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**THE GERMAN FORTY-EIGHTERS AND THE SOCIALISTS IN MILWAUKEE**

**A Social Psychological Study of Assimilation**

by

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## INTRODUCTION

This study was undertaken in an effort to ascertain the adjustment to the American scene of a particular type or group of German refugees, namely the political refugee. We are attempting to show how this type or group influences and is influenced by the American political and social scene, what changes, if any, occur in their political and social ideologies, and the place which they make for themselves, or the place allowed them by the American society.

The city of Milwaukee was chosen because of its large German population, and because of certain developments of the political refugee group in Milwaukee, which we believe to be representative of the general development of this group in the United States. This paper then concerns itself with "the German radical" in Milwaukee.

The term radical here is not meant to refer to a specific political ideology, but rather to the political and social ideologies of a given time and setting which represent a drastic departure from the status quo. This departure from the status quo furthermore is valued by the adherents of these ideas as being progressive toward a better and more democratic form of political government.

We have chosen to deal with two groups of political ideologies which represent two different historical periods, two different sets of adherents, and two different influences

in the history of American liberal movements. It must be stated at the onset that though the ideologies are different in origin, outlook, and the goal to which they aspire, there exist certain connections between the two groups, and therefore they can not be treated as completely separate entities.

The socio-political ideologies with which we are dealing here can be designated, with A. Rosenberg, as "bourgeois democracy" and "socialist democracy"; "Democracy as a political movement is divided first of all into socialist and bourgeois democracy. Socialist democracy wants self-government by the masses, whereby the socially important means of production should be owned by the community.....Bourgeois democracy likewise strives for self-government by the masses, while maintaining the principle of private property.../. In itself bourgeois democracy is not uniform, but appears historically in four different forms. On the one hand we find social democracy. This movement also wants to maintain the principle of private property, but it endeavors to establish the political rule of the toiling masses, in a struggle against the feudal and capitalistic upper class.....In contrast to social--and evidently enough also to socialist--democracy, the three other forms of bourgeois democracy reject the class struggle and endeavor to adjust the differences between the wealthy upper class and the laboring masses. This compromise assumes either an imperialistic or a liberal form.....Liberal democracy, on the other hand, wants to safeguard the economic and cultural progress of mankind by eliminating force and power politics,

and promoting peace and free competition, thus obtaining the basis for class compromise."<sup>1</sup>

The specific type of bourgeois democracy with which we are dealing in this paper is liberal democracy. This socio-political ideology is represented in the German immigrant group to the United States by the so-called "Forty-eighters", that is the political refugees from the unsuccessful German revolution in 1848.

Socialist Democracy is represented by a group of political refugees from the later Bismark period, the members of the labor unions, and the group of men who later (in the 1880's) developed into the Social Democratic Party, and now the Socialist Party of America.

Our problem can therefore be formulated in the following twofold manner:

1. We wish to sociologically assess the rejection and/or acceptance of the socio-political ideologies which were introduced into Milwaukee, and into the United States in general, by the political refugees after the revolution of 1848, and during the Bismark era.

2. We wish to trace these ideologies and their influence on the political and social life in Milwaukee.

As the diffusion, though not the origin, of the liberal bourgeois democratic and the socialist democratic ideologies

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1. Rosenberg, Arthur, Democracy and Socialism, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, London, 1939, pp. 355-57.

belong to two consecutive historical periods, they will be dealt with in this order. But we also find in the liberal bourgeois democratic period certain factors which represent the beginnings of socialist democratic ideologies, and therefore attention will be given to this continuous development. An attempt will be made to treat the socialist democratic ideology in terms of a social movement in its development into the Socialist Party.

We will show throughout this paper that the aforementioned types of political democracy apply more closely to the two groups upon their arrival in the United States, than they do apply to the actual socio-political forms which these immigrant groups take after their settlement in Milwaukee. That is to say that there appear in the ideologies of both these groups certain changes which we shall call their Americanization process.

### The "Forty-eighters"

The forty-eighters in the United States cannot be properly understood without a glance at their background experience, i.e., the German revolution of 1848. The aim of this revolution was the establishment of a unified nation under a democratic form of government. Germany at the time consisted of numerous separate states, each with its own petty prince and feudal aristocratic bureaucracy. It was a revolution of the bourgeois and the intellectual elements of the society who wanted liberal reforms and a parliamentary form of government. In this revolution the middle class German aspired to national greatness and liberty. He was joined by the restless worker in a common cause against the ruling feudal bureaucracy. Generally speaking the class struggle was not an issue, but rather was submerged in the general whirl of democratic fraternity.<sup>2</sup> Membership in the revolutionary movement was primarily drawn from the middle classes, the intellectual and the student. Their concept of radicalism was a strong parliament, and a national and democratic government. This concept of democracy generally embraced the laboring masses in so far as they fought against the wealthy upper class, the feudal landowners and the aristocracy. One of the major issues of the revolution was general suffrage, and a government elected by popular vote. In general, the revolution had a strong anti-

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2. A. Rosenberg, op. cit., p. 113.

monarchistic orientation: "Deutschland über alles" was a polemical song against dynastic and single state loyalties.

One of the leaders of the revolution later referred to the revolutionaries as "an elite of capable, well-meaning men - well situated business men, manufacturers, lawyers, and writers, clergymen, professors and other teachers, doctors, state and municipal officials, and so on."<sup>3</sup>

The ideological seeds of the revolution were planted mostly by the intellectual, and particularly by the student and scholar. There existed two types of organizations which were of importance to the revolution, and which are significant for the development of the forty-eighters in the United States; they were the "Burschenschaften" and the "Turnvereine". The first are fraternal organizations of students and intellectuals. The main orientation of these fraternal organizations were political philosophies, and a general orientation toward politics. Outstanding features of their radical ideology were rationalism, atheism, liberalism in the economic sphere, democracy, and universal suffrage, as already mentioned. A broad comparison can be made between their radical bourgeois democratic ideology and Jeffersonian democracy. Both were anti-monarchistic and anti-bureaucratic in outlook.

The "Turnverein" movement was started in 1811 by Friedrich Ludwig Jahn near Berlin.<sup>4</sup> His aim was twofold, a strong body

3. Ibid., p. 123.

4. Henry Metzner, A Brief History of the American Turnerbund, Nat. Executive Committee of the American Turnerbund, Pittsburgh, 1924, p. 40.

and a free mind. He set up a system of physical exercises designed to create strong bodies. He further fostered patriotic ideals and a love for freedom in his followers. These patriotic ideals and love for freedom later developed into the more specific aims of the revolution. Again the followers of Jahn were primarily drawn from the middle classes of the population.

Even though the leaders of the revolution were drawn from the middle classes and the intellectuals, their following was nevertheless made up of a considerable number of artisan workers. And it would be wrong to assume that the political refugees who came to the United States were all students and intellectuals. The interest of the workers in the revolution was primarily against the feudal upper classes, industrialization not yet having progressed to the point where there existed a strong breach between the petty-bourgeois classes and the artisan workers. It was for and about these artisan workers that Heinrich Heine wrote his "Weber Aufstand in Silesia". (uprising of the weavers). "Deutschland wir weben Dein Leichtentuch", (Germany we are weaving your death shroud).

The course of the revolution need not concern us here. It suffices to say that it was unsuccessful. Even in South Germany where the revolution succeeded in setting up a democratic form of government, such as was the case in Baden, it was only of a very short duration.

We must turn now to the refugees from this revolution. It would be incorrect to assume that this immigrant group

consisted solely of those men and their families who were actually forced, through their active participation in the armed uprising, to flee their country. Rather, it includes the immigrants who wished to escape political and ecclesiastic reaction and counter-revolution in Germany and Austria.<sup>5</sup>

The exact number of the so-called forty-eighters who arrived in Wisconsin can not be ascertained, but at the height of the immigration period in 1854, it was estimated that approximately 16,000 immigrants arrived in a period of three months. The reasons for their settlement in this particular territory were many. First of all, there existed already a fairly large German population in the state who were only too eager to help the heroes and the followers of the revolution. Large amounts of money were collected and sent to Europe by these settlers to help the cause of the revolution and later to provide for the crossing of the refugees.<sup>6</sup> A number of books and pamphlets appeared at the time in Germany, written by the Wisconsin settlers, describing the favorable climate, land, and work opportunities of the territory. Another consideration was the prevalent idea to make Wisconsin a German state. This idea was not exclusively applied to Wisconsin, but other territories as well. Texas particularly was for a long time considered by the German immigrants as a possible German state in which they could realize the political dream

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5. Wilhelm Hense-Jensen, Wisconsin's Deutsch-Amerikaner, Im Verlage der Deutschen Gesellschaft, Milwaukee, 1900, Vol. 1, pp. 118-19.

6. Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 119-21.

of the revolution. These utopian ideas of a separate state were soon dropped, but the movement accounts for the concentration of large German settlements in Wisconsin.

The German refugee arrived in the United States with great expectations regarding the American democracy. In its constitution, the United States represented to him the utopian bourgeois democracy for which he had fought in the German revolution. Idealist, as most of these men were, they were sadly disappointed. They were confronted with the question of slavery, and more important, with the Know-nothing movement, and its full nationalistic prejudice against all foreign elements. As the German element at the time constituted from twenty to thirty percent of the foreign immigrants, the Know-nothing movement singled them out for their attack.<sup>7</sup>

Added to this first disappointment of the refugees in the United States are other factors which must be considered in order to understand their future development in the United States. Quite a few of the refugees considered their stay in the United States as a temporary one. Loyal to their revolutionary cause they intended merely to stay in the United States and to wait "bis es drüben wieder los geht" (until it starts over there again). The United States and the life of the German refugees was to them more of an academic question than a concern of active participation. They gave their advice freely,

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7. Carl Wittke, We Who Build America, Prentice-Hall Inc., New York, 1940, p. 187.

i.e. they "knew better" and said so. Their activities were limited to preparations for the next revolution, such as the collection of money (Centvereine)<sup>8</sup> to be sent to Germany to help the cause, as well as the formation of revolutionary societies and alleged military companies. Their main attack on American society was on slavery; and they also found too many churches and queer sects in the United States, the influence of fundamentalism too strong, and they regarded Puritanism and its mores as an invasion of their personal liberties. But their greatest concern was over the ways of life of the older German settlers. They criticized this group mainly for their lack of German national pride, for their apparent slackness in keeping the German tradition and "culture" alive. Their strong German national sentiments lead them to set out on the task which was to characterize their future development in the United States; the furtherance and maintenance of the German heritage. This heritage was to include German music, literature, atheism, and most of all, the political and social philosophies of Kant, Fichte, and Hegel in their devotion to freedom of thought and belief. They were vocal men whose strength was primarily in writing, and for some time after their arrival the rationalists and free-thinkers were said to control half of the German newspapers in the United States.<sup>9</sup>

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8. Wilhelm Hense-Jensen, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 130.

9. North American Review, 1856, Vol. LXXXII, pp. 266-67.

A further socio-psychological orientation of this group must be considered. This class of political refugees considered themselves as martyrs, not just for their own cause, but for the German population in general. Because they had given up their previous position in life for their ideology they expected from the German population in the United States, and also from the American population in general, their due recognition. They were displaced intellectuals who felt the everyday tasks beneath themselves, and who were set to devote their entire life to their sacred idea. A quote from one of the contemporary accounts of their arrival in the United States may serve to illustrate this orientation: "Besides, these new arrivals, who were in a high state of revolutionary excitement, brought over very peculiar views which they advanced without toleration of opposition." (translation H.H.)<sup>10</sup> They had developed their own conception of the bourgeois republic and found fault with American political, as well as social, situations.

There developed, therefore, a growing resentment between these political radicals and the older German settlers. This fight has been designated by the newspapers of the time as the fight between the "Greys" and the "Greens". The "Greys" represented the older settlers, while the "Greens" were the forty-eighters. The "Greys" primarily resented the arrogance

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10. Anton Eickhoff, In der Neuen Heimat, E. Steiger & Co., New York 1884, p. 302.

and clannishness of the political refugees, their utopian dreams, their general feeling of superiority, and their tendency to stir up trouble wherever they went with their criticism of both American and the older German population. The orientation of the forty-eighters, on the other hand, was such that they did not feel any close connection with the older settlers. The older settlers had come to the United States for quite a different reason, they had fled religious persecution and sought a new Jerusalem and economic opportunities for farmers and artisans.

The result of this resentment between the groups, as well as the Know-nothing movement in the United States left the German radical group in almost complete isolation. This was strengthened by the clannish disposition of this group, one of its outstanding characteristics. The forty-eighter group, as already mentioned, was made up primarily of the bourgeois intellectuals who for good reasons considered themselves the elite of German middle class life. They viewed the older German immigrants, their pursuits and supposedly mere economic motivations as inferior, and these academicians steeped in Greek, Latin, and letters, considered the American population as half-barbarian.<sup>11</sup> Especially the more colorful aspects of emotional sectarian practices of religious rhetoric and revivalism were offensive to these apostles of enlightenment.

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11. Carl Wittke, op. cit., pp. 194-95.

As the group of forty-eighters constituted a significant part of the population of Milwaukee at that time, they could set up their own, and very exclusive, society. In this seclusion they hoped to build the type of society and life which they had practiced, or to which they had aspired in their own homeland.

In this partly voluntary and partly forced isolation, the political radical refugee took the hard road to life in Milwaukee. The majority of this group decided to remain in this country after a relatively short period, particularly because of the realization that the revolution was not to start again in Germany. Political disillusionment did not shatter their isolation, but rather brought their determination to maintain a separate way of life more strongly to the surface. Thus, most members of this group refused outright to learn the English language. The tightknit community did not necessitate the use of the English language, and except for those who wanted to interact with the American population, the knowledge of the language was unnecessary. In the latter group there were only those men who later took active part in local and national politics. Strong emphasis on the value of the German language had been one of the peculiarities of German culture patriotism and ascending nationalism.<sup>12</sup> The majority of the refugees, as is characteristic of other ethnic groups, stayed completely within its own circles, using German almost exclusively.

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12. H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, Oxford University Press, New York, 1946, p. 65.

The question of employment was an important one, and one that this group never satisfactorily solved. They were definitely not equipped from the start to make a living. Most of them were academic men and teachers, and some of the youths among them had not even completed their university education. Therefore they found employment as best they could, as artisans, bartenders, piano teachers, "Latin farmers" and professional men.<sup>13</sup> Journalism, that is to say the German press, played an important role, particularly because these men felt it to be vessels of imperishable ideas and convictions. Many leading forty-eighters started out in other fields of endeavor, only to return to the press again.

The "Latin farmer" was one of the typical outcome of the forty-eighter settlement. They were the men who took up farming with the thorough knowledge of the classics; of philosophy, and of every other conceivable academic knowledge except farming. There are few accounts of their agricultural successes, but there are existant many accounts of the other activities of these settlers.<sup>14</sup> For example, in the winter of 1849 these Latin farmers in Manitowoc county insisted on performing several of Schiller's plays during the Christmas season. This report further goes on to state that it was not uncommon to see the bookshelves of these farmers half filled with German classics and half with corn.

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13. Carl Wittke, op. cit., p. 195.

14. Wilhelm Hense-Jensen, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 141-46.

The press was an important mirror of the political and social orientation of the forty-eighters. Milwaukee alone had at that time at least four German newspapers: "Der Wisconsin Banner", edited by Morritz Schöffler; "Volksfreund" edited by Friederich Fratney; the periodical "Flugblätter" by Voyta Naprstek, and E. Schroeter's "Humanist". To this list the clerical newspapers would have to be added to make the list complete, but they were much more the antagonists of the forty-eighters than their supporters. The life of the German press in the United States in general can be characterized as being shortlived, but also with a ceaseless rebirth of new papers. The circulation of these papers was usually small, each paper representing one specific faction of the forty-eighter immigrant population. The orientation of the press of the forty-eighters in the perspective of a thoroughly "respectable" writer appears as follows: "Wild in their political orientation, extreme in their fight against religious convictions, they were thoroughly radical in their whole tenor, bitter toward existing conditions,....without any concrete aims, they represented a negative direction in every way."<sup>15</sup> (translation H.H.) More specifically, these newspapers advocated the formation of a third party in which the slavery issue and anti-clerical sentiments played the main role. They were dissatisfied with the fact that most of the older German

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15. Anton Eickhoff, op. cit., p. 313.

settlers were in accord with the Democratic party at the time. They found the Democratic party not at all representative of their own democratic ideals, and in their strong humanist tradition could not see anything but evil in slavery.

The newspapers appealed to German patriotic sentiment, an appeal in conformity with circulation interests. That is, the newspapers did everything to stabilize the German immigrants as a self conscious, separate group. This characteristic remained, with a few exceptions, the characteristic of the German press for a long time. It served as the continuous unifying force of the group in general. This generalization can, we feel, be safely applied to all foreign-language papers which would lose the greater aspects of their reason for existence should the ethnic aspect of their orientation be abandoned.

The German press under the leadership of the radical forty-eighters remained a purely ethnic press, even though some of their radical effusions were later replaced by more concrete political viewpoints, namely, the wholehearted support of most of these papers for the newly formed Republican party. But as an organ for the maintenance of German "culture", it remained uncompromising. Through their political and their economic orientation the German radical gradually entered into the American society, but in his social and cultural life he remained within the German group, or what was later called the German-American group. It was the German press which fostered most of the German music, singing, and other social societies.

It was through the German press that the forty-eighters of Milwaukee remained in touch with the other radical German groups in the United States. Thus the forty-eighter group came to represent one of the groups of "marginal men", bearing out the conflicting tendencies of two cultures, the old and the new.<sup>16</sup>

The co-existence of the many German papers was by no means a peaceful one, rather the separate paper represented various factions within the German radical group, and because they were bitter competitors, the newspaper war was their constant element. There developed early in the radical group various degrees of radicalism, and these splits in political ideologies can be readily seen in the German press of these days. The issue of Republicanism was one of the earliest signs of this starting split, but not until the 1870's and 1880's did the real split occur with the introduction of class consciousness, the labor movement, and socialist democratic ideology.

The most outstanding aspect of the German radical settlers in the United States and in Milwaukee, most probably, is their club patterns. These various clubs actually represented the whole social life of this settlement, and served as a unification factor, as well as a segregation factor in the structure of this sub-society. Club membership in the German tradition

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16. Everett V. Stonequist, The Marginal Man, Charles Scribner's Sons, New York 1937, pp. 218-22.

is not an open one.<sup>17</sup> The class and status lines are much more severely drawn than they are in the average American club pattern. The German club pattern actually serves not so much as a "joining" than as a "segregation process" in society. "Vereinsmeierei" is the pejorative term for this seclusiveness of petty status groups. The clubs, as mentioned above, played an important role during the revolution, and had already held a position of importance in the German intellectual life of the universities since the earliest beginnings of the revolutionary ideology in the late 18th and early 19th century.<sup>18</sup>

But this club pattern, though bodily transferred to the United States by the German radicals, did take on an even more important meaning for the group in this country. In Germany it had served the function of unifying, in extremely intimate psychological fashion, men with the same ideological and political orientation, and had further functioned as the basis for the development and execution of their political aspirations. In the United States these clubs took on the additional meaning of representing a traditional thought and action pattern, which constituted to the members the very core of their existence. These clubs served as the continuous re-statement of their socio-political orientation, as the justification of their past actions in the revolution and in their immigration, and as the guidepoint of their future actions.

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17. H. H. Gerth, From Max Weber, op. cit., footnote p. 311.

18. H. H. Gerth, Die sozialgeschichtliche Lage der bürgerlichen Intelligenz um die Wende des 18. Jahrhunderts, 1935, p. 43.

The clubs represented the nucleus of the social pattern of these men. The traditional German club pattern was characterized by very strong personal ties; the use of the intimate "thou" was a prerogative among members, and the psychological identification with the aims and ideologies of the club, as well as with the other members of the club, was unusually strong.<sup>19</sup>

It is this form of psychological closeness which is again found in the various clubs which were established in Milwaukee. It is of some interest to note here that the traditional "Burschenschaften"<sup>20</sup> (student fraternities) developed into the "Verein Freier Männer" (the association of free men); the change of name indicates the advancing age of the members, and also the fact that their association with any university did no longer exist. Alongside of this particular club organization, we find such similar clubs as the "Freie Gemeinde" (free community) and the "Bund Freier Männer" (league of free men), all of which represented certain factions of the bourgeois liberal refugees. As most of the newly established clubs were carryovers from the existing German organization, membership was almost completely closed. Almost from the time of their arrival the groups were firmly established, and they did not relinquish their strict membership or their ideologies to any outside influences until the end of their existence. The

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19. Ibid., p. 46.

20. Wilhelm Hense-Jensen, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 161.

German radical was not too pleased with the complete lack of class distinction which was at the time existing within the German population in general. Wilhelm Hense-Jensen describes their reaction in the following way: "While the educated immigrant regarded the elimination of class barriers with satisfaction - a principle for which he had fought in his homeland - nevertheless felt quite put out, when he was addressed by each and everyone alike, even by the crudest of persons, in the familiar thou."<sup>21</sup> (translation H.H.) The assertion of their own dignity and intellectual superiority was, if anything, intensified by the status deprivation through emigration. We must here also consider the traditional status barrier which has always existed in Europe, between the man who works with his hands, the worker or artisan, and the professional men, and particularly the University man, the scholar, and literati: praeceptor Germaniae. It is quite obvious from the general orientation of the radical bourgeois refugee that they considered themselves on a far superior level of education than any of the groups in their environment, and that they preferred to remain segregated. Educational differences have always existed as status giving devices and barriers,<sup>22</sup> but they were developed in Europe to a much greater degree at the time of the forty-eighter migration than they had been in the United States. Nevertheless the refugee group

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21. Ibid., p. 134.

22. H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, From Max Weber, op. cit., p. 192.

held even more stringently to these status devices in the United States, because of their status deprivation in emigration, and further because they could not readily adjust to the status devices of the dominant culture.

This feeling of intellectual superiority is therefore characteristic of this group in all its activities. The resulting closure of their social groups can best be brought out by a characteristic incident which occurred in Milwaukee shortly after the arrival of the forty-eighters. It was the "Ball der Geschwollenen" (the ball of the swelled ones, or of the blase).<sup>23</sup> It was a private ball to which only a "certain number of educated families" were asked, and at which the wearing of gloves was required. The public protest to this act was voiced in the scheduling of a public ball for the same night, to which everyone who could afford fifty cents was invited, and it was further stated that neither dresscoat nor glasses were necessary! This ball was open to all members of humanity, and no distinction was to be made between workers and non-workers. (It is interesting to notice here that the relator of this happening, Mr. Hense-Jensen, a forty-eighter himself, is very much on the side of the Geschwollenen.)

The orientation of these clubs were again a reaffirmation of the free-thinker anti-clerical, and anti-puritan ideology, alongside with the traditional humanism and anti-slavery

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23. Wilhelm Hense-Jensen, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 135-36.

orientation. This former ideology led to the establishment of the freethinker schools. The "Milwaukee Schulverein" (Milwaukee school association), was established in 1851 by Dr. Gottfried Aigner, and the "Deutsch-Englische Akademie" was established a few years later by Peter Engelman.<sup>24</sup> The purpose for the establishment of the schools was twofold: the teaching of rational, non-sectarian humanism and the maintenance of the German language and tradition. These schools introduced such innovations as the teachings of Darwinism, of gymnastics, of handicraft, and the kindergarten. The schools were of major importance for this group, for through them they hoped to transmit and maintain their radical philosophies.

Besides the social clubs for the maintenance and expression of the political philosophical orientation of the members, there grew up around Milwaukee a series of organizations for the furtherance of German culture. In 1853 the German Theater was started in Milwaukee, as well as a music society.<sup>25</sup> Their aim was the furtherance of the German arts, and it is through these efforts of the group of forty-eighters that Milwaukee received the name of "German Athens". Therewith the narrow status aspiration was broadened into community pride. It is interesting to note that the same names appear over and over again in connection with all these various functions; newspapers, club-

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24. Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 136-37.

25. Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 150-55.

membership, literary or musical societies.<sup>26</sup> Obviously the forty-eighters were the leaders in all these endeavors, even though they actually constituted a small part of the German population. The forty-eighters did manage to establish themselves as the intellectual leaders as well as the political leaders, as we shall see later, during and after the period of the Civil War, and this leadership was not relinquished until the new social movement of the social democracy started in the 1880's. The rest of the German-American population accepted this leadership in the intellectual realm, after the first period of unrest, and when the harsher criticism of some of the forty-eighters had died down. The people realized that these intellectual leaders had much to contribute to their social and political life. The German-American at large then furnished the audience at the various recitals, lectures, and speeches, but the leadership and the positions of prominence remained in the hands of the forty-eighters.

This relationship is best seen in the organization of the Turner movement. The originator of the Milwaukee Turners was Edward Schultz, a political refugee from the Baden revolution, who started the Milwaukee branch of the Turners in 1850. He was joined in the direction of this movement by Franz Anneke, revolutionary journalist, and later one of the leaders of the German-American regiments in the Civil War.<sup>27</sup> In 1853 this

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26. Ibid., Vol. 1. Chapters 7 and 8.

27. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 156.

movement adopted the name of "Sozialer Turnverein" (social Turner association).<sup>28</sup> Among its members we find again the outstanding forty-eighters, or as Mr. Hense-Jensen puts it: "the best men of the day". As in the German tradition, this Turner society was not only oriented toward the building of strong bodies, eventhough military practices were more strongly emphasized by the Milwaukee group than had been the case in Germany. As a matter of fact the Turners turned into military regiments during the Civil War. But besides the physical training the Turners and the Turner Hall was the center of the social and intellectual life of the forty-eighter group. The hall was used for the various club meetings as well as for the recitals. The German language was exclusively used at all the meetings, and the maintenance and furtherance of German culture was the supreme goal. Membership in the "Turnverein" was nevertheless not as limited as it was in the various social clubs. This factor has to be kept in mind, because it is in a faction of this Turnverein that we already find the ideological seedlings of the social democratic ideologies which were to develop later. The Turner society, in general, developed along the lines of the other radical movements of the forty-eighters; radicalism gradually diminishing in importance. The name "Sozialer Turnverein" was abandoned after the Civil War<sup>29</sup> and only the name Turner remained. This

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28. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 157.

29. Henry Metzner, op. cit., p. 29.

is symptomatic of the dropping of the ideological radicalism, the elimination of "irrelevances", and there remained the furtherance of otherwise "value neutral" physical education, alongside with the maintenance of German tradition and language. If this can be said for the Turner movement in general, there still existed a minority of radical members, radical not in the bourgeois liberal tradition, but in the new socialist democratic tradition. We shall return to the Turners when we consider the socialist democratic ideology in the latter part of this paper.

The political orientation of this group must now be more closely examined. Reviewing their main original aims, the establishment of a parliamentary democracy, their fight against the rich landholding nobles, we find that the first already existed in the United States, while the fight against the upper classes could not be carried into the United States in the same form as it had been in Europe, because there existed a different and a less defined upper class in the United States at the time. There remained a twofold orientation to this group, the clerical authorities of religious bigotry and clericalism, and the issue of slavery. As early as 1854 the various "Freimänner Vereine" (associations of free men) of the United States met in Louisville to draw up a platform for a new all German party.<sup>30</sup> This platform incorporated these two main points - war against

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30. Anton Eickhoff, op. cit., pp. 303-05.

the churches, and war against slavery. The party itself never actually came into existence because of the divergent views of the participants, but the war was nevertheless carried on in the newspapers, and from the lecture platforms of the various social organizations of the forty-eighter element. The splits within the radical elements were, as already mentioned, in the degree of radicalism within the various factions. Their radicalism ranged from the beginnings of the socialist workers groups, to radical utopian democracy with aims to abolish the presidency in the United States as well as the Senate because these parts of the government were believed to be undemocratic, to the majority of the radicals who saw their salvation in the Republican party. But regardless of their disagreements and of the personal rivalry, which is further characteristic of this group, they still held strongly to the unifying aspect of their movement, the German tradition, and their humanistic rationalism.

The sense of failure and frustration in the political sphere, resulting from their failure to establish themselves in their homeland, alongside their unsatisfactory economic adjustment in the new country, must be considered in order to understand the fervor with which this group of forty-eighters supported the Republican party. These men were great idealists, and had given their lives to their bourgeois liberal democratic ideals, to the extent of leaving their dear ones, their homeland, and their professions. They had been initially disappointed by American socio-political realities, but had not

lost their dream of achieving the goals of their political philosophy.

The new Republican party contained in its platform two points which suited the forty-eighter group. One was abolitionism, their main creed since their arrival in the United States. These men holding the dignity of the human individual as one of the basic ideals of their philosophy, in a true Rousseau and Schiller fashion, had been abolitionists from the day of their arrival in the United States. The second issue, which also appealed to them strongly, was the central government and states rights controversy. The forty-eighters, having fought for a unification of the German states, were strong supporters of the central government. The greatest attraction to the group in the Republican party, stronger than any specific issue, was the fact that it was a new party in which they could see the realization of their political and social ideologies. This was the place in which they could make themselves heard and felt. As in all newly formed political and social movements, there existed a fervor and emotional excitement which appealed to these men who were wholehearted enthusiasts. This was the place where the emotionally frustrated radicals could find a new field of endeavor. The Republican party was founded in Ripon, Wisconsin on March 20, 1854. Many of the German radical leaders were present at the founding of the party, and two of them were elected among the vice-presidents of the new political organization.<sup>31</sup> The

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31. Wilhelm Hense-Jensen, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 171.

political careers of such men as Karl Schurtz are too well known to be considered here in detail. It suffices to say that they illustrate the fervor and wholehearted support of the majority of this group of political radicals. We must keep in mind that the Republican party of that day was radical in its demand for abolition, and was further an upstart of the pioneering West. In Abraham Lincoln the forty-eighters found the type of ideal leader with whom they could very strongly identify themselves. Lincoln set his mind to win the German minority and went so far as to learn the German language in order to address various German radical groups throughout the country.

\* The Civil War again played a peculiar role in the life of this group of Germans. To them it meant more than the war for the liberation of the slaves, it meant an emotional reliving of their own fight for liberation during the revolution of 1848. This can be seen from some of the correspondence and the poetry which came out of the German-American regiments during the Civil War.<sup>32</sup> The war constituted to this group their fight for the humanistic liberal ideals. The war further served to strengthen the ties of unity existing between the various groups of Germans, but this strengthening of German ties only led to their further withdrawal from the American culture in general. The Germans were by choice segregated into their own regiments and companies with their own officers, including their own generals. The German population, this is to say the

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32. Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 187-92.

forty-eighters in particular, were well trained officers, most of them having played strategic military roles in the revolution of 1848. It is not surprising to see again the outstanding names of the German radical community in the highest ranks of the German regiments; such as Franz Anneke the leader of the Turners, Wilhelm Vette, onetime editor of the newspapers "Banner" and "Volksfreund", and Hans Boebel radical writer.<sup>33</sup>

It was the main ambition of these troops to make the name of the German regiments well known for their outstanding military achievements. They further wanted to make the American population give them their due recognition as a separate group, which knows their duty to their new country, but which, though part of the American scene, craves a separate and if at all possible outstanding, status position. The German histories of the Civil War are filled with accounts of the lack of recognition for the valor of their troops by the dominant culture group, and they contain long debates on the intrigues which the American officers engineered against them in order to rob them of their glory.<sup>34</sup> It might be due to lack of space that very little of these happenings are recorded in any of the American histories of the Civil War. Be this as it may, the German minority felt that due recognition was not given to them for their part in the Civil War by the American population. But for the German-American their men were again

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33. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 193.

34. Ibid., Vol. 1, pp. 197-210, and Anton Eickhoff, op. cit., pp. 306-308.

the heroes, as much as they had been the heroes during the revolution of 1848. It is characteristic of the orientation of this group that they would so bitterly complain against the lack of recognition by the American population, whether actual or alleged. It is within their whole psychological framework that they could only consider themselves as superior to the Americans in any field of endeavor, whether political philosophy, literature, or warfare. Thus the war experience was ambivalent: it integrated them politically with one of the parties, identified them with the solvent public issue of the nation, yet served to draw the group away from further aculturation, and to immure it further within the tight German-American sub-society. The Americans were attacked by this group as being chauvinistic, as still adhering to the Know-nothing orientation of anti-foreign beliefs, and as being openly discriminatory against minority groups.

After the Civil War the German radicals returned to their old way of clubs, Turners, and cultural societies. They also revived some of their old rivalries and the factionalism within their own groups, mainly concerning political philosophies. Their hopes for achieving their goals in the Republican party were soon dispelled during the period of reconstruction. The Republican party lost its emotional appeal, having developed out of the stage of enthusiasm into the routinization<sup>35</sup> of machine politics. The German element realized that their

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35. Use of the concepts after Max Weber.

ideologies were by no means safely incorporated in the Republican party, and that their importance within the ranks of the party was usually reduced to the occasional post of treasurer within the local or national branches of the party.<sup>36</sup> To the Republican party the German element represented just another minority whose vote they had to win, and they knew how to do it.

We must consider two points which are of importance in the German radical group in this stage of its development. One was the economic prosperity which followed the Civil War, and the other was the advancing age of the forty-eighters. The general prosperity did not pass by the German group; it was rather in this period that the great fortunes which later characterized this group were started. German-Americans became the leading industrialists of Milwaukee, in the tanning industry, in beer brewing, and in trade.<sup>37</sup> Economic success resulted in political moderation; he who enjoys the good things of this world has less cause to dream of a better world. The vicissitude of business life demanded attention and the group turned toward "this worldly", economic aims, away from their "other-worldly" idealism, and a lessening of their radical critical view of some of the conditions in the United States was the result. It is in this period that the Turners dropped the name "Sozialer Turnverein", and it is also in this period that

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36. Wilhelm Hense-Jensen, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 225.

37. Ibid., Vol. 1, p. 216.

the newspapers took to a more conservative orientation.

This is not to say that the newspapers abandoned their views completely, but rather there started within the newspapers, as well as within the various clubs, agitation for a plurality of issues, instead of the, until then existing, complete negative criticism. The main point of attack of the group now concentrated on such issues as Sunday Blue Laws, prohibition, and women's suffrage. These issues were as widely and hotly debated and championed as their radical political ideals had been defended. The Germans were particularly vocal on prohibition, which they considered as an infringement upon their personal liberty. Both their beer and their personal liberty were very close to their hearts, both being part of their social and philosophic way of life.

If their political orientation was somewhat slackened, the social intellectual orientation became even more accentuated. With their ascent to wealth, came the demand for more luxury in their clubs, more ostentatious musical and theatrical entertainment, and greater status differentiation within their own sub-society. Wealth was added to the status qualifications of the social groups, alongside of intellectualism and philosophic orientations. Business success is dependent upon, and contributive to, wider contacts with American life generally. It promotes assimilation. It is not surprising that there began to exist more and more factions within this sub-society where at one point there had existed only differentiation according to bourgeois liberal democratic

orientation. It is during this period that we can also notice the appearance of Americanized names, mostly among the newer industrialists.

The advancement in the age distribution, which we mentioned above, contributed to the changes which occurred in the group considerably. The general lessening of the radical tensions which can be seen in the group, are, we feel, somewhat connected with the advancing age, (going together with social and economic ascent), be it the advancing age of a revolutionary movement or of a group. The disillusionment in their failure of achieving their ideals must have become more prominent in the minds of the leaders of the group. The apparent result being either complete rejection, or the channeling of activities into different orientations, in this case economic ones. There nevertheless existed in this group such men as Karl Heinzen who never became reconciled to the American scene, and who died as much an ideal radical as he had started.<sup>38</sup> But he must be considered as an extreme case rather than as an average forty-eighter; he died as a poor radical journalist, editing a paper which never surpassed a circulation of five hundred copies, but which was an example of the purest radical bourgeois liberal democratic ideology. There were also such men as Carl Schurtz who soon accepted the view that "there were no other politics than American

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38. Carl Wittke, Against the Current, the life of Karl Heinzen. University of Chicago Press, Chicago, Ill. 1945.

politics", thereby giving up the whole traditional background of the forty-eighters, and as his career indicates, becoming an American politico. These two men can be considered as representing two extremes of the aculturation process of this group.

One more indication of the change of the German forty-eighter group is in their continuous strong adherence to the Republican party. The Republican party underwent the changes from a radical frontier upstart to the representatives of the corporate industrialists and farm block interests in the United States. The German forty-eighter group, and their descendants somewhat kept pace with this development, and as far as their voting behavior had been recorded, which is until the early 1900's, they have remained loyal to the Republican party.

Analysis of the forty-eighters

Following the statement of our problem, we must now try to assess the factors which account for the rejection and/or acceptance of the ideological framework presented by this group of political refugees.

Starting with the factors which led to the rejection of this group, we find that the most prominent factor is the isolation into which this group finally settled in its existence in the United States. True, the period of isolation was preceded by a period of enthusiastic reception by both the older German settlers and by the American population as well.<sup>39</sup> The German radicals were considered as the heroes of the fight for democracy, as the very learned intellectuals, which they actually were, and generally as the "quaint but interesting foreigners". This enthusiastic period was soon followed by a "cooling off" period, where the interest gradually changed to one of hostility. This hostility came to the fore particularly as soon as the refugees started to attempt economic adjustments; at this point they began to constitute a threat in economic competition.

We feel that the evolution from the interest to the gradual dislike of the status of the radical group in the United States can be applied to all immigrant groups alike. The usual trend of development is from the delight in the quaint-

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39. Anton Eickhoff, op. cit., pp. 301-303.

ness in manner, dress, and speech, toward the foreigners with their "lousy" English.

In the case of the German forty-eighter we must add the intensifying factor of their own clannishness. The mental isolation in which this group found itself, due to external as well as internal pressures, was more prevalent in the social aspects of their group life, than it was in the economic aspects. It was in the family life, in the recreational activities and in the intellectual activities, that this group remained almost completely isolated. For their intellectual activities particularly, they found no satisfactory outlets outside their own group. In all fairness to the American scene at the time, the intellectual developments of the Midwest can be said to have been nil. These men, with their highly advanced academic training could not possibly find a common ground with the American population of frontier orientation and background. It is therefore not surprising to see the most stringent adherence to the traditional group patterns in their social setting, which is characterized most strongly by the maintenance of the basic aspects of their own life orientation.

We feel that for a satisfactory explanation of the mental isolation of this group we must direct our focus of attention on the socio-psychological orientation of the forty-eighters. The complete devotion of these men to their socio-political ideal, resulted in a particular psychological orientation, and this combined with the historical situation of the United

States, produced the social configurations which can be ascertained in the way of life of this group. The social situation of the Middle West, that is to say of the frontier society with its dynamic and rapid changes, forced this group into a social context to which their orientation was in no way adjustable. The initial disillusionment of the German revolution and its failure, the complete changes in their social, economic and political status position, produced the social pattern which we find among this group.

We can characterize the ideals of this group as liberal and humanitarian.<sup>40</sup> The term humanitarian idealist must be supplemented with their orientation of "revolutionary" nationalistic bourgeois democracy, and their "traditionalist" orientation with regard to their cultural life and values. This combination of "traditionalistic" oriented humanitarianism, in the case of the forty-eighter, led them to apply their ideologies to a completely foreign situation, and most of their failure can be accounted for on this particular point. The German radical never attempted to understand the social situation in which there existed almost none of the basic necessary for their acceptance, and which was therefore almost wholly unresponsive. The forty-eighter did not realize that he and his ideology were entirely premature in the social situation of the

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40. Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York, p. 197.

dominant culture. When this attempt failed, they turned to their only remaining solution, the retention and maintenance of their philosophical and cultural legacy, without any constructive ideas for the future. We feel that it is characteristic of this group, and their complete devotion to their utopian humanitarian ideals, that they were apparently unable to realize that their orientation was the result of a particular social configuration of 19th century Europe. This group rather felt that theirs was a universal ideology, universally applicable, and to be realized in all societies of the world.

Their initial psychological orientation can best be characterized by a feeling of highest expectations which soon changed into complete rejection. This group arrived in the United States with the expectation of finding true Jeffersonian democracy in action. The socio-political orientation was in full accord with Jeffersonian democracy. What they did find was a frontier society with all the drawbacks of this particular social constellation, such as the corruption in politics, the rapid changes within the social structure, the low level of development of the fine arts and the cultural aspects of the society in general, etc. These men were in no way equipped to deal with this particular social setting; their background being an academic one, and their orientation being utopian idealism, their attitude was one of rejection. To this we must add the fact that they meant to stay but temporarily, they were preparing for their return to Europe, and therefore felt themselves

free to criticize the situation without endangering their own orientation. The fact that they were to remain in this social situation was only realized when they could no longer reverse their attitudes of rejection and presumed superiority.

Their isolation was therefore first self-created, and later the self-made barrier which this group could no longer surmount. The isolation in which the group lived was the result of the vacuum which they themselves had largely created. This vacuum existed against the American population, as well as to a certain extent against the German settlers. It is in this situation that the forty-eighters were almost completely dependent upon themselves, and in which they developed.

The barrier of the isolation were strengthened by various factors. The first of these factors being the disillusionment in their own political failure, the realization that their revolutionary movement in Germany would not start again, and that they were destined to remain in the United States. Added to this is the nostalgia of the group, which reinforced their attachment to German culture and tradition. The German nationalism of this group was, if anything, strengthened after their physical separation from the homeland. One more factor must be added to this, and that is their comparatively unsatisfactory economic adjustment to the American scene until after the Civil War. The lack of economic success was to them a constant reminder of their mental distance from their environment, and it was a continuous reaffirmation of the lack of appreciation and recognition of their intellectual merits

by the new environment. It must be kept in mind that in their bourgeois tradition award was always understood to be linked with personal merit.

Not finding a satisfactory outlet for their socio-political orientation, the maintenance of their intellectual heritage became their main concern. Because of their felt want of recognition, the group took on many of the characteristics of nativism. It differed from a true nativistic movement however, in their lack of any concrete goal striving, and was rather oriented toward the maintenance of the group in its existing fashion. Even in this respect they were never wholly successful, because the group was progressively split into political radical and semi-radical sects. The gradual economic distinctions which entered the group due to differential economic achievements, was another factor which further divided the unity of the forty-eighters. The one common element in the way of life of the group was the preservation of their cultural heritage, the language, the literature, and their particular way of life.

One other factor must be added to complete the picture. This is the self-centered feeling of superiority of the group. This snobbery comes out best in their refusal to learn the English language. This can not be attributed to a principal aversion to learn foreign languages, because most of these men knew the classical languages, but rather it was the result of the feeling of the group that they could not gain anything by

learning English. They missed the lack of fine arts and their appreciation in the United States, the lack of manners, refined dress, and behavior patterns among the American people. One of their greatest criticisms was against the religious sectarianism and the emotional religiosity of the common people, and their lack of a rational life orientation. In general they felt that the American people were on such a low level of cultural development in all its spheres, that any form of close association with the American population was below their intellectual standards. This orientation toward the low level of cultural achievement of the American people was shared along with the forty-eighter group, by a number of European travelers in the United States at that time.<sup>41</sup>

Undoubtedly the general snobbery of the group did have some of its origins in the general insecurity of the group resulting from their somewhat unsatisfactory adjustment to the dominant culture, in those spheres of life where they had to interact with the dominant culture. Their snobbery here can be seen in the light of anxiety and fear of the competitive economic situation; the snobbery providing them with a means to avoid the competitive situations.

In terms of social groupings, this group can be said to resemble a sect. The ethnocentrism of the group was unusually

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41. John Graham Brooks, As Others See Us, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1909.

strong because of their almost complete lack of interaction with the main culture. They represented an isolated sub-society within American culture, and the isolation was carefully maintained from within, more strongly than it was maintained from without.

We must therefore reformulate the problem of rejection of their socio-political ideology. It was not so much the fact that the ideology of the group was rejected, than the fact that the group never actually attempted to advance their ideas before the general public in the English language. This can well be seen in the fact that it was never attempted by the group to reformulate their bourgeois political ideology to fit the American scene. There was further never any attempt by the group to apply any of their socio-political orientation outside their own sub-society. There was actually little attempt to even make their specific views known to the American public, judging from the fact that very few of their writings were ever translated, and that none of their prominent radical writers ever attempted to write for American newspapers and periodicals.

Another consideration in the failure of their ideologies to take hold is the fact that the American social situation of the day was almost completely unfit for their socio-political orientation. The democratic constitutional form of government did exist, there were no monarchs to be attacked, and there existed no clearly defined upper classes, in the sense of the closed upper classes of German landowners. But the group was

dissatisfied because of their utopian orientation. The democratic form of government in existence did not coincide with their expectations, and led them to advance such queer ideas as the abolition of the presidency and the senate to make the government more fitting to their ideal conception. They further were dissatisfied with the two party system, and even more so with the spoil system and with corruption. This dissatisfaction accounted for their strong support of the new Republican party, and their hopes for the realization of their bourgeois liberal democratic ideology. Two factors within the contemporary scene were completely contradictory to their political orientation, and it was in that direction that the group did orient most of their activities. These factors were slavery, and the widespread religious sectarianism. The first one was solved during the Civil War, but it would be extremely hard to say what influence the German radicalism had in this direction, except for their actual participation in the fighting, and the general preference of German immigrant settlers for the non-slavery North. The forty-eighters, of course, neither helped to bring about the war, nor could they have hastened its arrival. On the issue of anti-clerical activities it must be admitted that this group, or their socio-political orientation, did not instigate any far reaching innovations. Rather they maintained their own freethinker schools, and thereby evaded the problem again by withdrawal and isolation.

In summary it can be stated that the socio-political ideology which was introduced, or more correctly which was

brought, by the German political refugees to the United States after the revolution of 1848, never took hold in the United States. It can not very well be stated that the ideology was rejected by the American people, because the forty-eighters never consciously and openly tried to introduce their ideology to the United States public. We feel that this lack of acceptance was primarily due to the fact that no serious attempts were made by the political radicals to, in any way, adjust their socio-political ideologies to the American scene. The main point in the failure of the group in introducing their ideologies was however their own socio-psychological orientation which resulted in their complete isolation, and in their fostered unwillingness to adjust their ideologies, or their life orientation, to the existing social situation in any way. This unwillingness, or inability to adjust, must again be seen in their socio-psychological orientation toward the aims, goals, and aspirations of the group. These men and women were so strongly identified with the bourgeois liberal utopian ideals, they were so devoted to this orientation, and they felt that they had given so much to these ideals, that any deviation or any alteration in their ideological structure was impossible for them. The retrospective maintenance of their heritage therefore became the focal interest and orientation of the group.

The rejection or lack of influence of the radical forty-eighter ideologies is nevertheless not a complete one. But we must not look for the taking over of the socio-political

ideologies in their totality, demands for "German unity and liberty" were remote and insignificant issues for the United States citizen, but rather for certain aspects of the result of this particular orientation. In this way we find the influences of the forty-eighters, or of the forty-eighter groups, in various aspects of the dominant culture. The introduction of the kindergarten and the teachings of gymnastics in the American school systems, as well as certain teaching methods, are the result of the work of this group.<sup>42</sup> The radical group can be pointed to as being the originators of the general interest in the fine arts which developed in their time in and around Milwaukee. There were started a number of American societies in Milwaukee for the furtherance of the fine arts which were actual copies of the German musical and literary societies. We must further keep in mind the role played by the radical group in the early life of the Republican party. Even though their influence was not a lasting one, they did represent a strong faction in the political orientation of the party until the end of the Civil War. A further, more general influence of the forty-eighters can be seen in their advancements of technological improvements in the industrial fields and in the field of agriculture.<sup>43</sup> The eventual turning of this group to economic pursuits and the excelling therein was

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42. Wilhelm Hense-Jensen, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 183-204.

43. Albert Bernhardt Faust, The German Element in the United States, Houghton Mifflin Company, New York, 1909, Vol. II, pp. 28-76.

was one of the means of adjustment for this group, and their orientation in this direction developed into how to brew the best beer, get the best crop returns, etc. We find in this orientation a great deal of specialization of interests; the growing of the best apples, or the raising of the best pigs, etc.<sup>44</sup> The influence of one faction of this radical group can further be seen in one specific aspect of the dominant culture, and that is the influences of the artisan workers in the early beginnings of the labor unions. We shall return to this point below.

It is only these specific issues which can be mentioned in so far as the acceptance of the ideologies of this particular group is concerned. We nevertheless must add to this that the German group was quite proud of the success in the introduction of these aspects of their cultural life into the dominant culture. This we feel can only be understood if it is kept in mind that education and "culture" were the focal points of their orientation. They felt that their contribution to the dominant culture was one of having raised the level of cultural development of the American society.

We must nevertheless conclude that the main body of their socio-political orientation was rejected by the American society. The failure of the introduction of the bourgeois

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44. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 37-39.

liberal democracy into the American culture is however a mirror of the course of development of this particular ideology throughout the world. In the long run, bourgeois liberal democracy failed in attaining its goals wherever it was attempted.<sup>45</sup> An analysis of this particular utopian mentality will point out some of its crucial weaknesses, and will at the same time clarify the ideological position of the forty-eighters and their particular adjustment pattern. Quoting Karl Mannheim: "The utopia of the liberal humanitarian mentality is the 'idea'....the idea is rather conceived of as the goal projected into the infinite future whose function it is to act as a mere regulative device in mundane affairs.... Where it is not possible to follow this path, (the attainment of their political goal igalics, H.H.)....the utopia was introverted and assumed a subjective tone. Here the road to progress was not sought in external deeds....but exclusively in the inner constitution of man and its transformation."<sup>46</sup>

The theoretical construction which Mannheim presents would seem to fit the attitude of the forty-eighters. The concentration on the inner constitution of man is found in the preoccupation of this group with the liberal humanitarian philosophy, and education; as well as their preoccupation with theoretical norms rather than concrete reality. It was necessary for all these liberal bourgeois groups to construct their

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45. Arthur Rosenberg, op. cit., p. 362.  
46. Karl Mannheim, op. cit., pp. 197-98.

own world if they were to maintain their bourgeois liberal orientation. And this is exactly what the forty-eighter group did in the United States, and this is also why they failed to introduce their ideology into the predominant culture. Theirs was not a conversion ideology. This group, along with the whole bourgeois liberal movement had two major weaknesses, its lack of concreteness of all its ideas, and its lack of understanding of the historical significance of their position. Historically the whole socio-political movement stood between the upper classes of society and the artisan workers. Their orientation was too subjective to clearly see their position and act accordingly, and the failure of this group in the United States is an example of this particular weakness, as well as of the eventual failure of the liberal ideology. The subjective or "other-worldly" orientation, in the sense of concentration on the development of the individual, characterized the forty-eighters, with the exception of a few, and at the same time prevented them from any concrete participation in the actual social situations of their time. Their participation in the Civil War is an exception to this general behavior pattern, because of the initially revolutionary orientation of the group. The Civil War presented the group with a situation to which they had been previously oriented, and for which they had specific norms of action.

From the picture we have thus far presented of the bourgeois liberal group it can be seen that the question of

acculturation would be a difficult one to answer, as far as the whole group is concerned. We therefore will only attempt to state a few generalizations which we feel can be seen in the patterns of the group. The group can be analyzed as falling within three general groups. The first group is the group where the processes of acculturations can least be noted. It is the group which most rigorously refused to learn the English language; the group which did not attempt, or which was not able to make the economic adjustment; the group which can be said to be the most conservative in relinquishing their philosophical utopian ideas; the group which had the strongest preoccupation with "other-worldly" orientation; and the group which lived exclusively within the German sub-community and sub-culture. The second group can be characterized by seeking and finding social status in the dominant culture by the exposition of their cultural heritage; they were the teachers, the artists, the writers, and newspaper men, their status was one of marginality between the two cultural groups, and their acculturation was gradual and never complete. The third group includes those men who sought status in the dominant culture due to economic achievements; they were the developers of technology, of scientific farming, of industry, and of trade; by entering the economic competition their acculturation process was the fastest of the group of refugees.

The acculturation process of this group can therefore be considered as occurring at differential speeds. We feel that regardless of the speed of the acculturation process within

the group, aculturation was never completed, or even approximated by the group. The social ties, and the general patterns of living were too much a part of all these factions within the group to break down. We find only true processes of aculturation in the second generation of this group, and that only at the cost of the complete rejection of the bourgeois liberal tradition. The end of the forty-eighter group and of the movement can rather be characterized by a physical dieing out of the membership, and of their specific way of life. The problem of aculturation of the second and third generations of this immigrant group is one that can not be considered as the aculturation problem of the group, and therefore will not be treated here.

The socio-political ideology of socialist democracy;  
the Socialist Party

The beginnings of the socialist democratic ideologies in the United States can not be as precisely said to include one group of political refugees, as it was the case of the bourgeois liberal democratic ideology. The socialist socio-political ideologies can rather be found in two groups of refugees, the two groups being gradually merged. The first of these groups was a relatively small faction of the overall forty-eighter group; this group constituted the artisan workers and journeymen who were to form the earliest labor unions in the United States and who split very early during their stay in the United States from the bourgeois ideologies of the forty-eighters. These are the men who belonged to the Weitling socialist group, the Knights of Labor, and who were prominent in the establishment of the American Federation of Labor. The second group, who were the later arrivals in the United States, were political refugees from the Bismark regime, and they brought with them the socialist democratic ideologies.

We must first of all, before dealing with the social movements which were the result of this socio-political orientation, consider some of the basic philosophies of the socialist democratic ideology. We already defined the socialist democratic ideology as striving for self-government of the masses, whereby socially important means of production should be owned by the community.<sup>47</sup> The main difference between

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47. Arthur Rosenberg, op. cit., pp. 355-57.

socialist ideology and bourgeois liberal ideology, a difference which in the course of the two movements becomes of paramount importance, is the very conscious concentration of the socialist ideology on the social structure in which it exists. Unlike the bourgeois liberal ideology it sees the realization of its utopia not in an indefinite future, but in the fall of the capitalistic system. The basic orientation of the socialist ideology then is one of action, of changing the existent social situation, while the basic orientation of the bourgeois liberal ideology had been one of subjective self development. "The liberal's sense of indeterminism was based on faith in an immediate relationship to an absolute sphere of ethical imperatives- to the idea itself.....Socialist mentality, in a far more fundamental sense than the liberal idea, represents a redefinition of utopia in terms of reality....The road which leads from things as they are to the realization of the idea is already staked out historically and socially."<sup>48</sup> The socialist ideology whether revolutionary or evolutionary, always strives for some influence in the existing social situation to bring their utopia closer to its realization. If we are therefore to deal with the socio-political ideology of socialist democracy, we must deal with definite political movements, or with such semi-political social movements as the labor unions, in order to see the influences of this particular

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48. Karl Mannheim, op. cit., pp. 219-220.

ideology which was introduced into the American society by German refugee groups. We can not, as in the case of the forty-eighters, look at their socio-cultural configurations and receive a somewhat complete picture of the workings and applications of their ideologies. The socio-political orientation of the liberal democratic group was such that the implications of their ideologies were precisely found within their socio-cultural settings. This is not the case with the socialist democratic orientation. Here we are rather confronted with an orientation which is primarily political, and not an orientation where politics is only one aspect of the overall orientation.

It must be stated at the outset of the study of the German socialistic ideology and its development in the United States, that we will never claim that the introduction of the socialist ideology into the United States was solely the work of the German refugees. But we feel that their role in the development of the socialist ideologies in the United States was a very important one, and their influences and leadership in the development of this ideology in the Middle West, and particularly in Milwaukee was decisive. We shall only deal with the socialist movement until approximately 1910. By 1910 the movement was completely routinized and the influences of the German radical group can no longer be clearly seen.

We will not deal here with the American phases of the Fourier and Owen movements, and the systems of utopian socialism which they represent. It is only interesting to

note that ideologically and historically these movements represent a linkage between the bourgeois liberal democratic ideology, and the socialistic democratic ideology. Even though these colony enterprises run in one form or another concurrently with the socialistic movements in the United States, their connection is rather a distant one.

There are two aspects in the socialistic ideology which must be kept in mind, and which set this social movement on an entirely different plane from the liberal ideology. These two aspects are internationalism and class-consciousness, as over against the strong nationalism and the lack of well defined class categories in bourgeois liberal ideology.

Historically we are here further dealing with different periods. The bourgeois liberal tradition of the forty-eighters in the United States represented the end of a social movement which had its beginning in the late 18th and early 19th century. The socialist ideology when it was introduced into the United States was more or less the beginning of the ideology throughout Europe, and at the very early stages of its development. Socialist democratic ideology has its origin in the rise of industrialism, bourgeois liberal democracy has its origin in the French revolution and in the Reformation.

It is also important to keep in mind that the membership of the two movements comes from different social strata. Men of property, the intellectual, and the academition with their bourgeois background made up the core of the liberal movement.

The main body of the membership of the socialistic movement is drawn from the strata of the working classes, and the intellectual only plays an occasional role in the movement.

It is therefore not surprising that we find the earliest developments of the socialist ideologies within the German immigrant groups of the forty-eighters. There were among the forty-eighters a minority of artisan workers. They had constituted part of the forty-eighters during the revolution and during their earlier stay in the United States. But as soon as the group settled down to reestablish their former way of life, these worker groups were soon excluded from the general "genteel" intellectual life of the forty-eighter group. They constituted the group which waged the war against the "Geschwollenen" (the swelled ones). One branch of the Turners was under the leadership of Heinrich Loose who was the first supporter in the German refugee group of the Communist Manifesto.<sup>49</sup> There also existed among the various singing societies of the forty-eighters one that was called the "Arbeiter Gesang Verein" (worker's singing society), and among the politically and intellectually oriented clubs of the forty-eighters there existed the "Association der Arbeiter" (the association of the workers).<sup>50</sup> This association of the workers were followers of Wilhelm Weigling's theory of social harmony.<sup>51</sup> \*

50. Wilhelm Hense-Jensen, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 80-96.

51. Herman Schluter, Die Anfänge der Deutschen Arbeiterbewegung in Amerika, Verlag von J.H.W. Dietz Nachfolger, Stuttgart, 1907, pp. 49-120.

Weitling, a political German refugee, was active in New York at the time, and most of his influence was within the eastern parts of the United States. None of these groups mentioned so far can actually be termed socialist in their ideology, in the sense of the ideology developed by social democratic party, but they represented the faction of the German refugees which were not in accord with the dominant liberal bourgeois ideology. There existed factions even within these left wingers of the refugee group. There were certain groups which favored the older ideology of Weitling's social harmony, as over against the newer ideology of Lassalle.<sup>52</sup> The period up until 1886 was further characterized by the friction between the socialists and the anarchist ideologies, and the continuous struggle between the various factions. Marxism was further introduced by the German newspaper "Phalanx" edited by Gustav Grahl after the Civil War.<sup>53</sup>

But all this factionalism within the general socialistic tradition was primarily the result of the general economic conditions of the country. It was not until the middle 1870's that the industrialization of the community was such that the

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52. Lassalle, like Weitling was a strict follower of the Marxian doctrine. His emphasis was general suffrage for the workers, and demands that the state should aid the productive cooperatives of the workers. He founded the General German Workers' Society in 1863 which was the first independent working class party in Germany. He differed from Weitling's orientation in his emphasis on concrete actions and his support of organized labor.

53. Theodor Miller, op. cit., p. 8.

socialistic ideologies could actually take hold. The work of Joseph Brucker and his newspaper the "Sozialist" were primarily organs of agitation of a comparatively small group, and which historically served only as an indication of the developments that were to come.

We must now concentrate on the development and the growing strength of the labor unions, to see the gradual preparation of the ground for the socialistic ideology. The German workers who came to the United States with the forty-eighter group were primarily skilled artisan workers. It was during the great development of the industries following the Civil War that these groups of workers started organizing into craft unions. The German group of workers were from the beginning strongly organized because they had the additional advantage of strong group ties besides being members of the same trade. It is therefore not surprising that the official newspaper of the brewers union was written in German, and that most of all the early union meetings were held in the various Turner Halls.<sup>54</sup> Some of the early unions in Milwaukee had almost exclusive German membership, such as the case of the cigarmakers' union, the printers', the brewers', the carpenters', etc.

Another aspect of the early German labor unions in the United States was their strong political orientation. Unlike

54. Hermann Schlüter, The Brewing Industry and the Brewery Workers' Movement in America, published by the International Union of United Brewery Workmen of America, Cincinnati, 1910, pp. 265-270.

the labor unions which had American worker membership, these labor unions at the same time represented the socialist orientation. This can be seen in the fact that the branch of the First International which was founded in Milwaukee in 1874 had an exclusively German membership.<sup>55</sup> The existence of the First International nevertheless was only two years; after this time there again occurred splits over ideological matters and the movement disintegrated. The political orientation of the labor unions must nevertheless be kept in mind, because it was on this aspect that they differed from the American worker groups, and this political orientation of the German labor groups was to become the core of the Socialist Party in its earlier existence.

The decade between 1880 and 1890 can be easily characterized as the earliest development of the various socialistic, communistic and anarchistic ideologies. It is in this decade that these ideologies were differentiated, that they were defined and that the various followers of the ideologies gradually grouped themselves around the specific ideologies and leaders.

This was the decade which saw the Knights of Labor at the height of its development with the strikes in 1886 for the eight-hour day. The German element was not too strongly

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55. Theodor Miller, op. cit., pp. 12-16.

represented in the Knights of Labor because of the lack of the political orientation of the group; the Knights of Labor rather had its strongest following in the Irish and English workers. This is not to say that the German workers did not strongly participate in the strikes for the eight-hour day.

The German element at that time was under the leadership of a Marxian socialist, Paul Grottkau, editor of the "Arbeiterzeitung" (worker's paper) which he founded in 1886 in Milwaukee. Paul Grottkau belonged to the later group of refugees from the Bismarkian regime. He had been a member of the German Reichstag but was forced to leave Germany under the Socialist Law of 1878 which sought to suppress the Social Democratic party.<sup>56</sup> Paul Grottkau was a printer by profession, and he edited the "Arbeiterzeitung" besides keeping up his profession, and he also was an active labor leader in the German 'Central Labor Union' as well. The fight for the eight-hour day, in which Grottkau took active part both in writing and also personally, led to riots in Milwaukee on May 4, 1886 in which the militia was called out by the governor. Paul Grottkau was arrested and sentenced to a one year prison term.<sup>57</sup>

The anarchist movement achieved its height also in the same year, terminating in the Hay Market riots of May 1, 1886.

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56. Ibid., pp. 21-23.

57. Wilhelm Hense-Jensen, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 89.

The anarchists had a very strong following among the German radical element in Milwaukee. Their "Lehr und WehrVerein" (education and defense organization) was a branch of the Turners. Among their leaders we find such men as the father of one of the later socialist mayors of Milwaukee.<sup>58</sup> The main objective of the "Lehr and Wehr Verein" was military training for the revolution, and the activities of the whole movement were in the spontaneous tradition of the anarchist ideology. The movement lost most of its support in Milwaukee after the Hay Market riots.

On the American political front we find such developments as the Union Labor Party or the People's Party as it was usually referred to. In this movement we find such various factions as the money-reform groups, the trade unions, the Knights of Labor and the socialistic German labor organizations. During the elections of 1886 this group elected various state and city officials in Wisconsin and Milwaukee.<sup>59</sup> By 1888 this fusion group of various political ideologies was already disintegrating, and the first group to withdraw was the radical socialist group under Grottkau's leadership.

It is interesting to note that after the elections of 1886 there came into existence in Milwaukee a citizen's committee which was in direct opposition to the Union Labor party, and in this committee we find again the names of the

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58. Material from interview with Mr. Theodor Miller.

59. Wilhelm Hense-Jensen, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 89.

leading forty-eighters. The socialist wing of the radicals was at that time already very far removed, in membership and in ideology, from the older radical bourgeois liberal group. This committee published a resolution with the following main points: "The citizen's movement want it to be known that it is in no way in contradiction with honest work.....But when the working class organizes itself into a political party, this action must be detrimental to the interest of the community. A democracy can not be reconciled with the ruling of one class....." (translation H.H.)<sup>60</sup> It is quite obvious where the interest of the liberal bourgeois forty-eighters was focused four decades after their arrival in the United States.

The split of the socialist group from the Union Labor party led to a period of estrangement between groups, which at that time was almost exclusively made up of German workers, and the organized native labor groups. The Union Labor party was soon fused with the Populist party, and it was during this period of estrangement that the socialist movement started its real beginning.

One more organization must be mentioned, and this was the Socialist Labor Party which was organized in New York in 1877, and which soon thereafter opened a branch in Milwaukee. The membership of this party was again almost completely German, and for the first fifteen years of the existence of the party

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60. Ibid., p. 92.

German was used in its convention, as well as in the party organ which was "Der Sozialist" (the socialist) edited in New York by Hugo Vogt.<sup>61</sup> This party was very strong among the German workers in Milwaukee until the Socialist Labor Party was almost entirely taken over by Daniel De Leon and his strict advocacy of industrial unionism. The split which occurred in the party in 1900 brought the German elements within the Socialist Labor party into the ranks of the, then newly formed, Socialist Party. We will return to this faction later in the discussion.

We must now consider some of the immigration elements which were instrumental in the introduction of the socialist ideologies into the United States. The immigration of the forty-eighter group was well over by the year 1856. From that time on the German immigration was comparatively slight, and did only take on larger proportions again by the year 1882. In that year the German immigration to the United States is estimated at over a quarter of a million. It is not as much the number of the immigrants, but the social strata which they represented, that is of importance to us. The immigrants were primarily made up of the working class who came to the United States because of the breakdown of the Social Democratic Party, and further because of the expanding industries in the

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61. Henry Kuhn and Olive M. Johnson, The Socialist Labor Party, New York Labor News Co., New York, 1931, p. 18.

United States. They were all skilled workers, with a strong class-conscious orientation, and a long tradition of a politically oriented labor movement. They were the followers of Lassalle and Liebknecht, and ideological followers of the Social Democratic Party which in 1877 held twelve of the three hundred and ninety seven seats in the German Reichstag. It must further be stated here that this group were not all followers of the Marxian doctrine. Their ideological orientation was to a large extent not a revolutionary one, but their concern was rather with the daily legal activities within the existing social and economic society. The ideological emphasis was rather on the specific class position of the proletariat.<sup>62</sup> This group then can be said to have a very strong political-economic orientation, which took the form of the class-conscious struggle against the bourgeois middle-class with an orientation toward evolutionary change.

It is this group then that found itself in the United States around 1885, and which did not find in this country any strong labor organizations, or any political party which was oriented toward the ideologies of this group. Their influence therefore went in two directions, membership in the American Federation of Labor, which was founded in 1886, and into which the German "Central Labor Union" merged. The support of the A.F. of L. by the German radical socialist was a result of the fact that the A.F. of L. represented the type of craft

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62. Arthur Rosenberg, op. cit., p. 156-170.

unionism with which the German radical group had been familiar in their homeland. In their political orientation they followed for the first years of their stay in the United States many of the various small political radical sect, and gradually established the Socialist Party in Milwaukee, in which they transplanted the German ideology as well as the membership almost bodily. In 1887 they presented their first political ticket, but their existence became only permanent with the national Social Democratic Party in 1897.

The first socialist party, or as it was called at the time the "Sozialistische Verein" (socialistic association) followed the radical socialist ideology. This group was the actual vanguard of class consciousness and of the class struggle. It is therefore not surprising that they remained almost isolated during the 1880's and the early 1890's from the general population, and even from the working population in the United States. The traditional teachings of the American ideology of a classless society was too strong for these men to surmount. But unlike the forty-eighter group, this group was much closer to the American population. For one thing, their everyday work brought them into continuous contact with the native population. There further existed the necessity for the members of the new refugee group to learn the English language, because of this continuous economic interaction with the native population. Lastly, they were closely affiliated with American labor union groups, either within the same local organization, or at least with the same

national organization. It must here be kept in mind that most of the independent German labor groups were affiliated with the A.F. of L. soon after the founding of this organization in 1886. The German radical socialist group therefore never enjoyed the separateness which the forty-eighter group had known. It was not in keeping with the socialist ideologies that they would be contented with forming a self-willed segregated group as the forty-eighters had done. Their ideological orientation was one of agitation, of education, and of the spreading of their ideologies to the members of what they considered to be their group. By this group, the socialistically oriented German meant the working classes, and even more specifically the working classes of the world. This ideology was not handicapped, as the liberal bourgeois ideology had been by strong national sentiments, rather their ideological orientation was definitely international. Through this international orientation they did not experience any of the feeling of strangeness which the liberal bourgeois radicalism had experienced, but rather the socialists felt strong ties for their American fellow workers. They saw the realization of their utopian socialism in the fall of the capitalistic organization, and they felt that the realization of this ideology was only possible with the participation of all the working classes in the world. Regardless of whether their proposed means were revolutionary, or evolutionary, their class orientation was the same, the Marxian phrase of "Workers of the world unite."

The orientation of the early socialist group, and one which was to remain within the Socialist party, was education. The education of the workers to the realization of their position in society has been the socialist aim since its existence in the United States, and in the rest of the world as well. The early years of the existence of the German socialist groups in Milwaukee were given over to the education and the enlightenment of the working classes.

The leader of the socialist ideology in Milwaukee, and the man who can be said to have been the spiritual as well as the physical leader of socialist ideology was Victor Berger. In 1893 Victor Berger took over the editorship of Paul Grottkau's "Arbeiter Zeitung" and published it from then on as the "Wisconsin Vorwärts" (Wisconsin Forward). Grottkau's paper had been a pure Marxist paper until that time.<sup>63</sup> Berger, a native Austrian, had been a German teacher until then in one of the Milwaukee schools, from which he had been expelled for his teaching of radical ideologies.<sup>64</sup> Berger was the most powerful leader the Milwaukee socialists had. In his ideological orientation, Berger was a follower of the teachings of Bernstein and Bebel, his orientation being the evolutionary change of the existing society, into an utopian cooperative commonwealth.

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63. Theodor Miller, op. cit., p. 38.

64. Marvin Wachman, History of the Social Democratic Party of Milwaukee, The University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1945, p. 12.

The political orientation of Berger, and later on of the whole socialist group, was an intensely practical one, an orientation of reform, of strictly limited capitalism, of better working conditions for the laboring classes, and a strict emphasis on class consciousness of the laboring classes and of municipal control of public utilities.

Berger, besides being editor of the Vorwärts, was also the president of the Milwaukee South Side Turnverein, which under his leadership became known as the "Red Turner Society".<sup>65</sup> This branch of the Turners had a membership that was mostly made up of the newer German refugees, and of the old left-wing radicals of the forty-eighter group. The main body of the forty-eighters had reduced their participation in the Turner society to the gymnastic aspects of this organization, and were at that time already in no way connected with the ideologies of this group.

Almost as soon as Berger took over the editorship of the Vorwärts, a daily paper, he split ideologically with the Socialist Labor party. The reasons for his split are interesting to note, because they mirror the orientation which the socialist group was to follow. The general reason for the split can be said to be the belief on the part of Berger that the Socialist Labor Party was not sufficiently geared to practice. The Socialist Labor party was, according to Berger, not concerned with practical immediate aims, but rather had an

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65. The Milwaukee Journal, December 7, 1897.

ideal political orientation, and did not offer concretely feasible means for achieving their ideal.<sup>66</sup> Specifically Berger had put all of his support with the A.F. of L. while the Socialist Labor Party concerned itself with such groups as the remains of the Knights of Labor and the International Workers of the World (I.W.W.). Berger further accused the Socialist Labor Party of not having a specific platform for their candidates, and further of supporting anarchist groups. The Socialist Labor Party, on the other hand, accused Berger of compromises with the existing system, of being a mere reformer, and generally accused the Socialist Party of not being radical enough.<sup>67</sup> Most of the accusations which the Socialist Labor Party made were actually to come true during the development of the Socialist Party in its later stages, but we also feel that this is particularly the reason why the Socialist Party did achieve its success.

The reason for the lessening of the radical tendencies of the socialist group can only be understood, when we consider Berger's main objective, and the objective of the German socialists in America at the time. Their objective was to have socialism become "native to the soil".<sup>68</sup> The striving of the group can here be called the Americanization of the socialistic ideology. The group around Berger rightly assessed

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66. Theodor Miller, op. cit., p. 47.

67. Henry Kuhn & Olive M. Johnson, op. cit., p. 49-55.

68. Marvin Wachman, op. cit., p. 13.

that without this Americanization of their ideology their movement could see no possible progress in the United States. It is this process of Americanization of the socialist democratic ideology with which we are primarily concerned here.

In order to Americanize the socialist ideology, the German radicals realized that they would have to lay the groundwork for the acceptance of their ideology. The backbone of the socialist democratic ideology concerns the idea of class-consciousness proletariat. This classconsciousness<sup>69</sup> was almost completely absent within the American working classes. It was for purposes of educating and awakening the class-consciousness of the working classes that the socialist group temporarily fused its political orientation with the People's party for the elections in 1893. Berger stated at the time of the election that all socialists should vote for the cooperative ticket of the People's party in order to stimulate the class movement among laborers.<sup>70</sup> The People's party platform did include some of the socialistic ideologies, because during the early stages of the party the socialist group had figured prominently in the drawing up of the platform. A further consideration for Berger and his group in supporting the People's

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69. Class consciousness is here defined as the feeling of men in the same class situation who regularly react in mass actions to such tangible situations as economic ones in the direction of those interests that are most adequate to their average number, from Max Weber, Essays in Sociology, op. cit., p. 184.

70. Vorwärts, October 18, 1893.

party was the fact that it had strong followers among the trade-unionists, the group which Berger had set out to capture. We can see from the action of the socialists certain aspects of the group during this period.

The group did not yet have the strength to stand alone. Its orientation was therefore to bring the socialist ideology before the public in every possible way. Their further intention was to bring the laboring class to the point where they would support another party besides the two major ones. The break which occurred between the socialists and the People's party in 1896 did not occur on the local, but rather on the national level. During that year the People's party was taken over by the conservative elements of the movement, and the traces of socialist orientation were completely dropped from the platform.

During this period of fusion the socialists had not been idle. They were carrying out their campaign of education and of enlightenment. Their educational activities or efforts were both in writing and in speaking. Through their affiliation with the People's party they had access to large non-German working groups, and more important they reached the trade-unionists through their meetings and publications. By these means they could introduce their ideologies, or at least a modified version of their ideologies. They used the People's movement for the proving ground of their orientation.

By 1896 Berger was already telling his followers that:  
"Sooner or later, we must have a national worker's party which,

by peaceful means or by force of weapons, must bring about the emancipation of the working classes."<sup>71</sup>

Before going any further, we must consider the concrete political end of the socialist group. We must keep this statement of aims in mind, because we will see some significant shift as the group gradually gained in strength. [The hypothetical platform which Berger published in the Vorwärts in 1893 revealed his twofold orientation toward the development of the socialistic ideology in the United States. Berger was from the beginning aware of the fact that he would have to deal with two distinct groups; the older more radical, philosophic, socialists group, whose membership represented primarily the German political refugees of the Bismark era and the old time utopian socialists of the forty-eighter group, and the trade-unionists both German and American. The latter group he attempted to win over to the socialistic ideology, because he realized that they would have to make up the major part of his party, if the socialistic philosophy was to develop into a political force in the United States. For the benefit of the trade-unionists he had to formulate his aims in a practical manner, and if he was to win them over, he had to lay more stress on immediate aims than on the final socialist goal. On the other hand he had to keep the support of the old time radicals, who in 1893 still made up the bulk of the party following. Consequently he wrote in the preface to the platform:

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71. Ibid., November 10, 1896.

"To those who consider us as being too moderate, we must reply that if you demand too much at one time you are likely to get nothing.....Nothing more ought to be demanded than is attainable at a given time and under given circumstances."<sup>72</sup> This orientation was to characterize the socialist ideology throughout its existence. It marks the departure from the old, more principled socialist ideology, and Berger was the first of the German radical socialists to realize that this change of orientation was necessary for popularizing socialist America.

The economic plank of the Berger platform consisted of the following demands: state and municipal ownership of public utilities; national ownership of the mines; abolition of monopolies; strict factory inspection; prohibition of child labor; state courts of arbitration; recognition of trade unions; income and inheritance taxes; maximum hour laws, old age pensions; and health insurance with state help. The political demands were: abolition of the United States Senate, the veto power of the President, the standing army and immigration restrictions.

It is interesting to note that the economic aims of the platform were closely geared to trade union interest, while the political demands were still in keeping with the old line radical socialist ideology. This may be ascribed to the fact that the trade unionists lacked political orientation, and

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72. Ibid., January 3, 1893.

that the socialists could therefore state their demands more openly.

We must now look at the national scene to see the further development of the socialist party. Eugene V. Debs announced in 1896 that he had broken with the People's party and came out for socialism. Berger was instrumental in winning Debs for socialism, or at least he was the man who introduced Debs to socialist literature.<sup>73</sup> In the same year Debs announced the formation of the Brotherhood of the Cooperative Commonwealth, and also his intention to form a national Democratic Socialist party. He did not favor the Socialist Labor party, but wanted to affiliate the independent socialist groups. It would be unfair to say that Berger used Debs as his front. It would be more correct to admit the reverse, but further developments of the Democratic Socialist party show that the ideologies of Berger gradually gained the upper hand. The Cooperative Commonwealth was considered by Berger to be too utopian in its orientation of planning colonies in some western state with the view to the eventual political capture of the state. But Berger knew too well the importance of Debs and the American Railway Union to openly oppose the commonwealth idea. While the English speaking newspapers in 1897 carried articles on Debs' new party playing up the colonization plank, Berger wrote in the Vorwärts that Debs' colonization scheme was virtually

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73. Eugene V. Debs, "How I Became a Socialist", in the Comerade, I, No. 7, pp. 48-49.

dismantled "under critical and scientific thinking".<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless Berger did not openly oppose the colonization scheme while the actual platform of the Social Democracy was drawn up. It was not until a year later that Berger openly repudiated the colonization idea. We can note here a particular weapon which Berger had at his command; the German language socialist "Vorwärts". Berger knew that he had to appeal to two different groups, and the newspapers were his best solution. In the German Vorwärts he could easily criticize the main trend of development, and could appeal to the more radical elements in the socialist movement, without attracting the attention of the American and less radical factions of the party.

The new party was finally organized in July of 1897. The founding of the party took place in Milwaukee, and the Milwaukee socialist group became branch one of the party. Besides a long-winded statement of the aims of colonization we find that the main plank of the party was very much in keeping with Berger's orientation. It contained eight concise demands for immediate changes of present conditions. We see here already some of the departures from the orientation which was set down by Berger in 1893. The political changes were conspicuously absent from the platform. The economic aims had become more specific to fit the trade unionists. The only political changes set forth in the platform were initiative, referendum, and proportional representation. The main economic orientation was public owner-

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74. Vorwärts, June 18, 1897.

ship of those industries which were controlled by monopolies. State and municipal ownership of public utilities, which had previously been the main orientation, now had moved down in the list of the demands. The maximum hour demand was altered to read: "Reduction of hours of labor according to the progress of production methods." And there had appeared such demands as public works for the unemployed, the opening of patents and discoveries to everyone, and the establishment of postal savings banks. None of the other economic demands of the platform of 1893 appeared any longer.

We can see from the platform that the Americanization of the socialistic ideology had already been well under way. The platform is not to be seen as the pushing aside of the German elements and radical ideology, because Berger and the German group were extremely influential in the drawing up of the platform, but it rather must be viewed as the deliberate adaptation of the ideological orientation of this group to their end, to introduce the socialist ideology into the American scene, and the fitting of the ideological orientation to the demands of the scene. Berger and his group had well realized that their support had to come from the American worker, and more specifically from the trade-unionists.

It is interesting to note that in Milwaukee the colonialization scheme was never popular. This indicates to some extent the influence which Berger had in this particular section of the Socialist Party. While the colonialization idea was the main rallying point for the beginning stages of the young party

it was hardly discussed in Milwaukee. The reason for the lack of emphasis in the colonialization scheme may be explained by the fact that the Milwaukee socialists were a more awakened group than the other socialist groups throughout the nation. The Milwaukee socialists no longer needed the emotional appeal which the colonialization idea had to offer. The colonialization ideology with its utopian character was an important rallying point for the spreading of the socialistic ideology to new members. The Milwaukee socialists were still to a large extent the German socialists who did not need the emotional "pepping up" of the utopian colonialization idea. Berger and his group further felt that they could recruit their membership by different appeals.

As we have already stated, the main orientation of the Milwaukee socialists was to establish themselves as the political arm of labor. To this end they had already applied themselves in the decade before the founding of the national Social Democratic party, when they still constituted the "Sozial Demokratischer Verein". The efforts of the socialists in this direction were only increased in the years which followed the formation of the national party. These efforts can best be seen in their state platforms and from the newspapers of the period. The preamble of the state platform in 1898 clearly showed again the attempt of the party to appeal to the trade-unionists. It reads: "We call attention to the fact that the measures we urge are in no way a cure for the

existing evils, nor are they necessarily socialistic institutions. They are to be viewed rather as needed palliatives..." The platform itself is even more revealing. Most of the radical socialist demands were gone, and even more minute and immediate changes were put in the foreground. The demands included: no franchises for public utilities should be sold; the city should take charge as soon as possible of all public utilities; only organized labor should be employed in all public works on an eight hour day; big corporations should be made to pay their rightful share of the municipal taxes; work for unemployed; free medical services; the erection of three public baths; free school books; etc.<sup>75</sup> The change in the orientation of the group need not be pointed out here, it is obvious from the platform. The succeeding platforms of the socialists up to their victory in 1910, and even up to the present, are the continuation of the trend which was started during the first elections in 1898. The changes which occurred during the period in which the Social Democratic party became more and more firmly established in Milwaukee can be said to be the following: after they had assured themselves the support of the trade-unionists, they extended their orientation further to cover the small business men and white collar workers, and their method of doing this was always by the same means, the attack on specific reforms within the city

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75. Marvin Wachman, op. cit., p. 22.

and state. The platform of 1906 is almost completely oriented toward the defeat of the municipal franchises, and the control of these franchises. The aims of their radical ideologies were always stated in the preamble of their platform, but the measures for which the party stood were further and further removed from these ideologies. The statement of the ideologies gradually lost in intensity, and only remained as the guiding ideology of the group.

The newspaper campaign of this group best shows the educational and enlightenment policy of the group. Berger and his group soon realized that they needed an English newspaper. The "Milwaukee Social Democrat" was started in February, 1900,<sup>76</sup> and lasted until August, 1901, when the "Social Democratic Herold", the national organ of the party, was moved to Milwaukee. It was the tactics of the socialists, and also one of the main reasons for their success, to orient their papers almost completely toward the trade-unionists. The Herold states in one of the first editions of this paper in Milwaukee: "Socialists start from the idea that the trade-unions are intensely interested in introducing social reforms, and that they are therefore in duty bound to discuss these matters and use all means, especially the ballot to secure good results."<sup>77</sup> Using the ballot, of course, meant voting the Social Democratic

76. Ibid., p. 33.

77. The Social Democratic Herold, August 31, 1901.

ticket. The tenure of the socialist newspapers, and the English papers in particular, continued to be the main method of appeal of the Social Democratic party. Their appeal was to a rational acceptance of the socialist ideology, as the only political means for the working classes to achieve their goals.

The ideology which the socialists presented was considered by them to be a rational ideology appealing to the working classes. They set their means for the attainment of a more perfect democracy before this group. By a more perfect democracy the leaders of the Social Democratic party meant a stronger voice of the working classes in political affairs. They appealed to the execution of the constitutional rights of the working classes, to their proportional representation in political affairs. They continuously reenforced the labor movement, but felt that the labor movement could not achieve its objectives without the help of a political party to back up their demands. As we have already seen, Berger and his group "soft-pedaled" the idea of revolution of the proletariat almost from the beginning, because they felt that evolutionary socialism better fitted the American situation. They were strong advocates of the truly democratic means of change, the ballot, but realized that the working classes of America had to be awakened to their position in the social situation.

The gradual changes which occurred in the demands which the socialist group put forth in the period of development and growth of the movement, were very closely geared to the American scene. The socialists were dealing with the trade-

unionists, and their appeal followed the trade-union ideology. They realized the extremely practical orientation of the trade-unionists, and their practice to deal with immediate problems. The platforms of the Social Democratic party mirrors the development of the trade-union groups. This is not to say that the Social Democratic party actually had different aims set out for themselves. If we consider the membership within the unions and the socialist group, we find the membership is greatly overlapping by 1900.<sup>78</sup> This does not mean that all union-members were also members of the party, but rather that practically all members of the party were union men.

The influence of the Social Democratic party on the union movement can best be traced in the attitude of the Federal Trade Council. The council was established in 1887, shortly after the formation of the A.F. of L. The council at first felt that it could not deal with political issues, and therefore stayed away from the Social Democratic party, as they had stayed away from the socialist ideology before the founding of the party.

It was the work of the newspaper campaigns, and the pamphleteers of the socialist movement which brought about the gradual change in the orientation of the Federal Trades Council, which culminated in the endorsement of the "Milwaukee

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78. Information gained through interview with Mr. Theodor Miller.

"Social Democrat" as the official organ of the council in 1901. A sample of the appeal which the socialist group used in their enlightenment campaign of the unionists is the following letter which was circulated among the union men: "Bear in mind that of all things most feared by the expropriating capitalist class is the knowledge when possessed by the wage-slave! Knowledge is power, and as socialism teaches and carries with it the full understanding of wage-slavery and the competitive system, we invite the members of your organization to investigate and study its economic teachings."<sup>79</sup>

The Milwaukee socialists prided themselves in the fact that theirs was scientific socialism. Their orientation was to let the working class know their economic and social position, and that they would by this means follow the teachings of the party.

The progress of such a campaign is a slow one. The socialist group, under the leadership of Berger, attacked their objectives very systematically. Their first step was the awakening of the class consciousness of the masses. We find in their papers and pamphlets at the beginning all the propaganda appeals for their ideology; the blasting of capital, the poor conditions of the workers, the corruption of the existing political parties with their one-sided interests, etc. Their fusion movement in 1896, as already mentioned, was in this

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79. Marvin Wachman, op. cit., p. 37.

direction. By 1898 they started their agitation campaign for political representation, and they launched their party. By 1902 they were already reasonably sure of the trade-union following, and they were ready to extend their appeal to a larger group of voters. It is at this point that we find even more far reaching changes in their original orientation.

In 1902 they turned to the more conservative elements of the voters, those groups who were primarily dissatisfied with the existing political government. In that year the "Milwaukee Social Democrat" catered to these people by saying: "Capitalism will not vanish in one day, in one year or even in one decade. Even after the triumph of the proletariat, the commonwealth cannot take upon itself all kinds of production....It is not necessary that all industries be immediately taken over by the Socialist government."<sup>80</sup> It is obvious from this quotation that the Socialists were appealing to groups other than the unionists by this, they were appealing to the small business interests. It was on this orientation that the first socialists were elected in 1904.

To this lessening of the radical aspects in their political demands must be added the general state of corruption which existed in Milwaukee at the time. The socialist group was not slow in picking on the corruptions, in exposing them, and in

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80. The Social Democratic Herald, January 4, 1902.

incorporating in their platform the promises of a clean, efficient, and honest government. The group added to their system of educating the people, the aims for reform.

The election of 1904 of nine Socialist aldermen presented the Socialist with a new problem, and with a resulting new orientation. They had to prove to the voters that their orientation was not a revolutionary one, but rather one of immediate reform, and that their aims were the establishment of more perfect democratic procedures in politics. This was the task to which they devoted themselves for the years between the first election of the nine aldermen, and 1910 when they carried the election completely, including the mayoralty.

Before going into the routinization aspects of the socialist democratic ideology into the Social Democratic party, we must consider the earlier stages of the movement, the enthusiastic aspects of the party developments.<sup>81</sup>

In order to see the development of the party in the proper perspectives we must turn to Victor Berger, as the leader of the movement, and the influence of this man and his ideological orientation on the course of the party formation. Berger was the main leader of the socialist movement since the time he took over the "Vorwärts" from Paul Grottkau. He, unlike Grottkau, was not a Marxian, but rather was a follower of

81. Use of concepts after Max Weber.

Edward Bernstein<sup>82</sup> in his ideology of evolutionary socialism with the aim of a cooperative commonwealth. Berger was further the first man among the German socialist group to realize the problems of the Americanization of the socialist ideology to fit the social scene. He was a member of the typographical union,<sup>83</sup> and a leader among this group, being elected to the Federal Trades Council in 1899.<sup>84</sup> His participation in both the labor movement and the socialist group put him in the perspective which he developed in his writings. He knew the needs and outlooks of both groups, and it is primarily due to his efforts that the fusion of the socialist ideology and the orientation of the trade-unions occurred, and remained. He was soon recognized by his opponents to be the organizing force of the socialist movement, even though he did not himself run for public office until 1910, at which time he was elected to the Congress of the United States. The main strength of this man was in his writings, both in German and English. Because the press campaign was so vital for the

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82. Edward Bernstein was the theoretical leader of the German revisionists. The revisionists which arose in Europe after 1889 advocated free trade, general suffrage, extension of parliamentary institutions, protection of labor, opposition to trusts and monopoly capitalism. They demanded the abandonment of the meaningless revolutionary phraseology in the socialist International, and advocated action on the basis of existing facts. In Arthur Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

83. Selig Perlman, History of Trade Unionism in the United States, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1923, chapter on typographical unions.

84. Vorwärts, December 24, 1899.

socialist party, his role can be easily seen. In Berger the followers of the party found a leader of wide appeal; he was both a union man and an extremely well-read socialist, and he was further a German with an excellent command of the English language. These characteristics of a marginal man standing at the intersection of major currents and being skilled to interpret multiple values in different tongues showed him to appeal to the German radical socialists, and the American trade-unionists alike, he was a fellow member to all of them. His intellectual leadership can be seen by the influences of the "Vorwärts", which was until 1900, the only organ of the socialist group. He further contributed frequently to the English socialists' press, and also was the most prolific pamphleteer for the group. The strength of his personal following can be seen in the history of his election to the United States Congress. He was elected and served one term in the House of Representatives, in 1910. He was again elected in 1918 but was refused his seat because of his conviction under the Espionage Act for his anti-war stand. The trial was conducted in 1914 in Chicago, and Berger was sentenced to a twenty year prison term for his anti-war propaganda in his paper, the "Milwaukee Leader" which he started in 1911. He ran for election in 1918 while his case was under appeal to the higher courts. After the refusal of the House of Representatives to allow Berger to be seated, a special election was called in the Milwaukee district to fill the vacancy in 1919; Berger was

again elected, and was again refused the seat. The same thing happened once more in 1920.<sup>85</sup> In 1919 and 1920 he was elected by increased majority. This particular record gives the indication of Berger's personal following, but also shows some of the tight organization and the strength of the Social Democratic party.

If Berger was the actual leader of the party, there nevertheless existed around him a tight group of men who made up the leadership of the party. We find a given list of names who were candidates for every election, often the offices for which they ran were changed, but the names remained mostly the same. We find among these active leaders of the movement two characteristics; they were all members of trade-unions, and a large percentage of them were German born, or second generation German extraction. This latter aspect is significant insofar as it illustrates the position of power which was held by the Germans in the socialist movement despite the Americanized appeal of the group to the American working class in general. Berger himself fitted into these two characteristics, so did Emil Seidel the socialist mayor elect in 1910, Daniel Hown the second socialist mayor of Milwaukee, and Edmund T. Melms elected alderman in 1904 and later secretary of the Socialist party.<sup>86</sup> The actual power structure of the party must there-

85. The Case of the Chicago Socialists, record of the trial of the socialists under the Espionage Law of 1917; the trial included Victor Berger, Adolph Germer, William F. Kruse, Irwin St. John Tucker and J. Louis Engdahl.

86. Theodor Miller, op. cit., p. 59.

fore be seen from the organization, and the membership in the position of power within the party.

If we view Berger with regard to his political orientation and ideology, we can see in him, from the development of the movement, and from the changes which occurred in the ideological orientation, a pragmatic politician. The aim of the Milwaukee socialists can only be said to have been the attainment of political power. It is obvious from the appeals, the platforms, and the propaganda of the socialist group, that the attainment of office was their most prominent orientation. On the other hand, we feel, that it would be incorrect to assume that these men brought about the gradual trend toward conservatism from their original orientation, by a conscious attempt to gain personal political power. We must rather consider two aspects of the movement in order to see the conservative trend and the strong orientation toward the attainment of political power, at the price of the sacrifice of some of their original aims. The two aspects of the movement we will consider therefore are the routinization aspect of the movement and the peculiar ideological orientation of the socialist mentality.

When we view the socialist group in Max Weber's <sup>87</sup> terms of a social movement, from the radical enthusiasm of the first hours, to the gradual routinization and conservatism of the

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87. Use of concepts after Max Weber.

growing structure of the movement into a political party, we can see some of the changing aspects of the socialist ideology in a clearer light.

We must first keep in mind that the socialist democratic ideology was not native to the United States, and when introduced into Milwaukee it was no longer in its earliest stages of development. For the enthusiastic stages of the development of this ideology we would have to consider the ideological formations in Europe, or more specifically in Germany. We find in the leaders of the socialist ideology in the United States adherents of tried and established political thought and ideologies. But this is not to say that the social movement created by the following of the social democratic ideology in the United States does not hold some of the characteristic aspects of a social movement in its development. But the developmental aspects are altered due to the fact that the leaders of the movement were already familiar with the specific ideological pattern which they were to expound. It is for this reason that the socialist movement took on the characteristics of an enlightenment and agitation campaign. The earliest stages of the movement can therefore be characterized by the intensive orientation of the leaders toward the awakening of class interests and class consciousness by every means of propaganda available to them. Their newspaper agitation and their pamphletting has already been mentioned. To this we must add the numerous mass meetings and personal appeals which were used

by the party. The meetings were usually held in the various Turner halls throughout the city; the speakers were the men who had the greatest public appeal. As an illustration, Eugene V. Debs appeared in Milwaukee before every municipal or national election,<sup>88</sup> and for the earlier elections Paul Grottkau was imported by the socialist group from California to appeal to the radical German minority.<sup>89</sup> The prerequisite for men who could speak both English and German can be seen in the candidates for offices, where we find men of German extraction almost continuously on the election slate.

The routinization of the movement can be seen gradually in both the party organization and in the platforms in the period between 1898 and 1910. If it would be necessary to put down a specific date for the appearances of the routinization aspects of the movement, we would place it around the turn of the century. But like all social forces and social changes they do not appear very distinctly at any one given time. The establishment of the actual Social Democratic party can be said to be a routinization aspect of the ideological movement. And we definitely find the greatest enthusiasm stages of the movement prior to the establishment of the party.

The election campaigns certainly acted as routinization influences on the movement. It was during the election

88. The Social Democratic Herald, October 31, 1908.

89. Ibid., April 14, 1898.

campaigns that the organizational aspects and the ideological aspects of the movement were developed. The debts occurred during the election campaigns, as well as the campaigning itself, called for the organization within the movement. By 1902 we find Edmund T. Melms as the city organizer of the party writing an open letter to the branches of the party in which he stated the necessity of a large membership, branch meetings, paying of dues, subscription to the "Herald", precinct organization, holding of picnics, etc.<sup>90</sup> In 1902 the Social Democratic party held its first carnival, which was intended for popular appeal, for the purpose of raising funds for the party, and for the furthering of party propaganda. In 1905 the revenues of the carnival were enough to cover the debts which the party had occurred during the elections of 1904.<sup>91</sup> The years 1906-1908 were vigorously devoted to the strengthening of the party organization, and to the perfection of their propaganda machine. They had membership-drives, regularly sponsored lectures, they asked for a day's wages from those members who could afford it for party funds, and they established the "Bundle Brigade". This last organization was a volunteer group of members and sympathizers who distributed the literature throughout the city. By 1908 this organization had become so efficient that they distributed the literature to every house in the city within twenty-four hours.<sup>92</sup> This was only possible

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90. Ibid., November 19, 1904, June 10, 24, July 22, 1905.

91. Ibid., February 4, 1905.

92. Marvin Wachman, op. cit., p. 62.

because of the complete central organization of the party, which included a literature committee and a cooperative bindery.

The hierarchical structure of the party had also further developed in this time. Berger was and remained the leader of the organization, but besides him there appeared party vice-presidents, secretaries, ward and precinct leaders etc. The candidates for various offices mostly came from the top levels of the organization. By 1910 the party was still intent on its membership drives, but the party office holders were well established, and the ascendance into party positions was no longer completely open.

The changes in the ideological aspects of the party can also be seen in the light of the routinization influences of the movement.

Before considering the changes in the ideology, we want to point out one additional aspect. It has been clear from the discussions so far that the socialist group sought and found their greatest support among the working classes, and more specifically among organized labor. The A.F. of L. developed almost parallel to the socialist party. Undoubtedly the A.F. of L. also passed the periods of enthusiastic radicalism and the later routinization toward a more conservative orientation. The socialist ideology developed accordingly; we can see the conservative trends of the labor movement in organization and socialist ideology as simultaneous and parallel phenomena.

The change toward a more conservative attitude of the socialist group occurred for reasons of expediency among the leaders of the group. That is obvious when we contrast the ideological development of the Social Democratic party with the development, or rather lack of development, of the Socialist Labor party. The Socialist Labor party did not relinquish any of its ideological features for the sake of a wider public appeal, or for the sake of election success. The Socialist Labor party definitely was more radical, and its outlook agreed more with the traditional Marxian socialist teachings. This party did not feel that much could be gained from political elections, its candidates aimed only at rallying protest votes at the polls. Their professed ends were actually identical with those of the socialist party, yet there did exist some obvious differences with regard to the means.<sup>93</sup>

If we view the general direction of the socialist promise, aims, and orientation, the trend toward moderation can not be denied. From the appeal of a class conscious bloodless revolution of the masses with public ownership of all the means of production as the immediate goal of the group, we find in their platform the gradual change to a clean, efficient, and scientific government, social reform, and very specific immediate aims for the betterment of the common people, with the

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93. Henry Kuhn and Olive M. Johnson, op. cit., pp. 31-35.

"cooperative commonwealth as the guiding star".<sup>94</sup> It is only on this later plank that the Social Democratic party won its first complete victory in 1910. Its whole slate of candidates was elected.<sup>95</sup>

The routinization aspects of the ideology stand out clearly in the development of the party. The leaders realized that their movement could only succeed on the basis of an orientation toward very gradual change. Instead of emphasizing the vision of the ultimately "good society", they dramatized the short view of improving present conditions, stating that this was the only possible way toward the achievement of their ends. This shift in emphasis parallels Edward Bernstein's formula: The road is all - the goal nothing. Berger's writings developed in this direction from the beginning of his participation in the socialist group. He emphasized early the use of the ballot as the exclusive means and direct goal of the party. He felt that the American situation was unique in this respect: "In America, for the first time in history, we find an oppressed class with the same fundamental rights as the ruling class - the right of universal suffrage."<sup>96</sup>

Thus the leaders of the socialist party sincerely believed in gradual change, emphasized immediate aims, and felt assured

94. Victor Berger in The Social Democratic Herold, October 12, 1901.

95. Marvin Wachman, op. cit., p. 70.

96. Victor Berger in The Social Democratic Herold, October 12, 1901.

that this road would lead to socialism. Their orientation must be viewed in the following light: their belief was, whether fallacious or not, that knowledge would guarantee action, and that action would bring power to be used for socialist aspirations. This orientation is what prompted them to launch their extensive educational propaganda campaign for the working class vote. They expected the working classes to vote the Social Democratic party into power. Once in power they believed their leaders could translate social democratic ideals into reality. The future appeared to them as a slow but gradual approximation to the ideal society, gradualism was emphasized always with an eye on the public followers. This belief in gradualism at times was interpreted as temporary setbacks, and if it was a question of compromising their ideals, which they considered at the time as not being possible to be realized, and some immediate problem of reform, the latter usually had priority. Such was the case in the question of granting franchise to a suburban railroad in 1906. According to the party platform the socialist aldermen were to stand against any selling or leasing of franchise to a private company. The laws of Wisconsin prohibited municipal ownership of those lines. Victor Berger was the first to state that the social democrats were to take cognizance of the realities of administration, and the need of the Milwaukee citizenry. He therefore published five conditions, which were later ratified by the party, under which franchise could be granted to private

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companies.

Accommodation to the here and now, opportunist compromises, with an eye on the immediate welfare of the citizens was the final outcome of the gradual trend toward conservatism in the political outlook of the socialist group.

Focusing our attention on the socialist democratic ideology we find such development quite feasible within the framework of the ideological orientation. The attainment of political power is one of the basic goals. The emphasis on the immediate social situation of the classes within society, and the gradual evolution toward the socialist utopia is the core of the socialist mentality.<sup>98</sup> The achievement of this evolutionary development toward the utopia can only be ascertained by having political representation to guide the change into the desired direction. Because of the emphasis on the immediate social situation of the socialist mentality, the Milwaukee socialist leaders were able to adjust and alter their immediate demands even to the point of compromising their ideals without losing the support of the more radical German members. It is because of the comparative flexibility of ideological orientation that the Milwaukee socialists could appeal to the small business man as well as to the most radical factions in the

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97. Victor Berger in The Social Democratic Herald, January 27, 1906.

98. Karl Mannheim, op. cit., p. 219.



### Analysis of the Socialist Ideology

We have dealt with the socialist democratic ideology and its exposition of the German immigrant groups in the United States in terms of the development of this ideology into the Social Democratic Party.

We did not deal specifically with the German refugee group and its adjustments to the American scene, because this is best seen in the perspective of their political and economic orientation. The political development is reflected in the development of the Social Democratic party from a socialist orientated group, the "Sozial Demokratischer Verein", and their economic development is mirrored in their development of the labor unions.

The German radicals influenced the development of the Social Democratic party, particularly of Milwaukee, in many ways. We have seen that actual party leadership was in the hands of these political refugees from the beginning with Paul Grottkau and Joseph Brückner being preeminent.<sup>99</sup> It is not sheer accident that the majority of candidates on the socialist ticket up until 1910, and even later on, were Germans. The voting record of the party further shows that the heaviest socialist vote always came from the German wards within the city.<sup>100</sup>

99. Theodor Miller, op. cit., pp. 10-17.

100. Marvin Wachman, op. cit.,

It was, further, the early German radicals who established the link between the socialist ideology and organized labor. The German socialist men, unlike his American fellow union men, had since their arrival in the United States, a pronounced political attitude beyond the general orientation of unionized labor.

The German radicals cannot be said to be the only, or even the most important members of the socialist party at the time of the elections of 1910. At this period the movement had already taken on such proportions that the German radical socialist only constituted a small but important minority within the movement. It is rather during the organizational years of the socialist movement that the German radical, and German radical socialist philosophy, had their extensive influences, as a matter of fact it represented the movement.

The Americanization trend, and drift toward conservatism can be said to be the price which the German, or European ideological orientation, had to pay for the achievements of the political power of the socialist ideology in the United States. This is not to say that the Americanization of any ideology is necessarily a trend toward conservatism. The Americanization of the movement can rather be seen in the emphasis on practical immediate aims which gradually replaced the radical far reaching aims of the ideology as it was originally stated by its adherents.

German radicality advocated the prerequisite of a more perfect form of

The conservative trend of the movement may be interpreted twofold; (a) socialist ideology emphasized the immediate reforms which were introduced by the socialist party leaders with trade union demands in mind; (b) this trend toward conservatism is in agreement with general characteristics of many similar social movements. Utopian political ideologies, when put to the test of actual application, generally tend to weaken and lose some of their radical demands and/or expectations. The administration of the city of Milwaukee by Social Democrats may be considered as representative of comparable situations in Italy, Germany, France and the Scandinavian countries. The Social Democratic party, unlike the Socialist Labor party, adopted a "practical" attitude, eager to shape, not merely to deride the here and now. Their strategy of expediency forced them to consider problems of work-a-day life as they came to the fore day in and day out.

This attention to what is "practical" agrees with men out to win and hold political office, who oblige to legitimize their position, and stabilize their mass following. Their practical orientation in administration was not only due to their attention to trade union interests, but also to their interest in re-election.

As we have already stated, the classic socialist ideology, demands the rule of the working class in the supposed interest of the great majority of industrialized societies. The radical German minority advocated the prerequisite class consciousness. Such aspirations were haloed as a more perfect form of

democracy and sloganized as socialist democracy which sounded alien to the working men of America. Most of the political refugees from the Bismark period, and the older German immigrants who associated as socialists came from the lower socio-economic strata, and were artisan workers.

They assimilated, in other than political spheres, comparatively rapidly. They could not afford, and did not strive, for the seclusion of the forty-eighter group. Their class conscious orientation demanded international fraternalism, the brotherhood of all working men. The intense German patriotism which had created the described barriers for the forty-eighters was absent in the case of the German radical socialists. They were proud of being emancipated from nationalism which could not but facilitate their open-mindedness to American values, and their acculturation and assimilation which helped them to spread their socialist ideals.

Status distinction in this group ran along the lines of a greater or lesser knowledge of socialist literature, devotion to the cause, differential attitudes of resentment toward the upper and bourgeois middle classes, and the resulting efforts to replace these groups in government, and establish socialism. Their status symbols were the membership cards of the trade union and the party. Devotion to, and work for, these organizations signified the class conscious, good members of the proletariat, i.e., a status claim and distinction within the group. These status aspirations may be considered as contribu-

tive motives of the German radical's personality out to zealously awaken the working classes of America. He knew that socialist democracy could only be attained by the efforts of all the working classes of the United States; hence they must first be enlightened. This missionary attitude cannot be considered as self centered, because of the associated fundamental belief in the brotherhood of all working men. Accepting the professions of the leading group's representatives at full value, they meant to diffuse their ideology for the good of all exploited groups in the service of a broadly conceived human cause.

The German radicals took pride in their advanced position in political philosophies in relation to their American fellow workers. Undoubtedly there existed a certain clannishness within the German faction of the socialist party. This can be seen by the holding of important positions within the party by the German members. But this clannish sentiment was checked by the will of the movement to adopt the ideas and language to the American public, to gain a hearing, and to win the masses and their votes.

The German group within the Social Democratic party adopted rather an attitude of fraternal "solidarity" with the American workers, though persuading them to reconsider their position in the American social scene. Their continuous emphasis on "scientific socialism" resulted in their firm conviction that once their less "enlightened" American brothers were to

"subjectively" realize their "objective" position in society, they would become socialists.

The group of German radical socialist refugees resembled the group of forty-eighters, in that both constituted a more theoretical minded group with regard to socio-political theories. But unlike the forty-eighters, the socialists were not as self righteous with regard to the fitness of their ideological orientation to the contemporary American scene. If industrialism had developed in Germany previous to its development in the United States, it was making rapid strides in its development in the United States during the period of the arrival of the German socialist refugee group. Hence there existed elements in the American social setting for the application of socialist ideologies.

The German socialist group, however, was confronted with the task of fitting their general basic ideas to the specific socio-politic situation and mentality of the American people. The socialist idea proclaimed the elimination and abolition of the capitalistic economy. The socialist promise is that of a good society free from exploitation and class rule. The ideological adaptation of the immigrant socialist to the existing social situation is, we feel, the key to the development of the United States. The socialist democratic mentality never allowed for very rigid interpretation of its principles. The long view and great interest or participation in administrative concerns of doomed institutions fell short of the ideal.

Socialists, unlike their liberal bourgeois contemporaries felt a mission, held out a promise to the oppressed in capitalist society. Hence the socialists in the United States were crusaders. Their crusading movement sought to awaken the American proletariat to their "true" position in society.

The greatest handicap which this group had to face in the cultural situation was the fact that the American working class lacked "class consciousness"; no class of this society seemed eager to have any class consciousness whatsoever. Viewed in historical prospective the European proletariat clearly developed an almost polar opposite situation. In Europe the proletariat developed largely from feudal serfdom into wage slavery. In the American situation the working class arose out of a highly mobile and expanding society with numerous opportunities for social ascent and for selfmade men. +

The mass of experience of great rewards going to initiative, personal effort and "know-how", the dramatized spectacle of American success stories and the concomitant feeling of all full citizens who have a stake in building America and pursuing the "American dream", lost much of its practical meaning since the closing of the frontier. Nevertheless, the philosophy of optimism, of gradualist progress, is deeply rooted in American culture. The emergence of working class consciousness was extremely slow. The formation of class consciousness among the working classes is considered as still imperfect by contemporary socialists, and falling short of the

expectancies of the early socialists in America. Their successors carry on in the same direction.

German socialists arrived mostly when the first signs of class consciousness appeared on the American scene; the time of the beginning of trade unionism. The labor movement grows out of a distinct we-feeling of the working men in pursuit of joint interests. The socialist group aimed to add to the pressure group activity the will for autonomous political representation. They pleaded for a third political party, a labor party, hence a special "class party" facing the two "patronage parties".<sup>101</sup>

We must view the changes of the socialist ideology in the United States in this light. In the face of unprincipled pragmatic "patronage parties" they adopted the attitude of pursuing short view objectives. They maintained the long view vision, but they learned to link their means increasingly to the socio-political situation.

Hence their quest for political power served two main purposes: (a) to influence immediate social changes for the benefit of the working class; (b) the hope to achieve a planned society of the future. This dual orientation actually represented two aspects of the same process in the eyes of the leaders. In the actual development of this group the course

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101. Max Weber: The Theory of Social and Economic Organization, edited and translated by A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, Oxford University Press, New York, 1947, pp. 407-411.

of the movement can be said to be a progressive weakening of the utopian elan, as a sacrifice for the benefit of the practical orientation. The question presents itself very readily of whether the orientation of the socialists has not completely changed to one of piecemeal reforms. There certainly exists sufficient indication in favor of this argument when we view the development of the party platform, from the aims of a bloodless revolutionary one, with the elimination of the capitalist system, to the almost exclusive emphasis on reform in those platforms on which the socialists were finally elected to political power. Their behavior in public office further follows the reform orientation of the later party platforms, and there is no indication of far reaching innovations in the direction of socialism. The political behavior of these men while in office can be said to mainly follow along one of the lines of their political agitation; they promised, and gave the city of Milwaukee a clean and efficient administration, which helped to make the American socialist famous in Europe.

Yet the political leaders of the group took pains to differentiate their position from that of mere reformers. Victor Berger stated in defense of socialism the following, when his party had been compared to La Follette's progressive movement: "Up to a certain point....the tactics of the Social Democrats and the social reformers are exactly the same. Both built upon past historical development and taking into consideration the present conditions....But the tactics and the

aims of the Social Democrats do indeed differ from those of the social reformers in one essential point. The Social Democrats never fail to declare that with all the social reforms, good and worthy of support as they may be, conditions cannot be radically and permanently improved....We Social Democrats say, we are willing to accept and help in every social reform. But we also say that social reforms are but installments by which we must not allow ourselves to be bribed-- that full economic freedom will only be achieved by Social Democracy."<sup>102</sup> This distinction between the reformers and the Social Democrats, however, did not prevent the Social Democrats from forming an alliance, i.e. a temporarily combined ticket with the La Follette party for the state election of 1912.<sup>103</sup>

Obviously the socialists used and endorsed any means which they felt would bring the realization of their utopia closer. This was only possible by a very broad interpretation of the socialist ideas. "Our aim is Social Democracy. That means Socialism and Democracy....Our aim being the Social Democracy, we....cannot go any faster than the Demos, the people will permit."<sup>104</sup> In practice the aim to execute "the will of the people". By gearing their orientation to the will of their people, or more specifically toward the trade-unionists, and later petty bourgeois elements, the socialists realized their

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102. Voice and Pen of Victor Berger, Congressional Speeches and Editorials. The Milwaukee Leader, Milwaukee, 1929, pp. 684-85.

103. Theodor Miller, op. cit., p. 79.

104. The Social Democratic Herald, August 17, 1901 (This is the first Milwaukee edition of the paper.)

aim of Americanizing their ideology.

The German radical socialists realized early that the only approach to socialist politics possible was to appeal to the American working class. They realized further that they had to adjust to the social setting of the mentality of the American people. The resulting changes were: emphasis on immediate problems, practicability of demands, and the pushing of their utopian aim of the cooperative commonwealth into a more and more distant future. The American social scene and the general routinization aspects of the movement resulted in the changed attitudes of the socialist movement.

This change orientation was well established by 1910. The Social Democratic party since then has routinized this mentality into a stable tradition. German influence within the party gradually lessened with the passing away of the original German leaders, and their replacement by American leaders.<sup>105</sup> But more important, however, was the fact that the German socialists learned to consider themselves as American socialists. They no longer considered themselves as a group one jump ahead, and consciously adjusting to fit the American scene, but rather as adherents of the Americanized socialist ideology. Thus they no longer constituted a distinct group within the general socialist movement.

As long as the original group of German socialists was led by men such as Victor Berger, Emil Seidel, Edmund Melms, Frank

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105. Theodor Miller, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

Weber, etc., who set out to Americanize their socialist democratic ideologies, they constituted a powerful nucleus within the movement. They were the intellectual leaders of the movement, and credit must go to them for the changes which did occur in the ideologies of the movement. Yet, it would be incorrect to assume that these men held all positions of power within their machine. They realized the importance of keeping German men on their platforms to get the vote of the German socialist following but they realized equally well that they had to appeal to the American constituency through American representatives. Therefore their processes of Americanization of the movement did include the grooming of Americans for party positions. Frederic Heath was one of the first American members of the socialist movement; later he ran for the office of alderman and was elected in 1904; he was for a time the editor of the "Social Democratic Herald", and elected member of the school board.<sup>106</sup> The original leadership of the German socialists was therefore gradually replaced by American leadership, and the Americanization of the movement can be said to be achieved.

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106. Marvin Wachman, op. cit.

### Conclusion

It is now necessary to assess and compare the two types of radical socio-political ideologies with regard to their respective influence in the United States, their adaptive change, their representative publics, their similarities and their differences within the American socio-cultural situation.

Our hypothesis was that the theories basic to these respective ideologies, were decisive for the adjustment and assimilation of the two immigrant groups to the American socio-political structure.

We must therefore compare the liberal democratic and the socialist democratic ideologies. We will here consider specifically the social orientation of these ideologies. We avail ourselves of Karl Mannheim's constructed types of utopian<sup>107</sup> mentality.

The liberal mentality is basically characterized by a utopia which essentially confronts a "correct" rational and/or virtuous ideal world to evil reality. This utopia lies in the infinite future and is not specifically fixed in time. The realization of the ideal represents an infinite and unlinear progress. Emphasis is placed upon the acceptance of culture and moral conduct of man. Philosophic and moral idealism in this perspective pervades all spheres of cultural life. This "idealistic" philosophy impels its adherents to aspire to the

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107. Karl Mannheim, op. cit., pp. 197-206, 215-222.

highest attainable stage of self-consciousness. This lofty cultural liberalism was more preoccupied with its norms than with the actual social situation. Emphasis on the intelligent and ethical individual as the decisive unit of action lead to the lack of concreteness of all its ideals. The bourgeois and the middle classes were the main adherents of the liberal mentality, and it was disciplining itself through conscious self-cultivation, and by regarding ethical and intellectual culture as its principal self-justification against the nobility. This emphasis on ethics and intellectualism led the representatives of cultured liberalism to expect all progress from education and personality formation, rather than from changes in the institutional framework of society.

The socialist mentality radicalized the liberal utopia. It agrees with the liberal utopia in believing that the realm of freedom and equality will come into existence only in the remote future, but socialism places this future into a much more specific setting and time: the breakdown of capitalism. In this context, ideas are not dreams and desires, but weapons of criticism, means of justifying class solidarity and the class struggle of the disadvantaged groups. Outmoded ideas may be dropped and fruitful ones are considered practicable only when the social process reaches a given phase, level, or structured situation to be constantly clarified and redefined. The economic and social structure of society becomes absolute reality for the socialists. In the socialist ideology the

material aspects of existence are greatly emphasized, while in the liberal ideology they are experienced merely as negative and obstructive factors. The socialist "idea", in its practical application, operates not as a formal and transcendent principle like the liberal "idea", which regulates the events from the outside. It is conceived rather as a tendency embodied in the matrix of reality. Hence ideas continuously have to be corrected with reference to their context. The socialist therefore aims at eliminating the surviving past in the economic and social present to liberate the potentially available elements of a future society.

Thus intrinsic differences in orientation led to the different developments of these ideologies, and of the German groups which adhered to these socio-political ideologies in the United States. To these general differences must be added specific factors, which affected the attitudes of the two German immigrant groups in the United States. These factors comprise the push and pull factor for their migration, the cultural configuration of the United States at their arrival, the composition of the groups, and their expectations and goals of aspiration. We shall briefly deal with these factors separately.

The forty-eighter group came to the United States for a twofold reason: In search for a temporary asylum, and they chose the United States because they had abstractly conceived of it as a pure "democracy". They felt themselves to be

revolutionary martyrs, and were highly excitable. They had suffered status deprivations from the failure of the revolution and their forced immigration, and their frustration led them to a compensatory feeling of superiority in the attempt to maintain or to reconstruct their status position in the new world. This led to clannishness among the group of intellectuals, scholars, and students devoid of a receptive public. They expected to win recognition for their revolutionary endeavors in the old country and to attain comparable cultural and social status positions in the United States. American public opinion gave them sympathetic recognition and a cordial welcome for a short time. Once permanently settled in the United States they were considered, by both the older German immigrant groups and the dominant culture groups, as competitors. They were disappointed with American democracy because their bookish stereotypes of democracy did not allow for the contingencies of democratic life in the United States. The forty-eighters never had had the opportunity to test their lofty cultural liberalism in political workaday life. Their democratic ideas were pure theory derived from ancient classics and half understood French and British models. Slavery, in America going together with political democracy, came to them as a shock. Enlightened humanists as they were they could further not tolerate sectarian fundamentalism. Both slavery and fundamentalism with its more colorful practices became targets for their criticism.

The socialist may be said to have come for two reasons: to escape political persecution and gain freedom in the realm of

political expression and activity, and to win economic opportunities. Unlike the forty-eighters, the socialists did not expect to come to a land which incorporated even in theory their socio-political aspirations, rather they came knowingly from a semi-feudal to a purely capitalist society, in which they expected to push toward socialism.

The social setting of the United States at the arrival of these groups is of significance with regard to their assimilation. The arrival of the forty-eighters at the mid 19th century confronted them with a socio-political situation for which they were ill-fitted. In the middle West the highly educated German refugees faced a frontier society, where the art of making money by hard physical labor was considered as the main orientation, and where the forty-eighter intellectual was as unknown as useless, or at least his skills were not in demand. Only few of them could capitalize on their skills and education, Mid-western university not being ready for them. This situation almost forced the forty-eighter into group seclusion and mutual aid. The German schools, teachers colleges, music societies, the army, etc., held out income opportunities for the members of the group. In the changed economic situation following the Civil War the group finally found openings for their status aspirations. Some turned to technology and took to economic specialties, others took to industry and trade. In the cultural and social aspects this group was forced into a still greater self-dependence, the contemporary cultural situation did not offer sufficient broad opportunities for

intellectual and academic pursuits. American students still went to Europe, particularly Germany, for their doctorate degrees. Johns Hopkins University was the first university in the United States to grant the first Ph.D. in 1840. 108

The arrival and the growth of socialist ideology in the United States occurred at a later historical period, when the cultural and economic advances in the Middle West were already on a much higher plane. The plebeian socialist group also did not come from universities or the intellectual middle classes, as did most of the forty-eighters. Their expectations and demands therefore differed in orientation. The immigrant socialists were "advanced" with regard to theoretically elaborated class consciousness, internationalism, and insight into the socio-political position of the social strata with which they were identified and which they came to represent. These are precisely the characteristics which they found lacking in the American scene, and which they set out to remedy, in order to achieve and surpass the socio-political position of the submerged working classes in Europe.

Both immigrant groups differed greatly in their social composition. The bourgeois liberal forty-eighter represented the middle classes with all its characteristics of status craving, "genteelness", pride in education, clannishness to the point of snobism, frustration from lack of status recognition,

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108. Thwing, Charles F. The American and the German University. Macmillan Company, New York, 1928.

and pride in their distinctive cultural contributions. They suffered furthermore from their ill-suited socio-political orientation, their intense German nationalism which had motivated them to engage in the revolutionary endeavor of 1848 against the petty German princes and their dynastic states, and from exaggerated notions about their worth and social significance. Besides representing the German bourgeois middle class, the forty-eighters had suffered revolution and defeat, social uprooting, immigration and marginality, which intensified their original orientation. Whereas the socio-political orientation had previously been one aspect of the group, within the familiar and integrated social order of Germany, they represented in the United States separate and closer groups only very loosely integrated with the dominant cultural pattern. The resulting clinging to their legacy and special value orientation, and the gradual ossification of the group, resulted from their inability to make a place for themselves in the main stream of American life. Prerequisite would have been the sacrifice of their specialized culture pattern which the group was unable to make, as they considered their socio-political values as the core of their existence. The rigid adherence to this cultural pattern, and their social exclusiveness, resulted from this strong attachment to their ideologies and values.

The socialist group stemmed from quite a different social stratum, that of artisan workers, skilled craftsmen, in short the working class. Unlike the American working classes, this group by social historical background was class conscious in

orientation. Their marginality and consciousness of separateness did not lead to the clannish seclusion of the forty-eighters. Their separateness did not spring from nationalism and did not center on their own group, but they were identified with their social equals of the world. Any "wageslave" was to them a member of their class, regardless of his nation, culture, or language group. Their class consciousness emphasized their status segregation from the middle and upper classes, regardless of which society or nation. The socialist group therefore had an entirely different orientation toward the dominant culture, than did the forty-eighters. They did not look for, or seek, recognition within society as a whole; they sought recognition within their own social stratum. And as they pursued a universal and not a national ideological goal they could continue their struggle in the new social setting. They could afford to retain action toward their utopia as their main orientation. The recognition they claimed was not a socio-cultural recognition, hitched to a foreign literature and language, but rather a purely political ideological one. The development and influence of this group can therefore not be found in intellectual culture, as was mainly the case, or at least the intention of, the bourgeois liberal group, but it can mainly be found in political life.

The expectations and demands of these two groups were discussed previously, but shall now be compared more closely.

The group of liberal humanitarian forty-eighters expected their democratic aims to be largely realized in the United

States. Hence they had no definite aims to strive for in the United States, particularly because they originally intended to stay but temporarily, which a number of the forty-eighters did.<sup>109</sup> Further, and even more important, their ideology lacked concreteness regarding group action toward the realization of their utopian aims. The disappointing discovery that the United States differed from what they considered "true democracy", led them to the position of the critique, a role which they assumed with great thoroughness. Symptomatic is Friederich Kapp's glorification of John Brown, his seething and penetrating analysis of New York machine politics, corruption in government and similar evils, and his feeling of self-righteous superiority.<sup>110</sup> This critical orientation toward existing social and political configurations, supplements of their abstract and lofty philosophical ideology, which prevented the group members in the United States from achieving the position of leadership they had in Germany, and led to their seclusion and frustrating isolation. This isolation was further brought about by the shift of emphasis within the group during their settlement in the United States. They gradually realized their lack of influence in the United States, after their failure to gain power and recognition in the Republican party, and in the Civil War. This frustration led to renewed emphasis

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109. Wilhelm Hense-Jensen, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 159.

110. Friederick Kapp, "Geschichte der Deutschen in N.Y.:"  
Verlag von E. Steiger, New York, 1867.

on their legacy, their old world culture values, and the continuous efforts to maintain their cultural and intellectual pursuits. This shift in orientation was not as complete or sudden as it may seem, because humanitarian ethics and German classical idealism had been the basic values of the group from the start. The emphasis on individual self clarification and perfection of the self was only brought into sharper focus when political resignation became a constant attitude. In short we find the gradual loss of dynamics in the achievement of their goal striving, and a stronger emphasis on past achievements and special socio-cultural endeavors as the one remaining approach of the group toward their ideological goals. The isolation of the group hence had its compensations and was not necessarily a painful experience to the group, but offered ways and means to implement their special value orientation. The fact that this group was but ephemeral in the United States, is evident from its lack of successorship in the following generations, which turned to pragmatism and philosophical experimentalism away from German idealism. This can be said to be primarily due to the economic achievements of a number of the forty-eighters motivated by the intense status striving of the group; it resulted in abstention from explicit socio-political orientation among succeeding generations.

The aims of the socialist groups, and their ideological orientation, as noted, differed considerably. The central aim of socialists is specifically to abolish the capitalistic economy, and establish a planned economy. They are out for

action geared to the existing social, political, and economic situation. This ideology differs primarily from the liberal bourgeois ideology in its single-purposeness. Unlike the forty-eighters, the socialists aimed not at self perfection of the group members as the supreme goal, but they wished to get into power in order to establish the cooperative commonwealth. Their orientation is therefore economic-political in contrast to the cultural and humanist liberalism of the forty-eighters. The socialists were not striving for status exclusiveness but for elective offices. They sought to win the trust of the working classes and geared their activities to the concrete situation. This practical orientation toward the achievement of political power, as over against the theoretical norms of the liberal ideology, constitutes one of the greatest differences in the value orientations of the two groups, and helps to explain the differential development of the groups, who both strove for greater democracy.

A comparison of the two ideologies shows that the liberal mentality emphasized absolute norms with regard to government, social and economic questions, as well as humanitarian ideals in all spheres of cultural life. The socialist ideology allows for a variety of suitable means, or methods of orientation, and only rigidly retains the final socialist goal or utopia. By their emphasis on political power, the socialist group could adjust to American conditions and could survive in the new cultural setting. The liberal group, not holding such specific aims and orientations, aside from that of "German

unity", was handicapped by the socio-cultural situation in which they found themselves, and rigidly emphasizing personal self perfection they found themselves in a blind alley position. The failure of the forty-eighter group can therefore be said to be partially due to their principled absolutism, while the success of the socialists can be ascribed partially to the pragmatic emphasis on existing socio-political situations. The moral achievement of "clean" city government in Milwaukee under socialist leadership was the result of such efforts.

If we now look at the changes in the ideologies, we find little change in the case of the forty-eighters, and far-reaching changes in the socialist ideological orientation. The forty-eighter group can be said to have changed toward cultural conservatism, particularly toward the preservation of their cultural achievements. Their isolation resulting from the combination of three factors, the ideological orientation, the contemporary social situation, and the psychological orientation of the group, served to lessen the need for changes in their value orientation, and resulted in the failure of the group to adjust to the dominant cultural patterns. The humanist philosophical liberalism declined with the passing away of the German forty-eighters in the United States.

The changes in the socialist ideology during its assimilation to the American culture are considerable. They point toward a pragmatic orientation of the ideology, and toward political action which allowed its adherents to adjust to their social situation. Their ideological demands made it necessary

to consider and meet the special situation, for the sake of the final aim, the utopian cooperative commonwealth. The change was a lessening of the radical tendencies, and the greater emphasis on immediate melioration of special conditions, while the utopia was moved further into the future. These changes were partially due to the fact that the leaders were dealing with a less awakened laboring class than they themselves did represent, the fact that American culture strongly emphasized practical orientation to the existing social configuration, and that labor organizations were still weak. But this change toward conservatism was partially due to the gradual routinization of the movement into a functioning, well, organized political party, which was confronted with the actual application of its ideology, the maintenance of party membership, and later on also with administrative problems of municipal government. It is further to be kept in mind that once this group was in power, they had to operate in a capitalist society, in which they never represented more than a local and small minority. Milwaukee, with a socialist municipal government, still had to exist within the larger American society. The changes which occurred in the socialist ideology therefore can be said to be due to the specific cultural configuration in which it operated, the support of which was essential to the movement, and which was consciously sought by the movement. The socialist ideology therefore can be said to have been successfully introduced into the dominant culture in Milwaukee

through the processes of the Americanization of the basic ideology, i.e., the adjustment of the ideology to the cultural, social, economic, and political demands of the existing social situation.

Our last question concerns the influences of the dominant culture on the development of the two ideologies. Certain of the characteristic developments which we have seen in these two radical groups can be found within groups with similar ideological orientations in their development in Europe.<sup>111</sup> The liberal bourgeois democratic ideology did not achieve any permanent footing in Europe, and developed similarly to the forty-eighter group in the United States. The socialist ideology in Europe also gradually developed some of the conservative trends which we find in the American Social Democratic party.

We nevertheless maintain that these groups and ideologies developed the way they did because of their American setting. The isolation, and the turn toward the maintenance of the past achievements of the forty-eighters, must be considered, at least as partially growing out of two factors absent in the European scene, the experiences of immigration with the resulting loss of status, and the lack of opportunities for the application, or the exercise, of the ideology in American culture of the period.<sup>112</sup> Even though the forty-eighters group

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111. Karl Mannheim, op. cit., pp. 200-206, 219-222.

112. Oscar Handlin, Boston's Immigration, 1780-1865, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1941, p. 152.

did share the experiences of the loss of the revolution with the rest of the German bourgeois liberals, they nevertheless were not exposed to the counter-revolution in Germany. They also found themselves in a society where their basic demands for constitutional government were realized, such as the right of universal suffrage, elective government, etc. We therefore must conclude that their development into the isolated community which the forty-eighters did represent in the United States, must be due to configurations within the immigrant group, and within the dominant culture, rather than only within the ideological orientation which the group shared with the other European groups. Therefore we feel that the similar configurations of the forty-eighter group, and other bourgeois groups in Europe, were due to somewhat different causes. They were due to the marginal position of the immigrants, and their attitudes and definition of the dominant cultural situation.

In the case of the European socialist ideology, we also find conservative trends and shifts from revolutionary to evolutionary means of social change. It can not be denied that in the practical application, and in the routinization of the movement, conservatism is likely to appear in all ideological or social movements. Yet the American trend toward conservatism can be said to have been much stronger, and much more pronounced than has been the case in the European development. We feel again that this is due to the American cultural pattern, the lack of rigid class lines, and of class consciousness, the

pragmatic orientation of the trade union movements, and the minority position which the socialist group held, and holds, in the political order.

It is our contention that the development of these ideologies, though they might on the surface resemble the general developments of the ideologies outside the United States, nevertheless were deeply influenced by the cultural configurations in which they developed in the United States.

Regarding the influence of these ideologies on the American liberal movements, we can briefly say the following: The influences of the forty-eighter group were comparatively small with regard to the political movements in the dominant culture. Except for their brief participation in the earliest stages of the Republican party, and the contribution of such politics as Karl Schurtz, Francis Lieber, Lorenz Brentano, Gustav Körner, etc., the influence of the German forty-eighters in Milwaukee, and in the United States in general, can be seen in the fields of cultural endeavor, rather than in politics. It can be stated that they helped raise the general level of cultural achievements, and they gave an impetus to the interest in the fine arts and in education. They contributed to the development of technology and industry, which can not be attributed to their particular socio-political orientation.

The contribution of the socialist ideology is readily assessable. We stated that the introduction of the socialist ideology into American culture can not be attributed to the

German refugees alone. But we can state that the developments within the social movement, particularly in Milwaukee and in the Mid West, was strongly influenced by the German radical socialist ideology, as well as the leadership of Victor Berger and his German born socialists. We may mention men, such as Oscar Ameringer, Emil Seidel, Paul Grottkau, Carl P. Dietz, etc. The rise of the socialist party in Milwaukee, up until 1910, can be said to have mostly been the work of the German socialists.

In conclusion we want to reemphasize that we believe that the development of the two different types of German radical ideologies and the development of the refugee groups which represented these ideologies, were dependent on, not only the contemporary social situations prevalent in the dominant culture and also within the immigrant groups, the problems of immigration and marginality, the constituency of the group, the status cravings of the groups, but also and most important, the development of these groups was dependent first and foremost upon their ideological orientation. It was the ideological orientation which largely determined their development, orientation, and adjustment, and which the adjustments and changes within the very ideologies.

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