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Ludwig Lore and the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*: The Twilight of the German-American Socialist Press

The *New Yorker Volkszeitung* (NYVZ) (1878–1932) is the historical standard for American Marxist newspapers. Among those founded in the same pioneer era of the modern left, only the *Chicagoer Arbeiterzeitung* and the *Philadelphia Tageblatt* had similar staying power, and none had the prestige, intellectual leadership, or sustained national impact of the NYVZ. Others, such as the *Jewish Daily Forward*, the *Appeal to Reason*, or the *Daily Worker* have had larger circulations. But the NYVZ truly ruled American Marxist organization at various times and places. To its last days, it took a unique, essentially independent position anchored outside the socialist and Communist parties proper, in the fraternal societies and the German immigrant-based unions. Therein lay its strength and its longevity.

Only the NYVZ of the 1920s, i.e., after the Bolshevik Revolution, has received the attention of prestigious scholars in previous generations, and then only in the light of cold war politics. It is a measure of American historians' linguistic provincialism that only in recent years have some scholars—mostly Germans—begun to examine the paper in its own right.¹ My small contribution here is a bit of initial "revisionism" in both directions, in tune with the emerging historiography.

Theodore Draper's *American Communism and Soviet Russia* (1960),² long considered a standard in the field of research on the Communist party, has been challenged by a new generation of scholars who have examined many related subjects—in addition to the Communist party proper—with far greater attention to social-historical context. Leaving aside neotraditional scholars, either dogmatically Communist or anti-

Communist, most of the newer works on radicalism (or Marxism) view Communism as only one element in the picture. The writing of a more-developed history of American anarchism, socialism, labor Zionism, and Communism, labor movements and labor reforms, is well underway. By and large, these studies are not primarily "political" in the old sense of "history is past politics." Rather, following the lead of E. P. Thompson and Herbert Gutman, they have attempted the reconstruction of daily life for the groups and individuals considered. In order to do so, they have turned to the non-English-language periodicals as the single most useful source.³

Earlier studies of the NYVZ by socialist intellectuals had described it and its milieu in passing, with insight but without depth or obvious additional research. NYVZ writers themselves, in the various NYVZ anniversary issues over the decades, devoted vast quantities of prose to nostalgic reflections. (Probably the most important contribution to scholarship to this point has indeed been the reprinting of essays from the 1888, 1903, and 1928 editions, by the Labor Newspaper Preservation Project in Bremen.)⁴ These "primary sources" help us greatly in understanding the autonomous history of the paper and its special role in its last days. We will see how little the phases of American Communism altered the NYVZ in its essence.

The NYVZ took the field in 1878, following a monumental fund-raising campaign among German-American workers in New York and New Jersey. From its first day to its last, it represented a constituency broadly socialist but only to a minor degree made up of members of the various left-wing parties. Its ownership lay in the NYVZ corporation—not in the hands of any political entity as such—and it was answerable in the final sense only to itself and its constituents. The paper's readership and financial stability rested upon the German-speaking immigrant communities of the area, predominantly working-class but also small middle class. Its back columns were filled with notices of the "Vereine und Versammlungen," the sickness-and-death-benefit societies that the Germans originated around the socialist movement, and those of the "Sozialistische Liedertafel" singing societies, the picnics, winter balls, and other such working-class entertainments. Its advertising base—physicians, patent medicine companies, local restaurants, beer and tobacco companies, and a wide range of immigrant service firms—reflected the daily lives of its readers. With a scattering of 48ers, most of these readers had immigrated as children or young adults in the 1860s or 1870s. After a final major wave in the early 1880s, the numbers of new German immigrants decreased rapidly, and the NYVZ

readership became the *alte Genossen* (and *Genossinnen*), a generation with bittersweet feelings about old and adopted homelands, sharing their experiences, hopes, and fears together until their final days.

Their relationship with the American radical movement shifted decisively over the 1880s and 1890s, forming a pattern which remained in place through the 1920s. At the NYVZ's founding, and for a decade or so after, they viewed themselves as the intellectual and spiritual vanguard of a working class on the verge of class-conscious awakening. Among dozens of radical papers founded in the wake of the 1877 railroad strike, only a handful of publications (none in English) survived. Among craft unions, German-American workers who read the NYVZ and its sister papers exerted a vastly disproportionate role, challenged only by the often conservative and almost invariably antisocialist Irish-Americans. Far ahead of their fellow-workers in the realm of ideas, German-Americans tended naturally to cluster among themselves, discussing socialist ideas and establishing their various fraternal and social institutions. This status placed the NYVZ, during the labor upswelling of 1884–86, in the ambiguous position of ideological superiority to, and at the same time, widespread physical absence from, the meteoric rise of the largely Irish-American Knights of Labor. Readers of the NYVZ participated in all strike activities, often leading the way. They hailed every political advance. But, as Friedrich Engels complained, they failed to lead the revolutionary column into a revived and broadened socialist movement. In the aftermath of Haymarket they faced a veritable Red Scare in which their relative cultural insularity proved their abiding strength. Following Henry George's mayoral campaign, which they had supported even to the extent of funding an English-language organ, they saw that the grandest hopes of coalition with other groups could go to smash, leaving them wholly dependent upon their own self-created durability.

What lessons could be drawn from these experiences? They took the cautious approach, determined to nurture what resources they possessed—above all the NYVZ itself. By the late 1890s, the Socialist Labor party, which had never attained a national membership of more than 20 percent of the NYVZ's readership, became (via its national executive ruling body meeting in New York City) more the organ of the NYVZ than vice versa. In 1889, the NYVZ-dominated NEC suspended the national German-language organ as too critical of unions, and in effect subjected the entire SLP to a *coup de main*.⁵

A decade later, responding to the dual-unionist strategies of English-language socialist leader Daniel DeLeon, the NYVZ virtually repeated the maneuver. They had initially welcomed DeLeon, as well as the

People, an English-language weekly, which served as DeLeon's mouthpiece. They did not foresee that DeLeon would accuse them of bureaucratic conservatism and threaten to overthrow their plan of union consolidation and patient propaganda. Some socialists bolted rather quickly, including a Jewish group which established a daily Yiddish socialist paper, the *Forward*, almost overnight exceeding the NYVZ in readership and journalistic innovation. The NYVZ waited until 1899, challenging DeLeon for SLP leadership and then sponsoring a rival SLP which would merge into the new Socialist party. Meanwhile, with the steady growth of the immigrant left, the NYVZ was only one paper among dozens in various non-English languages. At the opening of the new century, the hegemony of the NYVZ and the German proletarian element it represented on the left had definitely been transcended.⁶

German speakers had already adapted themselves to this new reality. The entrance of new Jewish immigrants and native-born Americans during the 1890s permitted a sense of ethnic collectivity, both precursor and counterpart to the mass-based and mature "American" movement the *Volkszeitung* had long awaited. Their unabashed reverence (like that of the Jewish radicals) for Eugene Debs, leader of the unified socialist movement, symbolized their acceptance of a narrower gauge for their own special identity. The role of this aging group of craftsmen and their families can hardly be overestimated, however. According to Charles Leinenweber, as late as 1916 they remained the largest single group in New York City Socialist membership ranks.⁷

Their status among the ethnic socialist press has other features as well. In general, the NYVZ early gained and long sustained a reputation for literary quality unsurpassed in the radical press. Jewish radicals, it is fair to say, had to *develop* their Yiddish political-literary style. Germans had only to build upon the *Vormärz* and the classic German literary tradition, serializing from past and current German works. The NYVZ editors and staff writers included some of the most prestigious, talented immigrant radical intellectuals. To mention only a few is sufficient: Adolf Douai, famed pedagogue, former abolitionist editor and novelist, and an early leader of the American socialist press; Sergius Schewitsch, charismatic public lecturer (the only German-American who could speak with great facility to English-language audiences) and colorful journalist; and Hermann Schlüter, an early historian of American socialism, with the detailed *Erste Internationale in Amerika* (1911) among other works to his credit.⁸

The NYVZ's final leading editor, Ludwig Lore, was, like several of his precursors, a German Jew. A university graduate, well-tempered in the German Socialist movement before his immigration to the United

States in 1903, he had (unlike most of his NYVZ predecessors) a rich political life as an intellectual and activist outside the German sector. Along with distinguished Marxist economist Louis Boudin and the first ideologue of American Communism, Louis C. Fraina, Lore also edited the *Class Struggle* (1917–19), a journal which bridged the gap between the left of the Socialist party and the mainstream of American Communism.⁹

But it was within the German Socialist Federation, and the *Volkszeitung*, that Lore's influence was greatest. As a typical NYVZ intellectual, he manifested his influence with careful regard to his constituency's inclinations but without much regard for prevailing orthodoxies. The aging—in many cases quite aged—German-American socialists of 1919 wanted a “pure socialism.” They believed they had found it in Communism, and they had a great deal of difficulty understanding the factional wrangling that preceded and followed the break with the Socialist party. They were altogether willing to be “Communists”; they thought highly of the Russian Revolution. They did not expect to be leaders of the emerging left movement. But they were adamantly against losing their own special identity and the right to conduct their own collective affairs in their own fashion, as they had done under previous party regimes.¹⁰

Theodore Draper rightly says that the Communist leaders in the United States resented the power of ethnic leaders and ethnic institutions outside ostensible party discipline. Of course, Socialist party leaders (including a future leading Communist or two) had likewise resented such power, as had Socialist Labor party leaders before them. The invective that Communist functionaries threw at Lore and at the Germans had a parallel in Daniel DeLeon's day. But the rhetoric had changed. And the critics had the unprecedented (if for them vicarious) prestige of an accomplished revolution in Russia behind their demands. These leaders attempted to seize all ethnic institutions during the 1920s, and they earned for their movement mainly the widespread disaffection (in many cases, disaffiliation) of long-standing fraternal activists. But even among ideological deviants, Lore and the NYVZ were sui generis.¹¹

In the first place, the NYVZ had more the feel of a tabloid magazine than a newspaper. My interviews with free-lance writers and Federated Press representatives who wrote for or visited Lore confirm that this format suited his personality and approach. He was a jolly man whose political and aesthetic inclinations fit no prescribed categories. If he enjoyed a particular writer, in any of the many languages he could understand, he ordered translations made, or did them himself. He

printed classics galore, but he also went out of his way to encourage young artists. He did not, personally, have any great immediate hopes for the dramatic transformation of the United States. Rather, the NYVZ set itself to create an enjoyable publication for the aging reader, whose main political activities centered around fraternal, support, and leisure activities. Unlike the other immigrant papers whose editors had to battle for left positions (likewise readership) against social democratic or conservative elements in their own communities, the NYVZ already had all the readers it would ever require. Lore needed to hold onto them, through chains of loyalty and the charms of literary excellence.¹²

An average issue of the NYVZ in the early 1920s, then, featured news from Europe (especially Germany). For a time, it had special correspondents in Germany (among them, Max Baginsky, a veteran anarchist), and prided itself on being the only German-language U.S. paper with such direct, thorough coverage of the homeland. Reports from Russia and Eastern Europe—so long as the NYVZ's affiliation with Communism persisted—came directly from the Comintern services, supplemented by serializations of Lenin and others. On the other hand, news about and official endorsement by characteristically German union locals of waiters, cigarmakers, brewers, and butchers remained prominent in the back pages (again, very differently from most other Communist papers), part of the usual description of club, society, and union activities. The NYVZ relegated American events, aside from trade-union news, largely to the writers of the decidedly left but also politically independent Federated News Service. Was this a Communist paper in anything but name? Lore himself clearly thought so, and the readers expressing themselves agreed. The paper endlessly justified its separation from the Socialist party, even when it offered a strange variety of reasons. The socialists (as revealed in their 1920 election campaign) failed to oppose prohibition, for one thing! The socialists were old-fashioned (a remarkable charge from users of a literary style fading in Germany). The socialists' concept of unity was only appearance, since its mentality was dominated by “kleinbürgerlichen Schlacken,” petit bourgeois schlock which had nothing in common with the class struggle.¹³

The principal argument—perhaps inevitably a European one—was aimed not at American socialists but at the parties of the Second International. They had betrayed socialism in voting war credits; and they (most obviously the German party) had supported the repression of postwar revolutionary tendencies. “Had it not been for ‘Democratic’ Socialism, we would have had a Soviet Europe Today!” as one of Lore's editorials put the matter. And the lesson followed: “The danger is too

great, that one day, when the time comes, the American proletariat, will hand over to Capital the 'great unity movement' of the working-class and be betrayed. The example of Europe alarms and terrifies."¹⁴ It was within the perspective of eventual revolutionary challenge to American capitalism—an argument that could be read as fundamentally pessimistic about the ability of the American working class to take matters in hand—that the embrace of American Communism made good sense to the NYVZ's traditions. Communism, successful in Russia despite all obstacles, had established the pattern for the future. One could not be left behind politically. The NYVZ naturally carried the public news of American Communism as the saga of the struggle in the United States.

And yet . . . form and content conflicted, sometimes wildly. Like his readers, Lore was a million miles from "Socialist Realism." Even in the era of "literary NEP (New Economic Policy)," most Communist publications (the Yiddish *Freiheit*, likewise very literary, was a partial exception) placed limits upon the types of contributors and contributions permitted. Lore regularly exceeded the literary license taken by the early *New Masses*, clearly billed as a nonparty publication. He published the Wobbly poet Covington Hall and the feminist science fiction writer Miriam Allen DeFord, also reprinting Jack London, Guy de Maupassant, and many others. In politics, Lore preferred the pre-1919-style left, feminist-ultraradical Sylvia Pankhurst, anarchist Gustav Landauer, Rosa Luxemburg's companion Paul Frölich, and he probably published more Trotsky than any American newspaper (including the Trotskyist press) managed to make available for a decade. The paper also retained the best women's column in a left U.S. newspaper.¹⁵

In other ways, the NYVZ set itself off from the contemporary Communists. Perhaps the most touching feature (certainly for the historian, but also likely for the contemporary reader) was the loving obituary, the tribute to long decades of faithful struggle. Karoline Ott, for instance, was lauded as "eine treue, hingebungsvolle Proletarierin," perhaps the highest compliment from a movement which believed ardently in its rank-and-filers.¹⁶ The most outstanding quality, manifest in the occasional special issues, was the historical sense of self, of immigrant memories both from old Germany—now vanished but still dear to memory—and from nineteenth-century America, equally long gone. Another striking feature, in our perspective from the 1990s, is the increasingly "green" character of nature lore. The "Friends of Nature, Inc." (a hiking and nature-appreciation society, with its main camp in Midvale, New Jersey) came to dominate an increasing amount of

space during the 1920s, the descriptions of past and forthcoming hikes a veritable manifesto on the eternal qualities which socialists should strive to understand.¹⁷

In essence, then, the NYVZ of the 1920s overlaid Communist interpretation of developments abroad, and a generally Communist policy at home, upon the long-standing structure and assumptions of the newspaper's milieu, and upon Lore's literary tastes. From a strictly political point of view, it was a Communist paper. But any sort of deconstruction, let alone an attempted historical reconstruction of the average NYVZ loyalist's "reading" of the paper, would take us in a very different direction. No one could describe the NYVZ as postmodern, yet its extraordinary layering, its sets of assumptions from different historic periods or different geopolitical circumstances, render it an artifact with multiple meanings.

Evolution of the NYVZ continued against the background of fierce internal conflict in the 1920s American Communist movement, dragging the NYVZ, against the will of its editor and readers, into the mire. Draper portrays one dimension of the conflict between Lore and the Communist leaders with some accuracy, but without a sense for the larger symbolic issues which were at stake. For the NYVZ veteran, the struggle for political, electoral socialism in the United States had taken decades of self-sacrifice and many reversals. Readers of the paper had never been happy with the "underground" mentality of the early Communist movement, because they viewed hyperrevolutionary rhetoric as the worst possible response to repression. The formation of a legal Workers party in 1922, and the beginnings of a political campaign structure (minimal though it was), encouraged them greatly.

On the other hand, they drew the line at subordinating left politics to the agenda of the American petite bourgeoisie, fearing the prospect of fusion—the reform strategy that they had combated throughout the history of the socialist movement. Since their own unhappy experience with Henry George's United Labor mayoralty campaign in 1886, they had viewed fusion as the onset of virtual treason. They therefore resisted, along with many other formerly socialist ethnic activists, the prospect of Communist identification with a farmer-labor party in 1924. Lore himself hammered away at the Wisconsin Socialist party leader Victor Berger for suggesting an arrangement with Progressive Robert La Follette. Behind that polemic lay discomfiture with an entire mode of activity that had been adopted, with Lenin's approbation, in an effort to locate the mainstream of American life. In Draper's account, Comintern wrangling over the farmer-labor party strategy not only wrecked the American Communists' initial following in the

Chicago Federation of Labor and among farmers from Wisconsin to the Dakotas but also exposed the overriding difference between Lore and other Communist leaders: he could not be forced to take discipline. As a closer study of California ethnic Communists reveals, Lore actually articulated a feeling widespread among established ethnic entities. Resistance against the farmer-labor strategy did not have to be whipped up, as in Draper's account; it did have to be articulated, and the NYVZ took the lead in this context.¹⁸

Framed by such subtleties, the larger differences in style and substance began to grow more evident. German-Americans had always worked within the existing unions, in many cases had founded the organizations. But they had almost invariably, within these mostly German, AFL, or independent organizations, disdained to hide their political affiliations. To the German-American worker, even a Republican one, "socialism" was not a strange concept and generally no cause for panic. But to many of the immigrant and native-born workers who would make up the bulk of the successful industrial movement in the 1930s (for which earlier prewar, wartime, and immediate post-war labor activism had been a rehearsal), socialism was an alien idea which community religious leaders and other trusted "respectables" condemned. Toward them (and, in many cases, as protection against the outside world), Communist factory workers increasingly adopted the pose of militants who ostensibly reported and acted upon immediate grievances. The NYVZ had always opposed dissimulation. As in the case of the proposed farmer-labor policies, its readers wanted to be socialists openly and proudly, without evasions or reservations.¹⁹ Outside particular ethnic pockets, the days of this old-fashioned political approach had ended, and the Communists had merely adapted (or maladapted) to the new situation. Electoral socialism, save at the local level, would not make a comeback on the pre-1920 model, in any hands. The need for alliances eventually led both Communists and most socialists (albeit as individuals) into New Deal, American Labor party, or (in Minnesota) Farmer-Labor party arrangements. The labor upsurge of the mid- and late 1930s that resumed in the latter days of World War II and ended only with the political division of CIO ranks also took place with "militant" leadership (Communist, socialist, Trotskyist, etc.) which rightly judged itself, at candid moments, as incapable of giving political education to the mass of workers. Leadership substituted for the autodidact's learning, displaced by commercial entertainment in an increasingly all-encompassing popular culture.²⁰

Lore's reluctance to take political orders reinforced the paper's image as a renegade publication. His well-known personal fondness

for Trotsky led him to become the whipping boy during the party's offensive against language federation indiscipline (and proto-Trotskyist or feared proto-Trotskyist indiscipline) in general. In 1925, the party brought Lore up on charges in front of its German Language Federation board, and when the Germans refused to expel Lore, arranged for changes in the board to make his expulsion inevitable.²¹

The subsequent history of the NYVZ offers much food for thought. The German Language Federation indeed expelled Lore, but they thereby lost the NYVZ and nearly all of its supporters, i.e., whatever remained of German-American Marxism. The Communists attempted several weekly German-language papers. Each was unsuccessful. Not even a stream of newer German refugees could add life to this ghost-apparatus.²²

The perspective of the writers in the Golden Jubilee 1928 NYVZ anniversary issue is most instructive. They charted the split with sections of the 1889 SLP, with DeLeon in 1899, and with the wartime Socialist party in 1919; the recent split with the Workers' (Communist) party shared the historical stage of political tragedy. In each case, the NYVZ had struggled *for its own existence* and for the correct balance in leadership of its constituency, neither too opportunistic or too sectarian. In one case, they had been persuaded and forced to leave an organization (the Socialist party) which had ceased to represent the working class; in the other three, they could not permit political hotheads, out of tune with American life and with immigrant radicalism, to destroy the NYVZ's hard-won institutional gains and unique standing with the German-American working class.²³

To be sure, the tone of the NYVZ shifted, and not only politically. By the end of the 1920s, the NYVZ unquestionably lost some of its political tone, and became rather more of a "socialistic" labor and culture paper with a full page of wire-service photos and some other ostensibly nonpolitical matter like local radio listings. Lore's literary tastes, now completely unshackled, became more daring. Walt Whitman, André Gide, Boccaccio, and Flaubert's *Madame Bovary* now appeared in the weekly *Vorwärts*. News of Europe took on an avant-garde character, as in "Karl Kraus gegen Theodor Wolff: Eine kleine Berliner Sensation."²⁴

On a purely political level, the paper urged support of Norman Thomas's socialist mayoral candidacy and spoke in such comradely terms as "Wir Sozialisten." Lore himself frankly wished for a choice somewhere between socialism and Communism, like Britain's Independent Labour party, although no such choice existed in America. He and the NYVZ shared political space, in that sense, with a number of prominent political refugees from American Communism, such as

J. B. S. Hardman, editor of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers' important weekly paper, *Advance*. Lore sought, vainly—especially as the Communist movement passed into an ultrasectarian phase—to carve out a space in which activists of various backgrounds and generations could work with socialists, Communists, and others on specific projects, in the name of a larger labor-radical unity.²⁵

For its own part, the paper maintained a remarkable equanimity. Indifference toward the curses of current American Communist leaders could be compartmentalized (as it often was by immigrants of all kinds) from negative conclusions about the Soviet Union, at least for a time. The Soviet Union, whatever its many faults, deserved defense. The Communist-oriented labor and fraternal institutions in the United States deserved support. At the level of the International Workers Order (formed by a split from the Jewish Workmen's Circle) and the International Labor Defense—both Communist-led but with a great deal of leeway and considerable benefits to the foreign-born community in particular—the NYVZ printed notices of meetings which even the expelled and deplored Lore himself continued to address! The Communists, in various phases, might to their own disadvantage move sharply away from such mixed milieux, then sharply back again. The NYVZ community knew where it stood.²⁶

In any case, the institutions around the NYVZ continued to function past their Communist phase. The sickness-and-death-benefit societies, the singing societies, the German-based union locals, the "Deutsch-Amerikanischer Fussball-Bund," and the nature-walk societies might well have lost a handful of the more determined (or younger) comrades to the rigors of Leninism. But the institutions and the basic spirit continued, as embodied in the anniversary issues and in the *Pionier Volks-Kalender*, which had appeared for nearly a half-century. The Communists surely had lost more by far than they gained in limiting the loose arrangement.

The historical experience of the NYVZ, Lore noted, had been far from a steady advance, from victory to victory. The workers' movement of 1928, he lamented, was perhaps less well organized than that of 1898. But the task had been the same all along, whatever the political rhetoric: organization of all the working classes, no matter what their immediate affiliations, into one class-conscious mass. The NYVZ had kept the faith. And so—we must say too—it had.²⁷

NOTES

I wish to acknowledge the financial assistance, for research specifically in German-American sources, of the New Jersey Historical Commission and the American Council of Learned Societies; and the National Endowment for the Humanities, for its generous funding of oral history and research into immigrant radicalism. This essay reflects insights worked out in less detail in *Marxism in the United States*.

1. See, for example, the entry by Dirk Hoerder on the NYVZ and separate entries by Carol Poore on fraternal and social activities of nineteenth-century German-American socialists, in the *Encyclopedia of the American Left*. Also see Carol Poore, *German-American Socialist Literature*.

2. The new edition of *American Communism and Soviet Russia* seeks, like Draper's earlier attacks upon the most prominent of young radical historians of American Communism, to seal off precious scholarly turf. Ironically, we meant the old man no harm and indeed have paid frequent tribute to his hard research work and to his personal encouragement in his (and our) younger days. The "Commissar" (as Draper was known among his *New Masses* associates of the 1930s), victim of bad habits acquired long ago, has lost friends and scholarly credibility when he might otherwise have celebrated the new generation he helped bring into being.

3. Draper's generation of scholars—with the partial exception of Jewish historians working in Yiddish materials—essentially applied ideological generalities to particular cases, ignoring contradictory evidence. No more than William Z. Foster's *History of the Communist Party, USA* did Draper, or Lewis Coser and Irving Howe, or for that matter such younger scholars as James Weinstein, interest themselves particularly in subjecting broad generalities to closer scrutiny. See Foster's *History of the Communist Party, USA*, easily the worst of the accounts; and see the best of the farmer-labor episode, James Weinstein, *Decline of Socialism in America*. Among the many Yiddish-language scholars writing in English we can count Melech Epstein, Irving Howe, and Moses Rischin; among those in Yiddish, I. Sh. Hertz, Kalmon Marmor, A. Sh. Sacks, and a number of less-remembered students of anarchism and labor Zionism.

4. *Glimpses of the German-American Press*, which also contains an important essay on the Chicago socialist press by Renate Kiesewetter, is certainly the most important resource yet available in the field.

5. Some of this is drawn from my own attempt at a balanced account in *Marxism in the United States*; see also the unfavorable and not entirely inaccurate criticism of NYVZ insularity and high-handedness in the 1889 events, in Rudolph Katz, "With DeLeon since '89," the official DeLeonist, SLP account.

6. Ira Kipnis, a doctrinaire historian with little feeling for cultural questions, nevertheless offers the most detailed account of the splits and fusions in *American Socialist Movement*, chaps. 1–6.

7. Charles Leinenweber, "Urban Socialism."

8. See Poore, *German-American Socialist Literature*, and her accompanying German-language anthology of the writers, *Deutsch-amerikanische sozialistische Literatur*, for discussion of and samples from some of the writers named. On women's activities see Mari Jo Buhle, *Women and American Socialism*, and a valuable essay by Ruth Seifert, "Portrayal of Women in the German-American Labor Movement," drawing mostly on the NYVZ, 1901–3.

9. See Draper, *Roots of American Communism*, chap. 8, for an unsurpassed account of the politics and importance of *Revolutionary Age*.

10. See my account of this mentality in *Marxism in the United States*, chaps. 3–4.

11. Draper's lengthy treatment in *American Communism and Soviet Russia* is frequently insightful, but burdened by his own intellectual agenda, and by his lack of access to (or interest in) the non-English-language sources. I have excluded here Draper's treatment of Lore as faction-fighter in the 1920s Communist party because it does not bear directly upon the NYVZ and because Lore's intentions and motivations remain a mystery. Did he believe that he could intervene to help guide the party through troubling days that might pass? Evidently. His own role in the intrigues is, however, out of character, and many veterans of the day later admitted that the frenzy of internecine warfare turned idealism in upon itself.

12. See my interviews with Martin Birnbaum and Harvey O'Connor, in the Oral History of the American Left archives, Tamiment Library, New York University. I am grateful for the recollections of the late Yiddish poet Martin Birnbaum, who achieved his first publication in the mid-1920s NYVZ and who recalled to me the literary brilliance of the paper and of its editor. Birnbaum had been especially struck by the translation of the Yiddish humorist and essayist, Moshe Nadir, into German. Much of this interview was published as "Poetry in the 1930s," in *Cultural Correspondence*, #9 (1979). O'Connor, whose job was to collect overdue fees from the NYVZ to the Federated Press, regaled me about his meetings with Lore.

13. Editorial, "Debs und Steadman," NYVZ, May 22, 1920; Viktor Klotzman, "Aus unserem Leserkreise: Einheit—im Princip oder zum Schein," NYVZ, Apr. 23, 1920.

14. Editorial, "Debs und die Einigung aller Sozialismus," NYVZ, Apr. 24, 1923. Punctuation as in original [trans. eds.].

15. The introduction of an English-language section, made up mostly of Federated Press features, added a sort of Wobbly literary sensibility, closer to the IWW's contemporary *Industrial Pioneer* than to any existing Communist publication.

16. "Karoline Ott," NYVZ, May 2, 1920.

17. This subject has just been scrutinized by a group of young scholars. See the "Nature Friends" entry in *Encyclopedia of the American Left* and the collection of interviews in the Oral History of the American Left archives.

18. See Draper, *American Communism and Soviet Russia*, chap. 7, on "Bolshevization," which Draper unfortunately fails to connect with Lore and the

NYVZ; Gustav Landauer, "Briefe aus der deutschen Revolution," NYVZ, Dec. 16, 1923; "The Workers Party und die Mittelklasse," NYVZ, Jan. 17, 1924; "National Konvention der Deutschen Sprachgruppe," NYVZ, Nov. 30 and Dec. 6, 1924.

19. Best seen retrospectively in Lore, "Nach fünfzig Jahren," NYVZ, Nov. 29, 1928.

20. Editorial, "Sozialisten sein—oder nicht sein, das ist die Frage," NYVZ, Dec. 5, 1924.

21. At this point, historiographically speaking, Lore and the NYVZ disappear from *American Communism and Soviet Russia*. One would not know that the NYVZ continued as an independent socialist daily until 1932, and (amid the rapidly advancing old age of its constituents) managed to appear weekly until 1944, when the hated Nazis had at last been defeated. Draper, of course, did not write a history of the American left but of American Communism and not so much of American Communism as of its leaders. Some account of Lore, the NYVZ, and its successor, the *Neue Volkszeitung*, can be found in Robert E. Cazden, *German Exile Literature in America*. See also Joachim Radkau, *Deutsche Emigration*.

22. Interview with Martin Birnbaum. See Cazden, *German Exile Literature in America*, and Cazden, "Bibliography of German-American Communist Newspapers."

23. Lore, "Nach fünfzig Jahren."

24. "Karl Kraus gegen Theodor Wolff," NYVZ, Nov. 23, 1929; see also, for example, "Aus der Arbeiterbewegung," NYVZ, Nov. 19, 1928; "Deutsch-Amerikanischer Fussball-Bund," NYVZ, Nov. 20, 1928. *Pionier Volks-Kalender* advertisements continued during the latter part of each year for next year's calendar, marked with traditional workers' holidays, birthdays of great heroes (like saints' days), and essays on various subjects.

25. Editorial, "Vom Tage," NYVZ, Nov. 27, 1929. I examine the yearning for a third, noncommunist, and nonsocialist force in some detail in my dissertation, "Marxism in the US," chaps. 3–4.

26. Editorial, "Eine neue Welle des roten Terrors," NYVZ, Oct. 30, 1929. The United Front styles are abundant in this period.

27. Lore, "Nach fünfzig Jahren."