

Petra DeWitt

Keeping the Cause Alive: Gottlieb A. Hoehn and the Socialist Party of St. Louis

Historians have studied the Socialist Party of America, evaluated national leaders such as Eugene V. Debs and Victor Berger, and addressed the role of German immigrants in the American labor movement.¹ Few, however, have evaluated the thoughts, actions, and contributions by individual leaders, who were the backbone of the party, spread its message, recruited members, ran for office, and created true comradeship. Gottlieb A. Hoehn was such a leader. Several scholars have referred to him as the “most significant individual” or “undoubtedly the single most influential member of the Socialist party in St. Louis,” and asserted that his influence was equal to that of Debs and Berger; but none have written an in-depth analysis of the man.² Hoehn was a founding member of the Socialist Party of America and repeatedly served as its candidate for city, state, and national office. His actions and thoughts reveal a deep commitment to reform and the electoral process. He was the quintessential agitator who encouraged workers during strikes and taught them about the benefits of Socialism. His undying commitment as editor and manager of the *St. Louis Labor* and its German-language counterpart, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, kept these newspapers alive for over thirty years despite financial challenges. Government censorship during World War I, the schism in the party in 1919, and the anti-radical mindset during the 1920s did not deter his belief that the movement was larger than any obstacle in its way. Hoehn is significant because his actions and words help us analyze the success and failure of the Socialist Party as well as the divisions among German Americans. As a trade unionist, he did not believe in revolutionary or anarchist ideology but the reform and political ideals of the social democratic, or “right” wing in the Socialist Party.³ Although an immigrant, ethnicity was not the driving force for Hoehn’s actions or philosophies; for him labor interests

always trumped ethnic issues. He may have never held public office, but his dedication kept the cause for labor alive in St. Louis, Missouri, and the nation.

Gottlieb Andreas Hoehn was born in Presseck, Oberfranken, Bavaria on April 1, 1865.⁴ His mother came from a prosperous farming family and as Hoehn's ability to read and speak in French and English attest, instilled a desire for learning in her children.⁵ Hoehn's father, however, mismanaged his wife's dowry, forcing the young Hoehn to end his schooling and enter into an apprenticeship as a cobbler, a trade he would dislike most of his life. At the age of sixteen he left his widowed mother and sisters to join an uncle in Baltimore, Maryland who had paid for his journey to America. He worked for two months in his uncle's furniture business until he found employment as a "custom shoemaker." He was successful enough by age twenty-three that he could get married, establish an independent household, and open his own shop.⁶

Hoehn began his lifelong commitment to the labor movement in Baltimore by entering the German Central Labor Union and the Custom Shoemakers Union. He served as secretary for the shoemaker union and members elected him as a delegate to the Baltimore Trades and Labor Assembly, the local chapter of the American Federation of Labor.⁷ As a bilingual "enthusiastic worker and propagandist," he often served as a "link between the Trades and Labor Assembly and the United German-speaking Unions of Baltimore." Fellow shoemakers converted him to Socialism and he joined the Socialistic Labor Party (SLP), then still a mostly German political organization calling itself the *Sozialistische Arbeiter-Partei*.⁸ Devotion and taking advantage of opportunities soon led to new prospects. In early 1887 the editor of the *Baltimore Journal*, a daily German-language newspaper, hired Hoehn as a part-time journalist to write several articles about labor news, including lectures Paul Gottkau, labor leader and editor of the Chicago *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, delivered in the city. Meeting Gottkau would lead to Hoehn's full-time career as an editor when several positions opened at the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in 1889 after the arrests, trials, imprisonments, or execution of several employees owing to the Haymarket Riot.⁹

During what Hoehn called his three year "editorial apprenticeship" at the *Zeitung*, he continued his involvement in the Socialist Labor Party. As a member of the platform committee for the city local he helped shape its municipal policies, as a recently naturalized citizen he initiated his political drive by running for Collector of West Town in the 1891 municipal election, and represented Chicago as a delegate at the party's national convention in September 1889.¹⁰ Appreciating his commitment and ability to speak French, the SLP sent him as their delegate to Europe to attend the International Working-

men's Convention in Paris in 1889 and the International Labor Congress in Brussels in 1891. Although these activities enhanced Hoehn's reputation as a dedicated Socialist, he nevertheless became a casualty of the growing divisions within the Chicago labor movement when "the Anarchist majority in the Board of Directors" of the newspaper dismissed him for holding moderate views. But misfortune soon turned into opportunity when chief editor Adolf Hepner of the German-language *St. Louis Tageblatt* offered him a position.¹¹

Hoehn arrived in St. Louis, Missouri at a time when the state's and city's labor movement had become well organized. In 1887, the Central Trades and Labor Union (CTLU) had combined the city's major labor organizations, including the German *Arbeiter Verband*, into one city-wide federation of trade unions. Laborers representing various trade unions in the state had also established the Missouri Federation of Labor (MFL) in 1891. Workers, who held socialist ideologies and advocated political engagement in addition to union activism, also helped to create city as well as state chapters of the Socialist Labor Party. German Americans, who had arrived in Missouri since the 1830s and represented the largest immigrant group in the 1890s, participated in this drive to organize labor, and dominated leadership positions in the CTLU, MFL, and SLP.¹² Publications addressing labor issues and advocating socialist ideology had existed in St. Louis since the early 1870s, including the *Volkstimme des Westens* and *Voice of Labor*. By the early 1890s, the *St. Louis Tageblatt* had become the daily paper that represented the "*Interessen des arbeitenden Volkes*" (the interests of workers).¹³

Gottlieb Hoehn thrived in this environment. After he joined the *St. Louis Tageblatt* in 1893, he assisted lawyer, journalist, and labor activist Albert E. Sanderson with the creation of the *St. Louis Labor*, an English language paper that aimed to address workers across ethnic lines in one common language and educate them about socialism. By 1895, Hoehn assumed the duties of general editor for both publications. As a member of the Central Press Committee he also helped establish the Socialist Newspaper Union that oversaw the sharing of articles with over thirty-four weekly *Labor* newspapers in Midwestern cities.¹⁴ Although subscriptions were rising, debt and declining advertisements, especially after strikes, forced the Newspaper Union to dissolve in 1897 and *Anzeiger des Westens* absorbed the *Tageblatt*. Competition with the *Westliche Post*, the premier German-language newspaper serving German readership in St. Louis, Missouri, and several neighboring states, also played a role. Hoehn often denounced the *Post* as the organ of capitalists and the city's political machine. At the same time, the *Post* and *Anzeiger des Westens* successfully influenced the city council to reject the *Tageblatt's* bid for printing the council's proceedings in German although it had submitted the lowest bid.¹⁵

Hoehn was not discouraged by such tactics and remained determined to establish a strong labor press to more effectively assist the labor movement and teach Socialism. Following the cooperative model, similar to the Social Democratic press in Germany, and the characteristics of existing German-language newspapers, Hoehn and likeminded Socialists established several publication companies between 1898 and 1910 that were the property of the Socialist Party, thus turning any issued newspaper into the party organ. Offering workers the ability to purchase shares created a large pool of investors who held a vested interest in the company's survival. This strategy raised enough money to revive the *Tageblatt* as the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* in 1898 and establish the four-page *Missouri Socialist* in 1901 that in 1902 expanded into the eight-page *St. Louis Labor* with Hoehn as chief editor.¹⁶ In 1910, investors agreed with Hoehn that the publication company should be restructured and own its own press as well as building. The resulting Labor Publishing Company bought a new Mergenthaler Linotype Machine and Miehle printing press financed through a public fundraiser, and moved the operation, as well as the party headquarters, to a larger building on Chouteau Avenue.¹⁷ The newspapers continued to face financial problems but yearly excursions, special fund raisers, and increasing yearly subscription prices from \$0.50 in 1901 to \$2.50 in 1928 kept the papers afloat until 1930.¹⁸

Under Hoehn's editorial leadership, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and *Labor* fulfilled their dual purpose as "The Fearless Champion of Organized Labor" and the "Official Organ of the Socialist Party of St. Louis."¹⁹ Several articles on the cover page, editorials on page 4, and announcements on page 8 addressed local political, social, and economic events, while the remaining columns offered a Woman's Page, a weekly serialized novel, and material related to labor developments and the party in the United States, Italy, Great Britain, and Germany. Although much of the material is identical in both papers, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* also included cultural news from the old homeland. The papers solicited "communications from our fellow workers throughout the world" and promised to "give them all the attention they merit and our space will permit."²⁰ Articles tirelessly advocated for the rights of unskilled and skilled workers and informed readers about strikes by miners in Colorado, iron molders in Milwaukee, textile workers in New England, machinists in Vermont, and bricklayers in Canada.²¹ Articles or editorials appealed to workers' class consciousness, asking them to participate in boycotts and raise money for suffering workers, their disadvantaged children, or victims of oppression in the United States or Europe. Most importantly, Hoehn constantly reminded his readers of past struggles and successes, including positive developments in Europe that would surely spill over to America.²²

Most articles and editorials focused on local labor conditions. By 1900, St. Louis was the fourth largest city in the country and its diverse economy offered opportunity to many American and immigrant laborers. Workers, however, confronted a tightly controlled political machine and employers who united across industries, controlled the local labor market and lowered wages to compete with eastern industries. Businessmen created the local chapter of the Citizens' Industrial Alliance, a national organization that assisted with city-based action against unions through tactics such as black lists and spies to limit union agitators, hiring not just municipal but private police forces to break up strikes, establishing company specific training programs to reduce reliance on unionized skilled workers, and using court injunctions to limit boycotts. These policies effectively limited union power and contributed to divisions in the labor movement.²³

Hoehn's frustrations over the power of organized business and the city's political machine become clear in his many editorials, lectures before labor organizations, or impromptu speeches "on the steps of the old court house." He, for example, called upon his readers to offer moral support and financial aid for garment workers locked out by Marx and Haas Jeans Company and in muckraking fashion revealed some of its unfair business practices in the *St. Louis Labor*.²⁴ He accused the Citizens' Industrial Association of secretly controlling the grand jury and police department and called Mayor Rolla Wells the "Little Czar of St. Louis" for denying socialists freedom of speech and ordering police to break up protest meetings. Editorials criticized the monopolistic habits of business elites or the city's "Big Cinch," denounced the "boodle politics" of Republicans, including German Americans such as Mayor Henry Ziegenhein and Councilman Emil Meysenburg, accused Congressman Richard Bartholdt of protecting "capitalist class interests," and defined the Democratic Party as "a danger to organized labor" because it too promoted capitalist interests.²⁵ Hoehn did not hesitate to speak out against attempts to eliminate the House of Delegates and opposed efforts to redraft the city charter in 1911 and 1914, believing that such changes would deny the working class the vote and representation, thus limiting the democratic process. Although Hoehn supported Joseph Folk's and Herbert Hadley's efforts to destroy political machines and break up monopolies, he resented their political ambitions and enforcement of blue laws.²⁶

Gottlieb Hoehn could have limited his involvement in the labor and socialist movement to publication of newspapers, writing a few editorials, and giving speeches but he also remained active in unions. He served as a representative for the Federal Labor Union 6482 and the Federation of Labor of St. Louis in the CTLU, the MFL, and the American Federation of Labor, served on several of their committees, regularly attended their monthly meetings or

yearly conventions, helped draft resolutions, and tirelessly advocated for the rights of workers on behalf of these organizations. His participation in these organizations reflected the short-lived cooperation between them during the early 1900s.²⁷

In addition to being editor and union member, Hoehn was also a political activist. As a Lassallean Marxist, or Social Democrat, he believed in the inevitability of Socialism and that “every class struggle is, necessarily, a political struggle.” The clash between the diametrically opposed interests of capitalists and wage earners encouraged both groups to organize. He understood that labor organizations had helped improve the lives of workers but he also believed they could not reform the capitalist system. Instead, he insisted that workers extend “this struggle . . . to the political field,” to “the final decisive battle . . . for the emancipation of mankind from wage slavery.” Only a political party of and for unionized workers, similar to the SPD in Germany or Labor Party in Britain, could represent the interests of labor in the political process, endorse candidates, and pass legislation. As his many articles and pamphlets indicate, he fervently believed Socialism as the “Savior of the Human Family” was not only possible during his lifetime but also necessary, especially in the wealthiest nation on earth. In his opinion, the use of military force during strikes at Homestead and Cour d’Alene to assure the prosperity of big business, threatened the republican ideals upon which America was founded. Frequently citing Thomas Paine, Wendell Phillips, and Abraham Lincoln, Hoehn argued workers had the same basic constitutional rights as every other citizen and that they could change the capitalist system by organizing “into one solid political organization, independent of all capitalist parties.”²⁸

The belief in victory through electoral process not mere trade unionism soon led to conflict with more radical members in the party who advocated militant unionism. Since the First International in 1865 and Karl Marx’s establishment of the International Workmen’s Association, the socialist movement had a long history of divisions between anarchists, revolutionaries, and reformers. Hoehn, although calling for unity among all unions, also contributed to the disagreements by referring to SLP leaders like Daniel DeLeon and Hugo Vogt as “shyster professors of the Pseudo-Marxist heroship” who freely quoted Karl Marx or Ferdinand Lassalle without truly understanding either man’s philosophy.²⁹ Disillusioned like so many Socialists by DeLeon’s dictator-like leadership, Hoehn abandoned the SLP and followed Eugen V. Debs, Victor Berger, and others Social Democrats, Populists, and union leaders to create the Social Democracy of America in 1897, the Social Democratic Party in 1898, and finally the Socialist Party of America in 1901.³⁰

As well-respected labor leaders, Hoehn and fellow St. Louis Socialists influenced the party’s decision to select St. Louis as its first headquarters.³¹

By serving on the party's National Executive Committee (NEC) and shaping decisions as a member on platform, rules, or resolution committees during national, state, and city conventions Hoehn became "a national figure of the second echelon."³² Hoehn's leadership position on the NEC, however, lasted barely two years. In 1903, delegates to the national convention "ousted" the St. Louis leadership, including Hoehn, for suspected disloyalty to the party and voted to move the party headquarters to Omaha, Nebraska. Although the individuals never held national office again, they remained nationally influential as delegates and committee members, tirelessly agitated for the Socialist party, raised funds locally for election campaigns, and organized the Socialist Voters' Union, an "auxiliary body" of loyal Socialists who helped workers with voter registration and immigrants with citizenship applications.³³

Hoehn also led by constantly running for elected office. Shortly after arriving in St. Louis, he was the SLP nominee for President of Board of Assessors, then ran for city council, and in 1896 was the party's candidate for the Tenth Congressional District. After joining the Social Democratic Party, he was its candidate for municipal council in 1899, state representative for the First District in 1900, and President of Board of Assessors for St. Louis in 1901.³⁴ Upon creation of the Socialist Party, he served as its candidate during nearly every municipal, state, and national election, including the St. Louis House of Delegates and state's First District.³⁵ In 1904, 1906, 1908, 1910, and 1912 the Socialist Party nominated him for the Tenth District in Congress, held at the time by Richard Bartholdt, a fellow German American, whom labor unions in St. Louis defined as "unfriendly to labor."³⁶ In 1920 he was a candidate for Committeeman for the Eleventh District of St. Louis; in 1922 and 1924, he again attempted to represent the Socialist Party in the Tenth Congressional district; in 1925 he ran for mayor of St. Louis; and finally in 1928 he was the party's candidate for Missouri Secretary of State.³⁷ Although Hoehn came close only once to winning, his drive encouraged other Socialists from St. Louis to become candidates for virtually every municipal position, state office, and Congressional seat. Election results may have not been what voters expected but Hoehn encouraged his readers to stay the course and take solace in already achieved accomplishments.³⁸

Voter support for the Socialist Party in St. Louis indeed increased steadily during the first decade of the twentieth century, following national trends.³⁹ 1911 and 1912 were years of euphoria because national as well as local election results indicated realistic possibilities of victory. Candidates for the Board of Education and City Council, including Hoehn, received nearly 12,000 votes each, or 14 percent of the total number cast, coming in as close seconds to Republican candidates and outnumbering Democrats in the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh wards; a "most gratifying" result, according to Hoehn. In the

Tenth Ward, William Brandt, Secretary in the St. Louis chapter, was a mere twenty votes short of defeating the Republican incumbent Georg Eigel, a fellow German-American. A rematch in November resulted in Eigel defeating Brandt but Hoehn, evermore the optimist, called the election a “splendid” success because Brandt had gained nearly 5,000 votes over the previous election.⁴⁰

One reason for this success was that candidates and the party’s platform reflected the reform-oriented wing in the Socialist Party of America preferring educational reform, political empowerment of ordinary people, legislative action, and gradual transformation of the capitalistic system over the more revolutionary oriented arguments espoused by radical members of the party. In St. Louis, Socialists like Hoehn supported municipal ownership of the street railway system, public utilities, ice plants, and lodging houses, public works for the unemployed, warm meals and medical services in public schools, free legal advice, housing and food inspections, free public restrooms, additional public parks, old age pensions, graduated income tax, temperance not prohibition, and democratic measures like the woman’s vote as well as initiative and referendum. By concentrating on improved working conditions, better wages, and enriched lives through a “gradualist” or “evolutionary” approach, Socialists and labor leaders contributed to the implementation of eight-hour day legislation and a workmen’s compensation law in Missouri. These ideals appealed to a number of people, not just Socialists or German Americans, who faced an ever changing world that seemed beyond their control. The Socialist Party, therefore, was a realistic alternative for many voters to the existing national parties that despite their rhetoric of progressivism seemed to cater to the interests of the upper classes and were riddled with corruption. In 1912, the enormous success by Social Democrats in Germany, heavily advertised in the *Labor* and *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, may have also encouraged voters to attempt a similar feat in St. Louis.⁴¹

Considering this positive appeal begs the question why Hoehn and Socialists like him were not more successful in St. Louis, especially when compared to cities like Milwaukee where residents elected Socialist mayors, councilmen, and a representative to Congress.⁴² Smear campaigns and suspected voting irregularities may have played a role. One accusation in particular emerged during several election campaigns. On the day prior to the election for state offices in 1902, over 100,000 flyers appeared depicting Hoehn as a deputy sheriff, standing gun in hand over the prostrate form of a strike victim, suggesting that he had taken part in “the heinous massacre of unarmed, defenseless strikers” during the 1900 transportation strike. Hoehn, a candidate for the state assembly that year, initially dismissed such propaganda as the work of “Democratic pothouse politicians.” After the accusation resurfaced in 1903

and 1905, he admitted being deputized but only to gain access to weapons with intent to distribute them to strikers, an offense he realized in hindsight could have led to charges of “treason and conspiracy against the state.”⁴³ One can interpret such accusations as Hoehn becoming a serious threat to opposing candidates and it appears from the voting record that this gossip slightly increased the number of votes for Hoehn in 1903 when compared to other Socialist candidates. He denounced similar attempts to damage his character as the work of capitalist “spies or stool-pigeons” who intended to destroy the labor movement in St. Louis and appreciated “vile” attacks because they evidenced the “good work” he was doing on behalf of labor.⁴⁴

Additional factors limiting Socialist Party success nationwide and locally included ideological differences between reform-minded Socialists, advocates for militancy through strikes, dual unionists, and radicals, as well as the AFL’s decision to separate from the Socialist Party and instead support Democratic candidates.⁴⁵ Ironically, Hoehn, who constantly advocated unity in the labor movement also invited controversy and contributed to divisions through his own actions. Few ideological differences had existed in St. Louis during the early 1900s. Stalwarts, such as Hoehn, and newcomers like Kate and Frank O’Hare believed in reform and the possibility of social change through political action. Leaders in the CTLU, MFL, and the Socialist Party worked with each other as well as with “progressive, Civic-minded groups when their interests converged.” Yet, disagreement existed. For example, on the issue of immigration, Hoehn supported restrictions and O’Hare opposed them.⁴⁶

Hoehn, in particular, did not hide his disagreements with Samuel Gompers. As a delegate to AFL national conventions and through editorials he critiqued the organization’s unwillingness to align with the Socialist Party for political purposes. Hoehn did not object to collective bargaining and agreed that passage of laws was as important as voting; but as a social democrat he believed even the AFL, despite its many accomplishments for workers, could not succeed in changing the capitalistic system because negotiations and support for existing parties subjugated workers to capitalists. Hoehn truly believed that only a labor party could bring about the implementation of Socialism and was encouraged by recent political successes in Germany, Britain, and Wisconsin that victory was at hand.⁴⁷ On a more personal note, Hoehn also objected to Gompers calling Eugene Debs a “failure” and resented Gompers’ “unexplained decision” to revoke the charter for Federal Labor Union No. 6482 after its fifteen year existence. The union had only three members; all Socialists, including Hoehn, and without it they could no longer serve as delegates to the CTLU, MFL, or AFL. Articles in the *Globe Democrat*, *St. Louis Republic*, and *Labor* suggested Hoehn’s effectiveness in passing “any

measure he advocated” may have led to resentment.⁴⁸ But so could have his outspokenness.

Hoehn was just as disapproving of dual unionism, or the creation of several national union federations, because resulting competition would split the trade union movement. This stance placed him at the center of conflict locally and nationally. For example, Hoehn’s resistance to establishment of an American Labor Union chapter in St. Louis in 1903 led to members of the Seventeenth Ward branch censuring him and instructing him “to ‘keep hands off’” union matters.⁴⁹ More divisive for the party in general, and Hoehn in particular, was the creation of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in 1905. Hoehn supported workers’ right to strike to illustrate their economic and bargaining power, but abhorred violence because it created public resentment rather than acceptance for unions. He demonstrated repeatedly that he could rally behind any union or labor activist, including the United Mine Workers and William Haywood, when business owners and a corrupt legal system suspended their legal and human rights.⁵⁰ The creation of the IWW as a national organization, however, deeply concerned him because of the divisive powers industrial unions and militants like Haywood could have. Hoehn used his influence to limit their impact in St. Louis by convincing the CTLU to oppose the creation of a local IWW chapter. In a 1911 opinion piece he denounced the “freakish notions” of IWW “impossibilitists” because these so-called Socialists caused serious problems for the party instead of helping to establish the cooperative commonwealth, or Socialism.⁵¹ In 1912 Hoehn asserted that Haywood’s attacks on “political Socialists” and the *St. Louis Labor* made him no different than the city’s “cheap Democratic soupbone labor politicians.” That same year, St. Louis delegates to the national party convention, including Hoehn, supported the “trade union resolution,” an anti-violence and anti-sabotage declaration, that called for the “expulsion of a party member who advocated the use of sabotage.” Accordingly, the Executive Committee ousted Haywood in February 1913.⁵² Hoehn was certainly not the only person to denounce the IWW, but in doing so, he too contributed to rifts and limited his own political success.

After 1912, cooperation between the AFL, SP, and IWW, as during the massive garment worker strike in Lawrence, Massachusetts, was short lived.⁵³ By the second decade of the twentieth century the labor movement had become so diverse that workers, who had felt left out during the industrial revolution, could now join societies whose agendas, ranging from moderate, progressive, to radical, met their personal needs. The Socialist Party had become but one of several groups appealing to worker interests. Ideologically it remained very distinct with socialists talking about the class struggle, denouncing corrupt business and government leadership, and calling for the

“replacement of the capitalist system . . . with a collectivist one.” For most Americans, however, Socialist ideals of cooperatives and state ownership were just too contrary to American individualism. Progressives, on the other hand, favored a capitalist system in which government regulated corporations or broke them up into smaller businesses so that “small entrepreneurs could function in a marketplace that was not skewed against them.”⁵⁴ In Missouri, Joseph Folk had improved public health and safety as well as removed the corrupt political machine from St. Louis thus proving to workers they did not have to turn to a third party in order to accomplish reform. As governor he opposed bribery and partisanship, favored direct democracy, and backed Attorney General Herbert Hadley’s antitrust efforts. Although Socialists like Hoehn supported these issues as well, cooperation between Socialists and progressives declined by the time Hadley became governor in 1909 because “civic leaders shifted their emphasis toward reliance on experts and regulations” instead of sweeping social or economic reform.⁵⁵ Workers also increasingly followed Gompers into the Democratic Party because the AFL had received modest yet tangible gains through collective bargaining, including fewer hours, increased wages, workplace safety, and child labor laws.⁵⁶ One of the most important reasons why Hoehn and Socialists like him were not more successful was the Great War.

For Hoehn, World War I was both an exciting and deeply disappointing time. It offered unprecedented opportunity for revolutionary changes in the world that would cause “the old Capitalist-Imperialist order” to collapse and gain rights for labor.⁵⁷ Troubling developments, however, included the limitation of basic freedoms on the home front, an anti-Socialist as well as anti-German sentiment, and the brief suspension of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*.

Labor unions and the Socialist Party in St. Louis, as in the nation, declared their opposition to the war in Europe, insisted that the United States remain neutral, and interpreted the American preparedness movement as the work of munitions manufacturers and evidence of “American militarism.” Hoehn maintained a pacifist position as well, described the conflict as a “boss’s war,” accused the “capitalistic press” and “commercial interests” of stampeding the country into war, and opposed Gompers’ support for the Wilson administration if the country entered the war. Hoehn attended the Socialist Party’s emergency national convention in April 1917 and voted for its decision to oppose participation in the conflict.⁵⁸ He was also disappointed that upon American entry in the Great War, the Missouri Federation of Labor aligned with the AFL to support the war effort, cut its ties to the Socialist unions, and took advantage of Congress’ pro-labor legislation, including the Emergency Construction Wage Commission, Shipbuilding Labor Adjustment Board, and War Labor Board, to create new union affiliates and increase

membership.⁵⁹ Despite such divisions, unions and Socialists asserted their right to resist federal control over local affairs. For example, labor leaders in St. Louis refused to transmit government requests for workers to purchase Liberty Bonds until such advertisements included the Allied Printing Trades Council label, unions refused to discuss correspondence related to the draft at meetings, and the CTLU and Socialist Party opposed the creation of the Home Guard in Missouri arguing that similar organizations had been used in the past to break up strikes.⁶⁰

Although federal legislation appeared to recognize the rights of workers, Missourians witnessed widespread labor unrest in Springfield, Kansas City, Moberly, and St. Francois County. In February 1918 a wave of strikes also brought St. Louis to a virtual standstill. The transit worker strike against United Railways (UR) over wages and union recognition lasted only four days because a commuter boycott and threats of a government takeover convinced UR to accept the union and negotiate wages. This success inspired other workers to walk off the job. Women at the Liggett & Meyers tobacco plant, male and female clerks at downtown retail stores, and hundreds of grocery store and hardware clerks went on strike hoping to organize. Soon, workers at several companies with war contracts went on strike, including at Wagner Electric, the city's largest munitions producer, and at Mallinckrodt and Monsanto, the city's two largest chemical plants. Striking garment workers caused a drastic slowdown in the production of uniforms and striking laborers at Plumb Tools caused a reduction in manufacturing of bayonets. Reports estimated that over a time period of two months about ten thousand workers, or 11 percent of the city's workforce, had gone on strike, drastically impacting the ability to produce anything in St. Louis. War Labor Board officials affected an end to the uprising by April 1918 convincing employers to earnestly recognize unions, increase wages, and investigate poor working conditions. Labor relations remained relatively calm thereafter because St. Louis, unlike Chicago or Seattle, did not have an active militant labor component, in part owing to Hoehn's opposition to the IWW. Headlines in the *St. Louis Labor* detailing the events reflected an excitement that indicated to Hoehn this was a time of empowerment because strikes as well as war labor board arbitrations resulted in authorization to organize, wage concessions, and general acceptance of unions.⁶¹

From the perspective of the war effort, however, such labor activism represented disloyal behavior. Several St. Louisans began to question Hoehn's loyalty because he obviously supported strikers through editorials in both papers. He also realized that federal legislation, although beneficial to labor during the war, could have negative consequences, especially for socialist publications. As early as June 1917, the St. Louis postmaster confiscated and

refused to deliver individual issues of both the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and *Labor* that appeared to contain un-American material. Hoehn then experienced the impact of the Trading-with-the-Enemies Act requiring editors to file English translations of articles published in foreign languages that relate to the war effort. This added new financial burdens to already stretched budgets for both papers. Hoehn repeatedly appealed to readers to expand circulation among workers, but the campaign to attract 10,000 new readers resulted in only 1,824 new subscribers by August 1917.⁶²

Then in October 1917, the United States Postmaster General suspended the Labor Publishing Company's second class mailing privileges. This action did not deter Hoehn's adherence to the publications' motto, "The Fearless Champion of Organized Labor." He, and the shareholders of the Labor Publishing Company, called for the establishment of the *Daily Herald*, a not-for-profit publication for working men and women that would challenge the power of the for-profit "capitalist press" as well as help educate, organize, and emancipate the working class. Considering the anti-German and anti-Socialist mindset during the war, the campaign was surprisingly successful. By April 1918, Hoehn had raised nearly \$6,000 for the establishment of the *Herald*. New subscriptions for the weekly papers also temporarily surged and subscribers donated additional funds to cover first class mailing costs.⁶³ Such support perhaps indicated a general resentment toward government interference. Possibly, the trials and convictions of St. Louis Socialists Thomas Connaly and Kate Richards O'Hare for violating the Espionage Act also inspired defiance. But it is also interesting that Hoehn did not encounter further government interference, a stark contrast to Victor Berger's experience with the *Milwaukee Leader*. A circulation rate of 6,000 for the *Labor* and 3,000 for the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* did not present the same danger to national security as the *Leader's* 44,000 subscribers. Furthermore, Berger, unlike Hoehn, was also a successful politician who was elected to Congress. He, therefore, represented a real threat to the traditional American political system in the minds of Republicans and Democrats.⁶⁴ More likely, since Department of Justice investigations did not find any connections between Hoehn, his papers, and the German government, Title 12 of the Espionage Act giving postmasters the authority to declare publications as "nonmailable" did not apply and limited control to translation requirements and suspension of second class mailing privileges.⁶⁵

These constraints did not curb Hoehn's critique of the capitalistic system through weekly "Editorial Reflections" and brief notes on the benefits of Socialism continued to appear throughout 1918. Instead, he adopted a pragmatic approach to divert further attention. The papers did not become government organs; for example, the *St. Louis Labor* contained few government

advertisements with the exception of one brief note about Liberty Bonds in May 1917, one short article about sugar by the Food Administration in June 1918, and American flags appeared on the front page of only the "Labor Day Supplement" in 1918. At the same time Hoehn toned down his anti-war rhetoric and published Woodrow Wilson's speeches if he agreed with the president's thoughts. Any reference to war-related events was positive, such as the Young Socialists patriotic festivities, Socialist Party Masquerade Balls, charitable events, and Fourth of July celebrations. Hoehn also expressed his opposition to the Kaiser, denounced German "Autocracy and Junkerism," and predicted that under the leadership of German workers, who were "longing for the republican form of government," Germany too would inevitably reform.⁶⁶

This approach of being neither quiet nor overtly loud allowed Hoehn to attract new subscribers, convince readers to supplement publication costs, and claim an increase in party membership by 3,000 in 1918. As the editor of the city's two socialist publications, Hoehn had a unique insight to labor relations in St. Louis and understood that as long as he did not advocate radical social or political changes his publications would survive. Yet, there is evidence of pressure to appear patriotic. Hoehn decided in September 1918 to suspend publication of the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* for six months and to postpone updates for the *Daily Herald* fundraiser in the *St. Louis Labor*. He explained in March 1919 that although "we were never officially told to quit collecting funds for the *Daily Herald* during the time of Liberty Bond, Red Cross, . . . collections . . . we received numerous official hints which made it plain to us that it was safe for us to heed the warning."⁶⁷ Hoehn, like most publishers of Socialist papers, had to wait until the appointment of Will Hays as the new Postmaster General in 1921 for the *St. Louis Labor* to regain its second class mailing privileges.⁶⁸

Hoehn may have been able to negotiate the attempts to censor the *Labor* and *Arbeiter-Zeitung*, but events in 1919 challenged his dedication and optimism. The Bolshevik Revolution and resistance to radical ideology during the First Red Scare inspired left-wing members to secede from the Socialist Party and create the Communist Party. St. Louis was not immune to this schism. Several city ward branches, including the Lithuanian and South Slavic Federations, as well as several German Americans in the Eighth and Ninth Ward, joined the break-away movement. Hoehn initially reacted to the factional crisis with a nearly 4,000 word essay reminding party members of the difficulties they had survived during World War I, denouncing the divisions as a capitalist ploy to destroy the party from the inside, and calling for unity in the name of working class interests.⁶⁹ The Official Minutes of the City and State Central Committee reveal the seriousness of the crisis. The Socialist Party of

Missouri on August 21, 1919 revoked the charter of the St. Louis chapter owing to internal fragmentation and establishment of the Communist Party by members of said chapter. The state party then immediately named Gottlieb Hoehn, Otto Pauls, and William Brandt as the trustees of the former chapter's property and instructed them to hold a general meeting on August 24, 1919 for the re-organization of the St. Louis Socialist Party. With the assistance of National Secretary Adolph Germer, the city Executive Committee, upon approval by the general committee, reorganized and realized that with the "exception of the language branches and the 8-9 ward branch, there would be very little desertion from the party." The Socialist Party had survived, as did most of its original German American leadership. The division, however, had weakened the organization at the local as well as national level and the ongoing Red Scare did little to empower it.⁷⁰

Once the crisis abated Hoehn applied himself to the party with renewed enthusiasm, helped update its national platform during its emergency convention in Chicago in 1919, and attended its state and national conventions throughout the 1920s.⁷¹ When in 1921 the party's national office appealed to its members to raise \$20,000 for the National Office Sustaining Fund and thus rescue the party from the brink of bankruptcy, Missouri socialists, including Gottlieb Hoehn and William Brandt, rallied the faithful, set the example through large individual donations, and demonstrated that Missouri could step up to the challenge. By October the state ranked second nationwide in proportional giving by nearly doubling its quota.⁷²

The terror of the Palmer Raids, likewise, did not discourage Hoehn's support for labor or party. He denounced lawlessness but also condemned the Justice Department's "Czarish raids, arrests and persecutions," arguing that workers, regardless of their anarchist or Communist ideology, were still American citizens or residents and thus had the right to fair legal treatment, free speech, and peaceful assembly.⁷³ Hoehn also remained a staunch supporter of Eugene Debs, campaigned for his presidential aspirations in 1920, and signed telegrams to President Harding requesting the release of Debs and other political prisoners incarcerated during the Great War. As a long-time friend and ardent supporter, he was among the thousands who welcomed Debs home after his release in December 1921 and had the privilege to personally interview the family during the happy occasion.⁷⁴ Hoehn also resumed his scathing remarks about St. Louis' "capitalist newspapers," including the *Westliche Post*, denounced Mayor Kiel's corrupt political machine, and renewed the efforts to establish the *Herald*.⁷⁵

Despite all the challenges, Hoehn remained confident that the world war and Red Scare had created an environment "extraordinarily favorable to the Socialist movement" and that American laborers would "throw off" the

“capitalist government in a perfectly legitimate and orderly manner...at the ballot box” through a “constitutionally elected” government.⁷⁶ He, therefore, backed the Committee of 48, former Progressives who had long worked with Socialists and in December 1919 initiated a movement for a national labor party. By 1923 he was deeply involved because he believed that working people were finally uniting into a “movement that counts” to overcome “the spirit of indifference and irresponsibility” underlying the nation’s festering corruption. With a number of union officials from the CTLU and MFL, he helped form a branch of the American Labor Party and ran as its candidate for the school board.⁷⁷ As a delegate to the National Socialist Party Convention and the National Conference for Progressive Political Action, he supported the fusion of labor and farmer interests into a strong independent third party and its selection of Robert M. LaFollette and Burton K. Wheeler for the 1924 presidential race. Although LaFollette did not win, Hoehn was not disappointed; instead he congratulated the “young new movement” for its success and was confident that just like in England and Germany this “great popular movement” would succeed in the future.⁷⁸

Although inspired by this brief unity and excitement, Hoehn could not stop the tide of change. Evermore the champion of trade unions, in 1925 he became deeply involved in the almost three month long, bitterly fought strike by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers against the anti-union Curlee Clothing Company. The event impacted him personally because his son-in-law, Otto Kramer, was seriously injured during “czarist police brutalities” that aimed to break the strike. Hoehn did not blame the garment workers for voting to end the strike but attributed their failure to “the lack of manhood in the general local Union movement” as well as unwillingness by local unions to express moral or financial support.⁷⁹ Hoehn began to realize that leaders like himself, who had survived the challenges of World War I, the post-war depression, the first Red Scare, and the Schism of 1919, were getting older and few younger workers replaced them. Eugene Debs’ death in 1926 also weakened the Socialist Party. In St. Louis, the party’s influence waned after brewery workers, once at the forefront of the city’s union and socialist movement, declined drastically in numbers and influence owing to prohibition, and the AFL “reasserted its influence” in the CTLU. The city local soon became “inactive” despite efforts to revitalize it.⁸⁰ These trends also affected the *St. Louis Labor* and the *Arbeiter-Zeitung*. Persistent financial problems, reductions in subscriptions and advertising owing to the loss of union power during the booming as well as turbulent 1920s, and the deepening depression in 1930 finally convinced Hoehn to retire from the publishing business. Both papers ceased publication in December 1930 after the board of directors sold

the Labor Publishing Company to the newly established Progressive Publishing Company.⁸¹

Retirement allowed Hoehn to remain active on behalf of labor. Union organizers in the Amalgamated, respectful of his experience and influence, asked him to join their staff “and work on publicity and strike leaflets.” In addition to this work, he gave speeches on behalf of unions, reported important events in the movement to labor publications, and authored published opinion pieces.⁸² He, for example, encouraged workers to view the Great Depression as a worldwide “industrial and social collapse of our capitalistic order,” an event predicted by socialists, such as August Bebel, decades ago. Although disappointed that Herbert Hoover, who had helped rescue Belgians during the Great War, was now unable to stop the growing crisis, he had high expectations for Franklin Delano Roosevelt, “a man of sound character” and a politician who “stands high above the average among our American party politicians.” Hoehn assured his audiences that FDR, who had nominated a woman as the Secretary of Labor, would bring about true reform, despite opposition from the “capitalistic and financial barons.” Pro labor legislation during the Great Depression through the New Deal, such as the Wagner Act, convinced not just workers but also Gottlieb Hoehn to support the Democratic Party and vote for FDR in 1936. The right to organize had finally been established beyond any doubt.⁸³

Hoehn also used the extra time to further his civic and intellectual pursuits, becoming more deeply involved with the *Arbeiter Fortbildungs Verein* and Tenth Ward Improvement Association. Participation in events sponsored by freethinker organizations in North and South St. Louis, as well as his service on the board of directors for the German House, demonstrate not only his personal intellectual interests but also reflect the continuing influence of the freethinker movement in the city’s German American community.⁸⁴ In speeches he revealed his confidence that Hegel and Marx’s interpretation of history, an inevitable progression toward perfection through a path of violence, was correct and that through trial, error, and repeated crisis, the democratic principles espoused by great leaders such as Thomas Paine, Benjamin Franklin, and Ferdinand Lassalle would eventually rise to rule the world. In his opinion, even dictators, like Adolf Hitler, were mere temporary specks in history and could not stop the certain progress toward “worker’s and economical liberation.” Hoehn predicted “a world of free thinkers and free business” would replace Nazi Germany in due time.⁸⁵ Perhaps because of advancing age, Hoehn also began to contemplate the role of religion and culture in daily life. For example, he contemplated why the children of German Americans no longer maintained their parents’ cultural traditions. He hypothesized that modern developments, such as automobiles, radios, airplanes,

and televisions, had irreversibly changed the world, communication, even the democratic process. Sadly, mankind lost “Gemütlichkeit,” “worthwhile” conversations, and energetic political campaigns, characteristics that for him had defined the German American community in St. Louis.⁸⁶

Gottlieb Andreas Hoehn died on April 9, 1951, having outlived most of the pioneers in the American labor and socialist movement. Obituaries were understandably brief during the era of McCarthyism and lacked analysis of his significance. Evaluation of his life and thoughts reveals a well-educated and persistently optimistic man dedicated to Socialism and labor. Hoehn joined the socialist movement and helped found the party in America, not in Europe, and within the context of American industrialization. Although he read the German and French Socialists’ thoughts and published them, he remained an American Socialist and adopted a political liberalism in the traditional sense of freeing someone from oppression and politically empowering that person. At the same time his expressions evidence what might be called a sentimental, almost utopian view of Socialism, or how the world could be in the future. Having witnessed improvements in the lives of workers, political gains for voters, including women, and first successes in the Civil Rights Movement, Hoehn truly believed the United States was the place where Socialism would take root and grow into the cooperative commonwealth because of the country’s unique democratic republicanism and commitment to equality.

Yet, Hoehn also represents the divisions among Socialists and union leaders. Initially a member of the SLP and advocate for “industrial unionism,” by 1900 he was a social democrat calling for unity among unions and political action through one labor party. He perceived the creation of the IWW as divisive and destructive to the labor movement. Although he “considered himself as much a trade unionist as a Socialist,”⁸⁷ he viewed Gompers as selling out to big business by joining the Democratic Party. While not alone in expressing these contentious beliefs, Hoehn limited his own aspirations for elected office by contributing to these divisions.

Socialists in St. Louis did not achieve the same electoral successes as Socialists in Milwaukee or New York because social, political, and economic circumstances were different. Wisconsin Socialists were more reform oriented and able to unite trade unions, progressives, and municipal reformers across a variety of ethnic lines to pass meaningful legislation on behalf of workers. In St. Louis, by contrast, the political machine was strong enough to limit cross cultural interaction. Furthermore, workers, despite several attempts, could not create a strong united front; there were too many divisions within. In Milwaukee, Socialism also became synonymous with Germanism.⁸⁸ Not so in St. Louis. While most Socialists in St. Louis were German, most Germans

were not Socialists. Instead, Germans living in St. Louis and Missouri were more divided politically, socially, religiously, and economically than in Wisconsin.

Indeed, Hoehn represents but one of many different German American identities. They were divided, despite some overlapping ideals, into freethinkers, communitarians, Lassalleian Socialists, orthodox Marxists, anarchists, Republicans, and Democrats. Consequently, and despite American perceptions to the contrary, German Americans did not represent a unified ethnic group or political block. Although St. Louis offered strong cultural institutions for anyone wishing to preserve ethnic identity, Hoehn preferred to associate with fellow Socialists through May Day or Labor Day parades, theatrical plays, masquerade balls, bazaars, river excursions, and community picnics. At times divisions between German Americans in St. Louis became evident in who or what they celebrated. For example, in 1895, the *Liederkrantz* met at the Germania Theater to celebrate Bismarck and his historical significance while Socialists, including Hoehn, conducted an “anti-Bismarck demonstration” at the office of the *Tageblatt*.⁸⁹

Gottlieb Hoehn was not an insignificant person; instead we learn through him about the rise and decline of the Socialist Party of America, the disagreements within the American labor movement, and the heterogeneity of German Americans. He may not have attained national attention like Eugene Debs and Victor Berger, but his unwavering optimism, steadfast support, and sense of civic duty made a difference in the lives of ordinary people and defined him as one of the principal leaders of the labor movement and Socialist Party in St. Louis.

Missouri University of Science and Technology
Rolla, Missouri

Notes

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Mississippi: The Socialist Party in St. Louis,” in *Race, Ethnicity, and Gender in Early Twentieth-Century American Socialism* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1996): 73-94.

² Miller, “Germans on the Mississippi,” 75; Gary M. Fink, *Labor’s Search for Political Order: The Political Behavior of the Missouri Labor Movement, 1890-1940* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1973), 26; Howard H. Quint, *The Forging of American Socialism: Origins of the Modern Movement* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1953), 311, 347, 351, 379-80.

³ Ross, *Socialist Party*, 60-61, 69-71.

⁴ Little blue book, folder 8, Hoehn, Gottlieb A. (1865-1951), Papers, 1895-1945, Collection 347, State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia Research Center (hereafter cited as Hoehn Papers, SHSM-C).

⁵ Hoehn kept a journal of meticulously transcribed German and French poetry, poems and essays he composed in German, French, and English, and letters of introduction he copied from original documents. Red Book, in large box, Gottlieb A. Hoehn Papers (1887-1936), Missouri History Museum Archives, St. Louis (hereafter cited as Hoehn Papers, MHMA).

⁶ *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*, Population Schedule, Missouri, St. Louis, 10th Ward, sheet 18 A; *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910*, Population Schedule, Missouri, St. Louis, 11th Ward, Sheet 4 B. “Gottlieb Hoehn,” folder 62, roll 7, Socialist Party of St. Louis and Missouri, Records, 1909-1964, S0090, State Historical Society of Missouri, St. Louis Research Center, University of Missouri-St. Louis (hereafter cited as Socialist Party, SHSM-SL). Marie (Schmidt) Hoehn was born September 21, 1863 in Nienburg, Hanover. Blue booklet, and G. A. Hoehn to Mr. English, March 4, 1945, both in folder 8, Hoehn Papers, SHSM-C.

⁷ “Our United Front of Half a Century,” folder 5, Hoehn Papers, SHSM-C. “Gottlieb Hoehn,” Socialist Party, SHSM-SL. E.[sic] A. Hoehn to Lucian Sanial, read and submitted during the Tenth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Detroit, Michigan, December 8, 1890, and “Hoehn,” in *The Samuel Gompers Papers*, ed., Stuart B. Kaufman, vol. 2, *The Early Years of the American Federation of Labor, 1887-90* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 388, 447. “Stadt Baltimore,” *Deutsche Correspondent* (Baltimore), October 5, 1886; “Kundenschuhmacher-Union,” *Deutsche Correspondent*, September 26, 1887; “Stadt Baltimore: Die Federation of Labor,” *Deutsche Correspondent*, November 10, 1887.

⁸ “Stadt Baltimore: Agitations Versammlung,” *Deutsche Correspondent*, November 27, 1888. G. A. Hoehn to Mr. English, March 4, 1945, folder 8, Hoehn Papers, SHSM-C. *Offizielles Protokoll der 5. National-Konvention der Sozial. Arbeiter-Partei von Nord-Amerika* (New York: National Executive Committee of the Socialistic Labor Party, 1886), accessed June 5, 2015, <https://ia700508.us.archive.org/8/items/OffiziellesProtokollDer5.National-konvention-DerSoz.Arbeiter-parteiVon/SLP1886a.pdf>; *Report of the Proceedings of the Sixth National Convention of the Socialistic Labor Party* (New York: New York Labor News Company, 1887), accessed June 5, 2015, http://www.slp.org/pdf/slphist/nc_1887.pdf; *Proceedings of the National Convention Socialist Labor Party, 1889* (Cincinnati: J. Willig, 1889), accessed June 5, 2015, <https://archive.org/details/ProceedingsOfTheSocialistLaborParty1889Convention>.

⁹ G. A. Hoehn to Mr. English, March 4, 1945, folder 8, Hoehn Papers, SHSM-C. Bruce C. Nelson, “*Arbeiterpresse und Arbeiterbewegung*: Chicago’s Socialist and Anarchist Press, 1870-1900,” in *The German-American Radical Press: The Shaping of a Left Political Culture, 1850-1940*, eds., Elliott Shore, Ken Fones-Wolf, and James P. Danky (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 96-97.

¹⁰ G. A. Hoehn to Mr. English, March 4, 1945, folder 8, Hoehn Papers, SHSM-C. The City Directory of Chicago lists him as a reporter in 1889 and as an editor in 1890. *Lakeside Annual Directory of the City of Chicago, 1889* (Chicago: The Chicago Directory Company, 1889), 840; *Lakeside Annual Directory of the City of Chicago, 1890* (Chicago: The Chicago Directory Company, 1890), 1036. Hoehn filed his intent for citizenship in February 1888 in Baltimore, Maryland and became a citizen on October 7, 1890, in Chicago. Gottlieb A. Hoehn. U.S.

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¹¹ "Gottlieb Hoehn," folder 62, roll 7, Socialist Party, SHSM-SL. "Socialist Labor Convention," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, February 24, 1891. *Proceedings of the National Convention Socialist Labor Party, 1889* (Cincinnati: J. Willig, 1889), 1, accessed June 5, 2015 <https://archive.org/details/ProceedingsOfTheSocialistLaborParty1889Convention>. "'Tommy' Morgan Still has Hope," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 25, 1891; and "Tommy Morgan on Socialism," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, October 12, 1891.

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¹³ Elliot J. Kanter, "Class, Ethnicity, and Socialist Politics: St. Louis, 1876-1881," *UCLA Historical Journal* 3 (1982): 36-60. Karl J. R. Arndt and May E. Olson, *The German Language Press of the Americas*, Volume 1: *History and Bibliography 1732-1968, United States of America*, 3rd edition (München: Verlag Dokumentation Saur KG, 1976), 271-73.

¹⁴ G. A. Hoehn, "Die Arbeiterpresse in St. Louis: Geschichtlicher Überblick," manuscript written for *Westliche Post*, 1932, Hoehn Papers, MHMA; "Deutscher Einfluss auf die Amerikanische Arbeiterbewegung," *Westliche Post*, December 29, 1935, newspaper clipping; Labor Collection, Missouri History Museum Archives, St. Louis (hereafter cited as Labor Collection, MHMA). "Central Press Committee," *St. Louis Labor*, January 12, 1895; "Socialist Newspaper Union," *St. Louis Labor*, December 7, 1895; "Socialist Newspaper Union," *St. Louis Labor*, April 11, 1896. Quint, *Forging of American Socialism*, 169-70.

¹⁵ "City Printing," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 23, 1897; "Council Meeting," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 9, 1897; "City Printing Job," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 24, 1897. Arndt and Olson, *German Language Newspapers*, 271, 275. "The Tageblatt Sold," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, August 22, 1897; "Tagging of the Tageblatt," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 19, 1898; "German Papers Consolidate," *Kansas City Journal*, May 30, 1898.

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¹⁷ Until 1910, the Western Newspaper Union had printed the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* and *Labor*. "Our Press," *St. Louis Labor*, February 12, 1910; "St. Louis Movement to Have its own Printing Plant," *St. Louis Labor*, February 26, 1910; "The New Home of Our Press," *St. Louis Labor*, April 16, 1910; "St. Louis Labor Printed on Our Own Press," *St. Louis Labor*, November 26, 1910. St. Louis Arbeiter-Zeitung Gesellschaft Protokoll, Minute Book, 1905-1910, Hoehn Papers, MHMA.

¹⁸ "Words of History: From the Annual Report of the Editor and Manager of St. Louis Labor," *St. Louis Labor*, July 3, 1909; "Labor Organs Entertain," *St. Louis Republic*, March 21, 1903; "Report of Editor and Manager," *St. Louis Labor*, December 31, 1904; "For Our Socialist Press," *St. Louis Labor*, May 22, 1909. "Die Arbeiterpresse in St. Louis: Geschichtlicher Überblick," written for the 75th Anniversary of the *Westliche Post*, 1932, Hoehn Papers, MHMA.

¹⁹ The *St. Louis Labor* is on microfilm and readily accessible through the State Historical Society of Missouri. In contrast, the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* has not been transferred to microfilm

and is available in paper in the St. Louis Public Library only upon special arrangement and with limited use.

²⁰ Identical on each editorial page from 1895 through 1909. "St. Louis Labor," *St. Louis Labor*, March 23, 1895; "Labor," *St. Louis Labor*, January 2, 1909.

²¹ "Is Liberty Dead! [sic]: The People vs. Military Despotism in Colorado!" *St. Louis Labor*, October 31, 1903; "Is Colorado in America?" *St. Louis Labor*, March 12, 1904; "Striking Machinists' Property Attached," *St. Louis Labor*, July 15, 1905; "Another Anti-Union Injunction," *St. Louis Labor*, June 1, 1907; "Montreal Bricklayers Out on Strike," *St. Louis Labor*, August 13, 1910; "The Strike Situation," *St. Louis Labor*, March 30, 1912.

²² "Gottlieb Hoehn," Socialist Party, SHSM-SL. "\$250 Reward for Spies: The St. Louis Carriage Drivers' Strike and the Effect of the Boycott by Organized Labor," *St. Louis Labor*, March 19, 1904; "The Shoe Workers' Strike," *St. Louis Labor*, November 16, 1907; "For the Victims of the White Terror," *St. Louis Labor*, January 28, 1920; "For Hungary's Fugitives," *St. Louis Labor*, April 3, 1920; "Switchmen's Strike is Battle for Right and Justice," *St. Louis Labor*, April 17, 1920; "Assist the Children of Soviet Russia," *St. Louis Labor*, January 22, 1921; "To Save Starving Children!" *St. Louis Labor*, June 11, 1921. "Since the Day of the Commune," *St. Louis Labor*, March 17, 1906; "How it came About in Germany," *St. Louis Labor*, November 7, 1908.

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²⁴ Edward B. Stahl, "St. Louis Socialists in Missouri Election of 1902" (master's thesis, Northeast Missouri State University, 1996), 55. "The Marx & Haas Lockout," *St. Louis Labor*, December 4, 1909; "Marx & Haas Exposed," *St. Louis Labor*, April 2, 1910.

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²⁶ "Opposes Measure to Abolish the House of Delegates," *St. Louis Republic*, November 10, 1902; "The 'Snake' Kinney-Wells 'New St. Louis' Administration," *St. Louis Labor*, April 25, 1903. The recharter movement in 1908 failed but a second attempt in 1914 passed despite Socialist opposition owing to inclusion of Initiative and Referendum. Primm, *Lion of the Valley*, 401-02, 409-410. "The City Charter Revision," *St. Louis Labor*, January 25, 1908. "City Charter Revision," *St. Louis Labor*, January 22, 1910; "Organize to Defeat New City Charter," *St. Louis Labor*, December 31, 1910; "Organized Labor's Glorious Victory in Anti-Charter Battle," *St. Louis Labor*, February 4, 1911. "Rotten to the Core," *St. Louis Labor*, May 30, 1903; "The Folk Boom," *St. Louis Labor*, December 19, 1903; "Joe Folk," *St. Louis Labor*, August 10, 1904; "Gov. Folk and the Lid," *St. Louis Labor*, September 30, 1905.

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³⁰ Ross, *Socialist Party*, 48-50, 58; Quint, *Forging of American Socialism*, 310-11, 321; Stahl, "St. Louis Socialists," 11-14. "Comrades, The Clock Has Struck: Are You Ready?" *St. Louis Labor*, December 10, 1898.

³¹ "Headquarters in St. Louis," *St. Louis Republic*, August 2, 1901. Ross, *Socialist Party*, 57-60. Sally M. Miller, *From Prairie to Prison: The Life of Social Activist Kate Richards O'Hare* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1993), 85. Fink, *Labor's Search*, 26-27.

³² "From City Convention: Socialist Success not Impossible," *St. Louis Labor*, May 10, 1902; "Semi-Annual Report of the National Committee of the Socialist Party," *International Socialist Review* 3 (July 1902-June 1903): 224-28; "List of Delegates," *International Socialist Review* 4 (July 1903-June 1904): 686; "Missouri State Convention of Socialist Party," *St. Louis Labor*, June 4, 1904; "Missouri Socialist State Convention," *St. Louis Labor*, June 9, 1906; "From National Socialist Headquarters," *St. Louis Labor*, August 18, 1906. "List of Delegates," *International Socialist Review* 8 (July 1907-June 1908): 723.

³³ "Socialist Party Removes their Headquarters," *St. Louis Republic*, January 31, 1903. Allegedly St. Louis delegates supported a San Francisco Union Labor fusion ticket. The "ousted" individuals suggested delegates "objected to Missourians having control of the party." "St. Louis Members Ousted," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 31, 1903; "Annual National Committee Meeting," *St. Louis Labor*, January 31, 1903; "National Committee Socialist Party," *St. Louis Labor*, February 7, 1903; G. A. Hoehn, "Open Letter," *St. Louis Labor*, February 21, 1903. "Socialist Voters' Union of St. Louis," *St. Louis Labor*, October 10, 1903; "Naturalize for City Election," *St. Louis Labor*, February 6, 1904.

³⁴ "Tägliche Rundschau," *Deutsche Correspondent*, February 23, 1893; "There are Seven: Party Tickets Filed in the Office of the Recorder," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 19, 1893. "Official Ballot," *Hermann Volkesblatt*, October 30, 1896. "St. Louis Convention," *St. Louis Labor*, January 21, 1899, 5; "The Official Ballot," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, November 5, 1900, 5. *Official Manual of the State of Missouri*, 1901-1902 (Jefferson City: Tribune Printing Company, 1901), 110. "Official Ballot," *St. Louis Republic*, April 1, 1901.

³⁵ "Socialist Ticket Named," *St. Louis Republic*, March 15, 1902, "Vote this Ticket," *St. Louis Labor*, October 18, 1902. "The Socialist Party Ticket All Union Men," *St. Louis Labor*, March 14, 1903; "Socialist Party Ticket," *St. Louis Labor*, February 19, 1905; "St. Louis Socialist Municipal Ticket," *St. Louis Labor*, January 2, 1909; "Post-Dispatch Presents Records of Candidates for City Council," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 27, 1911.

³⁶ In 1904 Hoehn received 2,792 votes out of 58,533 cast or 4.8 %; in 1906 he received 3,102 out of 51,077 cast or 6%; in 1908 he received 3,557 out of 81,318 cast or 4.4%; in

1910 he received 5,865 out of 87,688 cast or 6.7%; in 1912 he received 7,154 out of 88,478 or 8% of votes cast in the Tenth District. *Official Manual of the State of Missouri, 1905-1906* (Jefferson City: Hugh Stephens Printing Company, 1905), 547; *Official Manual of the State of Missouri, 1909-1910* (Jefferson City: Hugh Stephens Printing Company, 1909), 815; *Official Manual of the State of Missouri, 1913-1914* (Jefferson City: Hugh Stephens Printing Company, 1913), 1121. Forsythe, "The St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union," 51, 72. "Richard Bartholdt—What Has He Done for the People?" *St. Louis Labor*, October 15, 1910.

³⁷ "Complete List of Candidates in August Primary," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 5, 1920. In 1922 Hoehn received 2,134 out of 120,837 votes, or 1.7 percent, and in 1924 received 6,816 out of 201,164 votes cast in the Tenth District, or 3.4 percent. *Official Manual of the State of Missouri, 1923-1924* (Jefferson City: Hugh Stephens Printing Company, 1923), 269; *Official Manual of the State of Missouri, 1925-1926* (Jefferson City: Hugh Stephens Printing Company, 1925), 407. "Our Municipal Platform: G. A. Hoehn," *St. Louis Labor*, March 21, 1925; *Official Manual of the State of Missouri, 1929-1930* (Jefferson City: Botz-Hugh Stephens Press, 1929), 239-40.

³⁸ "Kiel Rules New Council; Mayor has 9 in House; Socialist Almost Elected in Tenth," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 5, 1911. "The Socialist Vote in St. Louis: Slowly but Surely the Socialist Vote Increases," and "Our Next Campaign," *St. Louis Labor*, November 10, 1906; "After the Battle," *St. Louis Labor*, November 7, 1908. "The Milwaukee Victory," and "Their Work Will Tell," *St. Louis Labor*, April 16, 1910.

³⁹ Statistical analysis of voting results reveal that Debs, the presidential candidate, receives .6 percent of the vote in Missouri in 1900, 2.9 percent in 1904, 2.8 percent in 1908, and 6 percent in 1912, as well as .8 percent of the vote in St. Louis in 1900, 2 percent in 1904, 2.1 percent in 1908, and 6 percent in 1912. *Official Manual of the State of Missouri, 1905-1906*, 440-41, 443, 445; *Official Manual of the State of Missouri, 1909-1910*, 673; *Official Manual of the State of Missouri, 1913-1914*, 756. In 1912, candidates for Congress, state assemblies, or municipal offices in several states received between 9% and 40% of the vote. Ross, *Socialist Party*, 140-42. See also Miller, "Germans on the Mississippi," 84-85.

⁴⁰ Hoehn received 8 percent as candidate for Congress. *Official Manual of the State of Missouri, 1913-1914*, 1121. "1912 – For Greater Victories – 1912," *St. Louis Labor*, January 13, 1912. "The Socialists beat Democrats in St. Louis Primaries," *St. Louis Labor*, March 11, 1911; "Twelve Thousand Socialist Votes in St. Louis," *St. Louis Labor*, April 8, 1911; "Official Vote of St. Louis," *St. Louis Labor*, April 15, 1911; "Socialists Almost Win St. Louis in Special Council Election," and "16,006 in St. Louis," *St. Louis Labor*, November 18, 1911.

⁴¹ Ross, *Socialist Party*, 61, 66-67, 107, 109. John P. Enyeart, "Revolution or Evolution: The Socialist Party, Western Workers, and Law in the Progressive Era," *Journal of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era* 2 (October 2003): 382. Eric Thomas Chester, *True Mission: Socialists and the Labor Party Question in the U. S.* (London, UK: Pluto Press, 2004), 1-2. "Labor's Candidates for Congress: Hoehn, Hofher, and Rocker define their Attitude," *St. Louis Labor*, September 29, 1906; "Municipal Campaign Pamphlet," *St. Louis Labor*, February 20, 1909; "Old Age Pension," *St. Louis Labor*, August 5, 1911. "One Night's Discussion For and Against Prohibition," *St. Louis Labor*, May 8, 1909. "An Address on Prohibition," *St. Louis Labor*, August 27, 1910. "Woman's Suffrage Department," *St. Louis Labor*, June 18, 1910; "St. Louis Women Holding Big Suffrage Rally," *St. Louis Post Dispatch*, November 16, 1912. "Germany's Red Flood," *St. Louis Labor*, January 20, 1912; "99 Socialists Elected and More to Come," *St. Louis Labor*, January 27, 1912. Miller, "Germans on the Mississippi," 82-83. Fink, *Labor's Search*, 29.

⁴² Sally M. Miller, Casting a Wide Net: The Milwaukee Movement to 1920," in *Socialism in the Heartland: The Midwestern Experience, 1900-1925*, ed. Donald T. Critchlow (Notre Dame: University Press of Notre Dame, 1986), 19.

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⁴³ "Attempted Intimidation Disclosed," *St. Louis Labor*, April 26, 1902; "The Conspiracy of Silence," *St. Louis Labor*, April 8, 1905. "Hoehn's Record during the Street Car Strike," *St. Louis Labor*, March 28, 1903. "An Official Statement by St. Louis Socialist Party, Unanimously Adopted at Regular Monthly Meeting of Sunday, August 6, 1905," Box 1, Labor Collection, MHMA.

⁴⁴ As candidate for City Council from Tenth Ward he received 372 votes, while socialist candidates for City Council and Board of Education from the same ward received between 301 and 329 votes. "Socialist Vote in St. Louis," *St. Louis Labor*, April 11, 1903. "The Lesson of an Election," and G. A. Hoehn, "A Statement," *St. Louis Labor*, July 2, 1910; "Libel Suit against St. Louis Republic," *St. Louis Labor*, September 17, 1910; "An Appreciation" *St. Louis Labor*, August 13, 1910.

⁴⁵ Enyeart, "Revolution or Evolution," 385. Ross, *Socialist Party*, 121-24. "Milwaukee Elects Socialist Mayor," *St. Louis Labor*, April 9, 1910. "President Gomper's Wrong Politics," *St. Louis Labor*, September 24, 1904.

⁴⁶ Miller, "Germans on the Mississippi," 83-84, 88. Hoehn expressed these thoughts at the CTLU meeting in December 1897. "Amerikanische Arbeiter und die Einwanderung," *Deutsche Correspondent*, December 1, 1897.

⁴⁷ G. A. Hoehn, "The American Labor Movement," *International Socialist Review* 33 no. 6 (December 1902): 403, 411. "Complete Stenographic Report of the Discussion on Socialism at the Boston Convention of the American Federation of Labor," and "Gompers and Martyr Greenbaum," *St. Louis Labor*, January 16, 1904; G. A. Hoehn, "Open Letter to Gompers," *St. Louis Labor*, February 2, 1904. "A Day of Glorious Victory for Labor and Socialism," *St. Louis Labor*, June 20, 1903; "The Socialist March toward Victory," *St. Louis Labor*, November 10, 1906.

⁴⁸ "Gompers Cause of Socialists Losing Seats," *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, July 9, 1906; "More Time Wanted by Central Trades," *St. Louis Republic*, July 9, 1906; "What Next, Messieurs?" *St. Louis Labor*, July 14, 1906. "Sam," and "Editor Samuel Gompers' Democratic Appendicitis," *St. Louis Labor*, September 5, 1908.

⁴⁹ "Socialist Party: Meeting of Local St. Louis Discussing the Editorial Attitude of Labor," *St. Louis Labor*, January 9, 1904. "Central Trades and Labor Union: Mr. Conroy's Speech," *St. Louis Labor*, March 5, 1904.

⁵⁰ Ross, *Socialist Party*, 61, 79, 88-90. "St. Louis Central Labor Union," *St. Louis Labor*, March 31, 1906; "Darrow Fires First Shot for Defense in Haywood Trial," *St. Louis Labor*, June 29, 1907; "William D. Haywood Exonerated," *St. Louis Labor*, August 3, 1907; "Noble Work," *St. Louis Labor*, April 18, 1908; "The Gompers-Mitchell-Morrison Contempt Case," *St. Louis Labor*, January 2, 1909.

⁵¹ "The Chicago Industrial Conference," *St. Louis Labor*, July 15, 1905; "Labor! Labor! Labor!" *St. Louis Labor*, August 12, 1905; "Our Attitude," *St. Louis Labor*, August 19, 1905. "Serious Problems for the Socialist Party of this Country," *St. Louis Labor*, May 27, 1911.

⁵² "Haywood in St. Louis," *St. Louis Labor*, December 21, 1912. Ross, *Socialist Party*, 133-34, 139, 147; Miller, "Germans on the Mississippi," 84, 93.

⁵³ Historians Ira Kipnis, James Weinstein, and Jack Ross, disagree whether 1911, 1912, or 1914 represent the high point of the Socialist Party's political success. Ross, *Socialist Party*, 121-22, 130-31, 142-45, 159-61.

⁵⁴ Miller, "Germans on the Mississippi," 88.

⁵⁵ Ross argues that Socialists, who held many common ideals with Progressives and Populists and often had originated in these movements, missed several opportunities to incorporate ideals and persons into the American Socialist Party as both movements declined. Ross, *Socialist Party*, 95-96, 161-62. Primm, *Lion of the Valley*, 364, 371, 380-81, 393.

⁵⁶ Stahl argues that AFL membership rejected the "Marxist concept of 'declining status' and increasing misery" as a necessary stage before social change. Stahl, "St. Louis Socialists,"

26, 70-74. Historians of third parties claim that people support them when main parties do not address grievances, but once a major party seizes a third party issue and address interests, voters will return to the established political organizations. Steven J. Rosenstone, Roy L. Behr, and Edward H. Lazarus, *Third Parties in America: Citizens Response to Major Party Failure* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 8.

⁵⁷ "Europe's Regeneration," *St. Louis Labor*, August 15, 1914; "The Discovery of the World by the People," *St. Louis Labor*, January 18, 1919; "Our United Front of Half a Century," Hoehn Papers, SHSM-C.

⁵⁸ Ross, *Socialist Party*, 156-57, 167-68, 182-84. "Rousing Anti-War Meeting of St. Louis Socialists," *St. Louis Labor*, August 22, 1914. "Gompers' Latest 29-Page Editorial Eruption," *St. Louis Labor*, August 14, and August 28, 1915. Forsythe, "The St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union," 128-131. "To Enter War would Mean Blackest Crime for American Nation," and "The Conflict between the United States and Germany," *St. Louis Labor*, February 10, 1917. "Arming of Merchant Ships Brings our Country to Abyss of War," *St. Louis Labor*, March 27, 1917. "Proceedings, Emergency Convention of the Socialist Party of America, 1917," folder 98, roll 10, Socialist Party, SHSM-SL.

⁵⁹ "A Day of Mourning for American Democracy," *St. Louis Labor*, June 2, 1917.

⁶⁰ Forsythe, "The St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union," 133-34. See *St. Louis Labor* March 15, 1901, June 12 and June 18, 1902, May 28, 1910, and February 17, 1912 for opposition to use of state militias or national guards.

⁶¹ Christopher Gibbs, *The Great Silent Majority: Missouri's Resistance to World War I* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1988), 144-52. "Massenversammlung der Striker," and "Aufruhr an der Olive Straße," *Westliche Post*, February 4, 1918; "Tabak-Arbeiter Streiken," *Westliche Post*, March 1, 1918. "Department Store Slavery Must Go!" *St. Louis Labor*, March 9, 1918; "4,000 Tobacco Workers Strike; General Strike at Wagner Electric Plant," *St. Louis Labor*, March 16, 1918. The 1910 census notes 87,371 wage earners in all industries. *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910, Population, Supplement for Missouri* (Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office, 1913), 699. "Gottlieb Hoehn," Socialist Party, SHSM-SL. Malcolm McLaughlin, "Reconsidering the East St. Louis Race Riot of 1917," *International Review of Social History* 47 (August 2002): 187-212.

⁶² "To the Subscribers of St. Louis Labor and Arbeiter Zeitung," *St. Louis Labor*, July 21, 1917. "For our Socialist Press," *St. Louis Labor*, August 25, 1917.

⁶³ "Now for a Daily Labor Paper! Is Decision of the Labor Publishing Co." *St. Louis Labor*, September 15, 1917. "The Daily Herald Press Fund Campaign," *St. Louis Labor*, January 5, 1918; April 6, 1918; June 8, 1918. "Donations to Cover Extra Cost of Delivery of St. Louis Labor," *St. Louis Labor*, January 5, 1918.

⁶⁴ Gibbs argues that Missourians expressed opposition to war through timid enforcement of government regulations as well as outright resistance. Gibbs, *Great Silent Majority*, 48-49. Berger alleged subscriptions declined by more than a third and the postmaster general also interfered with first class mailing privileges. Philip M. Glende, "Victor Berger's Dangerous Ideas: Censoring the Mail to Preserve National Security during World War I," *Essays in Economic and Business History* 26 (2008): 6, 10, 14. The *Arbeiter-Zeitung* did not suffer any losses, but the *Labor* recorded 2,000 fewer subscribers by 1919. N. W. Ayer, *N. W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual and Directory: A Catalogue of American Newspapers, 1916* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer & Son, 1916), 534, 536; N. W. Ayer, *N. W. Ayer & Son's American Newspaper Annual and Directory: A Catalogue of American Newspapers, 1919* (Philadelphia: N. W. Ayer & Son, 1919), 532, 535.

⁶⁵ Miller, *From Prairie to Prison*, 142. "An Act to punish acts of interference with the foreign relations, the neutrality, and the foreign commerce of the United States, to punish espionage, and better to enforce the criminal laws of the United States, and for other purposes," Pub. L. No. 24, Ch. 30, 40 Stat. 217 (1917).

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⁶⁶ “The Liberty Loan Patriots,” *St. Louis Labor*, May 26, 1917; “Sugar,” *St. Louis Labor*, June 29, 1918; “Labor Day Supplement,” *St. Louis Labor*, August 31, 1918. “To All Scandinavians in St. Louis,” *St. Louis Labor*, April 6, 1918. “Coliseum Mask Carnival Tickets Paid,” and “New Subscribers,” *St. Louis Labor*, April 6, 1918. “America’s War Aims,” *St. Louis Labor*, January 12, 1918; “President Wilson’s Correct Position on Siberian Question,” *St. Louis Labor*, June 1, 1918. “German-American Alliance and Democracy v. Autocracy in Germany,” *St. Louis Labor*, April 20, 1918.

⁶⁷ “What Socialism Will Do,” *St. Louis Labor*, June 29, 1918; “Socialist News Review,” *St. Louis Labor*, September 28, 1918. “For the Daily Working Class Press in St. Louis!” *St. Louis Labor*, March 15, 1919.

⁶⁸ Hoehn claims that the postmaster did not suspend the *Arbeiter-Zeitung’s* second-class mailing privileges although virtually identical to the *Labor* and printed in the “Hun language” but fails to note that voluntary suspension of publication eliminated scrutiny during a crucial time. “Return of Second Class Mail Privilege to ‘St. Louis Labor,’” *St. Louis Labor*, June 11, 1921. Donald Johnson, “Wilson, Burleson, and Censorship in the First World War,” *Journal of Southern History* 28 (February 1962): 58.

⁶⁹ Ross, *Socialist Party*, 216-44. Miller, “Germans on the Mississippi,” 90. G. A. Hoehn, “The Socialist Party of the United States – Its Work in Past and Present,” *St. Louis Labor*, June 21, 1919.

⁷⁰ Minutes of Meetings, General Committee, June 16, 1919-September 15, 1919, folder 3, roll 1, Socialist Party, SHSM-SL. Ross, *Socialist Party*, 216-244.

⁷¹ “Suggestions for National Socialist Platform and Program: By Delegates Wm. M. Brandt and G. A. Hoehn to National Convention in Chicago, August 30, 1919,” *St. Louis Labor*, August 30, 1919; “To the Members of the Socialist Party of Missouri,” *St. Louis Labor*, September 27, 1919; “Socialist News Potpourri: National Platform Committee Selected,” *St. Louis Labor*, October 11, 1919; “Complete List of the Delegates Attending the Socialist National Convention Here,” *New York Times*, May 12, 1920.

⁷² “Rank and File to Decide,” *St. Louis Labor*, July 23, 1921; “For National Office Sustaining Fund,” *St. Louis Labor*, July 30, 1921; “Up to Date Missouri has far Exceeded any Other State in Energy and Promptness,” *St. Louis Labor*, August 13, 1921; “National Office Sustaining Fund Climbing,” *St. Louis Labor*, August 27, 1921; “National Office Sustaining Fund,” *St. Louis Labor*, October 1, 1921.

⁷³ “Latest Campaign of the Dynamiters,” *St. Louis Labor*, June 9, 1919; “Outrageous Raid,” *St. Louis Labor*, October 18, 1919; “Lawlessness and Czarism will not Solve Social Problems,” and “Government or Insane Asylum – Which?” *St. Louis Labor*, January 10, 1920; “Hysteria against ‘Reds’ Under Rule of Reaction Continues,” *St. Louis Labor*, January 31, 1920.

⁷⁴ “Is Liberty Dead? Eugene V. Debs Represents Spirit of 1776,” *St. Louis Labor*, October 23, 1920. “20,000 People Cheer Eugene V. Debs at his Arrival at Terre Haute Railroad Station,” “Preliminary Reception Meeting at Grand Opera House,” “Some Disappointment and Great Joy in Debs’ Home,” “Socialists and Workers’ of America and Other Countries Rejoice at E. V. Debs’ Liberation from Jail,” *St. Louis Labor*, December 31, 1921.

⁷⁵ “Mayor Kiel and His Latest Deal with the U. R. Octopus,” *St. Louis Labor*, January 25, 1919; “Rowdyism Under Cloak of Patriotism Meets its Waterloo,” *St. Louis Labor*, December 12, 1919. “For the Daily Working Class Press in St. Louis,” *St. Louis Labor*, March 15, 1919; “For our Press and for our Party,” *St. Louis Labor*, March 6, 1920.

⁷⁶ “Why we Advocate the Overthrow of the Government”: We Want the American Working Class to Establish Industrial Democracy,” *St. Louis Labor*, January 31, 1920.

⁷⁷ “Rowdyism under Cloak of Patriotism Meets its Waterloo,” *St. Louis Labor*, December 13, 1919; “St. Louis Socialists Open Campaign with Enthusiasm and Determination,” *St. Louis Labor*, August 21, 1920. Ross, *Socialist Party*, 235, 240-41. “American Labor Party

Nominates Full Ticket for Aldermen and School Board," *St. Louis Labor*, February 3, 1923; "American Labor Party Campaign Stirs, Old Party Politicians; Considerable Interest Displayed by Rank and File of Union Labor," *St. Louis Labor*, March 24, 1923; "28 Percent of Registered Voters go to Polls," *St. Louis Labor*, April 7, 1923.

⁷⁸ "A Third Party versus The Labor Party," *St. Louis Labor*, May 10, 1924. G. A. Hoehn, "The Time to Demonstrate your Principles," *St. Louis Labor*, June 7, 1924. "The Socialist Party and the Presidential Campaign," *St. Louis Labor*, July 12, 1924. "LaFollette for President State Convention," *St. Louis Labor*, July 26, 1924. "La Follette Speakers get Rousing Reception at Alhambra Grotto," *St. Louis Labor*, November 1, 1924; "84,160 Votes for LaFollette in Missouri," *St. Louis Labor*, November 29, 1924. Ross, *Socialist Party*, 268-80.

⁷⁹ "Gottlieb Hoehn," folder 62, roll 7, Socialist Party, SMHS-SL. "The Curlee Strike and the Police," *St. Louis Labor*, June 6, 1925; "Open Letter to Board of Police Commissioners," *St. Louis Labor*, June 13, 1925; "Conspiracy of Reaction Against Curlee Clothing Strikers," *St. Louis Labor*, June 27, 1925; "The Curlee Clothing Co. Strike is Discontinued," *St. Louis Labor*, August 22, 1925.

⁸⁰ Feurer, *Radical Unionism*, 14-15. Ross, *Socialist Party*, 281-300. Hoehn had warned of inactivity and "cold feet" as early as 1921. "Cold Feet? Never!" *St. Louis Labor*, June 11, 1921. "To the Delegates of the Progressive National Conference," *St. Louis Labor*, February 21, 1925; "Meeting Call: St. Louis Socialists, Attention!" *St. Louis Labor*, September 27, 1930; "The Local St. Louis Socialist Party Reorganized," *St. Louis Labor*, October 4, 1930. David Burbank, interview by Noel Dark, November 29, 1972, Socialist Party Project, Oral History T-217, State Historical Society of Missouri, St. Louis Research Center, University of Missouri St. Louis.

⁸¹ "Gottlieb Hoehn," Socialist Party, SHSM-SL. Subscriptions for *Labor* declined to 3,565 in 1922 and for the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* to 2,400 in 1924. *N. W. Ayer, Directory, 1922*, 555; Arndt and Olson, *German Language Press*, 252. "Announcement," *St. Louis Labor*, November 15, 1930; "To our Readers and Friends," *St. Louis Labor*, December 6, 1930. Hoehn worked as an editor for *The Progressive Press*, but efforts to revitalize the *Arbeiter-Zeitung* faltered in January 1932, and the *Press* closed by 1933. "Die Arbeiterpresse in St. Louis: Geschichtlicher Überblick," written for the 75th Anniversary of the *Westliche Post*, 1932, in Hoehn Papers, MHMA; *Gould's St. Louis City Directory, 1931* (St. Louis: Polk-Gould Directory Co., 1931), 650. *Official Manual of the State of Missouri, 1933-1934* (Jefferson City: Hugh Stephens Printing Company, 1934), 707.

⁸² "Gottlieb Hoehn," Socialist Party, SHSM-SL; G. A. Hoehn, "More Agitation," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, no date, newspaper clipping, and Midwest Amalgamated Union Label, Box 5 and 6, Labor Collection, MHMA. David Kreyling and Gottlieb Hoehn, "Golden Jubilee Recollections: Historical Sketch of the St. Louis Central Trades and Labor Union," September 11, 1937, in *Golden Anniversary Celebration of the Central Trades and Labor Union of St. Louis and Vicinity*, Pamphlet, (St. Louis, 1937), 13, 17, 21, 25, 33. Gottlieb Hoehn to *The Advance*, April 13, 1938, folder 6; "Historical Synopsis of the American Labor Movement," folder 6; and "Our United Front," folder 5; Hoehn Papers, SHSM-C.

⁸³ "Die wirtschaftliche Weltkriese: Bankrott unserer alten Gesellschaftsordnung," lecture presented to South St. Louis Free Congregation, German House, October 18, 1931, Hoehn Papers, MHMA. "Präsident Roosevelt nach dem 4. März, 1933," Speech presented to Süd St. Louis Freie Gemeinde, March 1, 1933, Hoehn Papers, MHMA. "Gottlieb Hoehn," Socialist Party, SHSM-SL.

⁸⁴ "German Lecture and Debate," *St. Louis Labor*, March 22, 1901; "A Pleasant Socialist Outing," *St. Louis Labor*, August 10, 1907; "Annual Socialist Picnic and Campaign Demonstration," *St. Louis Labor*, September 5, 1908; "Directorium Deutsches Haus, Inc.," *St. Louis Labor*, July 7, 1929; "German House Dedication a Marvelous Success," *St. Louis Labor*, September 14, 1929. "For a Greater St. Louis," *St. Louis Labor*, May 24, 1930.

⁸⁵ “Benjamin Franklin und unsere Zeit,” speech presented at Vertrags Versammlung der Süd St. Louis Freien Gemeinde, March 6, 1935; “Die Hitler Bewegung in Deutschland – ihr Wesen and Treiben,” presented to the combined meeting of both Free Congregations, Dodier Hall, April 23, 1933; “Kulturgeschichliches von Campanella und Thomas Muenger bis Mussolini und Hitler,” speech presented at Süd St. Louis Freie Gemeinde, Deutsches Haus, October 3, 1934; “Ein Soziales Panorama des Neuen Europas,” presented to the Nord St. Louis Freie Gemeinde, November 4, 1934; all in Hoehn Papers, MHMA.

⁸⁶ “Gott und Götter in der Weltgeschichte,” lecture held by G. A. Hoehn at the North St. Louis Free Society, October 15, 1933; “Über Lebensphilosophie – Glaube, Liebe, Hoffnung,” lecture given by G. A. Hoehn, in South St. Louis Free Congregation German House, February 7, 1934; “Segen und Fluch des Nationalismus im Völkerleben,” lecture before Free Congregation of South St. Louis, February 5, 1936; “Zur Geschichte der Freien Gemeinde von Nord St. Louis,” presented on occasion of the 95th Anniversary of the Congregation, June 3, 1945; all in Hoehn Papers, MHMA.

⁸⁷ Fink, *Labor’s Search*, 27.

⁸⁸ Ross, *Socialist Party*, 117-19. Sally M. Miller, “Casting a Wide Net: The Milwaukee Movement to 1920,” in *Socialism in the Heartland: The Midwestern Experience, 1900-1925*, ed. Donald T. Critchlow (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1986), 18-45.

⁸⁹ David W. Detjen, *The Germans in Missouri, 1900-1918: Prohibition, Neutrality and Assimilation* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1985), 15; Primm, *Lion in the Valley*, 433; Margaret LoPiccolo Sullivan, *Hyphenism in St. Louis, 1900-1921: A View from the Outside* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1990), 6. “Anti-Bismarck Meeting,” *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, March 26, 1895.

