to American development. Again, it is our age of Black revolution in Africa and the United States, of Women's Liberation as an idea whose time has come and thus compels a totally new relationship of theory to practice, which turns our eyes to the historic past. With eyes of 1977 we see the urgency to re-examine those American roots of Hegelian philosophy, of Marxism and of women as reason.

Thus the 1877 General Strike was not only the highest point of labor struggle reached in the United States up to that time, but also discloses the **continuity in today's** American development philosophically, politically, and economically, and makes it possible to draw the essential threads together—including the American ramifications of the First International and the dialectic from Hegel to Marx.

Never again will the movement's multi-dimensional expression be separated from its underlying unity in a total philosophy that can itself be ground for the American revolution-to-be.

I. The St. Louis General Strike

THE NATIONAL RAIL STRIKES began as a wildcat in 1877 after the third wage cut in three years. On July 17 a striker was shot to death in Martinsburg, West Virginia and the Pittsburgh workers stopped all freight traffic on the Pennsylvania Railroad. On the 20th, Baltimore strikers building barricades were fired on by the militia. Twelve were killed, eighteen wounded; within a few days, 100,000 workers in seventeen states walked off their jobs in America's first nationwide strike.

In cities like Indianapolis and Louisville, the Great Strike spread to all industries. Women workers joined the St. Louis walkouts. In Ft. Wayne, striking women hotel workers spread the strike beyond the railroads. In Baltimore, women led the marchers and were in the front lines when police attacked. On Tuesday, 50 Black workers in Galveston, Texas started a movement that ended with Black and white workers winning $2 a day.

The highest development, however, would first come in St. Louis. It is the dialectic of that struggle that transformed the railway strike into the First General Strike in the United States. It erupted on Monday evening, July 23, 1877.

Railroad and Vulcan Iron workers, who had rallied on Saturday to show their support of railroad strikers, met again in the Carondelet section of St. Louis. At the same time in Lucas Market, crowds swelled to the point where they had to be addressed simultaneously by three speakers. A committee of five, including one Black who had addressed the crowd, was elected to meet the mayor and express the solidarity of St. Louis workers with the striking railroad workers in Pennsylvania whom the President was threatening with federal troops. The committee was also to urge the mayor specifically to request that the President not send troops to St. Louis, the "City of Little Bread."[1] That St. Louis white workers, rejecting the prevailing racism, made a Black one of their leaders, exemplified an independence which baffled authorities, the press, and everyone who did not experience the movement from within.

The very fact that so many workers had come together at the same time and place sparked further action. On Tuesday the 24th, workers all over the city formed committees to go around to different shops and ask them to strike. There were many walkouts, spontaneously creating new committees like the coopers who marched from shop to shop. By evening a column of 1500 mechanics and molders was winding through the streets toward Lucas Market four abreast, behind a single torch, fife, and drum. Some of the marchers carried laths and clubs. That night, with the biggest crowds the city had ever seen, St. Louis workers were in session making official what they **already decided through activity**—that the strike was a general strike. They also voted a resolution introduced by the Executive Committee of the Workingmen's Party, charging the government to make sure everyone has a

1. "City of Little Bread" was the original designation both of the city of St. Louis and of the book REIGN OF THE RABBLE by David T. Burbank (Augustus M. Kelley, N.Y., 1966). The original had greater detail and captured more of the excitement of the movement. We acknowledge our debt to this distinguished work which did so much in unearthing this great event, in giving great attention to detail, and in having the concrete facts come to life.

Pittsburgh workers routed troops from Philadelphia ordered in to break strike in 1877.

chance to make a living, and calling for an eight-hour day and the abolition of child labor.

A Black steamboatman's speech was enthusiastically received by the crowd when he described the grievances of the levee strikers and asked for help. Without separating their own activity and that of workers everywhere, the strikers then marched to East St. Louis to join a mass meeting of railroad workers whose fellow strikers were battling militia and police all over the country.

The papers then were full of "The Great Strike" spreading like wildfire among railroad workers throughout the country. A strike headline in the St. Louis **Daily Journal**, "The Latest War News," summed up the feeling on all sides that what was happening was class war. In St. Louis the opposition became workers as a class, from all industries and trades, employed and unemployed. The local press, which just a few days before predicted railroad workers would never strike in St. Louis, was venomous. They called the workers "canaille" and decried the "mawkish sentimentality" that hesitated to use force against them.

The truth was that St. Louis workers organized themselves as a defacto government for the entire city, which all sides compared to the Paris Commune. The press confessed the reality of a new ruling authority by dubbing it the "Reign of the Rabble." In its surprise, it was unusually candid in its fear and disdain for the workers who were showing, through their activity, just how concrete democracy can be. While St. Louis Hegelians feared the workers' spontaneous revolt, the Marxist Hegelians stopped talking about the self-determination of ideas, and acted them out as self-government—just as, at the founding of the Workingmen's Party in 1876, they formulated and fought for its first principle: "The emancipation of the

working classes must be achieved by the working classes themselves independent of all political parties of the propertied class."

The St. Louis workers were striking at such deep roots, at basic social forms beneath the governmental structure, that the opposition, with all its appeal to legal process, from the beginning assumed extra-legal authority. On Tuesday, employers secretly formed a "Committee of Public Safety": it included former Confederate officers who were to raise a "citizens' militia." This Committee took anything it deemed essential to its cause, giving receipts in its own name. But when some strikers appropriated bread to eat, the press raged over imaginary "mob violence." By Wednesday the employers were giving orders to the mayor and the chief of police, who were so dismayed at the depth of the movement that they saw no way to oppose it.

On the morning of Wednesday the 25th, the third day of the strike, there were many more spontaneous walkouts including Black roustabouts on the levee, cannery workers, and stove foundry workers. By 2:00 p.m., 5,000 strikers were marching through the streets of St. Louis, shutting down all shops and factories along their way as other workers came out to join them. The procession, led by a worker with a loaf of bread stuck on the end of a flag pole, encountered almost no resistance. In press reports of this march, racist epithets show not just the participation but the leadership of many Black workers. As groups of marchers returned to their own parts of town, several bakeries were emptied. In the north side slums, a crowd threw the wares of a dry goods store in the street so "poor people might pick them up."

THE WORKERS were running the city. Workers decided what trains would come and go. Workers' committees were sent out to distant parts of the city to spread the strike. Committees of white and Black workers boarded ships on the levee and won instant wage increases for Black roustabouts, who in turn joined the strike and became leaders of new strike processions and committees.

Posting of a police guard at one of the few factories still operating, the Belcher Sugar Refinery, caused its workers to walk out. Mr. Belcher appealed to the Executive Committee to reopen the plant for forty-eight hours so a lot of sugar would not spoil. The Executive Committee persuaded the workers to return and posted a militia of 200 strikers to protect the plant. In the Carondelet section of the city, when strikers got wind of a local Committee of Public Safety, they joined the meeting and transformed it into a workers' organization. Virtually no manufacturer or business operated in the city without the approval and direction of the strikers.

Every day of the strike there were two mass meetings (the Carondelet section of the city held its own) and each shop met separately, formed its own committees, and held its own processions. It was the self-realization--an activity of mind and a creation in the actual world--of the proletariat in the totality of its opposition and creativity.

That opposition and creativity was seen in the context of both the greatest mass upheaval in the country, and the creation of a non-state, the Paris Commune. The press' obsessive attacks on the Commune throughout the strike show this form of **freely associated labor** was alive in everyone's mind. While the Commune to the

press was a "savage beast" that "showed its teeth" in St. Louis, the affinity of ideas that brings forth a new dimension of human freedom found the strikers thinking French—calling for "liberty, equality and fraternity" and marching to the Marseillaise with the red flag of the Commune.

It is with this in mind that it is important to examine the tension between the leadership of the Workingmen's Party and the worker members who spontaneously involved themselves in the strike. They had never discussed or even imagined this kind of activity. From their beginning as an independent force expanding the strike to a complete shutdown, the masses of workers with their integrated leadership ran up against the Workingmen's Party—whose opposition to the workers' initiative showed they were just as bewildered by it as everyone else.

An initial leadership committee was elected at the mass meeting of Monday, July 23. Later an Executive Committee was formed by the Workingmen's Party and by delegates from trade unions, which represented very few workers and were notoriously ineffectual. The new Committee echoed the press' slanders of "the violent mob," some privately adding their own racist epithets. When they refused to call mass meetings the strikers held their own and never confused violence with taking bread to eat. More important than the Workingmen's Party's fear of revolution, however, is the depth of opposition to capitalism revealed in the **new form of human intelligence**, workers' activity. The workers showed that the opposition between capital and labor was not in the leftists' abstract, mechanical view of history and organization, but in life itself.

CHICAGO WAS the national center of the Workingmen's Party, whose leadership included Albert Parsons and Philip Van Patten. 25,000 workers attended their rally Tuesday, July 24; speakers called for change through the ballot box, trade unionism, and nationalization of the railroads.

Monday evening in Chicago about forty Michigan Central switchmen went on strike. Tuesday morning they started marching through all the freight yards, and by the end of the day all Chicago's freight was stopped in its tracks. The stockyards and several packing houses were also closed down. Thousands of workers the Chicago Daily News called "Committees of the Commune" marched off in different directions down Blue Island Ave., Canal St., and Desplaines St., closing factories while crews on the lake boats struck. Albert Parsons backed off from the strike after he was fired from his job and city officials threatened his life. The Workingmen's Party urged "quiet" above all so they could give the "crisis a due consideration."

On Wednesday, however, workers expanded the strike, closing tanneries, stoneworks, brickyards, furniture factories, lumber yards, and a distillery. As Chicago's business and industry came to a standstill, police attacks started. Police cornered a crowd of teenagers in a freight yard and felled them with billy clubs. In another attack they fired into a crowd, wounding nine strikers and killing three. That night police charged thousands of workers who had come to the Workingmen's Party rally at Market and Madison.

On Thursday, police and militia stepped up their violence at the Halsted St. viaduct. At least 18 workers were killed and 32 wounded in the street, many of them

teenage boys. Police raided a cabinetmakers' meeting on the eight-hour day, even though it had no connection with the strike: they shot one worker dead, beat and clubbed others. The explosion of the Chicago workers and the brutality of police and troops made lifelong revolutionaries of labor radicals like Albert and Lucy Parsons, who figured so prominently in Chicago's later history.[2]

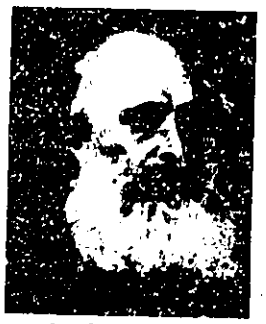
Back in St. Louis, on the fourth day of the strike, the masses were far ahead of "their" Executive Committee, who feared both workers arming themselves and the armed counterrevolution. Federal troops were transferred to Chicago and St. Louis from the war against the Sioux and Cheyenne, other enemies of U.S. capitalism. Three companies of infantry and a boxcar full of arms arrived in passenger trains from Kansas to aid the Committee of Public Safety. The Executive Committee disassociated itself from that evening's mass meeting. **Black and white workers** addressed the meeting and made plans to organize the military defense of the strike. Henry Allen, a sign painter from the Workingmen's Party on the Executive Committee, later told the press that "there was never a time when a single policeman might not have sent away the Executive Committee" by telling it "not to hold any more meetings." What the police could not have "sent away" was the mass of workers making decisions in the streets. Two more companies of troops with another load of arms arrived on Friday. The arms went to the city government at the Four Courts Building, where a businessmen's militia was being readied.

In spite of an Executive Committee leaflet saying there would be no mass meeting, on Friday strikers rallied outside its headquarters, Schuler's Hall, as speakers from their ranks criticized the Committee's inaction. The Executive Committee replied with a plan for a delegate's meeting of trade unions and striking rail workers that evening. The meeting was raided by the militia, who arrested everyone they could catch; soldiers and police filled the streets in a massive show of force which broke the strike, though pockets of resistance held out till the end of the month. Federal troops occupied East St. Louis whose mayor, a veteran of the 1848 revolution in Germany, had appointed special police from the ranks of the strikers to keep order. The **continuity** of the counterrevolution is seen in the leaders of the reactionary forces who took St. Louis on Friday: former Confederate generals, and Colonel Knapp and his brother, who seventeen years earlier were forced to surrender Camp Jackson by a spontaneous militia of German workers who saved Missouri for the North.

2. A new study by Carolyn Ashbaugh, LUCY PARSONS AMERICAN REVOLUTIONARY (Charles H. Kerr, Chicago, 1976) reveals both the impact of the 1877 strikes on radicals and the untold story of the Black women revolutionary, Lucy Parsons.

II. Joseph Weydemeyer and Marxists in America

Chicago is becoming more and more the center of the American Northwest...
Karl Marx, 1860



Joseph Weydemeyer

AMONG THE GERMAN-AMERICAN revolutionaries who fled the counterrevolution in Europe after 1848 was Joseph Weydemeyer. He was active in the German Revolution and was a follower of Karl Marx. In every field, from publicizing Marx's writing to participating in class struggles to becoming a brigadier general in the Union Army in St. Louis, he was the most important Marxist in America. Not only did the forty-eighters go for direct action in the midst of a new social storm brewing over slavery but they engendered new theoretical developments in the debate then raging in America on revolution, philosophy, and freedom. In 1852, seventeen years before it was published in Europe, Joseph Weydemeyer published in America Marx's greatest work of historical analysis, The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte. He also promoted other of Marx's works in America including The Critique of Political Economy.

Like the 1950s the 1850s were a quiescent period. After the 1848 revolutions had been defeated, Marx continued to develop his new continent of thought, Historical Materialism, with the emphasis that the workers are inheritors and shapers of all of history. Marx was disappointed with how **The Critique of Political Economy** was received in Europe as against America where, he wrote to Lassalle, it was "extensively discussed by the entire German-American press, from New York to New Orleans."[3]

It was the coming Civil War in America that transformed the 1850s for Marx. Marxists like Weydemeyer were activists and challenged the Germans in America who were raising money as if that could rekindle the revolution in Europe. In the midst of a strike movement in New York, Weydemeyer initiated a meeting calling for the beginning of an independent workers' association that encompassed all trades. Eight hundred German-American workers formed the American Workers' League in March, 1853 with a platform to stop "arbitrary actions" of employers like "wage cuts" and "lengthening of the legally prescribed workweek." The American Workers' League platform also advocated free public education including college. Within two months there were groups in 11 of New York's 20 wards.

It wasn't only the American Workers' League that was anticipating post-Civil War movements by demanding free public education and the ten-hour day. Take

3. Oberman, Karl, JOSEPH WEYDEMEYER: PIONEER OF AMERICAN SOCIALISM (International Publishing, N.Y., 1947) p. 101.

the very young Black woman, Susie King Taylor, who was born in 1848 and as a teenager enrolled in the 33rd Regiment, a Black regiment; as a laundress and a teacher, she taught "a great many of the comrades in Company E to read and write, when they were off duty. Nearly all were anxious to learn...."[4] She demonstrated in the 1850s, while still a slave, that passion for education that would result in the Blacks bringing to the South in the Reconstruction era the only free universal public education it had known. This is how she described her own underground education from a Black woman:

> We went every day about nine o'clock, with our books wrapped in paper to prevent the police or white persons from seeing them. We went in, one at a time, through the gate into the yard to the L kitchen, which was the schoolroom....After school we left the house the same way we entered, one by one.[5]

While Blacks in the South were working out their own roads to freedom and knowledge, the Slavocracy succeeded in getting the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854 which gave it the green light to spread to those territories. What ensued was a wave of protest as the fight for the Homestead Bill became an important part of free labor's struggle against the slaveholders. The American Workers' League supported Abolitionism and the Homestead Bill. It was in this sense that the frontier was important to freedom and democracy as it reflected the internal limitation—slavery—that would soon embroil the whole country.

One person who was most influential throughout this period in the struggle for the abolition of slavery before the outbreak of Civil War was Richard J. Hinton. He had been in the Chartist Movement in England and went to settle Kansas for freedom. He stood with John Brown in Lawrence, Kansas along with thirty others with rifles in hand as three hundred horsemen attacked. They were saved at the last minute by forces ordered in by the wavering Democratic Governor Geary who was afraid of the growing popularity of the Abolitionist Republican John Fremont. "Had Lawrence been destroyed," Hinton wrote, "the North would have arisen in its wrath, Fremont would have been elected President, and the South would doubtless have revolted four years earlier than it did."[6] Hinton later was with John Brown at Harper's Ferry, got away to become one of the first to organize Black regiments in the Civil War, and in the 70s was secretary in the Washington D.C. section of the International Workingmen's Association. In the May 1871 **Atlantic Monthly** Hinton joined the international debate over the Paris Commune, writing of its "generous and genuine truth...(giving) form and substance to a purpose so grand, a spirit so comprehensive." The article was a history of the new labor movement singling out Karl Marx as author of **Das Kapital** and one of the movement's "ablest writers" and tracing its origins to "the triumph of the American Republic over slavery (which) has given such impetus to all radical agitation in Europe."

Before that "triumph over slavery" John Brown and his group of Black and white freedom fighters were already veterans in the war the Slavocracy had declared on freedom. He spoke about the Blacks being the only force that gave life to

4. Taylor, Susie King, REMINISCENCES OF MY LIFE IN CAMP (Arno Press and the New York Times, 1868) p. 21.

5. Ibid., p. 6.

6. Hinton, Richard J., JOHN BROWN AND HIS MEN (Funk & Wagnells Company, N.Y., 1894) p. 94.

the idea of freedom in the Declaration of Independence in which an anti-slavery clause was deleted at the South's behest. He introduced Harriet Tubman to Wendell Phillips as the "General of us all" as she and other Black generals like William Lambert conducted hundreds of thousands to "North star land," undermining the foundation of slave society. John Brown's mission in the attack at Harper's Ferry, another battle in the war that began in Kansas, was realized by those who were with him like Osborn Anderson who escaped and later fought in a Black regiment. Thomas Wentworth Higginson helped raise money for the raid at Harper's Ferry and like Hinton organized one of the first Black regiments.

Though he was a pacifist, Wendell Phillips hailed the raid at Harper's Ferry as "the Lexington of today." John Brown's execution brought out a storm of protest throughout the country. Marx's attention turned to America as he wrote that the new rebellions of the American slaves and the serfs in Russia were the "biggest things that are happening in the world today." Weydemeyer then edited the daily paper **Stimme des Volkes** in Chicago. It was the organ of the Worker's Society which had over 1,000 members. The first thing Weydemeyer did was to get Marx's collaboration. Today there is not a single copy of this paper in existence. What is extant is Marx's writings early in the war in the **Vienna Presse** and the New York **Tribune**. There he wrote a history of the encroachment that the "oligarchy of 300,000 slaveowners" had on the American republic from the Missouri Compromise, to the Kansas-Nebraska Act, to the Dred Scott decision of 1857 which gave a slaveowner the right to go anywhere in the country with his "property."

Marx not only corresponded regularly for the movement paper, **Stimme des Volkes**, but enlisted the help of other European radicals including George Eccarius, Wilhelm Liebknecht, and J.P. Becker. In studying the source of Fremont's surprising showing in the 1856 election, Marx wrote to Lassalle on April 9, 1860 about the importance of corresponding for the new paper because "Chicago is becoming more and more the center of the American Northwest...." We will see Chicago become not only a center of anti-slavery sentiment but after the Civil War the center for industrial capitalism and its opposite—tremendous labor struggles. Shortly after Marx wrote, Weydemeyer had to return to New York to get work as a surveyor. (He did the surveying for Central Park.) Here is just one incident of how Weydemeyer acted in a complex, contradictory situation between labor and the election: tailors were laid-off en masse in the Williamsburg section of Brooklyn because of a supposed lack of orders from the South. When an anti-Lincoln meeting was called by so-called "hungry poverty-stricken tailors," the tailors' union contacted Weydemeyer who helped them put out a leaflet exposing the employers. The meeting itself was transformed into a pro-Lincoln rally in which Weydemeyer was the main speaker.

THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY the discussion and activity centered on how critical the border states were, and the German workers led the way in St. Louis, capturing the arsenal at Camp Jackson. Fremont, appointed as the Commander-in-Chief of the Department of the West with headquarters in St. Louis, was in New York looking for volunteers. St. Louis became for Weydemeyer, too, an historic pivot as he joined up with Fremont to secure the city. For those whose obsession is with a particular strategy, guerilla war as an end in itself, it is important to note that one of the ways the American Marxist Weydemeyer expressed his support for the movement for freedom was to become one of the leaders in the fight against Confederate guerillas in rural Missouri.

The strategy that excited Marx was Fremont's Emancipation Proclamation. On December 10, 1861 in the **Viennn Presse**, Marx reported his dismissal as a turning point

> in the question that lies at the root of the entire civil war—**the question of slavery**. General Fremont has been dismissed from his post because he declared those slaves free who belong to rebels. Soon after this, the Washington government published its instructions to General Sherman—commanding the expeditionary forces in South Carolina—which go further than the Fremont proclamation, ordering that escaped slaves, even those belonging to loyal slaveowners, shall have the status of wage workers, and that, under certain conditions, these slaves shall be armed: in this instance, the "loyal" owners are being consoled by the prospect of receiving compensation at some future time. Colonel Cochrane goes further than Fremont, demanding the general arming of the slaves as a war measure.

Marx considered these events in America a "world upheaval" as British textile workers held massive rallies in Brighton to stop their government from jumping in the war on the side of the South, even though it meant their starvation. It was this movement that led to the founding by Marx and others of the International Workingmen's Association (I.W.A.). The later tremendous meeting in London protested the English rulers' plan to intervene in the U.S. Civil War, and established the British workers' belief in the principle of the abolition of slavery. It also established international solidarity with French as well as U.S. labor, and with Poland's rebellion against Russian Tsarism, and produced the greatest **Inaugural Address** by Marx since the **Communist Manifesto**. Here are the three pivotal paragraphs of the founding rules of the I.W.A. written by Marx:

> Considering,
>
> That the emancipation of the working classes must be conquered by the working classes themselves; that the struggle for the emancipation of the working classes means not a struggle for class privileges and monopolies, but for equal rights and duties, and the abolition of all class rule.
>
> That the economical subjection of the man of labour to the monopoliser of the means of labour, that is, the sources of life, lies at the bottom of servitude in all its forms, of all social misery, mental degradation, and political dependence;
>
> That the economical emancipation of the working classes is therefore the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means....

These were to become literally the statutes of the Workingmen's Party founded in July 1876. Former members of the I.W.A. like Albert Currlin were members of the Workingmen's Party and the Executive Committee of the St. Louis strike. Many other I.W.A. members who were active in the 1870s in St. Louis, like Otto Weydemeyer (Joseph Weydemeyer's son) and Herman Meyer, were the ones who succeeded in getting the Workingmen's Party at its founding to adopt these first principles. A member of the Executive Committee in the St. Louis strike who was, with Marx, one of the founding members of the I.W.A. in 1864 in London was a

54-year-old shoe-fitter, James E. Cope. These principles were the world expression of proletarian self-emancipation and international solidarity and were integral to 1877.

Marx did not allow the First International's support for the North and correspondence with Lincoln to deter him from the more serious relationship with the Abolitionists whom he considered as the real vanguard. As he put it in the Vienna Presse on August 30, 1862, a speech by Wendell Phillips "is of greater importance than a battle bulletin." When the fortunes of the North were deteriorating so that even Engels feared the superior generalship of the South would win out, Marx assured him that the dialectics of the struggle was quite different. "A single Negro regiment," he wrote to Engels on August 7, 1862, "would have remarkable effect on Southern nerves...."

Colonel Higginson was practicing the very same principles. He was quoted in the New York Times on February 10, 1863: "It would have been madness to attempt with the bravest white troops what (was) successfully accomplished with black ones." He was referring to the establishment in Jacksonville, Florida of the first post on the mainland in the Department of the South established by his pioneer regiment. Even before that the "experimental" regiment on St. Simon's Island paved the way with its uncommon bravery and discipline, including a weekly excursion to the mainland where one "scout used to go regularly to his old mother's hut, and keep himself hid under her bed, while she collected for him all the latest news of rebel movements. This man never came back without bringing recruits with him."[7]

The first Black troops, though they still faced the hostility of northern whites and had a long struggle to get paid their lower wages, laid open the new secret weapon in the war against slavery: emancipation of the slaves, a civil war not just "to save the union" but for the abolition of slavery. By the war's end 186,017 Black troops had officially served in the Northern armies.

By the war's end Weydemeyer was commander of the military government of St. Louis. At no time did Weydemeyer divide his war activities from his work for the projection of Marx's ideas, whether they be in the historic-philosophic framework of Marx's Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte or in organizational-political work. He got an excerpt of Marx's I.W.A. Inaugural Address printed in the St. Louis Daily Press which wrote an editorial in favor of the Address and the I.W.A. itself. Weydemeyer actually influenced the whole new eight-hour movement that was to follow the conclusion of the Civil War. The totality of his commitment was so deep and had such long-lasting ramifications for the labor movement in the U.S. that death itself did not stop it. Cholera killed off Weydemeyer in August 1866 but the legacy, far from being a mere heirloom, was the ground for the further development of Marx himself, his restructuring of Capital, as the labor movement in the U.S. shifted its center of activity from St. Louis to Chicago.

THE 1871 GREAT FIRE in Chicago which nearly destroyed the city became, however, a new point of departure for labor's development. Poor people demonstrated in the thousands demanding relief money and jobs. Major strikes were

7. Higginson, Thomas Wentworth, ARMY LIFE IN A BLACK REGIMENT (Collier Books, N.Y., 1962) p. 263.

staged throughout the 70s. As workers met all over the country to demand the eight-hour day on May 18, 1874, Chicago had one of the largest workers' meetings in its history. The stream of refugees from the 1848 revolutions had swelled Chicago's German population to 15% by 1877. A new German edition of the **Communist Manifesto** which originally anticipated the 1848 revolutions was issued by two German sections (4 and 5) of the I.W.A. in Chicago in 1871.

Though the I.W.A. was formally disbanded in July 1876, a week later it took a new form in order to first build up a national movement—"The Workingmen's Party of the United States." Its official statement, **Better Times**, published in Chicago by Dr. A. Douai a few months after the Great Strike, declares that it "stands on the same principles as the I.W.A." Chicago was the national center of the Workingmen's Party with Phillip Van Patten as its head. The rabid press attacks on "foreigners" could not hold up in the attacks on a socialist like Van Patten since he happened to come from a family with a long history in the U.S. When one anti-Marxist historian discovered that Phillip Van Patten only spent $4.61 for expenses during the Great Strike beyond his regular paltry income, he joked that "it certainly was a revolution on a shoestring." Just as "revolution on a shoestring" is beyond the comprehension of bourgeois writers, so was the remarkable legacy of 1877 as "biography" of another important leader of the Workingmen's Party, Albert Parsons, who was likewise "pure" Americana. Instead of being a "refugee" from Germany, he was a refugee from the racist South. Born in Montgomery, Alabama, his ancestry went back to 1632 in America. He married a Black woman, Lucy Parsons, who stayed active in the movement for the rest of her life after Albert's "legal" murder in 1887 along with three other Haymarket martyrs.

What the 1880s will spell out for Chicago is beyond the period we are considering. 1877 is its high point. On Wednesday, July 25, 1877 as the workers of St. Louis took control of the city, Marx hailed the event as the "first explosion against the associated oligarchy of capital which has occurred since the Civil War (and) will naturally again be suppressed, but can very well form the point of origin of an earnest workers' party... A nice sauce is being stirred over there, and the transference of the International to the United States may obtain a very remarkable post festum opportuneness."

III. The St. Louis Hegelians— A New Departure in Thought

ON THE EVE of the Civil War, all lesser economic and political issues were obscured as America's fundamental crisis reached the point of explosion. With runaway slaves seeking freedom in the North, the Underground Railway helping them escape, and whites joining Blacks in the Abolitionist movement to undermine the economic foundation of cotton-culture, two inseparable questions remained: one country or two? freedom or slavery?

The idea of freedom brought two men together in St. Louis who would turn over the philosophic humus of America: the Connecticut Yankee intellectual William Torrey Harris, and the German mechanic and Hegelian, Henry Brockmeyer. They felt the world-shaking events of the day very deeply.

St. Louis, its population doubled between 1850 and 1860, was thought by many to be the great city of America's future. As the jumping-off place for the pioneering movement west, it became the western center of trade, manufacture, and culture. It was also the center of immigration: there were more foreign languages spoken in St. Louis than anywhere else in the United States, and its reputation for cosmopolitanism spread world-wide. With a torrent of German and French refugees from the defeated revolutions of 1848 meeting the great stream of Black American refugees from slavery, is it any wonder that the idea of freedom, overflowing its ancient channel of abstraction, flooded St. Louis?

Harris and Brockmeyer, two very different men, shared an interest and belief in the power of ideas and philosophy. The many-faceted but directionless thought of Harris reacted with the single-minded Hegelianism of the immigrant iron molder Brockmeyer, changing both their directions and uniting them in consciously organizationally bringing Hegelian philosophy to America—not as foreign doctrine, but as the only philosophy appropriate to the new world.

They began this task in three ways: 1. Harris and Brockmeyer responded to the urgency they felt by taking off to the woods for weeks working at a feverish pace translating Hegel's **Science of Logic** and **Phenomenology of Mind** for publication. By June 26, 1861 the three volumes of the **Science of Logic** had been completed and in two weeks they had two hundred and fifty-four pages of the **Phenomenology of Mind** in shorthand, and expected to have the whole work written out longhand within a month. 2. They organized the St. Louis Philosophical Society. 3. They created the **Journal of Speculative Philosophy**. Though the Journal will not appear until after the Civil War, Harris always had such a perspective and the idea of it certainly inspired Brockmeyer.

One of the sharpest conflicts in relating thought to activity was in one of the founders of Hegelianism in America, Henry Brockmeyer. For the first year of the war he retreated to his hut in backwoods Missouri. He swore absolute hostility to the draft and resistance to the death. In a few months, however, he not only returned and organized a regiment of German volunteers serving as a Lt. Colonel for

the balance of the war, but he saw that a relationship between the idea of freedom, even when limited to thought as in Hegel, was inseparable from the imperative need to abolish slavery.

A Mechanic's Diary, published in 1910, four years after Brockmeyer's death, illuminates the whole period under discussion here revealing his total absorption of Hegel—how he lived Hegel. Brockmeyer recorded his thoughts and conversations with people as varied as his foundry shopmates and the future United States Commissioner of Education, William Torrey Harris. Whether it was actually written in 1856 is beside the point. Rather than a simple record of events, this diary is a deliberately thought out description of how Brockmeyer's philosophy and life were a unity.

A Mechanic's Diary records the thoughts and activities of the man who sparked the St. Louis Hegelians. Brockmeyer would write one day about Hegel's **Science of Logic**; the next day about molding stoves; the third day nothing because "My hands are very sore tonight. I cannot hold the pen to write."[8] What in Hegel spoke to an immigrant German laborer and started a movement in St. Louis whose effects are still evident? **A Mechanic's Diary** makes clear that it was the idea of self-determination that pervades the **Science of Logic**. Brockmeyer writes:

> Again, it is also evident that in this occupation (the knowing investigating itself) the knowing determines itself, as there is no other than itself to effect its activity. It subpoenas before it the universal products of the human mind, and by virtue of its own inherent universality, recognizes them as its own. In determining this content it therefore determines itself, not as this or that individual, whose intelligence is clouded by this or that interest, passion or presupposition, but as vital humanity—the individual dominated by his inherent universality, the individual as man; for it is only in this attitude that he participates in the thoughts of the race, the results of which he proposes to investigate. (p. 56)

Brockmeyer brought a great philosophy to America; understanding of that philosophy was what America brought to him. In America Brockmeyer saw a land populated by

> . . . a people, drawn as it were, by lot of destiny from all the nations of the earth. The only condition attached for the individual to become incorporated is that he possess the courage to forsake the old and adopt the new—to forsake the old, his home, the use and wont of his forefathers, dare a perilous voyage and not tremble in the untrodden gloom of the wilderness. There is not a man or woman upon this continent whose blood is not freighted with this courage. . . This people did not inherit a home; they built it: wrote it out with their own toil. It is new! (p. 74)

Brockmeyer saw proof of self-determination all around him. With feudalism abolished, human beings were free to develop in many ways.

8. Brockmeyer, Henry C., A MECHANIC'S DIARY (Published by E.C. Brokmeyer, Washington D.C., 1910) p. 9.

Unlike so-called philosophers today, he had no difficulty overcoming a supposed barrier between the ideas of the Science of Logic and everyday life.

> Read over my notes on the study of logic and see nothing in it to change, even if it was to be read by everybody. For what does it amount to but this, that if the knowing investigates itself, it in so doing relates itself to itself, it mediates and finally determines itself. Nobody can deny that. Then, as to the knowing being at the bottom of all human affairs and achievements, I don't think that anybody can question that either; certainly not, if he has ever done as much as to mold a skillet or raise a hill of potatoes, or a row of beans. (p. 57)

This concretization of Hegel's philosophy was one of the unique contributions of the St. Louis Hegelians.

THE CIVIL WAR had exploded and a steady stream of refugees fled the most bitterly contested border state—Missouri. Sick and wounded soldiers were housed in St. Louis and the city economy suffered from declining population, increased war costs, and taxation. None of this, however, **stopped the philosophical development.** What permeated every aspect of Harris' whole life was an appreciation of German philosophy, Hegelian dialectics especially. This was revealed in all facets of his activity whether that be in his exposition of **Hegel's Logic** (S.C. Griggs & Company, Chicago 1890):

> Every new freedom gained emancipated humanity at first. But after a time it imposes on the soul a sort of external authority and needs to be replaced by a newer freedom, more internal, more subjective, more psychologic and less ontologic in its form, though not less ontologic in its substance. (p. 36)

or a letter to his uncle written June 26, 1861:

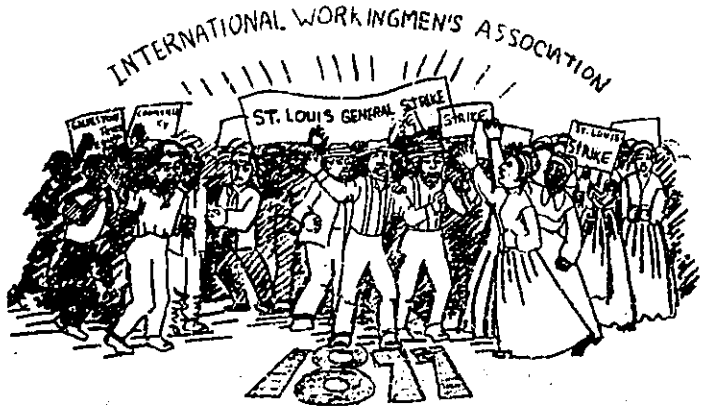
> The difference between the German philosophy and what one ordinarily understands by that term philosophy is that the latter is a mass of unmeaning abstractions, which do not assist one's insight into anything, while the former is a development which sweeps the whole universe of science at one swoop, logic, nature, and spirit. [9]

Harris and Brockmeyer recognized the total break with the past that Hegelian philosophy represented. In a time when upheaval and change were the norm, they found Hegel's dialectical view of history brought order to the apparent chaos around them. Their committment to Hegel's philosophy was reinforced by great objective events. In the same letter to his uncle, Harris writes:

> As for this war, I consider...it the greatest action of this half century. As others have said war only establishes what was begun a hundred years ago. Namely, we are finding the rational internal limit to the freedom which we had secured externally before.

At the war's outbreak, Harris was a school principal. When the state approp-

9. William Torrey Harris Papers, Missouri Historical Society.



National spirit of unity of white and Black workers and women is reflected in this drawing specially rendered by artist Angela Terrano for this pamphlet.

riated school funds for the military, Harris raised money any way he could. His commitment to free public education meant there were only two years, 1861 and 1862, when St. Louis children paid a minimum tuition. Because of his creativity and organizing skill during the war years, in 1867 he became assistant superintendent of the whole school system; and his belief and practice of self-development by education runs through the rest of his life. But whether Harris realized it or not, the philosophic development of the idea of freedom he particularized in education was in **three decades of the great Abolitionist movement**; and its origins were the southern slave insurrections and the passengers of the Underground Railroad.

Harris was also a journalist. One published article called "Philosophy of History" connected, albeit abstractly, the dialectics of the war and the abolition of slavery. Another article defended General Fremont who, like Harris, made no separation between the abolition of slavery and his activity in the war. Fremont freed the Missouri slaves in 1861 although he knew Lincoln disapproved. He arrested pro-Confederate editors and suppressed their newspapers. Harris' support came at a crucial time when General Fremont was being viciously attacked in the northern press.

Although the **Journal of Speculative Philosophy** did not appear until after the Civil War, it preoccupied Harris throughout the period. The St. Louis Philosophical Society was founded in January, 1866 with Henry Brockmeyer as president and William Torrey Harris as secretary. One of their first priorities was the revision and publication of Brockmeyer's translation of Hegel's **Science of Logic**. This task was never completed. Brockmeyer worked on the revision for the rest of his life, but never found a publisher. However, they all studied it: the manuscript was passed from hand to hand and was the basis of many of their discussions. The St. Louis Philosophical Society had fifty-one charter members, and an extensive auxiliary consisting of those who did not live in Missouri and women (!). Among its members

were Denton J. Snider, George Holmes Howison, Judge J. Gabriel Woerner, Thomas Davidson and Frank L. Soldan. Women in the auxiliary were in excellent company: besides Anna C. Brackett, Susan E. Blow and Mary Beedy there were Amos Bronson Alcott, Ralph Waldo Emerson, General Ethan Allen Hitchcock, Johann B. Stallo, William Gilpin, Henry James, J.H. Stirling, Karl Rosenkranz, Frederick Henry Hedge, James B. Eads, Joseph Pulitzer and J.H. Fichte.

This group was a focus around which different schools of thought defined their ideas. Then the great divide was not in thought alone, but on which side you stood in the actual Civil War. For example, Adolf E. Kroeger, a regular contributor to the **Journal** and one of the original members of the St. Louis Philosophical Society, was active in many freedom movements.

Although Kroeger thought Hegelian and Fichtean philosophy "essentially" the same, his own activism expressed the unity of freedom as self-activity and the movement of history. During the war his journalism popularized the latest developments both in German idealist philosophy, and in freedom movements throughout the world. In the St. Louis press he reported and supported national liberation movements in Ireland, Italy, and Poland. Kroeger was an avid Abolitionist who attacked Lincoln. In one article he urged the Radical Party to dump Lincoln for his failure to see the Civil War as a war of liberation. He wrote in the **Missouri Republican** on December 8, 1863 "Unless freedom and civil rights are not merely guaranteed, but given to the negroes, all our efforts will have been fruitless. Slavery will sneak back again, resume its place, and whole misery will return in a second edition."

Like Harris, Kroeger rose to the all-important moment when in 1861, with the Democratic Party in total disarray, General Fremont issued and enforced his own Emancipation Proclamation in Missouri. The freeing and arming of Blacks at that point, Kroeger argued, would have made the entire northern population Abolitionists; and he called the failure to do so the "most humiliating and disgraceful episode of this war." He saw clearly **the dialectical moment** when a subjective movement for freedom so informs the objective situation that it sets the stage for a **new universal development.**

The urgency of the Civil War left no time for the separation of thought and activity. The dialectical movement unfolded in spite of its agents, and Lincoln was finally forced to use emancipation of Blacks as a weapon against the South. In a border state like Missouri it was impossible not to feel one's immediate activity inextricably bound to important historic developments.

On May 10, 1860 six thousand volunteers, mostly German workers led by General Lyon, marched on the arsenal at St. Louis' Camp Jackson which was controlled by officers sympathetic to the South. Henry Brockmeyer participated in its capture, which secured for the Union the state of Missouri and its first victory. Denton J. Snider, historian and one of the founders of the St. Louis movement, also served in the Union cause and later expressed the intimate relation between the spontaneous action of the German workers in St. Louis and the beginning of the St. Louis Philosophical Society. The founders, he said, were "animated by the spirit of the Camp Jackson deed, which marked a new turning point, even if very local and minute, in the World's History."[10]

10. Goetzmann, William H., THE AMERICAN HEGELIANS (Alfred A. Knopf, N.Y., 1973) p. 29.

The St. Louis Hegelians used philosophy in many aspects of their lives; but they were limited in a most important dimension of Hegelian thought, and this limitation was self-imposed. St. Louis Hegelians refused to admit socialists to their circle. They also managed to keep most socialist Hegelian writings out of the **Journal**. In this they not only deprived American thought, but lessened their own role in history. Henry Brockmeyer had been in his youth a slave owner. Indeed, in **A Mechanic's Diary** he was still a racist. He failed to apply the ideas of self-determination and the universality of freedom to masses of Black people struggling for liberation.

Brockmeyer's interpretation of Hegelian philosophy was broad because he applied it to thought and activity together; unfortunately, he narrowed his concept of freedom to an individualistic pulling yourself up by your bootstraps. Though he was for union and viewed the Civil War as inevitable, even here he was ambivalent, writing that the "chain" binding the republic to slavery "will be broken. No danger of that! But the cost of breaking it fills me with apprehension..."[11] But once freedom was the issue in actual war, Brockmeyer did not separate his view of life from his actions and fought on the side of the North, coming back a hero. Precisely such activism in thought as in fact transformed the border state Missouri into an integral part of the North in the Civil War.

The proletarian character of **A Mechanic's Diary** is evident from the first entry—a conversation of Brockmeyer's shopmates telling how hunger brought them to America—to the last, describing an injury he suffered on the factory floor. If anything proves the proletariat to be reason as well as force, even when burdened by prejudice, this is it. The modern reader, like Brockmeyer's contemporaries, is attracted to his personality by the earthy character he gives philosophy. He personifies what was at once the frontier and urban milieu of St. Louis.

THE NEW NATIONAL consciousness which developed made possible new relationships, new associations, and, most important for Henry Brockmeyer, a serious organizational commitment to philosophy. "With self-determination as the ultimate principle of the universe, thought has arrived at totality, and therefore true objective internality..." (p. 24) wrote Brockmeyer in **A Mechanic's Diary**. Whether or not his "universe" was a whole society resolving the question of freedom vs. slavery, he does describe the objective conditions for a total philosophy becoming the ground of human activity.

In this period the Hegelians established the St. Louis Philosophical Society and with it, in 1867, the **Journal of Speculative Philosophy**. The **Journal** dwarfed the publications of the Transcendentalists, and was the first serious philosophic journal written in English. Such was the jealousy of Concord and New York intellectuals that when **The New York Times** reviewed the **Journal** they downgraded Harris' lectures on the basis that he was from St. Louis.

In its life-time the **Journal** published all members and most auxiliary members of the St. Louis Philosophical Society listed earlier. John Dewey wrote for it as did Josiah Royce, William James, Charles Peirce, Julia Ward Howe, and other important thinkers of the period.

11. A MECHANIC'S DIARY, p. 113.

The **Journal** covered philosophy from the Greeks to the present—especially Hegelianism. It gave the American public translations of over 5,500 pages of philosophy from Greek, French, Polish, Swedish, Italian, and of course German. Much of this was done by the women and some of their translations, in particular Fichte and Rosenkranz, are used today. Not only the contents but the reputation of the **Journal** were international. In 1915 the former British Prime Minister Arthur J. Balfour, showing off his sixteen volumes of the **Journal**, said that he had read every one of them and that a similar publication could not have been supported in England.

In the United States even Pragmatism came out of Hegelian dialectics. The celebrated, "uniquely American" philosophy is acknowledged by John Dewey to have its roots in the St. Louis movement. Dewey tells us that his first two published articles appeared in the **Journal** and that William Torrey Harris encouraged him to continue his philosophical development. Indeed, long after he broke with Hegel and established his own independent philosophy, Dewey expressed his Hegelian roots quite well in a letter to Harris:

> When I was studying the German philosophers, I read something of yours on them of which one sentence has always remained with me...You spoke of the "great psychological movement from Kant to Hegel"...one thing I have attempted to do is translate a part at least of the significance of the movement into your present psychological movement.[12]

Dewey is acknowledging the truth: from the friendship of Harris and Brockmeyer, from their discussions, the nation's first philosophic journal arose and evoked all other strands of American philosophic thought including that most original "Americanism," Pragmatism.

Harris saw too much in education itself but his interest was broad, reflecting its philosophic origin. Harris was a leader in the movement for free universal public education that Blacks were making a reality in the south during Reconstruction. Harris' answer to those who disregarded any ideas from Europe, wanting something purely American, was that, "Only the Truth makes (us) Free and Original. How many people stand in the way of their own originality! If an Absolute Science should be discovered by anybody, we could all become absolutely original by mastering it."[13] He so believed proper education would liberate the human mind that he made the name of his day's greatest freedom struggle—emancipation—a central category in his philosophy of education:

> Emancipation has now become the important side of the educational question...(The student) cannot progress unless he is a free man... (and can) investigate scientifically, and with safety to himself, all problems that present themselves.[14]

12. Pochmann, Henry A., NEW ENGLAND TRANSCENDENTALISM AND ST. LOUIS HEGELIANISM (Haskell House Publishers Ltd., N.Y., 1970) p. 120.

13. JOURNAL OF SPECULATIVE PHILOSOPHY, edited by William Torrey Harris, Vol. I 1867, "Originality" p. 128.

14. THE AMERICAN HEGELIANS, p. 302.

It is this view of education, grounded in Hegelian philosophy and tempered in the Civil War, that Harris took with him to Washington, D.C. in 1889 where as the seventh United States Commissioner of Education he molded this country's educational system for over ten years.

The educational aspect of the St. Louis movement—whether in the kindergarten movement, of which we will have more to say later, or Denton J. Snider's free university—was never separated from its historic content. Henry Brockmeyer, after a long career as a successful politician, had his fill and toward the end of his life expressed his spontaneous yet universal view of pedagogy. Instead of going with Harris to Concord for further debate with the Transcendentalists, he returned to the woods, around Muskogee, Oklahoma, to teach philosophy to the Indians. This was no rustic idyll: over thirty Native American tribes, their homelands stolen by the government, were being forcibly relocated in Oklahoma.

A dramatic ending for an individualist like Henry Brockmeyer, but not for history.

Women and men were cut down by murderous fire of the Sixth Regiment of troops in Baltimore ordered to crush strike of railroad workers in 1877.

IV. The Forgotten Philosophers, Anna C. Brackett and Susan E. Blow—and the Black Dimension

FROM 1857 TO 1877, women's activism took many forms. Harriet Tubman's and Sojourner Truth's leadership in the Abolitonist movement inspired a generation of white women to stop being "auxiliaries" and fight for their freedom. As early as 1844 Margaret Fuller expressed the interconnectedness of the struggle for freedom of women and Blacks when she wrote in **Women in the Nineteenth Century**. "As the friend of the negro assumes that one man cannot by right hold another in bondage, so should the friend of Woman assume that Man cannot lay even well-meant restrictions on Woman." [15]

In 1856, Chicago women organized the Kansas Women's Aid and Liberty Association to support the Free Soilers in the Kansas Civil War. Army records showed that when Civil War broke out nationally 400 women fought disguised as men. There must have been many more as one of these women, Frances Hook of Chicago, helped bury three women soldiers dressed as men.

We showed in chapter two the participation of the Black woman, Susie King Taylor, who during the war was with Higginson's regiment. She speaks for herself on the activism of Black women:

> There are many people who do not know what some of the colored women did during the war. There were hundreds of them who assisted the Union soldiers by hiding them and helping them to escape. Many were punished for taking food to the prison stockades for the prisoners...The soldiers were starving, and these women did all they could toward relieving those men, although they knew the penalty, should they be caught giving them aid. Others assisted in various ways the Union army. [16]

Ever since the first women's convention, Seneca Falls 1848, there was not only a strong and inspiring interrelationship between Black women and white middle class women like Susan B. Anthony, who was a leader of the National Woman Suffrage Association, but following the war Sojourner Truth and Harriet Tubman parted ways with Frederick Douglass. This happened when Douglass felt that the continuation of the women's fight before the Black men won their vote would make impossible the achievement of that right.

In the relations with labor the feminist movement was ambiguous, as is clear from Anthony's newspaper **The Revolution**. The feminist movement not only

15. Fuller, Margaret, WOMEN IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY (W.W. Norton, N.Y., 1971) p. 37.

16. REMINISCENCES OF MY LIFE IN CAMP, p. 67.

thought that suffrage was more important than labor but at a later stage experienced an actual split when they considered both racists and reactionaries to be one with them. The contributions of women in labor, in and for itself, are so great that it is fantastic to think that the only criterion for women freedom fighters is the vote.

Herstory has been so long ignored that often all that remains are hostile newspaper accounts of "unkempt dirty women" and "foul wenches" in a march or strike. After 1867 women were allowed to join a few male unions, but they didn't wait for the invitation: underpaid, half-starved women workers organized Protective Associations in St. Louis and Chicago during the Civil War.

In 1863 women laundry workers in Troy, New York went on strike, led by Kate Mullaney. When the iron molders struck in 1865, these laundry women donated $1000 to the men; and in 1868 William Sylvis, president of the National Labor Union, chose Mullaney for its assistant secretary. That same year Augusta Lewis, a typesetter, became president of the Women's Typographical Union No. 1. In 1870 she was elected corresponding secretary of the national union, a post she filled "with singular ability.". Throughout her career she fought for equal pay for women.[17]

In education the activity of women was not only outstanding, but creatively gave it a new direction. During slavery it was women, usually Black, who risked their lives teaching Black children to read and write. After the Civil War, Black and white women taught in the only free public schools the South had ever known.

Finally, during these two decades, women were leaders in a new development in thought and activity which had an effect on America that is unknown, unappreciated and so deeply buried in the underground of philosophy that even feminists of today disregard them as if women's contribution to thought doesn't count where it hasn't been labelled by them as "feminist." It becomes necessary to focus on the most persistently ignored story of the American Hegelian movement, Anna C. Brackett and Susan E. Blow.

ANNA BRACKETT BELIEVED that self-development was vital to the education of children, and particularly the education of American girls. She practiced this belief with such success that by 1860, at age 24, her reputation had reached William Torrey Harris. He upped the standard salary to induce her to come to St. Louis as a normal school principal; and once there, she became part of the St. Louis movement in philosophy.

Brackett, like Harris, grounded her theory of education in Hegel. She translated the Hegelian Karl Rosenkranz's "Pedagogics as a System" for the **Journal of Speculative Philosophy** in 1873, a translation still used today. She contributed over 18 articles, translations and poems to the **Journal** in its 21 year span. In an 1881 article Brackett paraphrased and added her own reflections to Rosenkranz's educational philosophy. Her Hegelianism is evident in her emphasis on self-development and self-determination leading to the absolute, freedom.

> The nature of Education is determined by the nature of mind, the distinguishing mark of which is that it can be developed only from

17. Flexner, Eleanor, CENTURY OF STRUGGLE (Atheneum, N.Y., 1971) p. 135.

> within, and by its own activity. Mind is essentially free—i.e., it has the capacity for freedom—but cannot be said to possess freedom till it has obtained it by its own voluntary effort. Till then it cannot be truly said to be free. Education consists in enabling a human being to take possession of, and develop himself by, his own efforts, and the work of the educator cannot be said to be done in any sense where this is not accomplished.[18]

From this knowledge and understanding of philosophy, Brackett put her ideas into practice. Her ideas on the education of American girls remains a contribution to us today. Although education was important to Brackett, she did not make the mistake that John Dewey made, who also got his start in the American Hegelian movement. Dewey broke with Hegelianism, but acted as if freedom could emerge from a classroom instead of **actual struggles for freedom**. Far from ignoring the non-academic world, Brackett was an activist. She never separated her concern for education from a vision of freedom which saw Native American, Black and woman as self-determining subjects.

Brackett wrote several popular books and edited two more on women's education. In 1892 she described in **The Technique of Rest** what Betty Friedan's **Feminine Mystique**, seventy years later, called "the disease that has no name."

> But the "home maker" has not, nor can she have, any such change, her hours are always from the rising of the sun beyond the going down of the same. She cannot get away from the demands made upon her, and as the years go on, these tighten more and more. She may try to escape them, but there are more in number than the sands of the sea, and disappear for a moment only to return in other and more complicated forms. The more humble and the more in earnest she grows, the more weary she gets, till she lives in a perpetual sense of not being able to draw one full breath. Many a woman will recognize the truth of these words, though it will seem to most men that they are exaggerated.[19]

In May 1864 Anna Brackett became editor of the **Daily Contersign**, the newspaper of the Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair. The Sanitary Commission was a national volunteer organization which helped the army purchase and distribute medical supplies. Two women organized the first sanitary fair in Chicago to raise $25,000; in two weeks they took in over $70,000, and women created Sanitary Commissions and held Fairs all across the North.

The Mississippi Valley Sanitary Fair, besides raising money, aided soldiers, their families, orphans, and displaced Blacks. The **Daily Contersign**, controlled and published by women, reported exhibits, events, and money raised. With Brackett as editor the paper became more than a laundry listing of money raised and exhibits. At a time when the northern press still ridiculed the Union Army's Black regiments, she printed Blacks speaking for themselves even as they were winning their freedom. One letter she printed was written by a man who was a slave only a year

18. Brackett, Anna C., "The Science of Education. A Paraphrase of Dr. Karl Rosenkranz's 'Pedagogics as a System,' With Additional Reflections." from JOURNAL OF SPECULATIVE PHILOSOPHY, Vol. 15, 1881.

19. Brackett, Anna C., THE TECHNIQUE OF REST (Harper and Brothers, N.Y., 1892) p. 3.

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The Daily Countersign.

PUBLISHED BY THE LADIES' EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE FOR THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY SANITARY FAIR.

"POSSUNT QUIA POSSE VIDENTUR."

No. 8. St. Louis, May 26, 1864. Price 10 Cents.

The Daily Countersign.

MANAGERS, { MRS. R. W. CLARK, MRS. E. A. HAMLETT.

EDITOR, ANNA C. BRACKETT.

Thursday, May 26, 1864.

THE FAIR.

Reduced Rates of Admission, on and after Friday Morning, May 20th.

ADMISSION ..... 50 cts
CHILDREN ..... 25 cts Price.

Doors open at corner of Clark and Beaumont and main doors promptly at two o'clock, P. M.

BRIG. GEN. BENJ. GRIERSON, President.

HEAD QUARTERS OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE OF THE MISS. VAL. SAN. FAIR
FAIR BUILDINGS,
ST. LOUIS, May 19, 1864.

To the Cashiers of the Several Departments:

The "Central Finance Committee" have in the Building a *Fire and Burglar Proof Safe*, and are prepared to receive your deposits of money daily, at any hour of the day up to ten (10) o'clock, P. M. R. W. RICE, Esq., Assistant Secretary, will receipt for the same, and your Department will be duly credited.

Very respectfully,
Your ob't servant,
E. W. FOX,
Chairman Cen. Fin. Com.

M. J. LEFFINGWELL, Secty.

☞ The Finance Committee have their Head Quarters near the Floral Department.

THE FAIR.

The great success of the Fair is owing to the generous charity of the Western people. It is true that the gross receipts will not equal those of the New York Fair, which amounted to more than a million dollars. The reason of this is our unequal population, and the inferior wealth from which we draw. The immense population of New York City, Brooklyn, Newark, and other cities in the vicinity, amounting to several millions, were sufficient to fill their large buildings every day, and several times a day, with an entirely new set of people. But we, whose city can scarcely contain more than two hundred thousand people, many of whom are necessitants, must depend on the continued visits of the same persons; but will accomplish them, by our own contributions, and by our repeated appeals to the charitable at large, be not far from realizing half so large a sum. The grand style of American charities is characteristic of the American people. Europeans do not understand them, nor the spirit of patriotism in which they originate. We quote from the New York paper published by the Fair in that city. "A great Sanitary Fair' is announced in the American newspapers,' said a recent London paper; 'what can they mean by that?'" We answer with the New York paper, that if the correspondent of that journal were present at our fair, "and would report truly, and without prejudice, what he saw, our English friends would be furnished with the only answer to this captious question which we care to give them." Our Fairs have not been gotten up through the desire of show, or for the gratification of national pride, but for the sake of giving assistance to those who are greatly in need of it. The number of our sick and wounded soldiers, the wide dispersion of our armies, rendered private charities inadequate to the work, and social organizations were necessary to secure its prompt and efficient accomplishment. The result has been a social concentration of effort and a quickening everywhere of the sentiment of nationality.

While such thoughts as these ran through our brain, we were met with an instance of the grand scale on which the St. Louis Fair is conducted, viz: the *Four Banks Scale*, situated near the Floral Temple. A test specimen of this article stands ready to try the weight of every person of humanity, while a beautiful stuffed eagle and a beautiful (not stuffed) young lady, keep constant watch over this weighty matter. A certificate issued by the fair young lady discloses your weight anywhere. Oh dear! like an anchor, we have been quite certain weight! To return. At this stand may be seen a full dress uniform, which about one dozen ladies of St. Louis design to present to Lieutenant General Grant. The three olive stars upon the epaulettes and shoulder straps are indicative of his rank, while the collar and cuffs are ornamented with superior gold lace in the design of oak leaves. The coat was made by G. W. Alexander, of this city, and is the first uniform for an officer of that grade ever made in America. Lieutenant General Scott's having come from England.

FURNITURE AND UPHOLSTERY.

The wall of this department is entirely carpeted with carpets of the richest material and most elegant patterns. Several pieces of these represent natural scenes; for instance, a farm-yard, a hunting scene, an elephant in his native jungles in Hindostan, the American eagle, and a camel and its rider hieing at a well in—

"Arabia, the land of the blest."

These are from the various carpet dealers in the city, and from Atwood, Robins & Co., of Philadelphia, and W. & J. Sloane, of New York. Most of the contributions to this department are from the city itself. We noticed some elegant chairs from J. M. Wright, of Bangor, N. Y. A beautiful mirror over a $100. McClintock's grate, clocks, tables, sofas, &c., are on hand, and present a beautiful appearance. An extension bedstead, capable of being done up in small compass, from J. Miller & Co., is not already provided with mattresses and a mosquito bar, from J. R. Price, a supply of the well known penitentiary toy-bedsteads, and articles of children's furniture complete the assortment. Most of these articles will be raffled for. There is likewise a billiard table in this department, manufactured by the well known firm of J. M. Brunswick, and presented to the Fair by G. W. Billings of this city. Mr. R. W. Mitchell is in charge. Upon the payment of 50 cents any one may indulge in the pleasant amusement of "turning ivory," and a great number of persons avail themselves of the opportunity.

IRON AND STEEL DEPARTMENT.

Under the sign of the Anvil is situated the Iron Department. Here, the articles are not numerous, but each donation is very valuable and all are worthy of notice. The Bligo Iron Works make the most liberal donation, viz: $500 in cash and articles to the value of $1000. Some of these are as follows: first, what is technically called a gun-carriage chair-iron. It is an article used in a tramway for raising guns into position, and resembles the rail of a railway. Next, is a right-angled piece of iron to be used as a rib in the construction of the great gunboat Monadnock; also some iron shavings made in smoothing the surface of her plates, and punches used in making her bolt-holes. Particularly interesting is a huge circular bolt head, the widest piece of rolled iron yet turned out. It is 102 inches in diameter, one-half inch thick and weighs 1150 pounds. A cannon of American Steel, patented and manufactured by Singer, Nimick & Co. of Pittsburg, is especially noteworthy. Generals Meredith and Pleasonton, upon examination, have pronounced very favorably upon it. It is designed to accompany infantry, and from the large size of its wheels and the extreme lightness of its frame, it can easily be conveyed from place to place by two men. It is rifled throughout, carries a small ball, is

Under editorship of Anna C. Brackett, this newspaper spoke out forcefully for emancipation and printed statements of freed Blacks speaking for themselves on the issue of slavery.

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before. Another informs of the contribution of a Black regiment to the fair of $1260 from 700 men who had been paid but once and then only $8.00. Printing these freedom fighters speaking for themselves was a bold commitment in the border city St. Louis, where many were secessionists and even those who fought for the Union were racists. In contrast, the **Daily Countersign** honored the Freedmen in verse:

> Come Freedman of the land,
> Come meet the last demand.
> Here's a piece of work in hand,
> Put it through!...
> Here's a country that's half free.
> And it waits for you and me
> To say what its fate shall be,
> Put it through!

THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT generally ignored its historic roots in Abolitionism; but Brackett never narrowed her vision of freedom to the single issue of suffrage. While Elizabeth Cady Stanton tried to win the vote for women by calling immigrants the "dregs of society," Brackett reported in **Harper's New Monthly Magazine** the work being done at Hampton School in Virginia, educating Blacks and Native Americans. Of these Native Americans she wrote:

> Discrowned, disinherited, he stands...But he is proud. He will not pick up the crust if we fling it to him in contempt. If we would help him, we must learn to feel his nature...We must respect his pride, and not complain that he has no feeling because he does not show it in our way. 20

Even in a book so unrelated to philosophic development as **The Technique of Rest** on ways to relax and conserve energy, Brackett has a chapter titled "Freedom." It begins with a paraphrase of Hegel's statement, "The leap to freedom is from necessity."

> All real freedom springs from necessity, for it can be gained only through the exercise of the individual will and that will can be roused to energetic action only by the force of necessity acting upon it from the outside to spur it to effort. (p. 85)

This is another way of saying that self-development is a dialectical movement through contradiction, through overcoming opposition. This understanding of freedom as a process, as a movement through alienation, was not an abstraction to Brackett; it was as concrete as housework, the blues, restrictive fashion (where a woman could not lift her arm over her head as she carried over 40 pounds of skirts and slips from the waist down), and the necessity of meaningful labor.

Today's Women's Liberationists could learn much from Anna Brackett were they not blinded by their own brand of narrow-mindedness. Brackett certainly did not allow Hegel's male chauvinism to hinder her creative application of Hegelian

20. Brackett, Anna C., "Indian and Negro," HARPER'S NEW MONTHLY MAGAZINE, Vol. LXI Sept. 1880, p. 630.

methodology—**the dialectic method**—which is clear enough from her contributions to the multidimensionality of women, self-development in children and the totality of the contribution inherent in the Black dimension. Can women in 1977 afford to throw out all of the Hegelian philosophy because Hegel himself was a sexist? Can we ignore Brackett—woman as reason—because she was a Hegelian, concentrating on methodology? Or do we begin at last, like Brackett, the serious criticism of Hegel's philosophy that may reveal a **new beginning** for our movement?

Women's Liberation is an idea whose time has come, and today there is an international freedom movement of women who have not, like the suffragists, narrowed their vision to a single issue. When they demand to become whole human beings, to have minds and bodies they themselves control, it is not just a question of strategy and tactics. The greatness of Anna C. Brackett is that she was one of the first woman principals, edited a paper, wrote extensively on the education of women, and was a humanistic philosopher.

Now that Women's Liberation is an idea whose time has come, we cannot confine ourselves only to activities of today, nor should we reduce every piece of historic past we unearth to fit today's conceptions. Though with eyes of today we should, on the contrary, see women's development—herstory—as it was and has imprinted itself on the present by what they actually did. If we take the other woman Hegelian, Susan E. Blow, we can see that she was concerned with more than higher education. To her, free educational development must begin at the beginning—in kindergarten.

SUSAN E. BLOW was the American translator of Friedrich Froebel and an advocate of early childhood education. Her thought, like Brackett's, was a prelude to action: she went on to found this country's first public kindergartens.

Blow was born in St. Louis and lived there until 1889 when she moved to New York. Like Brackett, she was part of the St. Louis movement in philosophy. She wrote extensively on Froebel's theory of the kindergarten for the **Journal of Speculative Philosophy**, and popularized it in several books. In 1873, with Harris' assistance, Blow set up the first American public school kindergarten. It became the model for the whole country. The kindergarten was public because Blow and Harris were convinced that education must be for all children. In an article on "Kindergarten Education" for the Paris Exposition of 1900, she evaluated the St. Louis experiment. While she never mentioned her own role there is no doubt that she inspired Harris to support her in establishing the kindergarten.

> Meantime, however, Hon. William T. Harris...who was then superintendent of schools in St. Louis, had called attention to the kindergarten and suggested that experiments be made with a view to introducing into the public schools such features of the system as might prove helpful in the education of children between the ages of four and six. The outcome of this suggestion was the opening of an experimental kindergarten in the fall of 1873...(as) It was impossible to go on repeating that a thing could not be done in face of the fact that it had been done, with the success of the experiment in St. Louis recognition of the kindergarten as the first stage of all public education

became simply a matter of time.[21]

Before this, kindergartens were private and only the rich could afford to send their children. Blow and Harris succeeded in making the kindergarten "an integral part of the national school system." (p. 6)

Blow's Hegelianism is evident in her many books on education. She believed that Froebel was "par excellence the philosopher of education." She prefaced her translation of **The Mottoes and Commentaries of Friedrich Froebel's Mother Play** with a history of the philosophies that influenced him, believing that "without some appreciation of the ideas in which Froebel lived, moved, and had his being, his writings and his educational work are alike incomprehensible."[22] Blow started with Kant, brought in Alcott, Emerson, Fichte, Schelling, and ended with Hegel, not to show chronology but the culmination of philosophic thought. She went on to explain:

> The educational creed of Froebel contains four reciprocally dependent articles. The first is that man is a self-creative being; the second, that in virtue of this fact education shall encourage self-expression; the third, that encouragement shall be given only to those modes of self-expression which are related to the values of human life; the fourth, that all great human values are revelations of the aboriginal self-consciousness. This final article does not deny the influence of man's biologic and historic heredity, nor does it deny the influence of either his physical or his social environment. It does, however, insist both upon the priority and the primacy of self-determination. (p. 14)

What is important here is what Blow was saying about humanity in general. Even today the debate continues whether human nature is determined by biology or environment. Writing in 1908 about the underlying philosophy of Froebel as it was practiced by her in 1873, Blow insisted on the "primacy of self-determination." This kind of thinking was as alien to Freud (whose ideas were just reaching America) with his insistence on biology as destiny, as it was to the "educators" of her time who, like ours, thought it a waste of time and money for **others** to experience self-determination.

In Blow's interpretation of Froebel, nothing must be imposed on children. She was against "pouring into the child" and believed that a person "must from the beginning of life be conceived and treated as a creative being." She opposed "the assumed priority of conscious thought over impulse and activity...the imposition (on the child) of an externally unified whole of thought" and "the substitution of arbitrary connections for those causalities which it is the one great aim of all sound education to reveal." (p. 14)

THE KINDERGARTEN MOVEMENT did more than establish kindergartens; it established the importance of self-development and self-determination in little

21. Blow, Susan E., "Kindergarten Education" from MONOGRAPHS ON EDUCATION IN THE UNITED STATES, edited by Nicholas Murray Butler (Department of Education for the United States Commission to the Paris Exposition of 1900, N.Y., 1900) p. 37.

22. Blow, Susan E., THE MOTTOES AND COMMENTARIES OF FRIEDRICH FROEBEL'S MOTHER PLAY (D. Appleton and Company, 1906) p. 14.

children, bringing the concepts of humanism and freedom into the lives of children and the consciousness of adults. After the St. Louis General Strike, a demand of the working population was to preserve the pioneer kindergartens.

Blow was important not only as the pioneer of public kindergartens and advocate of Froebel's philosophy of education, but also as a link between psychoanalysis and philosophy. Although the particular incident takes us way beyond the period we have focused on, it is important to retell because the emergence of any relationship between philosophy and psychoanalysis occurred almost by accident. Indeed it arose because her intense work brought about a nervous breakdown. She went to the famous neurologist and Freudian psychoanalyst, Dr. James Jackson Putnam. From a patient to doctor relation, theirs developed into one of philosophy to psychoanalysis which continued long after she was his patient. As it deepened he submitted his dissertations to her for comment, ending one of his letters to her: "I must learn to stand on my own feet in philosophical matters." [23]

Dr. Putnam was more than a well-respected American neurologist. At the age of sixty-three he became interested in Freudian psychoanalysis and helped gain acceptance for Freud's ideas in America; and after he learned Hegelianism from Blow, he tried to influence Freud with it. In 1912 he wrote Blow:

> You will be interested to know that the Weimar paper, in which I set forth as well as I could in a brief space, the ideas that you have so ably represented, made some real impression, so that it was discussed at a meeting in Vienna, and received both favorable, and of course antagonistic comments...Now I have been advised, and feel inspired, to attempt this same statement on a larger scale. I need not tell you what the scope of the attempt will be, because you can imagine it already. But one part will occupy itself with something of an analysis of Dr. Harris' books as well as of the views of Bergson, James, and Royce. [24]

He ended by asking for her "assistance."

In his correspondence with Freud on the relevance of the Science of Logic, Putnam urged him to "study the mind itself a la Hegel." The best example of how Blow, talking through Putnam, argued the validity of philosophy and its role in psychoanalysis with Freud, is a letter dated August 13, 1915. He sent Freud a shortened version, but for our purpose the first draft is more revealing.

> Again in your last letter you say that you believe each one of us represents a portion of the world energy but do not see that it has anything to do with the possession of freedom....I should be perfectly willing to admit that freedom characterizes only a millionth part of any act or thought. But this millionth part is, I believe, our most precious possession, and deserves our most careful study, all the more so from the fact that it is "verborgen" (hidden) and that so many men are inclined to deny its existence—just as they deny the

23. From a letter from Dr. James Jackson Putnam to Susan E. Blow dated November 14, 1912, James Jackson Putnam Papers, The Frances A. Countway Library of Medicine.

24. Ibid., Putnam to Blow, July 19, 1912.

existence of the infantile complexes.
...I feel sure that if anybody should threaten to take away that amount of freedom—be it never so small—which you feel yourself possessed of, you would resist the attempt with all your strength and with your life. [25]

It is ironic that Susan Blow, who struggled all her life to give children the opportunity for self-development, could not understand women struggling for self-realization. In a remarkable letter to Putnam she reveals the contradictions of an intellectual activist and independent woman in the 19th Century. She speaks of her "misdirected repression and concealments" which caused her "tortures in my childhood." She defines herself and demands her definition be respected:

> I have often a rebellious feeling that my hopes and despairs and struggles and self-convictions and aspirations and moral imperatives are not accorded the respect given to pebbles and beetles, clods and crystals. I am as much a reality as any physical thing—and my loves, faiths, struggles, hopes are the supreme reality of me. [26]

But in the very next sentence, she decries "the industrial life upon which so many women have entered and the whirl of social life in which so many others are caught. Both attack women and therefore make women go to pieces." While she offered no "solutions," the questioning of industrialism as any solution to women's independence, the attempt to influence the course of psychoanalysis by injecting it with an appreciation of freedom as a universal, and her own contribution to educational philosophy and woman's role in other than woman's place as assigned to her by man, open up new avenues for the women's movement even though she did not participate in it.

Brackett's and Blow's discovery cannot be separated from their concrete historic period: the male philosophers who were their friends and educational collaborators who laid the philosophic ground for their contribution; as well as the activity of masses of people—black and white, men and women—who were striving to be free. Isn't it this very relation with history and the masses struggling for freedom, that today's Women's Liberation Movement needs to work out for its own development towards a total philosophy of liberation?

History surely followed a new course not only for women but for Hegelians in general. Both the objective situation and the labor development that followed the Civil War now, by no accident whatever, associated itself with Marxists, specifically in Ohio. Indeed, one of the leaders considered himself a Marxist even after Marx broke with him.

25. Hale, Nathan G., editor, JAMES JACKSON PUTNAM AND PSYCHOANALYSIS (Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1971) p. 192.

26. The Putnam Papers, letter dated June 10, 1903.

V. Ohio: The Black Dimension, Labor, Socialism or Hegelianism?

AT THE END of the Civil War the new spirit of St. Louis saw a military government headed by Karl Marx's closest American collaborator, Joseph Weydemeyer. In 1864 William Torrey Harris and Henry Brockmeyer began organizing the St. Louis Philosophical Society. Nothing could have happened earlier: as long as the question of slavery remained unresolved, no organization not directly related to that conflict could arise. After the war new organizations sprang up everywhere. Not only philosophical organizations but **labor too was organizing.** In 1866 Blacks and whites met in Baltimore as the General Congress of Labor and demanded the eight-hour day. This was the movement Karl Marx credited with spontaneously discovering what it took him decades to develop in theory—that the struggle for shortening the working day, the very question of "When does my day begin? When does my day end?" is a greater declaration of freedom, because it is concrete, than the Declaration of Independence or the Declaration of the Rights of Man.

The question of labor was limited neither to St. Louis nor Baltimore. Labor was the national issue that became as pivotal at the end of the Civil War as the Black question was to the Civil War. It meant at one and the same time the creation of the first National Labor Union and a new direction for the Hegelians in Ohio. In fact, as against the first Ohio Hegelian, John B. Stallo, who abandoned both Hegelianism and resistance to the powers that be and confined his work to judgeship, the new influx of labor and socialism led to a subordination of philosophy to actual participation in labor movements and a relationship to Marx and the First International Workingmen's Association. The interrelationship was inseparable from the Black dimension in thought, in fact, and in person—the person of Peter Clark to whom we will return.

Two very different Hegelians entered the historic stage in Ohio. One was a reverend, Moncure Conway, the other a socialist, August Willich. What united these two was an overriding passion for human liberation, and the direction of this passion to the concrete issue of Abolitionism.

In the person of August Willich was combined the revolutionary history of German workers and Hegelian philosophy in America. An army officer in Prussia in 1845, he and Joseph Weydemeyer became leaders of a circle of officers who avidly read banned books and Hegelian philosophy. Willich's proletarian unit, with Friedrich Engels as his adjutant, was one of the last to be forced out of Germany.

With the defeat of the revolution in 1849 Willich left Switzerland for London where he became a member of the central committee of the Communist League headed by Karl Marx. A year later Marx, Engels, British and French revolutionaries formed a World Society of Revolutionary Communists whose charter Willich wrote. Philosophical differences arose between Marx and Willich when the Communist League split. Marx characterized Willich thus:

Willich went to America in 1853 in an attempt to organize German immigrants and refugees into an army to invade Germany. When he saw that this scheme would not work he left New York for Washington D.C. where he met Judge John B. Stallo, the first and most famous Ohio Hegelian. Stallo soon rejected Hegel but first helped establish Willich as editor of the **Cincinnati Republikaner.** When he turned to the American revolution, Willich made his greatest contribution.

From 1858 to 1861 he wrote hundreds of editorials and used every opportunity to attack religion, unfair laws, taxes, and capitalism. He publicized Karl Marx's ideas in America. Joseph Weydemeyer was the first to do this and was fully a Marxist as well as Marx's friend who published his work without any qualifications. Marx wrote to Weydemeyer on February 1, 1859 stressing the importance of promoting Marx's **Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy** in America: "The continuation of the project depends upon the sale of the first few parts." Willich urged people to buy **Contribution to a Critique of Political Economy** and reprinted almost all of the important preface. In an 1859 editorial he not only praised Marx as a great revolutionary political economist, but as the most profound interpreter of Hegel. It was Marx's recognition of Willich's role during the Civil War, as an Abolitionist, and with labor struggles, that caused Marx in 1875 to write, "In the American Civil War Willich demonstrated that he was something more than a weaver of fantastic projects."[28]

> In place of the universal perspective of the **Communist Manifesto**, the minority exalts German nationalism and flatters the patriotism of the German worker. In place of the materialist outlook of the Manifesto, the minority advances idealism. It makes will instead of actual conditions the primary factor in the revolution. While we tell the workers that they must go through 15, 20, 50 years of civil strife to change conditions and fit themselves for power, you tell them to seize power immediately or they can go to sleep. Just as the Democrats used the word "people" as an empty phrase, so now you use the word "proletariat." [27]

Willich used the pages of the **Cincinnati Republikaner** to further the cause of Abolitionism. He printed "Theodore Parker's Message," a condemnation of slavery. He led a mass torchlight march down the streets of Cincinnati in protest of the "legal" murder of John Brown. When the Civil War broke out, Willich, at the age of 51, resigned from the paper and joined the Union Army. Many of the German volunteers were refugees from the defeats of the proletarian uprisings in Germany in 1848 and did not hesitate to volunteer to fight in an American Civil War on the side of freedom. In a week Willich was elected adjutant of the Ninth Ohio Volunteers. His leadership was marked by victories in the face of overwhelming odds and effective troop strategy. He drilled his men in the midst of battle to steady them: shunning any undemocratic rank distinction, he shared with his troops whatever they had to endure. He retired a brevet Major General.

What set the Ohio Hegelians apart from those of St. Louis was that they were much more directly and consciously involved with the **social forces that were acting out history** in the Hegelian sense of "Die Weltgeschichte is der Fortschritt in das

27. Easton, Loyd D., HEGEL'S FIRST AMERICAN FOLLOWERS: THE OHIO HEGELIANS (Ohio University Press, Athens, Ohio, 1966) p. 172.

28. Ibid., p. 189.

Bewusstseyn der Freiheit." (All history is the history of the progress of the idea of freedom.)

To August Willich the direction philosophy gave was to socialism. To Moncure Conway the direction was to the abolition of slavery along with equality for women and religious humanism.

MONCURE CONWAY'S anti-slavery beliefs forced him to leave his congregation in Washington D.C. for a more liberal one in Cincinnati. He preached, marched, and wrote his total condemnation of slavery and belief in the equality of Blacks. In his book The Golden Hour, he wrote:

> ...the Negro has lived to prove that those who are counting upon perpetual degradation and final extermination as his destiny are running against the grain of things. He has shown a vitality equal to that of the white race, where both are out of their native climates;...He has become the dominant race in the West Indies; he has superseded the white man in Haiti altogether...[29]

Conway recognized and valued the independent thought of the slaves, and quoted them directly:

> Let none doubt that the slave is ready to stir in a way which will paralyze the armies of the South, as soon as he hears the true voice. I once asked a slave why it was that he and others did not escape; he replied, "because after getting out of the slave-holding States, we must either dive under or fly over all the slave-hating States from here to Canada." (p. 47)

Ideas and philosophy to Conway were not abstract—they were in the world and in human beings and they had power:

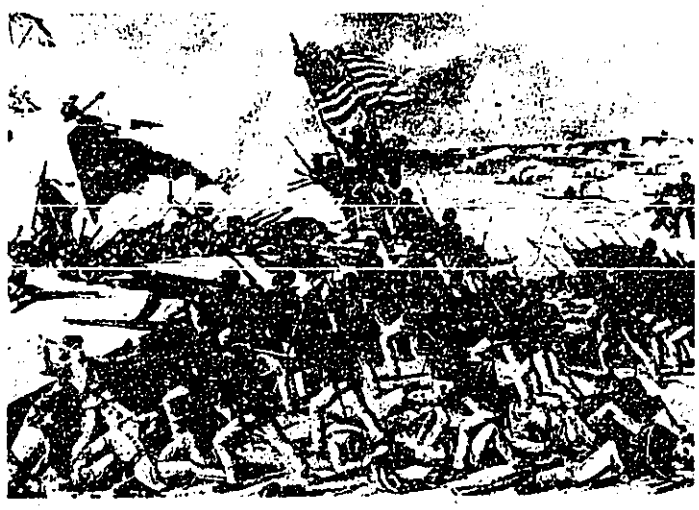
> ...when I returned South I found that they not only knew what few whites knew, that I was anti-slavery, but they were eager to consult me as to how they might escape...I had never hinted freedom to one of them, and it was in one of the obscurest parts of Virginia, where Northerners never came...(p. 48-9)

Conway discovered that even when he felt he was not communicating his views, the idea of freedom was so important to the slaves that they immediately understood a total stranger's relation to it. What could be greater than this experience as a basis for believing that human nature is to be free and discovering that human nature in women?

His autobiography tells of a woman brought to court dressed as a boy. When sentenced to wear "female dress" she "burst into tears and said she could always get work as a boy but as a girl would perish."[30] He found it "difficult to imagine

29. Conway, Moncure D., THE GOLDEN HOUR (Ticknor and Fields, Boston, 1862) p. 122.

30. Conway, Moncure D., AUTOBIOGRAPHY MEMORIES AND EXPERIENCES (Cassell and Company, N.Y., published about 1898) p. 258.



Drawing depicts 5th Massachusetts Colored Regiment charging Fort Wagner, South Carolina, July 18, 1863, during heighth of Civil War. Charles and Lewis Douglass, sons of Frederick Douglass, served with this group.

the situation of women in 1864." (p. 403) Making his own study of the difference in wages paid women and men teachers, he found "the women teachers in our high schools were getting an average of from $500 to $700 for the same work that brought male teachers $1,200 to $1,700." (p. 257)

To Conway what fanned "the fires" of the women's movement was "the restrictions on female employment and its underpayment." From his pulpit he demanded that "woman should be taken down from her cross and given freedom and occupation" (p. 219)—a right not realized today.

As with Blacks, Conway created a platform for women to speak for themselves. In London he gave his pulpit to Julia Ward Howe, Elizabeth Cady Stanton, and other women activists. He discussed women's rights with Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and the Reverend Anna Shaw. In London, Conway, moved by the wretched plight of Paris Communard refugees, wrote Karl Marx in this regard, also asking the date of the International Workingmen's Association's next General Council session. Marx replied in English, suggesting that Conway form a committee to find work for the refugees.

Like Marx, Conway was sure that the decisive weapon in the Civil War would be masses of former slaves joining the Union Army. As he put it in **The Golden Hour**, "If John Brown had a successor, he would march South under protection of the flag under which the old captain was hung" (p. 45). **The Golden Hour** was the hour that the slaves were freed; and he ended the book with an open letter warning

President Lincoln that "this proud government, having deliberately taken the side of slavery, may be buried in its grave which every bayonet, North and South, is digging, and equally." (p. 159)

Conway was convinced, above all, that separating the war in any way from the abolition of slavery was a mistake. In 1977, racism, what Conway called "the panther," remains the Achilles heel of America. One hundred years ago he recognized that those struggling for freedom—the slaves—were those armed with ideas and therefore had the power to change reality.

IRONICALLY, THE IDEOLOGUES who defended the status quo never comprehended the power of ideas. We don't have to wait one hundred years for the McCarthy era to see hostility to ideas hiding behind a supposed "end to ideology." In the article, "Shall Treason Stalk in Public Unrebuked," from the December 6, 1859 Cincinnati Daily Enquirer, the writer's bias clearly reveals its exact opposite—freedom's clarion call. It is worth quoting at length:

> The writer in company with some friends...saw a large crowd seeking admission to the German Institute...The body of the hall and the galleries were filled with a motley crowd of both sexes, diversified by every hue common to the human species...The house was crowded to excess, about one third...being the lineal descendants of Ham...in the front was a tribune draped in mourning ornamented in glaring letters with the words: "IN MEMORY OF JOHN BROWN." When we entered, General Willich...was holding forth in the German language. (He was) followed by...a gentleman named Conway...He did not believe in one but many saviours, and Tom Paine...preached the only creed that would lead intelligent men to the radiant Bowers of Elysium...The American Revolution was a mere squabble about taxes, unworthy of the name of revolution compared with the grand and noble one inaugurated by the heroic Brown...Such a man could not die, his deeds would descend to posterity as his name was immortal. When he died on the gallows on Friday last, an infant John Brown was born in the breast of every one present, who would grow to manhood and continue the fight which he so well began. It was mere flattery to assert that we were on the verge of a revolution; we were in the midst of it, and must die or succeed....
>
> Peter A. Clark, an ebony-colored gentleman, next regaled the audience with a speech. He said that only on one occasion before the present did he feel himself a free man, when those who surrounded him then enabled him to address a meeting of the freedom-loving people of this city. He agreed...that we are in the midst of a revolution that must be fought to the death...Let every man who has an eye to see, an ear to hear, and a heart to feel, not remain insensible to the fact that events are now transpiring, more holy, more momentous, to the well being of men, and more eventful than those of '76. The light of freedom never dawned upon the speaker; the race to which he belonged was shut out from the ballot box, but he looked to the men around him to do justice to his race, to vindicate the principles of freedom.

> . . .How Germans can bring their hatred of Democracy so far as to ally themselves with the vilest of the African race may be a matter for political speculation, but it is evident that a few more such meetings as that of yesterday, held below the canal, would rouse a spirit that the exorcist might find it difficult to allay.
>
> Signed, "SPECTATOR"

The Spectator forgot but one thing: that what brought together a Prussian-trained military man, an American Methodist minister and a free Black man fighting slavery was the age of revolutions, philosophy, and the fight for freedom of American Blacks. Peter A. Clark embodied all three.

Clark was a conductor on the Underground Railroad and worked with Frederick Douglass on The North Star newspaper. Up to July 1862 there were anti-Negro riots in Cincinnati; in March a mob had tried to lynch Wendell Phillips. When the city was threatened by Confederate General Kirby in September, police rounded up Blacks at gunpoint to build fortifications. After a judge, well-known to be sympathetic, was put in charge of them two days later, Blacks volunteered in far greater numbers than whites. Their unselfish work fortifying Cincinnati was the Blacks' first official military action in the Civil War. In his history of **The Black Brigade of Cincinnati** (Arno Press and the New York Times, 1969), Clark recorded the transformation of a city where at the war's beginning, a spontaneous Black home guard was disbanded by officials saying, "Keep out of this, this is a white man's war." (p. 4)

In 1865 Clark headed a movement to establish public schools for Blacks. He was the first principal of Gaines High School, and later taught in St. Louis. In March 1877 he quit the Republicans and joined the Workingmen's Party, becoming the first Black socialist in the United States. The Great Strike hit Cincinnati on July 22nd with a rally of 4000 workers: the German section of the Workingmen's Party marched behind the red flag of the Commune and Peter Clark was one of the main speakers. Cincinnati railroaders walked out the next day.

The many threads of the revolutionary movement of 1857 to 1877—Black, education, labor, and socialism—even embodied in single persons like Peter Clark, expose a continuity and compel a closer look at what that tells us about the struggle for freedom—then and now.

VI. Overview

What do you think of the workers in the U.S.? The first explosion against the associated oligarchy of capitalism which has occurred since the Civil War will naturally again be suppressed, but can very well form the point of origin of an earnest workers' party. . . A nice sauce is being stirred over there, and the transference of the center of the International to the U.S. may obtain a very remarkable post festum opportuneness.

—Marx to Engels, July 25, 1877

WITH THE EYES of 1977, we have reached the end of the two decades from the eve of the Civil War to the First General Strike in the U.S. Today, when the Black dimension—after having executed the global leaps of the 1960s from the African Revolutions to the Black Revolution in the U.S.—must confront the reduction of revolutionary roots and presence to a matter of genealogy, it is crucial to recapture the true historic-philosophic-actual roots of the freedom movement. We are sure that the readers of this pamphlet now see the reason why we started with the end of the two decades, 1857-1877.

When Marx, in his commentary on that "first explosion. . .since the Civil War," the St. Louis General Strike of 1877, concluded that "the transference of the center of the International to the U.S. may obtain a very remarkable **post festum** opportuneness," he surely had in mind a revolution much ahead of a century hence. In this case, however, the over-optimism as to timing as well as the geographic location are not of the essence. What is pivotal for us is the dialectic of the revolution that did occur and the accumulated experience of the masses in the U.S. which have enabled our age to look back, not to remembrance of things past, but as prologue to what to do today.

With this in mind, it is time to draw together some of the philosophic threads that seemed so unconnected, or at least separate from one another, whether that was the eve of the Civil War and the rise of Hegelianism; the Black dimension and the two forgotten women philosophers; or the Marxists and the Workingmen's International Association. Take what appeared most unrelated—the 1877 St. Louis General Strike, on the one hand, and the "pure" Hegelians who opposed it at the opposite pole. First of all, there were other Hegelians who were also Marxists and in the leadership of the strike. Moreover, there were Hegelians who were not fully Marxists but nevertheless totally committed to labor's self-emancipation, as was the case with the Ohio Hegelians like Willich. Above all, the very first work of Marx that Weydemeyer published in the U.S., **The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte**, unfurled a banner of the dialectic of history which was not a simplistic Hegelianism like Dietzgen's[31] and which Marx himself further spelled out concretely for the U.S. as both mass struggles and internationalism, both philosophy and revolution. What could be more today-ish than that?

But even when Hegelianism is narrowed to the primitiveness of some of the concepts of the St. Louis Hegelians, such as holding that the first iron bridge that

31. Dietzgen, Joseph, THE POSITIVE OUTCOME OF PHILOSOPHY (Charles H. Kerr, 1928).

crossed the Mississippi was a "concrete Universal," that cannot make us forget their great contribution. Thus it is not only that they made available to the American public in translation more than 5,500 pages of philosophy from Greek, French, Polish, Swedish, Italian and German sources. It is not only that they thus introduced international philosophy, at its highest development in German idealism, to the U.S. It is that all future philosophic development—whether Hegelianism in the more sophisticated form of Josiah Royce, or the pure "Americanism" of Pragmatism—arose out of Hegelianism, and not Transcendentalism.

It is that they practiced the idealism of freedom as they saw it, on the eve of the Civil War, influencing a border state to become Northern. Moreover, they were instrumental in the future development of education, and of democracy in human relations rather than confining thought to "frontierism," and they chose St. Louis to get the feel of frontier rather than the staid New England thinkers and educators. It is that which also distinguished the women Hegelians. Although Anna C. Brackett and Susan E. Blow had neither direct connection with the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention or with Black women as originators and inspirers of the women's movement, they hailed the Black dimension. Both in education and in the relation with children, Hegelianism had ramifications far beyond those acknowledged. At the same time, the creativity of such Blacks as Susie King Taylor has been totally ignored.

In the workingclass striving in the U.S. for what Marx called "freely associated labor," Marxists played a key role both in activity and in dialectical philosophy. Take the resolution on the eight-hour day, first introduced in Baltimore in 1866 at the founding convention of the National Labor Union (N.L.U.). The leaders of the N.L.U., William Sylvis and William Jessup, corresponded directly with Marx and the International Workingmen's Association. American Marxists like Friedrich Sorge were active in the Eight-Hour Leagues. That 1866 resolution was incorporated by Marx directly into **Capital**. Furthermore, under the impact of the Civil War in the U.S. and the struggle for the shortening of the working day that followed, he restructured **Capital** itself. 32

The National Colored Labor Convention voted in 1867 to send a delegate to the fifth congress of the I.W.A. in Paris, though the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian War made it impossible to attend. In his defense of the Paris Commune in the **Atlantic Monthly**, May 1871, Richard Hinton wrote that the N.L.U. had "notable features...prominent among which have been the acceptance on equal terms as members...female and colored delegates."

In 1877 the resolution on the eight-hour day was reintroduced by the Workingmen's Party to the St. Louis workers who received it enthusiastically. In **Capital** itself, moreover, it was at one and the same time spelled out over 70 long pages as the struggles for the eight-hour day and declared to be a greater philosophy than that contained in either the Declaration of Independence or the Declaration of the Rights of Man. It is precisely that section of **Capital** on the struggle for the eight-hour day that was translated and used as leaflets, "distributed in thousands of copies,"33 at massive demonstrations for the eight-hour day in the 1870s.

32. Dunayevskaya, Raya, MARXISM AND FREEDOM (Bookman, N.Y., 1958) Part III, Chapter V: "The Impact of the Civil War in the United States on the Structure of CAPITAL," pp. 81-91.

33. International Workingmen's Association Papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin.

THE WORKINGMEN'S VOICE

ON THE

NORMAL WORKING DAY.

TO THE EMPLOYER.

The article I sold to you—my own working power—differs from the other crowd of goods *by its use producing value*, and GREATER *value* than its own cost. For this reason you bought it. What appears on your side as profit springing from capital, that is on my side a surplus expenditure of working power. You and I, we both know on the market but one law, that of exchange, and the use (consumption) of the article does not belong to the seller offering it, but to the purchaser acquiring it. The use of my daily power of work therefore belongs to you, but by means of its daily selling price, I must be able to reproduce it daily, and so to sell it anew. Apart from the natural process of wear and tear by age, &c., I must be capable to work to-morrow in the same normal state of strength, health, and freshness as to-day. You constantly hold forth to me the gospel of economy and abstinence. Very well. Like a rational, prudent husbandman, I shall economize my ONLY WEALTH, *my power of work*, and I shall abstain from foolishly wasting it; I shall turn to use, put in motion, convert into labor only so much of it daily, as is compatible with its normal durability and healthy development. By an excessive prolongation of the working-day, you can consume a greater portion of my working power in *one* day than I can restore in *three* days. Thus your gain in labor is my loss in labor substance. The *use* of my power of work and the *robbing* me of it are two things altogether different. If the average period an average workingman may live, with a rational limitation of work, is 30 years, the value of my working power, you pay me from day to day is $\frac{1}{365 \times 30}$ or $\frac{1}{10950}$ of its total value. But if you consume it within 10 years, you pay me only $\frac{1}{3650}$ of its value daily, and you defraud me daily of $\frac{2}{3}$ of its value. You pay me *one* day's power of work, when and whilst using *three* day's amount. That is against our agreement and against the law of exchange. Therefore, I demand a working-day of *normal* length, and I demand it without appealing to your feelings, because money matters are not matters of affection, and business is soulless. You may be a model citizen, perhaps a member of the society for the prevention of cruelty to animals, you may even have the odour of saintship about you, but no heart beats in the bosom of the *thing* you represent toward me. What seems to be pulsating therein is MY OWN HEART'S HEAT. I demand the *normal working day*, because I demand the value of my article like every other dealer.

From the "Kapital," by Karl Marx, page 201. Published by the International Sections of New York; and re-published by a few citizens of the International Working Men's Association in London. 1872.

Finally, on April 10, 1879, Karl Marx wrote to Danielson "...the United States have at present overtaken England in the rapidity of economical progress, though they lag still behind in the extent of acquired wealth; but at the same time the masses are quicker, and have greater political means in their hands to resent the form of a progress accomplished at their expense." This new concretization of freedom, Marx thought, arose out of the revolutionary continuity with the Civil War's abolition of slavery. In turn, the section on the "Working Day" attracted Ira Steward, a machinist from Boston and initiator of the eight-hour movement, who helped bring it out in English.

What has been especially galling for us in our research on the origins of Marxism is to find that the studies on the subject have suffered not only at the hands of bourgeois academicians, but even from those who consider themselves Marxists, as witness David Herreshoff's **American Disciples of Marx**.[34] He reduces Karl Marx's new continent of thought, which Marx at first called "a new Humanism" and then developed as the theory of proletarian revolution, to hardly more than Ralph Waldo Emerson's ahistorical individualism: Herreshoff's insistence that Transcendentalism was "freighted with elements of an American Marxism" leads him to the ridiculous inclusion under the appellation "American Marxist" of the very kinds of utopian, indeed reactionary, reformers that Marx was always opposed to, including the anti-Abolitionist Orestes Brownson.

Professor Herreshoff does not say a word about Marx's actual theoretical developments that were based on American movements, whether that was Abolitionism or the movement for the eight-hour day. If his purpose was to discuss Americans who, though they had no direct connection with Karl Marx, nevertheless made his philosophic principles concrete for America, Professor Herreshoff needed to look no further than the Abolitionists whom he chose to ignore. Not only that. He has not a word to say of the First General Strike in the U.S., nor the relationship of the Workingmen's Party to that strike. No wonder he sees no relationship of Hegelian Marxian thought to the actual class struggles.

Intellectuals like Herreshoff go to any lengths to ignore actual history in constructing their fantastic history of ideas and do anything to avoid Karl Marx's method which was to ground theory in actual liberation movements, and make them integral to the self-development of ideas. Naturally, it is not just for restoring the historical record that we have written this pamphlet. Rather, with an eye to the American revolution-to-be, we wish to show that in what seems like an endless series of discontinuities between thought and action, there are very fundamental points of continuity. Thus, the many outbursts of the forces of revolution during those two critical decades, 1857-1877, have actually created the ground for the very activities we're engaged in with Blacks, women, and labor.

OR TAKE THE EXCERPT from the "Working Day" chapter in **Capital**, a great part of which was devoted to women and child labor, which was distributed by the thousands at a mass demonstration in New York City on September 13, 1871. Ira

34. (Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1967) David Herreshoff chose a new title for his Monad paperback edition: ORIGINS OF AMERICAN MARXISM. The April, 1977 NEWS & LETTERS contains an exchange of letters on this controversy between us and David Herreshoff.

Steward spoke to a crowd of over 20,000 who came to demand the eight-hour day in the largest demonstration yet seen in America. Sorge wrote for the Central Committee of the American I.W.A. to London about their participation:

> They (the local sections) were the object of great curiosity and marked attention, and shouts of "vive la Commune" often greeted them. But especially cordial was the reception of the Internationals by the Trades-Unionists at the final counter march of the procession and deafening cheers greeted the appearance of their banner on the stage at the mass meeting. Equally significant was the participation of colored organizations for the first time in a demonstration got up by the English-speaking unions. (The German Unions having treated them as equals already years ago). [35]

By the mid-1880s, the eight-hour movement reappeared, with its center this time being Chicago. The nation was then involved in a strike movement that swept the whole country and for the first time began to be marked by some victories. The Knights of Labor, the trade unionists, and the anarchists all now supported and helped develop the Movement. And, in spite of the A.F.L. then sticking strictly to simple trade unionism, nevertheless, in 1889, it sent delegates to the new, re-established (Second) Marxist International. It won the support of that International Congress for the declaration of an international general strike for the eight-hour day on May 1.

From the beginning of the I.W.A. in New York, a committee was formed to promote the organization of Black workers. The same was true of women who made up the whole Milwaukee section. Wendell Phillips, who attacked the vicious lies in the press about the Paris Commune, also came to the defense of the 1877 strike. He saw in the Commune a struggle which "itself gives some of the blessings of liberty and teaches the way to it." Because Americans associated the I.W.A. with the Paris Commune, thousands were drawn to it in the 1870s. As we saw in chapter one, the St. Louis "Commune" had a relationship to international developments on many different levels. [36]

We must never forget that 1877 was the year when the biggest betrayal of reconstruction in the South was engineered by the Republicans and the Democrats in that Hayes-Tilden election trade-off. The army was pulled out of the South, leaving it to the rope and faggot of the KKK. The army was now used to put down the great railroad strikes throughout the country. As the young labor leader, Eugene V. Debs, was to say later, during the great Pullman strike in Illinois: "In the gleam of every bayonet and the flash of every rifle, the class struggle was revealed."

The point is that the American workers, with the 1877 General Strike, got a new perception of themselves and their own creativity in their struggles against exploitative capitalism. It was the reason, immanent in the movement of the masses that flourished in labor radicals in the 1880s. For the five days that the St. Louis workers ran the city, they demonstrated that, in overthrowing the oppressive working conditions in that City of Little Bread, they themselves had become the decision-makers. Far from limiting themselves to the question of wages, they had become

35. International Workingmen's Association Papers.

36. Bernstein, Samuel, THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL IN AMERICA (Augustus M. Kelley, N.Y., 1965) p. 81.

whole men and women, white and Black, unfurling a banner of freedom that, at one and the same time, made the Paris Commune live and laid the ground for those struggles of the 1880s. The Haymarket martyrs remain a beacon for us to this day.

In a word, as movement, rather than just as philosophy, the Marxian roots are deep in American soil from the moment that the paths of the Abolitionists and Marx first crossed, through the Civil War and the Hegelians, to 1877, a few months after the First International dissolved itself as organization but continued as movement. These old struggles can become new beginnings for our age because they have left these stepping stones: both the abolition of slavery and the struggle for the shortening of the working day; both the Black dimension and women as Reason; both the General Strike and dialectical philosophy. Our crisis-ridden age compels us to take a long, hard look at those two decades in activity and in philosophy whose multi-dimensional character nevertheless failed to unite. It becomes imperative that our age not allow a separation to occur between actual class struggles and the totality of Marx's dialectics of liberation. This will become the test of the maturity of our age as it comes to grips with the revolution-to-be.