RADICALS ON THE MOVE:
FRENCH MIGRANTS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1850-1900

by

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ABSTRACT

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The following dissertation examines the activities of French radical migrants within the United States from 1850-1900. This dissertation illustrates that studying French migration highlights the interconnectedness and continuities of radical movements in the United States throughout the nineteenth century. It emphasizes the many threads connecting the creation of mid nineteenth century socialist colonies like those in Texas, the Paris Commune, The First International, The Knights of Labor, The Socialists Labor Party, and the anarchist movement. French radical migrants worked hard to maintain ties to their own communities, but they also worked closely with Poles, Germans, Italians, Americans in an attempt to create the societies they wanted. This dissertation illustrates that while immigrants such as the French may have clung to different languages and cultures they subscribed to the same basic ideologies. French migrants attempted a wide variety of approaches to how to be successful radicals in the United States, some worked exclusively with French language branches of larger international groups like the First International, while others chose to embrace the English language and work within largely American organizations like the Knights of Labor. Some like Louis Gaoziou attempted to

do both. Ultimately, this dissertation illustrates the importance of a French narrative, not just because it fills a historiographical gap, but because their narrative provides further definition to the story of radicalism in the United States during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Numerous French radicals had a long-lasting impact on the communities they migrated into, playing a significant role in shaping American radicalism, while themselves being remade by their American experiences. It was through this process of adaptation, synthesis and hybridization , French ideas, practices and individuals became American ones.

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INTRODUCTION

On November 8, 1914, the *Pittsburgh Press* declared French Socialist Louis Goaziou a hit after he wowed a crowd of nearly 3,000 at the local Lyceum Theater. Goaziou's subject: "War and Socialism." The paper named him the "most famous French Socialist" in the United States and described him as a clear and convincing speaker who "left an excellent impression on the crowd" and "spoke without fear or favor."[1] The crowd was engaged enough to stay and ask a barrage of questions. The Lyceum Theater was not Goaziou's only stop; he traveled throughout the United States delivering his thoughts on what World War I meant to a Socialist living in the United States. Flyers printed and distributed for a speech he was set to give in West Virginia in February of 1915 provided a slew of positive reviews about Goaziou:

Figure 1. Louis Goaziou, 1915. Source: http://phoenixmasonry.org/goaziou_co-masonry.htm

> Mr. Goaziou handles the labor problem in a manner that carries conviction to his hearers and he was listened to with rapt attention during his talk--*Roscoe Ledger* (Democrat.)
>
> Mr. Goaziou's address was the best ever delivered to a body of workingmen in this section and was listened to with marked attention throughout and drew forth frequent applause--*Barnsboro Sentinel* (Republican.)
>
> A prominent trades-unionist of Toronto Canada thus speaks of Louis Goaziou 'He is forceful, logical and eloquent and has the rare gift of being able to entertain his audience while at the same time instructing them. We hope to have him here again'[2]

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[1] *Pittsburgh Press*, November 8, 1914.

[2] Karen Kidd, "Louis Goaziou, A Leading Founder of North American Co-Masonry," http://phoenixmasonry.org/goaziou_co-masonry.htm.

Not only was Goaziou a successful orator, but he was also a prolific newspaper publisher, writer, miner, anarchist, and the founder of Co-Masonry (that is, Freemasonry open to both men and women) in the United States.

Goaziou was born on March 22, 1864 in Scrignac, a commune in the Finistère department of Brittany in northwestern France.[3] Although his first language was Breton, he was sent to seminary school at a young age and learned French language very quickly. At the age of sixteen he abandoned seminary school to join four other young men making their way to the United States, where they would work as miners. Thus began a very illustrious life for Goaziou. Today, Louis Goaziou is remembered by his adopted community in Pennsylvania through a museum that is upkept by the local historical society; however most English-language historians have forgotten about him and his many contributions to radicalism. In fact, the entire story of French radical migrants in the United States has been largely forgotten by American historians.

However, it is essential, before proceeding, to establish a working definition of "French" in the American context. Following the lead of French historian Ronald Creagh, this study encompasses French speakers from France; non-French speaking French from the Alsace region, the Basque Country, and Brittany (such as Louis Goaziou); French speakers from countries such as Belgium and Switzerland; and French speakers from colonies or former colonies of France.[4] It is also important to clarify the word "radical," which, for the purposes of this particular study, refers to anyone who identified as a socialist, communist, or anarchist, or who participated in a socialist, communist, or anarchist movement.

[3] Kidd, "Louis Goaziou." Some writers, however, identify his birthplace as Belgium.
[4] Ronald Creagh, "Socialism in America: The French-Speaking Coal Miners in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *In the Shadow of the Statute of Liberty: Immigrants, Workers, and Citizens in the American Republic, 1880-1920*, ed. Marianne Debouzy (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 143.

Very little has been written about French migration in the United States during the nineteenth century. Creagh postulates that "Social history has not dealt with the French presence because historians have assumed that French migrants to the United States have been 'middle class, urban, anti-traditionalist, and incapable of sustaining their ethnic identity.'"[5] Because of these preconceived ideas, the French have wrongfully been left out of studies that focus on migration, labor, and working-class radicalism. According to Creagh, however, there was a "steady flux" of French workers migrating to North America since the colonial period.[6] According to US immigration data, approximately 730,000 migrants from France entered the United States between 1820 and 1970, out of a total forty-five million migrants.[7] The emigration rate from France never rose above 31 per 100,000 residents. By comparison, Italy climbed to a rate in excess of 500 per 100,000.[8] It is important to note that these numbers do not include all the groups included in the definition of French as outlined above. These statistics do, however, give us a basic understanding of the approximate number of French migrants in the United States, which was relatively small compared to other groups. Despite these smaller numbers, the French presence was not insignificant, and its contributions should not be ignored.

The historiography surrounding French migration to the United States in the nineteenth century is sparse. Rafe Blaufarb, author of *Bonapartists in the Borderlands*, explores French refugees in 1815 Alabama, including both Bonapartist exiles and refugees from Saint-Domingue.[9] Darrell Meadows wrote an important related article entitled, "Engineering Exile:

[5] Ibid., 142.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Michael R. Haines, "French Migration to the United States: 1820 to 1950," *Annales de Démographie Historique* (2000-1): 77.
[8] Ibid., 79.
[9] Rafe Blaufarb, *Bonapartists in the Borderlands: French Exiles and Refugees on the Gulf Coast, 1815-1835* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2006).

Social Networks and the French Atlantic Community, 1789-1809." Meadows was the first historian to document how French exiles and refugees participated in chain migration, a practice previously linked primarily to Italians and eastern European Jews.[10] Unfortunately, Meadows failed to examine migration networks amongst non-elites, whose migration networks he claims historians cannot adequately trace—a claim that has been debunked by numerous transatlantic studies specifically centered on the working class.[11] This study will also largely focus on non-elite French workers.

Hilary Gordon's 2016 article entitled "Diasporas of French Radicalism: Refugees and Exile Printers of Louisiana" illustrates the enormous impact French political exiles and refugees had on the creation of radical journals and newspapers in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. Gordon also specifically highlights the need to further scholarly exploration of French writers, editors, and publishers in the US.[12]

Philip Katz's transatlantic comparison of the Paris Commune and the American Civil War, published in 1998, remains one of the only studies to mention Communards who made their way to the United States. Most of the monograph, however, is dedicated to analyzing the similarities between the two conflicts and uncovering American attitudes and opinions toward the Commune. While Katz does acknowledge the existence of radical French refugees in America, he gives them little credit in the labor movement of the era.[13] The present study does

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[10] Darrell Meadows, "Engineering Exile: Social Networks and the French Atlantic Community, 1789-1809," *French Historical Studies* 23, no. 1 (2000): 67-102.

[11] See, for example, Lara Putnam, *Radical Moves: Caribbean Migrants and the Politics of Race in the Jazz Age* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Kenyon Zimmer, *Immigrants Against the State: Yiddish and Italian Anarchism in America* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015).

[12] Hilary E. Gordon, "Diasporas of French Radicalism: Refugee and Exile Printers of Louisiana," *Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 10, no. 2 (Fall 2016): 7-18.

[13] Phillip Katz, *From Appomattox to Montmartre: Americans and the Paris Commune* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998).

not primarily focus on the Communards, but it does include them as a part of the largely forgotten narrative of French radicals within the United States during the nineteenth century.

The bulk of published work on French migration to the United States in the nineteenth century has been done by French historian Michel Cordillot. He is perhaps best known for his critically acclaimed biographical dictionary, *La Sociale en Amérique: biographique du mouvement social francophone aux États-Unis 1848-1922*, which in turn draws heavily on the *Biographical Dictionary of the French Workers' Movement*, more commonly known as *Le Maitron*, an online project based upon forty-four volumes created by French historian Jean Maitron between 1964 and 1987.[14] In addition to his biographical dictionary, Cordillot has published several books and articles focused on the migration of French radicals in the United States in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[15] Little of his work, however, has appeared in English.

French radicals and radicalism are mentioned sporadically in histories that focus on American radical and labor movements. But, as Creagh points out, "historians have always presented the French influence as if it came directly from Europe and bypassed French immigrants."[16] French utopian societies like the Icarian and Fourierist communities are typically discussed in the context of the larger American utopian movement of the time, but despite French participation in the creation and maintenance of these societies, very little is written about

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[14] Michel Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique: Dictionnaire biographique du mouvement social francophone aux Etats-Unis, 1848-1922* (Paris: Les Éditions de l'Atelier, 2002.); Le Maitron: Dictionnaire biographique, mouvement ouvrier, mouvement social, https://maitron.fr/.

[15] Michel Cordillot, *Aux origines du socialisme moderne. La première internationale, la Commune de Paris, l'exil: recherches et travaux*(Paris: Les Éditions de l'Atelier, 2010); Michel Cordillot, *Révolutionnaires du nouveau monde. Une brève histoire du mouvement socialiste francophone aux États-Unis (1885-1922)* (Montreal: Lux, 2010); Michel Cordillot, "Socialism vs. Democracy? The IWA in the USA, 1869-1876," in *"Arise Ye Wretched of the Earth": The First International in a Global Perspective*, ed. Fabrice Bensimon, Quentin Deluermoz, and Jeanne Moisand (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 270-81.

[16] Creagh, "Socialism in America," 143.

the migrants who left their homes in Europe and moved across the Atlantic to engage in these experimental communes.[17] Individual French participants are also mentioned in works that focus on organizations such as the International Workingmen's Association (IWA, or First International), the Knights of Labor, the Socialist Labor Party (SLP), and the anarchist International Working People's Association (IWPA), but their ethnicity and role as migrants is largely dismissed in favor of German or American influences.[18]

Recently, with the transnational turn in history, numerous studies have been produced that focus on European migrants to the United States during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and their impact on both labor and radical movements. These include works on, for example, Irish, German, Italian, and Spanish-speaking immigrants, but not, yet, the French.[19] This new transatlantic or transnational turn has recovered these migrant groups' agency and

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[17] For studies written about the Utopian movement and the Icarian settlement see: Christopher H. Johnson, *Etienne Cabet and the Icarian Communist Movement in France, 1839-1848* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968); Christopher H. Johnson, *Utopian Communism in France: Cabet and the Icarians, 1839-1851* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974); Morris Hillquit, *History of Socialism in the United States* (New York: London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1903); Lillian M. Snyder, ed. *Assimilation of Icarians into American Life: Proceedings of the 1988 Cours Icarien Symposium, Nauvoo, Illinois, July 9, 1988* (Sunnyvale, CA: National Icarian Heritage Society, 1994); Diana M. Garno, "Gender Dilemmas: 'Equality' and 'Rights' for Icarian Women," *Utopian Studies* 6, no. 2 (1995): 52-74; Carl J. Guarneri, *The Utopian Alternative: Fourierism in Nineteenth Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991).

[18] For more information on these groups see the following literature: Samuel Bernstein, *The First International in America* (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, 1962); Robert Weir, *Beyond Labor's Veil: The Culture of the Knights of Labor* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996); Philip S. Foner, *The Workingmen's Party of the United States: A History of the First Marxist Party in the Americas* (Minneapolis: MEP Publications, 1984); Paul Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984); Bruce C. Nelson, *Beyond the Martyrs: A Social History of Chicago's Anarchists, 1870-1900* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1988).

[19] Kevin Kenny, *Making Sense of the Molly Maguires* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998);Tom Goyens, *Beer and Revolution: The German Anarchist Movement in New York City, 1880-1914* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007); Jennifer Guglielmo, *Living the Revolution: Italian Women's Resistance and Radicalism in New York City, 1880-1945* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2012); Christopher J. Castañeda and Montse Feu, eds., *Writing Revolution: Hispanic Anarchism in the United States* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2019). See also Bert Altena and Constance Bantman, eds., *Reassessing the Transnational Turn: Scales of Analysis in Anarchist and Syndicalist Studies* (Oakland: PM Press, 2017); James A. Baer, *Anarchist Immigrants in Spain and Argentina* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2015); Constance Bantman, *The French Anarchists in London, 1880-1914* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013).

voices by utilizing foreign-language sources. As both Gordon and many of these other authors emphasize, the radical press was extremely influential throughout the nineteenth century, but foreign-language papers have largely been overlooked by, and inaccessible to, American historians. For example, even though Ken Fones-Wolf has written transnational studies about the impact of Belgian glass workers on the US glass window industry, he is guilty of overlooking important contributions of these people because he does not utilize the French-language sources available.[20]

The overwhelming problem with the historiography on French migration to the United States, as this overview suggests, is its gaps. While there is some scholarship that includes a few key players, events, or isolated incidents, there is no single work that ties together the movements and themes discussed above. Only the work of Cordillot comes close, but even that only scratches the surface, and most of it remains inaccessible to English-speaking readers. Much more research needs to be conducted to uncover and reinsert the French element into the historiography of American labor, politics, and working-class radicalism in the nineteenth century. This study begins that task.

The following chapters examine the activities of French radicals within the United States from 1850 to 1900. By taking a closer look at their role, this dissertation illustrates the interconnectedness and continuities of radical movements in the US throughout the nineteenth century. It highlights the many threads connecting the formation of early socialist colonies like

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[20] Ken Fones-Wolf, "Immigrants, Labor and Capital in a Transnational Context: Belgium Glass Workers in America," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 21, no. 2, (2002): 59-80; Ken Fones-Wolf, "A Craftsman Paradise in Appalachia: Glass Workers and the Transformation of Clarksburg, 1900-1933," *Journal of Appalachian Studies* 1, no. 1 (1995): 67-85; Ken Fones-Wolf, "Transatlantic Craft Migrations and Transnational Spaces: Belgian Glass Workers in America, 1880-1920" *Labor History* 45, no. 3 (2004): 299-321; Ken Fones-Wolf, *Glass Towns: Industry, Labor, and Political Economy in Appalachia, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007).

La Réunion, the Paris Commune, the rise and fall of the First International, the Knights of Labor, the Socialist Labor Party, and the anarchist movement. The French, of course, were not the only participants in these movements, and examining their role also allows us to see some of the connections between the ethnically and linguistically defined radical movements studied by many of the scholars cited above. While French radicals worked to maintain ties to their own communities and culture, they also worked closely with Germans, Italian, Poles, Americans, and others to bring about the changes they believed in. Whether it was a socialist party like the SLP, or an anarchist federation such as the IWPA, immigrants in the United States joined together with native-born radicals as part of the global push for revolution that surged throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, clinging to different cultures and languages but subscribing to the same ideologies.

French migrants experimented with a wide variety of approaches to the question of how to be a French radical within the United States, with varying degrees of success. As will be shown, some of them attempted to exclusively mobilize French-speaking comrades within organizations like the First International, while others attempted to adopt the English language and merge into larger organizations like the Knights of Labor and the International Working People's Association, whereas still others, like Louis Goaziou, attempted to do both.

Chapter 1 will look specifically at La Réunion, a French socialist community founded in Dallas, Texas in the 1850s. La Réunion appeared at the tail end of the utopian settlement movement that briefly enamored Americans. And although a large amount of work has been done on these socialist colonies, this chapter will answer new questions about the largely forgotten La Réunion and what it meant for French migration. Who were the migrants that came to Texas hoping to form a lasting utopian society? Who influenced their socialist views? How

were these French socialists treated within the broader community? Did they have a lasting impact on the surrounding area, and how were they remembered? In what ways did these early French migrants contribute to later radical movements? Lastly, how did these French migrants help create and participate in migration networks that were utilized throughout the rest of the nineteenth century?

Chapter 2 focuses on the First International and transnational French participation in that organization. It discusses the roots of the IWA in America, along with the role French workers played in its development. The largest concentration of French IWA members in the United States was in New York, and this chapter explores the ways in which they used the IWA as a bridge from their own country and culture into American politics and organizations, as many of them would later transition from the First International into other political and labor movements. This chapter also looks at the Communards who came to the United States, as the Paris Commune occurred at the height of the First International and several Communards were themselves members of the International. In what ways did these migrants maintain their ties to France? How did they integrate into local political debates? What was life like for Communards who came as refugees to New York City? Did they stay in the United States or return to France after amnesty was granted? How did these revolutionaries view the famed democracy of the United States?

Several French migrants joined America's first major nationwide labor organization, the Knights of Labor, and some even played leadings roles within it. Chapter 3 examines French participation in the KOL and what that looked like. The KOL struggled with internal tensions, some of which were heightened by differences in ideologies represented by members such as French immigrants Victor Drury and Lucien Sanial. French participation in the KOL had far-

reaching implications for the American labor movement, even if their numbers were relatively small. What exactly did French participation in the KOL look like? Does it deserve further evaluation? In what ways did the KOL serve as an introduction for French Migrants into the American labor movement and socialist politics? Did their activity in the organization help them transition away from French-centric participation?

Finally, Chapter 4 delves into the heavy participation of French migrants in the anarchist movement that spread throughout the United States near the end of the nineteenth century. Some of these participants had been members of unions like the KOL, while others were miners and glassmakers who had arrived in the United States ignorant of radical politics. Although the French-speaking anarchist movement was heavily concentrated in the coal mines and glass factories of Pennsylvania and the Midwest, it was not limited to those regions; there were also French anarchists in New York City and as far west as California employed in various crafts. Why did French migrants turn to anarchism? How did they contribute to the growing anarchist movement in North America? In what ways were these participants similar and how were they different? What were their long-term goals?

No single study can fill all the holes in the historiography surrounding French migration into the United States, but this dissertation does demonstrate why it is important to do so. The French did not migrate in as large numbers as the Germans or Italians, but their presence was felt, and they impacted the communities they were a part of, from the textile factories of New York City to the glass factories of Illinois. They also, individually and collectively, shaped America's labor and radical movements in sometimes profound ways. It is well past time that historians recover and reevaluate the French element of nineteenth-century American radicalism.

CHAPTER 1

RED TEXAS: EARLY UTOPIAN SOCIALISM AND FRANCO-AMERICAN MIGRATION NETWORKS

In 2014 the Dallas, Texas skyline was voted the best international skyline by *USA Today* readers.[1] Perhaps the most unique part of the city's skyline is Reunion Tower. The 561-foot-tall observation tower also houses a five-star rotating restaurant. The landmark was originally part of a fifty-acre development project that included a Hyatt Regency, the Dallas Transportation Center, park fountains, increased parking options, and the former entertainment structure known as Reunion Arena. The Woodbine Development Cooperation published a factbook for the public which stated, "It is a Reunion with the pioneering spirit of 'La Reunion', a settlement of French educators, artists, farmers, and aristocrats founded in 1854 in Oak Cliff. Although this settlement failed, largely because of the inexperience of the farmers, many of Dallas' leading families trace their roots to La Reunion."[2] What the developers conveniently forgot to mention was that this settlement was part of an international socialist movement aiming to abolish capitalism through the spread of communes such as La Réunion.

In 1854, several French radicals left France for Texas to participate in the experimental colony known as La Réunion. Even though it only lasted a few years, the community and its colonists had a lasting impact on the area. In addition, French socialist settlements such as La Réunion served as migratory nodes in a network that would aid future political refugees from

[1] "10Best Readers' Choice Best International Skyline," *USA Today*, October 24, 2014, https://www.usatoday.com/picture-gallery/travel/2014/08/25/10best-readers-choice-best-international-skyline/14552949/.

[2] *Factbook: Reunion* (Dallas: Woodbine Development Corporation, 1975), Dallas Public Library.

France. Local historians have published works on La Réunion, and the earlier Icarian colony founded by Étienne Cabet nearby, but they have not explored the networks established through these communities and their impact on future emigration into the United States.[3]

La Réunion serves to begin filling the historiographical holes that exist in the study of early nineteenth-century French radical migration networks. The colony can also remind historians that the French constituted a population of migrants that is worthy of further examination. La Réunion was certainly not the only French colony in the United States in the 1850s, but this study uses the settlement as a micro-historical example to help outline the macro-history of French migration and radical networks.

La Réunion was an experimental community based on the teachings of the prominent French socialist Charles Fourier. During the early nineteenth century, Fourier began publishing works focused on his ideas of socialism. Peter Kropotkin, the famous Russian anarchist, named Fourier as the founder of anti-authoritarian socialism, as opposed to the "authoritarian Communism" of François-Noël Babeuf and Philippe Buonarroti.[4] Fourier believed that in order to have a successful society people must be committed to a sense of concern for each other and engage in true cooperation with one another.[5] According to Fourier, poverty was the root of all problems found within modern society. He planned to eradicate poverty through the creation of socialist colonies.

In addition to utopian settlements, Fourier also supported gender equality and is credited with the first use of the word feminism. His "romantic socialism" focused on the creation of

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[3] For more information on the Icarian movement, see M. Cabet, *Voyage en Icaria* (Paris: Bureau du Populaire, 1846) and Albert Shaw, *Icaria: A Chapter in the History of Communism* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1884).
[4] Peter Kropotkin, *The Conquest of Bread* (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1906), ix.
[5] Richard H. Roberts, ed. *Religion and the Transformations of Capitalism: Comparative Approaches* (London: Routledge, 1995), 90.

phalanxes, which were large apartment-style compounds in which the members of each community would live. Each person would be given a job based on interest and skill. Each job would pay a set amount and less desirable jobs would pay more. Fourier believed his utopian society would allow people to spend more time doing the things they enjoyed. After being ravaged by revolution for nearly thirty years, many people in France were tired of upheaval and violence and, according to Fourier, true cooperation among people would create a society free from violence and poverty. He believed the establishment of phalanxes would "form a network that would encircle the globe."[6] According to Fourier, there were 810 types of personalities or characters found amongst people; therefore, an ideal phalanx would contain 1,620 people.[7] Fourier estimated two million phalanxes were needed to reach his goal.

By 1830, Fourier had attracted a large following in Lyon and throughout the western world. Among his most ardent supporters was Victor Considerant. At the age of twenty-one, Considerant left his position as a captain in the French Army to work with Fourier.[8] As Fourier's health deteriorated, Considerant became the unofficial head of the socialist movement in France. Whereas Fourier was a theorist, Considerant wanted to make the theories a reality.[9] Considerant was politically active during the revolutions of 1830 and 1848, which led to his exile in 1849. He sought refuge in Brussels, where he began to plan his first phalanx outside of France. Considerant believed the upheaval of the nineteenth century and the rule of Napoleon made it impossible to establish a successful utopia in Europe. Although Fourier believed French citizens should not emigrate to form phalanxes, Considerant believed it was necessary to temporarily

[6] Eloise Santerre, "Réunion" (MA Thesis, Southern Methodist University, 1936), xx.
[7] Carl Guarneri, *The Utopian Alternative: Fourierism in Nineteenth-Century America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 18-19.
[8] Santerre, "Réunion," xxi.
[9] Ibid., xxiii

leave France to establish effective communities. According to Considerant, the emigrants would return to France after the fall of Napoleon.[10]

In 1852, Considerant traveled to New York where he met with Fourierist Albert Brisbane to discuss the possibility of founding a new phalanx in the United States. Considerant's travels throughout the country illustrate a rather large preexisting American Fourierist network. Although Fourierism was in decline in North America by 1852, Considerant's arrival caused quite a sensation, serving to temporarily revitalize the socialist movement. During the 1840s several experimental communities developed throughout the United States, such as Brook Farm, the North American Phalanx in Red Bank, Sodus Bank, and others.[11] Considerant visited the phalanx in Red Bank, spending nearly six weeks there, but was disappointed in its sagging economy. He believed that this "transatlantic child of Fourier's thought was but a sickly infant bearing little resemblance to its illustrious father."[12] Despite being disappointed in the performance of the community, Considerant became convinced the United States was the perfect location to build a successful phalanx.

Brisbane and Considerant made their way into North Texas and were pleasantly surprised by the weather and land they encountered in Dallas and Fort Worth. Although settled in 1841 by John Neely Bryan, Dallas was granted a township only in 1856 through the Sixth Texas Legislature. By 1860 the city's population was just 678. However, many of the future colonists were included in the 1860 census; therefore, it is reasonable to assume Considerant encountered a considerably smaller settlement. Fort Worth was established as a military post in 1849, and

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[10] Jonathon Beecher, *Victor Considerant and the Rise and Fall of French Romantic Socialism* (California: University of California Press, 2001), 297.
[11] For more information on earlier Fourierist movements in the United States see Guarneri, *The Utopian Alternative*.
[12] Beecher, *Victor Considerant*, 299.

over the next four years accumulated a population of nearly four hundred people. Both Fort Worth and Dallas had large tracts of farmland, but Dallas was originally settled as a trading post for farmers and Native Americans in the area.[13]

Considerant was not the first French Socialist to make his way into Texas. Étienne Cabet, another famous French Socialist, had attempted to establish a utopian there in 1848. Cabet brought nearly five hundred socialists to settle W.S. Peters Colony, encompassing approximately one hundred square miles near Denton, and believed to be in modern-day Justin, Texas.[14] Although it failed, the community moved to Illinois where it met with a much larger degree of success. Most of the Frenchmen followed Cabet north, but a few stayed. Former Icarians Adolphe Gouhenant and Maxime Guillot remained in Dallas and met with Considerant when he arrived in the area. Gouhenant owned a saloon and taught school in Dallas.[15] Both Gouhenant and Guillot could speak English, something Considerant knew was important to his future colony. Both men gave Considerant glowing reviews of Texas and its abundance of opportunity, leading him to make somewhat hasty decisions about the location of his planned society.

In addition to the Frenchmen Considerant met in Texas, he encountered numerous Fourierists and former followers of Cabet in New Orleans. Considerant briefly thought Louisiana might serve as a support center and eventual connecting phalanx for La Réunion.[16] Overall, the extensive network already established in the United States influenced Considerant's impression of America and its people. Considerant dedicated his attention to creating a community in Texas which would serve as the springboard for future phalanxes in North America. He published a

[13] Jackie McElhaney and Michael V. Hazel, "Dallas, TX," Handbook of Texas, https://www.tshaonline.org/handbook/entries/dallas-tx.
[14] *Dallas Morning News*, July 16, 1967.
[15] Beecher, *Victor Considerant*, 309.
[16] Ibid., 311

short book entitled *Au Texas*, designed to influence other European socialists to join his movement. He included romantic descriptions of the land and spoke of the successful Frenchmen he met while in the United States. He proclaimed the first settlement would serve as a hub for the others that would follow. Lastly, he stated: "The colonists desired are to be only men of higher education, industrious, and with a firm belief in our future, and all must have excellent references both as to character as well as their political standing. The colony will benefit both Texas and Frenchmen."[17]

On September 26, 1854, the charter for the European American Colonization was signed in Brussels by Victor Considerant, Allyre Bureau, C.F. Buillon, and J.B.A. Godin. On October 3, F.J. Cantagrel , a fellow French exile, left for the United States to purchase the land for the settlement.[18] He originally attempted to buy land in Fort Worth, but was unable to acquire enough acres, forcing him to purchase the less desirable plot located near modern-day Oak Cliff. Once the land was secured, Considerant utilized both his American and European networks to help garner interest in the new colony he was planning. He sent advertisements to Brisbane in New York and Allyre Bureau in Paris.[19]

The European American Society of Colonization was overwhelmed with requests to join the new settlement in Texas. The board of investors ignored Considerant's initial request to select only colonists who were farmers or agricultural workers. Many settlers were skilled artisans, professionals, musicians, and the like. Although they were all self-proclaimed socialists, they lacked the skills necessary for creating a community based on agricultural production.

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[17] Victor Considerant, *Au Texas* (Paris: A La Libraire Phalansterienne, 1855), 80.
[18] George Santerre, *White Cliffs of Dallas: The Story of La Reunion, the Old French Colony* (Dallas: The Book Craft, 1955), 31. Cantagrel had collaborated with Considerant on several socialist journals. In 1847 Cantagrel was forced into exile in Belgium for his radical writings.
[19] Beecher, *Victor Considerant*, 317.

The colonists arrived in waves. It is estimated that between the years 1854 and 1857, 500 emigrants arrived in Texas. The journey took approximately two to three months. The bulk of the settlers left from La Havre and traveled to New Orleans. While in New Orleans many of the Frenchmen reunited with friends or relatives who had previously settled in the United States. For some, these ties had served as a key factor in their decision to move.[20] After refilling supplies, they embarked on the second half of the arduous journey from New Orleans to Galveston, where they unloaded their belongings and walked the remaining distance to La Réunion.

In 1854, Considerant hired Kalikst Wolski as a guide. Wolski had been born in Poland but was forced to flee to France at a young age. He spent much of his life in France. After the coup d'état of Louis Napoleon, Wolski was forced into exile again. This time he sought refuge in the United States.[21] He joined the Fourierist movement and learned to speak, read, and write English. Considerant wrote to Wolski explaining that the colony was designed to be a refuge "for a large portion of the persecuted and discontented whose numbers were increasing every day in France."[22] Wolski was sent to New Orleans to guide the incoming colonists to La Réunion. While in New Orleans, Wolski met several important men, including G.F. Weiss, a newspaper publisher and Fourierist who had attended school with Considerant in Paris in the 1820s.[23] As this example demonstrates, even before leaving France, Considerant and Wolski were both part of an extensive radical network that extended to the United States.

Considerant had studied other socialist establishments in New York and took note of what he felt did and did not work. The design of the Texas phalanx included "a kitchen, a

[20] Santerre, *White Cliffs of Dallas*, 41.
[21] Kalikst Wolski, *American Impressions,* trans. Marion Moore Coleman (Cheshire, CT: Cherry Hill Books, 1968).
[22] Ibid., 73.
[23] Michel Cordillot, "Weiss GF," Le Maitron: Dictionnaire biographique, mouvement ouvrier, mouvement social, https://maitron.fr/spip.php?article166458&id_mot=4263.

restaurant, a library, a school, an infirmary, a bath, a laundry, a store, a carriage, several houses, etc. placed at the disposal of all, by means of a contribution proportioned to the use which would be made of all these things, and finally of houses completely separated for the individuals and families who would not like regimes of dormitories."[24] The townsite was divided into small plots designated for family homes, while a large central plot housed the Governor's Mansion. The mansion was meant to contain the director's living quarters along with communal areas such as the kitchen, restaurant, and library. In addition, there were individual garden plots intended to be kept by families, as well as an immense community garden.[25] Considerant named the colony La Réunion because he believed the settlement would become the "rendezvous for most of the foreign speaking people who came to East Texas."[26]

When Wolski arrived in Dallas with the first group of colonists, the lack of farmers among them instantly undermined the settlement. The men were not used to hard labor, and the "fatal climate" and "lack of communication" fueled the settler's frustrations.[27] On July 10, 1855, Wolski noted the arrival of ten new French political émigrés. He did not list their names, only their circumstances. The men were not recruited by Considerant. They had already been in the United States and traveled to Texas to take part in creating a utopian society. According to Wolski, these men were "intellectuals, jurists, ex-notaries, clerks of the courts of peace and other French tribunals, and so unfit for the hard work of colonization in America."[28] Nevertheless, they were given a house with a large garden. These events further illustrate the existence of French migration networks and serve as an example of how political radicals fit into them. In

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[24] Augustin Savardan, quoted in Santerre, "Réunion," 24.
[25] Ibid., 47.
[26] Santerre, *White Cliffs of Dallas*, 51.
[27] Wolski, *American Impressions*, 186.
[28] Ibid., 187.

addition, the fact that the men were readily accepted into the colony and given a plot of land despite their lack of agricultural knowledge and experience illustrates the poor management skills of those in charge. The population was expanding but the colonists were not prepared to jumpstart such a large agricultural undertaking.

Among the original settlers there were twenty-one farmers, fifteen building workers, fifteen rural craftsmen, twenty-six urban craftsmen or those without profession, and thirteen white-collar workers. Only twenty-eight percent of the colonists were agricultural workers. Approximately 230 of the settlers were French, forty Belgian, and forty Swiss. Although there were some families, most of the settlers were bachelors.[29] All were socialists, but not all of them were political exiles. Many voluntarily left France to participate in Considerant's utopian society.

In addition to the lack of agricultural workers, La Réunion was devastated by natural disasters. During the first full agricultural season, Dallas suffered from an extremely late freeze that destroyed nearly all the crops. The following year the crops were stunted due to a grasshopper infestation. The colonists were not prepared for the harsh winter and the extreme heat of the summer. Mismanagement of funds and dissatisfaction with the leadership led to early struggles within the colony.

Considerant believed he would be able to get a land grant that would increase the colony and bring in more funds for the further development of the land. Shortly after the colonists arrived in Dallas, Considerant traveled to Washington, D.C. where he met with President Franklin Pierce to discuss his colony and politics.[30] Unfortunately, Considerant spent most his

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[29] Bruno Verlet, "The Phalanx of No Return: The La Reunion Colony, Dallas: A Case of French Smugness on the Frontier" (unpublished manuscript, 1989), Special Collections, Central Library, University of Texas at Arlington.
[30] Wolski, *American Impressions*, 181.

initial time within the United States in the North and had not accounted for the political atmosphere of the South. The Know Nothing Party had recently gained popularity in Texas, and they were suspicious of the French and their ideas on abolition.

Several Texans expressed dissatisfaction with the proposed creation of a socialist society within the state. The *Texas State Times* published an article in August 1855 discussing what the author considered the "peculiar views of Victor Considerant." The article, highly critical of socialism, claimed the ideology to be European in nature and poisonous to the values of traditional Americans. The author saw socialist ideas as the children of the French Revolution, which had "resulted in the destruction of almost every vestige of Christianity and left that unhappy country a prey to the most revolting anarchy and unheard-of cruelty."[31] Additional articles appeared critiquing Considerant and his colony. Several Texans wrote editorials intended as warnings to the socialists that Texas was not "fit for their transcendentalists views of the North and France" and their "opposition to slavery will not be tolerated."[32] Ultimately the political views of the colony caused the Texas government to deny Considerant the land grant. The loss of the grant greatly crippled the colony.

Tensions rose internally as well, and disputes broke out between the settlers. Charles Bussy was an accountant selected by Considerant to manage the financial affairs of La Réunion. According to Wolski, Bussy was accused of fomenting discord amongst the settlers by taking sides in petty arguments.[33] In addition, when the colony began to experience economic difficulties, Bussy began neglecting the accounting in favor of creating new businesses. When Charles Capy, a mason and carpenter, discovered coal and iron deposits in Houston, Bussy

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[31] *Texas State Times* (Austin), August 4, 1855.
[32] *The Gazette* (Austin), October 13, 1855.
[33] Wolski, *American Impressions*, 188.

suggested the American European Colonization Society develop a new settlement to mine those deposits. His scheme was to send newly arriving colonists to Houston, where they could begin building shops to service those mining the iron and ore. These ideas were largely ignored, causing Bussy to resign and leave for New Orleans, where his brother lived.[34] After Bussy quit, there was rapid turnover in the management of the colony. Duthoya was made bookkeeper after Bussy, and then promoted to director after the resignation of Cantagrel.[35] The instability of leadership ultimately contributed to the colony's demise. Considerant abandoned La Réunion and bought land in San Antonio, hoping to start a new colony.[36] His departure spurred intense ruptures within the colony and caused many to shift their blame towards him.

Despite the impending doom of the colony, more settlers continued to arrive at La Réunion. Francois Santerre and his family found their way to Dallas in May of 1856. Santerre was a true proletarian, with a background deeply rooted in agricultural work. After his military service, he sold many of his family's belongings and they left France to participate in Considerant's Texas utopian experiment. Santerre was one of the few colonists able to cultivate the difficult arid land. He was quickly placed in charge of agricultural production, but his late arrival could not save the failing colony.[37]

Ultimately the colony was dissolved in 1857, and the land and assets sold off to pay back investors. The shareholders of the company tasked Alexis Bessard with liquidating the property and delivering the funds to Paris. Bessard was a former political exile who had received amnesty

[34] Augustin Savardan, *Un naufrage au Texas: observations et impressions recueillies pendant deux ans et demi au Texas et à travers les États-Unis d'Amérique* (Paris: Garnier frères, 1858), 449.
[35] Ibid., 467.
[36] Beecher, *Victor Considerant*.
[37] Michel Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique: dictionnaire biographique du mouvement social francophone aux États-Unis (1848-1922)* (Paris: Les Éditions de l'Atelier, 2002), 386.

from the French government and, despite the protestations of his children, returned to France.[38] Some colonists remained in their homes for a few more years. Santerre, meanwhile, maintained the cooperative store for nearly fifteen years after the dissolution of La Réunion.[39]

Although the identities of many of the colonists remain unknown, numerous names have survived. Their stories illustrate the impact of La Réunion on Dallas, and the important ways in which the colonists contributed to its growth as a metropolitan city. Ironically, given their socialists beliefs, several colonists created successful businesses, boosting the expansion of Dallas while providing job opportunities for other European immigrants; however, many used a portion of their profits to continue supporting socialist causes. Other settlers contributed to the growing city by participating in local politics.

Louis Bourgeois was originally a member of the Cabet settlement but joined La Réunion to help the colonists settle into the area. He was a tailor and opened a thriving business after the collapse of La Réunion, remaining in Dallas where he died sometime after 1885.[40] Louis Louis, a veterinarian, moved to La Réunion in 1855. He worked with the colony's livestock for nearly three years, after which he moved to Dallas and married Henrietta Blanche. He became a blacksmith with a successful forge, but after the Civil War he relocated to New Orleans.[41] Jean Priot was one of the first settlers to arrive at La Réunion. After the Civil War, he married the daughter of another Fourierist and settled in Dallas, opening a brickyard. His brother Emile Remond, his father-in-law, and his son worked with him. His brickyard provided employment for many French migrants in North Texas. Eventually, Remond married a Santerre daughter and

[38] Ibid., 53.
[39] *Dallas Times Herald,* December 18, 1927.
[40] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 65.
[41] Ibid., 283.

moved nine miles south of downtown Dallas and opened his own small brickyard. Charles and Pierre Frichot were part of the advance group sent to establish La Réunion, but Charles resettled in Dallas shortly after arriving. He was a jeweler by trade but eventually worked at Pierre's brick factory.[42]

Several of the colonists proved vital to the newly developed commercial sector of Dallas. Athanase Crétien, a tanner specializing in creating collars and harnesses, arrived at La Réunion with Santerre. He repurposed old tools and manufactured spinning wheels. In addition, he made harnesses for the animals and shoes for the children. After the collapse of the colony, Crétien moved to Dallas, where he raised two daughters.[43] Former Icarian Maxime Guillot, although not technically a La Réunion member, is credited with the introduction of the first horse carriage manufacturing business in North Texas. Another colonist named Monduel created the city's first brewery. One Mrs. Michel from La Réunion was later remembered as the first bread baker in the area.[44] Allyre Bureau, an early member of both the colony and the European American Society of Colonization, who was placed in charge of dissolving the colony and liquidating its assets before his untimely death 1859, was the director of the first Dallas orchestra.[45]

Arriving too late to save the colony, François Santerre remained in the area, amassing a large amount of farmland. Santerre was a staunch socialist and created a mini phalanx amongst his large family. He had seven children who married and remained on the Santerre farm. He attempted to transport French fruits to Texas to modify and grow, but most his savings were lost by a business partner in France.[46]

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[42] Ibid., 354.
[43] Ibid., 126.
[44] *Dallas Times Herald,* June 5, 1927.
[45] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 75.
[46] Santerre Family Papers, Special Collections, Central Library, University of Texas at Arlington.

A few of the colonists served in political positions, taking an active role in the formation of the city government in Dallas. John Louck was originally elected a member of the board of directors of La Réunion. After discontent spread throughout the colony, he drafted a petition complaining about the conditions of the colony. Accepting the failure of La Réunion, he attempted to start another Fourierist settlement in Mountain Creek, Texas. His experiment failed as well and he eventually returned to Dallas, where he remained very active in politics. He served as an alderman in Dallas from 1885 to 1889. No records exist detailing the nature of his political service, but he does not appear to have abandoned his socialist beliefs. Louck also built the first Catholic Church in Dallas.[47] Charles Capy also served as an alderman for Dallas. Although he visited France in 1870 and was devastated by the destruction caused by the Franco-Prussian War, he returned to Dallas, where he remained until his death.[48]

Benjamin Lang also participated in local politics. He was a Fourierist originally from Switzerland. Lang arrived at La Réunion early in the summer of 1855 and was one of its youngest members. He stayed until the colony dissolved and resettled in Dallas, changing his name to Ben Long. Long and his wife were pro-Union during the Civil War, which earned him the position of mayor in 1868. He signed a petition requesting federal troops be sent to Dallas to protect newly freed slaves from violence, indicating that Long remained faithful to his political beliefs, despite the atmosphere he was surrounded by. He resigned as mayor in 1870 to return to Europe to recruit fifty people to come take part in the growth of Dallas. In 1872, he ran for mayor in the first free election in the city, and he won the next three elections. His popularity suggests that people in Dallas were more willing to nominate an abolitionist than in other areas

[47] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 282.
[48] Ibid., 94-95.

of Texas. In 1877, he became sheriff of Dallas and was shot to death while trying to solve a dispute between two cowboys.[49] Heinrich Boll, although originally from Switzerland, was another important member of the colony who remained in Texas. In contrast to Ben Long, Boll served in the Confederate Army, and eventually became city and county treasurer.[50]

These colonists had a significant impact on Dallas, but they served another important function as well. Several of them continued to be active in radical French politics during and after La Réunion. Whether they stayed in Dallas, migrated to other places within the United States, or returned to France, they remained integral pieces of a radical network capable of activating during times of crises. This network transferred information across the Atlantic, helped to ease the strain of migration for exiles, and raised money for both refugees and labor strikes within France.

Thus, many of the colonists known today as the founding families of Dallas--who went on to be instrumental in the formation of the city's industry, culture, and government--also formed and participated in local branches of radical organizations such as the International Workingmen's Association (IWA, or First International, discussed in Chapter 2). The combination of membership in the IWA and interaction with radical journals allowed the colonists to continue as important participants in the transatlantic network by facilitating communication and fundraising. Charles Frichot was a founder of Section 46 of the IWA in Dallas. He also sent several donations to causes organized by the First International. In 1872, for example, he donated to strikers in northern France, and he also sent money to the French exiles

[49] Ibid., 253.
[50] Ibid., 60.

in New Caledonia.[51] Frichot also maintained regular correspondence with the French IWA chapter in New York, and he subscribed to several socialist publications. He regularly engaged in open debates with other political radicals though these newspapers and journals. For example, in 1873, in the columns of *Étoile du Kansas*, he debated with exiled communard Henri Delescluze about the best ways to inspire socialist reforms.[52]

Jean Priot, along with his son, father, and brother Emile Remond, also joined Section 46 of the IWA. Priot likewise sent money to striking French workers in 1872, and he frequently traveled between France and the United States.[53] Capy also remained politically active locally and internationally. He served as secretary of the local branch of the IWA and was responsible for maintaining contact with its headquarters in New York. He continued to subscribe to Fourierist newspapers well into the twentieth century.[54]

Louis remained faithful to his political convictions after moving to New Orleans, and his family hosted a celebration honoring the ninety-sixth anniversary of the birth of Charles Fourier. In addition, he was a cofounder of section 15 of the IWA in New Orleans, of which he was elected treasurer in May of 1871. Louis was instrumental in uniting the French socialists in New Orleans and continued to publish information about the Fourierist movement.[55]

Santerre, also a member of the First International, likewise maintained his connection to France and radical politics. Santerre's role in the network is easier to explore, because his family preserved a large amount of his library and personal correspondence. After moving to Texas,

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[51] New Caledonia was a French Penal Colony island located near Australia. Hundreds of Communards were sentenced to exile there.
[52] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 197.
[53] Ibid., 354.
[54] Ibid., 94.
[55] Ibid., 282.

Santerre engaged in prolonged correspondence with several associates in France, and he continued to receive French political and scientific journals. His desire to stay connected to French affairs is evident in the sheer volume of letters and newspapers he received from his native country.[56]

His correspondence illustrates some of the simple functions of the network, and the former colonists' place within it. Initially, Santerre attempted to convince others in France to migrate to La Réunion, with mixed success. An unsigned letter sent to the Santerre family expresses disappointment that "Santerre's brother, my neighbor, cannot at this time take advantage of your offer to join you."[57] Apparently Santerre intended for his extended family to migrate to Texas even after the dissolution of the colony. Interestingly, Santerre's associates in France continued to refer to Dallas as La Réunion even after 1857. Santerre also played host to relatives of his associates who came to Dallas, including Urbain Bessard (the son of Alexis Bessard), who exchanged several letters with Santerre in the 1860s. Santerre helped accommodate Bessard when he returned to Dallas, much to the delight of the remaining colonists.[58]

Santerre's collection of letters also portrays his frustration with Americans. Santerre openly expressed his anger towards the actions of Confederate soldiers during the Civil War, prompting an associate to beg him not to judge all Americans by the few he had interacted with.[59] Several of the colonists were initially harassed by Confederate soldiers for not joining the army. The armed settlers did not respond kindly and ran the soldiers off their land. Eventually

[56] See Santerre Family Papers.
[57] Unsigned letter, Folder 1, Box GA 7, Santerre Family Papers.
[58] Urbain Bernard to "Charles," February 9, 1871, Folder 3, Box GA 7, Santerre Family Papers.
[59] Augustin Houdin to François Santerre, July 1, 1860, Folder 1, Box GA 7, Santerre Family Papers.

the colonists received an exemption allowing them to remain in their homes without further harassment.

Santerre's connections with French activists in New York and France can also be traced through the subscription lists of the Société des Réfugiés de la Commune de New York.[60] He donated to "The Widows and Orphans of the Commune" and the "Exiles to New Caledonia." In addition, he donated money to make sure socialist journals continued operating. In 1874, the New York socialist newspaper *Bulletin de l'Union républicaine* published a letter by Santerre proclaiming his continued commitment to Fourierism. He ended the letter by stating, "I still hope for a better future."[61] Other colonists were published in this journal as well, including Athanase Crétien, who also wrote an engaging treatise about Fourierism. The colonists maintained a close relationship with the New York journal.

After Santerre's death his children maintained the socialist family farm. In 1927, The *Dallas Times Herald* published an article on the family colony with a focus on the youngest Santerre son, Germain Santerre. The author states that the Santerres served as proof that communism "worked fine." The Santerre family also maintained their French roots, retaining their native language and ideas of liberty, equality, and fraternity.[62]

The rise and fall of La Réunion did little to quell the opposition to socialism throughout most of Texas. An 1861 letter to the editor of the *San Antonio Daily Ledger* expressed the need for citizens to expose and oppose "those attempting to apply practical application of socialist ideas."[63] The *Weekly State Gazette* printed an article in 1870 outlining the reasons why socialism

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[60] The names of American supporters can be found in the records of the Société des Réfugiés de la Commune à Londres, Box 440, Boris I. Nicolaevsky Collection, Hoover Institution Archives, Stanford University.
[61] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 387.
[62] *Dallas Times Herald,* December 18, 1927.
[63] *San Antonio Daily Ledger*, April 15, 1861.

should not be allowed in Texas. The author claims Texans are "not intoxicated with modern dogmas" and that socialism means "the ruin of government and the destruction of family." The article insists that Texans' values are based on traditional religion, government, and family.[64]

Despite the opposition to Considerant and his socialist colony, Dallas newspapers later reflected lovingly on the colonists. The *Dallas Times Herald* praised the socialists for their ideas, claiming the colonists were "activated by a vision."[65] According to this reporter, the colonists were a "peace hunting" people who were opposed to slavery, tended beautiful gardens, and had friendly relations with the people of Dallas.

Figure 2. Eight of the original settlers of La Réunion, 1906. Source: Dallas Morning News*, May 31, 1906.*

Most of the colonists remained faithful to their political beliefs even after the collapse of La Réunion, incorporating them into their new lives in Texas or elsewhere. Several maintained radical ties by creating or joining local chapters of organizations such as the IWA, which allowed them to contribute to the growing American labor movement. Others participated in local politics, using their power to influence the development of the city of Dallas.[66] In addition, the La Réunion settlers and their connections to the Fourierist movement helped to expand the radical migration network linking France and the United States. That network proved to be important after the fall of the Paris Commune in

[64] *Weekly State Gazette* (Austin)*,* March 26, 1870.
[65] *Dallas Times Herald,* June 5, 1927.
[66] Further research needs to be done to determine whether the colonists played a role in the development of the Socialist Party in Dallas. The early political careers of many of the colonists may indicate a lasting impact of progressive politics within the city.

1871, when thousands were forced out of France and depended on aid provided by French comrades in the United States. The colonists contributed financially to these efforts, springing to action in times of crises. In addition, several refugees utilized the network to resettle in the United States, including in New Orleans and the Icarian settlements in Iowa, alongside former La Réunion settlers. These Communards and the First International are in the subjects of Chapter 2.

CHAPTER 2

THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL AND COMMUNARDS IN THE UNITED STATES, 1868-1878

The International Workingmen's Association (IWA), better known as the First International, served as the first truly transatlantic organization aimed at gaining rights for laborers around the globe. Historians place the membership of the IWA at anywhere between 150,000 to over one million within its first five years of operation.[1] The First International had sections in countries such as Spain, Belgium, England, France, Italy, Switzerland, and eventually the United States. Examination of its US sections provides a valuable example of how French exiles interacted with local and international politics, the labor movement, and significant events during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Although the First International's sections in the United States never reached the high membership numbers of later labor organizations such as the Knights of Labor, they were nevertheless instrumental in the history of radicalism within North America, particularly in reference to European immigrants.

The bulk of the historiography surrounding the First International focuses on the growing tensions between Karl Marx and anarchist Mikhail Bakunin and the eventual split of the IWA in 1872, largely ignoring the organization's international impact.[2] Although they are sympathetic to

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[1] For the most recent membership estimates, see Appendix A in Fabrice Bensimon, Quentin Deluermoz, and Jeanne Moisand, eds., *"Arise Ye Wretched of the Earth": The First International in a Global Perspective* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 387-88.

[2] For the general history of the First International see Onslow Yorke, *Secret History of "The International" Working Men's Association* (London: Strahan and Co., 1872); G. M. Stekloff, *History of The First International* (London: Martin Lawrence Limited, 1928); Henryk Katz, *The Emancipation of Labor: A History of the First International* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1992); Robert Graham, *We Do Not Fear Anarchy, We Invoke It: The First International and the Origins of the Anarchist Movement* (Oakland: AK Press, 2015); Wolfgang Eckhardt, *The First Socialist Schism: Bakunin vs. Marx in the International Working Men's Association*, trans. Robert M. Homsi, Jesse Cohn, Cian Lawless, Nestor McNab, and Bas Moreel (Oakland: PM Press, 2016); Bensimon et al., eds., *"Arise Ye Wretched of the Earth"*.

opposing factions, Samuel Bernstein and Timothy Messer-Kruse both focus on the related conflict within the organization's American branches between German-born Marxists and more libertarian "Yankee" members.[3] But by utilizing this conflict as the framework for their studies, both historians eliminate the French element altogether. Reinserting the French into the study of the IWA highlights the continuity between early networks established by French radical participants in communes like La Réunion, and later radical tendencies such as the Knights of Labor, the Socialist Party, and the anarchist movement.

To recognize its role among radical French migrants, it is important to understand how the First International was founded, organized, and maintained. The IWA is often credited as being the mouthpiece of Karl Marx after he fled to England, but that is an oversimplification. The organization was created during a meeting on September 28, 1864 between French labor delegates and English trade unionists to discuss the situation of Polish workers, a meeting that Marx did attend.[4] However, representatives of workers from England, France, Poland, and Germany had all been in contact for over a year, discussing the need for solidarity.[5] During the London meeting the new organization was officially declared and a Central Committee was elected to oversee its development further. The Central Committee was overwhelmingly English, and its seat was in London.

The French were heavily invested in the IWA, even if they were not heavily represented in the earliest councils. This is mostly because, unlike England, France enacted and enforced

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[3] Samuel Bernstein, *The First International in the United States* (New York: Augtus M. Kelly, 1962); Timothy Messer-Kruse *The Yankee International: Marxism and the American Reform Tradition, 1848-1876* (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 1998).
[4] Hans Gerth, *The First International: Minutes of the Hague Conference of 1872 with Related Documents* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1958), vii.
[5] Katz, *The Emancipation of Labor*, 2.

strict anti-union laws. This meant that French workers suffered from a lack of national organization, instead relying on mutual aid societies. Despite the high level of state control, the 1860s saw the rise of strong French labor leaders who called for the "self-emancipation" of workers through these societies.[6] Henri Louis Tolain, a bronze engraver and one of the prominent French labor leaders of the era, is mainly credited as the initial contact between English and French laborers. Tolain, at the age of twenty, had participated in the 1848 Revolution in Paris and was a staunch follower of the early anarchist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, who had accumulated a large group of supporters.[7] Together these men broke into both national and international politics, demanding rights for workers globally.

The IWA consisted of a General Council, national Federal Councils, and local sections. The original Central Committee became the General Council, which was charged with defining the inner and outer workings of the IWA. The Council assigned secretaries responsible for establishing communications across the globe. A subcommittee was formed consisting of these secretaries and the three main office holders, who acted on behalf of the organization abroad.[8] Karl Marx was very active in of the IWA's organizational development and served as editor for the literature being published and distributed by the First International. The General Council maintained financial responsibilities, directed activities, organized the dissemination of materials, and distributed monthly reports to local committees and sections.[9] Because the IWA was a global organization, each country had its own Federal Council with authority over its own

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[6] Ibid., 7.
[7] Proudhon called for a society free from hierarchical power, which he called An-Archy. For more on Proudhon's theories see Iain McKay, ed., *Property is Theft! A Pierre-Joseph Proudhon Reader* (Oakland: AK Press, 2011).
[8] Katz, *The Emancipation of Labor*, 14.
[9] *Chicago Tribune,* December 25, 1873.

sections, and a General Congress was held annually where the General Council was held accountable for its actions by representatives from these groups.[10]

In order to become an official local section, a group had to include ten people who spoke the same language and belonged to the working class. No more than one qualifying section could exist within a one-mile radius of another, without direct council permission. The rules required three-fourths of the membership to be workers who received wages. All new members had to submit admission fees to the Federal Council, along with dues. The Federal Council numbered all new sections, and the organization's rules dictated that all sections had to remain within their specific occupational category. Once a section was created, the first meeting consisted of the election of officers, a presentation on the importance of education to workers, the reading of the London General Council's letters to illustrate the progress being made in diverse countries, and generally a speech about the need for workers to organize. Reports were to be submitted every third Sunday of the month. Sections were instructed to support local trade unions and to meet at least once every three months.[11]

Additionally, all sections were required to adhere to the IWA's "General Rules," authored by Marx, which declared that the liberation of the working class could only be achieved by the working class itself and stressed that emancipation did not mean gaining access to class privileges but the abolition of class altogether. According to this document, previous attempts at emancipation failed because workers were not unified, and therefore solidarity between the workers of all countries remained crucial for the success of obtaining economic freedom for the working class.

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[10] Katz, *The Emancipation of Labor*, 15.
[11] *Le Socialiste*, December 30, 1871.

Federal Council dues were ten cents a month and were separate from dues owed to the General Council. The Federal Council could, if needed, require an extra five cents in order to facilitate relief funds. Sections could be expelled if the General Council found them in violation of the General Rules. Individual members could also be ejected. When either of these things happened, notification was sent to all sections of the IWA and their associated publications. For example, when Section 18, located in Newark, New Jersey, expelled member Boyer for breaking the trust of his associates, the IWA newspaper *L'Internationale* in San Francisco posted a notice of his expulsion and explained that it would be run in all associated press outlets.[12]

Importantly, the rules of the IWA clearly state, "Each member of the International Association, on removing his domicile from one country to another, will receive the fraternal support of the Associated Working Men."[13] Several French emigrants, along with other politically radical exiles, would join US sections of the IWA, clearly something encouraged by the General Council, which went to great lengths to stress the importance of unity across the globe. To put this into perspective, in the United States there were approximately forty-two foreign-language sections of the IWA (including seventeen French-language ones) in twenty-five different cities, compared to only eighteen English-speaking sections.[14]

Unfortunately, the focus on solidarity for workers globally did not generally include women. Instead, the role of women within the labor movement often served to divide the IWA. French male labor leaders typically believed women and children should not be in the workplace, and instead stressed women's role in the domestic sphere, raising and educating children.

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[12] *L'Internationale*, February 17, 1872.
[13] International Workingmen's Association, "General Rules, October 1864," https://www.marxists.org/history/international/iwma/documents/1864/rules.htm.
[14] Michel Cordillot, "Socialism vs. Democracy? The IWA in the USA, 1869-1876," in Bensimon et al., eds., *"Arise Ye Wretched of the Earth"*, 270-81.

Additionally, women were to be protected so they could give birth to and raise future republican citizens.[15] Although a few prominent women would participate in the Paris Commune, overall women were relegated to the sidelines and mostly dismissed by the First International. An American section of the IWA organized and led by Victoria Woodhull and Tennessee Claflin was expelled for promoting a women's rights agenda, which was not viewed as conducive to the goals of the organization. This is not to say that there were no women in the European sections of the IWA, however. One French woman in particular, Marie-Louise David (married name Huleck) is important to the story of French radicalism in America. Before arriving in the United States, David was not only admitted to the IWA but served on its General Council in London.

Figure 3. Marie-Louise David, 1895. Source: Phrenological Journal and Science of Health *99, no. 2 (1895): 91.*

Although there are far fewer surviving sources for French female radicals, David left behind an intimate glimpse into her personal life with a short autobiography entitled "A Sketch of My Life."[16] David was born in Eastern France around 1844. She writes extensively of her father, but does not mention his name, nor does the historian Michel Cordillot.[17] David states that she was born into a family of Roman Catholics but, after being introduced to the unabridged Bible, her father felt the dogmas of Catholicism directly contradicted the Bible itself. Although her father left the Catholic faith, he remained a very devout Protestant. Because there were no secular or

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[15] Katz, *The Emancipation of Labor*, 18.

[16] "Character in Unconventional People: A Pair of Anarchists," *Phrenological Journal and Science of Health* 99, no. 2 (1895): 88-96.

[17] Michel Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique: dictionnaire biographique du mouvement social francophone aux États-Unis (1848-1922)* (Paris: Les Éditions de l'Atelier, 2002), 132.

Protestant schools in David's home village, she was educated in a Catholic one and taught by nuns. David claims her resistance to the mistreatment she received from both the nuns and priests led to her being labeled a "heretic" at a young age.[18]

David's first interaction with revolution occurred in December of 1851 following the coup d'état executed by Napoleon III. According to David:

> When the people shouted, *Vive la republique!* —every tissue of my body seemed to hear it and thrill. I was seven years old when a red flag, the emblem of the republican party called The Mountain (La Montagne), was placed in my hands to carry it a long way at the head of a column returning from a political banquet in a forest. I shall never forget the joy I felt when I grasped the pole of the flag and saw its crimson folds wave over my head.[19]

Her father was arrested and imprisoned for his participation in the uprising. It is unclear how long he was incarcerated but her interactions with the prison guards served to help radicalize the young girl. David states her father was not a revolutionary by choice but because of the "pressure of his environment," and that his mind "was more directed toward the study of the Bible and the worship of God." In contrast, she was a "republican by the force of nature." After he was released the two moved to Paris where David was "impressed most by the houses wrecked and pierced by the bullets of the soldiers during the coup d'état."[20]

While in Paris, David's father became gravely ill and was admitted into a Protestant hospital associated with an "Institution of Charity" in order to receive treatment. While he was there it was discovered that Marie-Louse had a natural inclination for sewing and measurements and she went to work in the institution's clothing department. Because of her knowledge of the Bible and her ability to sew, David was in high demand and received multiple job offers from

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[18] "Character in Unconventional People," 93.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid., 93-94.

religious institutes in both Paris and her hometown. David refused all of them because they were associated with religion, something she had renounced at a young age. Her rebuking of the Bible led to a rift between her and her father that would last throughout her life.[21] Her experiences being educated within a Catholic school, participating in the uprisings of 1851-1852, and working in Protestant institutions combined to shape her perceptions of the society around her. She viewed religion and authority with a skeptical eye and would devote her life to various radical institutions and causes.

It is unclear exactly when David left Paris, but she is known to have participated in the Reform League demonstrations in Hyde Park in London, placing her there by 1866. It is also clear that she and her husband, fellow revolutionary A. Huleck, were already members of the First International by that time, and she was elected to serve on the General Council the following year, 1867.[22] This was an impressive feat for a woman, considering there appear to have been relatively few female members of the IWA overall. While on the Council, she corresponded with various labor unions in France and communicated the results during General Council meetings.[23]

However, sometime after 1868, David and Huleck had a disagreement with Marx and the General Council, and they left London for New York City, where they joined an English-language section of the IWA. The specifics of the argument remain unclear, but it is likely David had shown support for Bakunin. David and her husband were selected as delegates to the 1872 General Council Congress. However, on March 15, 1872 Marx wrote a letter to German-born socialist Friedrich Sorge, a close ally within the American IWA, in which he accused David and

[21] Ibid., 94-95.
[22] *The General Council of the First International: 1866-1868* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1974), 174.
[23] Ibid., 194 and 212.

her husband of scheming against the First International and denounced their continued connections with members in London.[24]

Despite the IWA's relatively low membership numbers in the US—Cordillot estimates the number of dues-paying members to be 4,000[25]—the IWA was a frequent topic of discussion within the American press. This media exposure illustrates the larger importance of the IWA in America during the late nineteenth century, as the labor movement was growing across the nation. And the level of French involvement in the American sections of the organization indicates the significance of these migrants to this movement.

The earliest mention of the First International in mainstream American newspapers came in 1865. In November 1864, Karl Marx, on behalf of the IWA, had written Abraham Lincoln a letter congratulating him on his re-election and praising Lincoln as "the single-minded son of the working class" who would "lead his country through the matchless struggle for the rescue of an enchained race and the reconstruction of a social world."[26] The response from Lincoln's administration, a general agreement that slavery is evil, was printed in various newspapers across the United States. Early mentions of the IWA appear to have been somewhat favorable. Several newspapers took note of its congresses, such as the *Burlington Free Press*, which, in 1868, informed its readers of the location, date, participants, and subject matter of the upcoming convention.[27] Papers such as the *St Joseph Herald* and *Baltimore Sun* kept their readers informed of the IWA's congresses and their topics of discussion as well.

[24] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 132.
[25] Cordillot, "Socialism vs. Democracy," 270.
[26] *Bee-Hive*, November 7, 1864, https://www.marxists.org/archive/marx/iwma/documents/1864/lincoln-letter.htm.
[27] *Burlington Free Press*, August 21, 1868.

In 1870, the IWA was mentioned at least thirty-seven times in English-language North American periodicals. The organization received much of this attention due to the Franco-Prussian War, during which it published several anti-war treatises. The *Baltimore Sun* printed a very favorable article praising the IWA and its stance on the war, declaring it "a striking argument in favor of content in France and unity in Germany, they are right in thinking that political liberty and social justice are better instruments to either end than mitrailleurs and bayonets."[28]

In general, the First International was anti-militarist. Most members felt that war represented the worst parts of political repression and economic exploitation.[29] Militant Internationalists in Paris, such as Louis Henri Chalain, firmly believed that getting rid of established systems of rule and eliminating class hierarchies would eliminate war. Chalain stressed, "the progress of the International would lead to the triumph of the 'social universal republic' and this would bring to an end all wars."[30] German Section 1 and French Section 2 of the IWA in New York released a joint statement about the Franco-Prussian War, claiming that one of its main objectives was to effectively bring a halt to labor's advances. Several labor leaders in the United States signed this statement in solidarity. Additionally, Section 2 enlisted important support for the anti-war movement in France.[31]

Throughout the United States, the press remained engaged in conversations about the First International. The *Daily Evening Express* out of Pennsylvania described the IWA as "one of

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[28] *Baltimore Sun,* August 15, 1870.
[29] Katz, *The Emancipation of Labor*, 69.
[30] Ibid. 70.
[31] Bernstein, *The First International*, 82. Unfortunately Bernstein does not mention which labor leaders signed this document.

the most formidable organizations in Europe."[32] Its byline claimed the International housed one million members, with a breakdown as follows: France, 433,875; Germany 150,000; Austria-Hungary 100,000; England 80,000; Switzerland 45,220; Spain 2,718.[33] This excerpt was reprinted in numerous newspapers across the nation. The growing interest in the IWA caused several publications to begin addressing the history of the organization, its goals, and activities. The *Leavenworth Weekly Times,* based in Kansas, reprinted an article originally published in the *New York Tribune* in the fall of 1870, in which the author states, "The Present International Workingman's Association is destined, I believe, to play a very conspicuous part in the history of this generation, and I propose, therefore, to explain to your readers something of its character and objects."[34] The article elaborates on the early history of the organization, Karl Marx, and the working class, and concludes with a list of essential writings by prominent members of the IWA. The general tone of the article is once again favorable, as the author stresses the undue burden placed on modern workers and the possible good offered by the new theories presented by the growing organization. Unfortunately, the Paris Commune altered American views of the IWA.

The First International was instrumental in the organization of the Paris Commune in 1871. The Commune was a revolutionary government installed in Paris that lasted from March 18 to May 28 and formed in response to the creation of the Third Republic of France. Paris felt betrayed by the decision made by the new Republic to surrender to Prussia and rejected said government by declaring the creation of the Commune. Ultimately the Commune ended with the deaths of nearly twenty thousand French citizens at the hands of firing squads led by the French

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[32] *Daily Evening Express* (Lancaster, PA), July 23, 1870. This same article was carried in several other papers, as well.
[33] These numbers are vastly different from those considered reliable by recent historians; see Appendix A in Bensimon et al., eds., *"Arise Ye Wretched of the Earth"*, 387-88.
[34] *Leavenworth Weekly Times*, October 13, 1870.

military. Thousands more were exiled or deported.[35] In 1872, French Prime Minister Dufaure was instrumental in the passing of a law criminalizing membership in the IWA; the vote passed 501 to 104.[36] IWA members abroad, however, continued to support the Communards by activating dormant migration chains, such as those created by the La Réunion colonists in the United States.[37]

The fact that the First International was heavily vested in the Commune makes sense, considering the composition of the communards; two-fifths of the Commune's members were artisans or workers. No other institution of representative government in the United States or Europe could boast similar numbers. Moreover, several IWA members took part in the uprising. According to Henryk Katz, "The Internationalists in the commune formed its active core and were counted among the hardest working and self-sacrificing members."[38] The exact number of Commune members belonging to the IWA is nearly impossible to ascertain, but many notable Internationalists served in elected positions within the revolutionary government. Some of those members fled France after the fall of the Commune and made their way to the United States, where they participated in local French sections of the IWA. In fact, the Commune remained such a powerful symbol to the First International that most of its members wanted to mark March 18 (the first day of the insurrection in Paris) as First International Day.[39] Additionally, the defeat

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[35] On the Paris Commune, see Stuart Edwards, *The Paris Commune* (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971); Eugene Schulkind, ed., *The Paris Commune of 1871: The View from the Left* (New York: Grove Press, 1974); Gay Gullickson, *Unruly Women of Paris: Images of the Commune* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1996); Carolyn Jeanne Eichner, *Surmounting the Barricades: Women in the Paris Commune* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004); John Merriman, *Massacre: The Life and Death of the Paris Commune* (New York: Basic Books, 2014).
[36] *L'Internationale*, March 8, 1872.
[37] On dormant migration chains, see Jose C. Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 392.
[38] Katz, *The Emancipation of Labor*, 77.
[39] *Le Socialiste*, February 3, 1872.

of the Commune was cited by Spanish sections of the IWA as the reason that workers in Spain began to unite.[40]

According to historians such as Samuel Bernstein, this association with the Commune was not a positive one for the American sections of the IWA. Bernstein notes, "The Paris Commune lifted the International Workingmen's Association from comparative obscurity to wide prominence."[41] However, it also altered how much of the media wrote about the organization. Bernstein maintains the Commune reinforced growing anti-democratic currents within the United States, which portrayed it as the consequence of popular participation in politics. To many this demonstrated that people could not be trusted with the vote and society needed the rule of the elite. The Commune was widely viewed as a trial run for a large and sweeping European revolution, and the First International's support of the Communards caused many to view the organization in a more critical light. Bernstein notes that in America the media described the IWA as "dark and diabolic" and the *New York Times* wrote about it as "a refuge of political agitators, paupers, philosophers, and the least reputable elements in all countries."[42]

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[40] *Le Socialiste*, January 27,1872.
[41] Bernstein, *The First International*, 83.
[42] Ibid., 86.

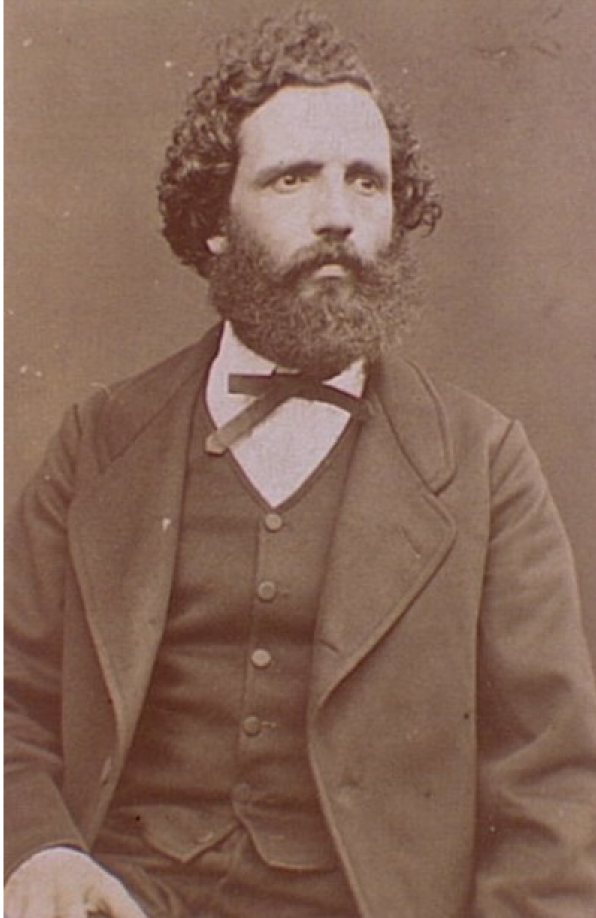
Figure 4. Simon Dereure, 1871. Source: Wikimedia Commons.

One such "agitator" was Simon Dereure, a French shoemaker, communard, and refugee in the United States. It is believed he created the first shoemaker's union in France in 1869, and on its behalf, he attended the IWA's Third Congress. In 1870 he was arrested in France for violating state security and sentenced to three years in prison. He only served around one year, and during that time he continued signing documents such as the First International's petition against the Franco-Prussian War. During the Commune, he was elected as mayor of the 18th Arrondissement and served on numerous committees.[43] After the fall of the Commune he managed to escape to London and made his way to New York in September of 1871. After joining French Language Section 2 of the IWA, Dereure was elected as a representative of the Provisional Federal Council in the United States.[44] Dereure serves as a clear example of how closely connected members of the IWA were with the Paris Commune. Additionally, he illustrates how those connections reached across the Atlantic.

Dereure was not the only Communard to make his way to the United States. Several exiles, deportees, and refugees arrived in North America following the fall of the Commune.

[43] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 156.
[44] Gerth, *The First International*, 181.

Most of the Communards settled in New York, but others made homes in the Icarian settlement in Iowa, or as far west as California. Several of them were members of the IWA and continued their radicalism after their relocation. Jean Baron traveled back and forth between New York and France. Baron had served as a soldier during the Commune and after migrating to America he continued to increase his political activity. He served as a key leader of the Société des Réfugiés de la Commune de New York and was a member of the IWA and later the Socialist Labor Party.[45] Jean Lucien, another Commune veteran who came to America, was also an active member of the First International.

Many of the exiles living in New York used their networks to agitate for change within the United States. Despite Katz's insistence that exiles of the Commune had little to do with the labor unrest of the late nineteenth century, as will be illustrated, time and again French members of the First International took an active role in local labor movements. For example, after the Great Railroad Strike of 1877, the Communards pooled their efforts to revive publication of a weekly French-language socialist newspaper entitled *La Centralisation*. The periodical was edited by Henri Hanser, a refugee who arrived in New York in 1873, and other content contributing members included Baron and fellow Communard J. Leméhauté.[46]

Perhaps the most notorious Communard who sought refuge in the United States was Edmond Mégy. Mégy was part of the Communard guard responsible for the death of Archbishop Georges Darboy, one of several prominent hostages being held for leverage to broker the release of Auguste Blanqui. When the exchange did not happen, Mégy and several others executed the

[45] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 36. The Société des Réfugiés de la Commune was an organization comprised of French radicals that planned benefits and raised money to help support the survivors, widows, and orphans of the Paris Commune, and had branches in New York City and London.
[46] Michael Cordillot, *Aux Origines du Socialisme modern: la Première Internationale, la Commune de Paris, l'exil: recherches et travaux,* (Paris: l'Atelier/Editons Ouvrieres, 2010), 204.

hostages, a move the press in America found particularly distasteful. In September of 1871, Mégy escaped to New York City, where he would spend most of the rest of his life. Mégy had an uncle and friends in the city and found a job easily. He joined Section 2 of the IWA and the Société des Réfugiés de la Commune de New York. Despite this, Mégy never cared for the United States. He wrote a letter to a friend in France describing the joy he took in yelling the *Marseilles* at Americans while he walked down the street. In another letter dated October 4, 1872, Mégy wrote, "I cannot give you any news. This country is despicable, and the population is so stupid there is nothing to talk about."[47]

Several newspapers across the United States wrote negatively about Mégy and the Communards living in New York City. On April 20, 1878, The *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* reported that, "the little covey of lunatics" in New York city known as the Société des Réfugiés de la Commune had held their annual Good Friday dinner.[48] The article described the dinner as an "orgy" filled with "absinthe, brandy and wild talk," and recounted Mégy's role in the assassination of the Archbishop.

Another newspaper claimed, "There is more of social and political villainy hatching in these United States than an unsuspecting public is dreaming of." The article describes the communards in New York as creating a "reproduction of the veritable French Commune." The event being covered was the Société des Réfugiés de la Commune's celebration in commemoration of the Paris Commune, also attended by John Swinton, editor of the *New York Sun*, and German socialist Justus Schwab, both labor activists. Yet again, Mégy's role in the Commune is recounted with horror. The article also reprinted an interview from the *New York*

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[47] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 305-6.
[48] *Brooklyn Daily Eagle,* April 20, 1878.

World in which Mégy was asked about conditions in the United States, to which he replied, "They are very bad, very bad from the point of view of the working men. The situation in France before the revolution of '89 is being repeated here in the United States. If the manufacturers continue to oppose the working men, it will be necessary to upset them." Lastly, the newspaper issued a warning to Americans about the Frenchmen living in New York. It states that according to the *World,* Mégy was the leader of a communist settlement in the city comprised of nearly all French migrants who were "the reddest of the red," "professional revolutionaries" and "enemies" of the United States. According to the columnist, these migrants were troublemakers who reveled in the sound of gunfire and, should a revolution break out, they would be found "leading and inciting to arson, plunder and bloodshed."[49] The article ends with a plea for honest Americans to avoid these Frenchmen at all costs. Both the newspaper's concerns, and the composition of the meeting itself, demonstrate that there was growing concern about the Communards' influence on the minds of exasperated American workers, and that French revolutionaries were in fact working with American labor activists.

French radicals' participation in American sections of the IWA provided them with important pathways into local labor activity, helping to introduce them to workers' organizations throughout the country while still allowing them to retain their ethnicity. On the one hand, radical French migrants viewed the IWA as "universal and resting on its morals, wisdom, and the simplicity and clarity of its principles which it will use to defeat all potentates old and new."[50] For them and many others, the International was an organization based on humanity rather than nationality or class. According to the newspaper *L'Internationale,* the IWA boasted over a

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[49] *Knoxville Daily Tribune,* April 2, 1878.
[50] *L'Internationale*, January 16, 1872.

million members because its ideas easily convinced people to join and fight for workers around the globe.[51] French members of the IWA, therefore, stressed the need for American workers to not blame Chinese immigrants for the poor pay and working conditions they faced, but instead the businessmen who exploited them and the government that allowed this corruption.[52]

On the other hand, the IWA also allowed French émigrés within the US to stay connected to France, often serving as a kind of transnational bridge. When the International first established itself within the United States, it concentrated its efforts in immigrant communities, primarily of German and French workers.[53] Cordillot estimates one-third of the dues-paying members of the IWA within the United States were French migrants. French sections in the United States kept members informed of the International's activities in France, such as the General Congress's decision to accept all Communards as members. In addition, the American sections called on all members to continue to send IWA propaganda into France after the organization was banned there.[54] French members also played a vital role in arranging annual celebrations and commemorative banquets on the anniversary of the Commune.[55] These events, in turn, were promoted by the American IWA as a whole, which encouraged participation by all sections, regardless of language.[56]

As of 1871, New York alone housed four active French sections of the First International.[57] Claude Pelletier and Constant Christian were heavily involved in the creation of Section 2, which had its first meeting in June 1871 with over a hundred members present. Both

[51] Ibid.
[52] *L'Internationale*, February 10, 1872.
[53] Cordillot, "Socialism vs. Democracy."
[54] *L'Internationale*, January 16, 1872.
[55] See, for example, notices published in *La Socialiste*.
[56] *L'Internationale* February 10, 1872.
[57] *Le Socialiste*, November 1871.

had been active members of the Union Républicaine de Langue Français in New York and, in 1870, General Cluseret worked with them to transition the group into the IWA.[58] In January of 1872, New York added yet another French-language section numbered 36, boasting forty members. Other French-language sections of the organization were spread across the United States. In San Francisco, French Section 19 was large enough that it founded its own newspaper entitled *L'Internationale* and was given a page in the English-language IWA paper *Enterprise*.[59] Baltimore added several sections in the spring of 1872 to accommodate French, German, Cuban, and American members.[60]

The First International's sections in the United States were active locally, nationally, and internationally. All members were encouraged to donate funds to be sent to Chicago after the fire of 1871. Despite providing aid to Chicago, rumors began to circulate throughout the United States that workers belonging to the IWA had in fact started the blaze. *La Socialiste,* a French-language newspaper associated with the organization, was appalled by the rumor and asked why their fellow members would destroy a city so open to their cause.[61] French sections were particularly devoted to aiding the refugees of the Paris Commune, but the New York Central Committee also collected and sent monetary assistance to Communards in Switzerland, England, and the United States.[62] French-language sections also promoted and called for donations for workers around the world. When the Swiss government placed pressure on the First International

[58] Bernstein, *The First International*, 41-42. The Union Républicaine de Langue Français was originally formed in 1868 and consisted of former Icarians and Forty-Eighters. It published the bi-weekly newspaper *Bulletin de l'Union Républicaine.* After June of 1870, the URLF's sections transitioned into IWA sections and the name of the newspaper changed to *La Socialiste*. See Hubert Perrier, "L'Union républicaine de langue Française et les sections françaises de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs aux États-Unis (1868-1876)," in *Les Français des Etats-Unis: d'hier à aujourd'hui*, ed. Ronald Creagh (Montpellier: Editions Espaces 34, 1994), 297-332.
[59] *Le Socialiste*, January 13, 1872.
[60] *Le Socialiste*, February 1872.
[61] *Le Socialiste*, December 1871.
[62] *Le Socialiste*, December 1871.

within its borders by orchestrating the termination of IWA workers, French sections in the US gathered and sent donations of necessities such as food, rent money, and clothing.[63]

The IWA worked closely with local groups in New York to promote and organize a protest against the brutality of the French Republic after its executions of Commune leaders in the fall of 1871. The demonstration was intended to mimic a funeral procession, complete with a banner and drummers, with Commune survivors making up the honor guard. The IWA strongly encouraged trade unions to participate in the rally.[64] However, increased repression after the Commune caused New York City Police Superintendent James J. Kelso to forbid the protest. He assigned twelve hundred men to be ready to arrest anyone who participated. Additionally, former Union Army General Alexander Shaler asked four regiments of the local militia to be available to assist New York police. The protest was ultimately canceled, and members of the IWA who attempted to participate were arrested and denied bail. Refusing to completely abandon the demonstration, a meeting was held between members of the IWA and local trade unions to agree upon a rescheduled date. Included in the meeting were several unidentified "friends of the cause." The group decided on December 17 for the protest. In addition, the members of the IWA agreed to seek permission from the police and if that failed, to seek out the Governor of New York.

The rescheduled rally seems to have been a success. *La Socialiste* claimed that many people attended, with positive reactions. Apparently local New Yorkers were shocked to learn that Communard refugees closely resembled everyone else.[65] The *New York World* claimed the police closely monitored the event in case of trouble. Female members of Section 12 of the IWA,

[63] *Le Socialiste*, March 2, 1872.
[64] *Le Socialiste*, November 1871.
[65] *Le Socialiste*, December 23, 1871.

including Tennessee Claflin and Victoria Woodhull, marched alongside members of several German, Irish, and American sections, as well as French Sections 3, 10, and 22. The march also featured twelve Communards, Cuban and Swiss radicals, and many men from various labor delegations.[66] A banner reading "Honor the Martyrs of the Universal Republic" led the procession, while marchers carrying red flags and horse-drawn hearses followed closely behind. Including the onlookers who attended, tens of thousands of people participated.[67] The following year, Simon Dereure organized a conference in New York to commemorate the Commune, where he detailed its goals and the first siege of the revolution.[68] The success of this first conference led to the convening of many more.

Historians such as Bernstein have claimed the French sections' preoccupation with Communards contributed to the organization's inability to gain a foothold within the US. However, the evidence instead suggests that the First International's sections across the United States were actively involved in several campaigns and institutions, albeit with limited success. In Philadelphia, the IWA worked to create a cooperative bank that would benefit members engaged in agriculture, construction, mining, and manufacturing. In Washington D.C., after the House of Representatives failed to pass a proposal formally protesting the executions of Communards by the French military, Representative George Hoar of Massachusetts, a progressive Republican, worked with IWA members to present Congress with a request from workers in his state for the creation of a government commission to investigate the relationship between workers and capital. The request created a lively debate in congress.[69] The House passed the bill to create the investigative committee and submitted it to the Senate, where it was

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[66] Ibid.
[67] Cordillot, "Socialism vs. Democracy," 273.
[68] *Le Socialiste*, February 10, 1872.
[69] *Le Socialiste*, December 23, 1871.

approved. *La Socialiste* reported extensively on these proceedings, urging the community to help promote the nominations of three men to the committee: Thomas Banks of New York, G. Drury of Boston, and G. Pierrot of St. Louis. French members of the IWA did not approve, however, of the president's eventual appointments.[70]

In addition, the IWA attempted to impact the workers of New York by submitting requests for radical changes the city's charter. Representatives from the local New York sections petitioned the city to pledge to provide home and street lighting at cost; institute a tax on coal so the city could provide heat to its citizens at cost; create local markets with products available at cost; provide omnibus and ferry rides at cost; and make low-cost lodgings available for workers. Additionally, the IWA called for the abolition of the system of construction contracts; the election of all public officers; a reduction of the salaries of public servants to that of workers; the creation of reports provided to workers revealing employers' taxes, revenues, and company spending; and permission for people to gather for meetings in unoccupied schools and public meeting halls. Baltimore sections submitted similar requests to their own city government.[71]

The French sections of the IWA consistently worked with other sections to advance workers' rights. Section 9 in New York organized a demonstration of unemployed workers in order to illustrate the negative impact of capitalism on society. The San Francisco sections collaboratively held public meetings on topics such as the nationalization of public land.[72] As late as 1873, the *Chicago Tribune* published a series of articles about the IWA's local activities. Thousands of unemployed and underemployed men throughout Chicago were holding demonstrations in the city protesting poor labor conditions, and the newspaper claimed the IWA

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[70] *Le Socialiste*, December 30, 1871.
[71] *Le Socialiste*, March 9, 1872.
[72] *L'Internationale*, February 17, 1872.

was the organizing force behind the protests. According to the article, there were six active sections of the First International in Chicago, totaling approximately four hundred members. Apparently, seven thousand additional workers had recently added their names to the IWA's membership list, but the newspaper dismissed them, claiming, "Those men are not yet educated up to the ideas of the Socialists and joined them for no other purpose than to secure bread for their starving families."[73] In an attempt to correct this lack of education, the *Tribune* provided a brief history of the organization, information about Karl Marx, a breakdown of the federal and general councils, and a copy of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party."

In 1872, the New Orleans socialist newspaper *La Commune* called on the American IWA to create a collective farm. In response, French Section 15 in New Orleans submitted a proposal for an Internationalist Farming Project to other sections within the United States. Section 15 claimed that an active and successful socialist farm would serve as a better advertisement for social change than simple propaganda and debate. Ten sections began compiling a list of rules and regulations, claiming the project would start as soon as enough funds were collected. Community land would be divided amongst families who were willing and able to farm it, and the farming families would each manage their own plots of land and the products grown.[74] In the meantime, Section 15 approved the formation of a group to provide both work and aid to widows, orphans, and sick Louisiana citizens throughout the state. They submitted their proposal to the Louisiana legislature.[75] However, it appears that the project was never formally launched.

Internal factionalism, meanwhile, severely undermined the American IWA. While serving as an American delegate to the 1872 General Congress held at The Hague, Simon

[73] *Chicago Tribune,* December 25, 1873.
[74] *Le Socialiste*, February 3, 1872.
[75] *Le Socialiste*, March 9, 1872.

Dereure voted to expel Marx's anarchist rival, Mikhail Bakunin, as well as to extend the powers of the General Council, but he voted against moving the seat of said council to New York (a move that Marx supported).[76] Despite Drereure's vote against moving the headquarters of the IWA, the measure was passed, and he was named as one of the new members of the General Council. In 1872, the First International officially relocated its General Council to New York City. After the transfer of power, the organization entered a rapid decline, ultimately dissolving during the summer of 1876.

Despite the dissolution of the IWA, migrant French socialists continued to participate in political and labor movements throughout the United States. Some, like Simon Dereure, moved to the Icarian community in Illinois, where his knowledge and skills as a shoemaker were heavily utilized.[77] Others joined labor organizations in Pennsylvania, New York, Kansas, and other locations. Others would turn their attention to forming and joining new organizations and movements, such as the Knights of Labor, the Socialist Labor Party, and the anarchist movement. Whatever their destination, the IWA served for many French exiles to American as an introduction to the country and its labor movement. The connections that it helped them establish with in their new communities allowed them to transition into other important roles.

[76] Samuel Bernstein, ed., *Papers of the General Council of the International Workingmen's Association, New York, 1872-1876* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1961), 8.
[77] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 158.

CHAPTER 3

KNIGHTS ERRANT OF RADICALISM: FRENCH MIGRANTS, THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR, AND THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY

The Noble Holy Order of the Knights of Labor (KOL) is particularly important to this study, because after the fall of the IWA several French-speaking activists participated in the English-language labor movement by joining the Knights of Labor. For example, Robert Weir believes that French radical Victor Drury may have played a crucial role in the creation of the Knights. He cites an 1877 letter from James Quin to George Schilling, both prominent KOL members, in which Quin wrote: "I believe, yes I know, that the K of L was conceived in the brain of Drury. It was the bulwark of his hope."[1] Additionally, Drury became a mentor to Leonora O'Reilly, who would rise to prominence as an American feminist, suffragist, and union organizer. Others French migrants such as Lucien Sanial and Jean-Baptiste Hubert were also important to the KOL, and Hubert was likewise a formative influence on O'Reilly. As French migrants settled into their new environments, they became more embroiled in local labor movements and political struggles.

The International Workingmen's Association (IWA) had previously aided these refugees by introducing them into local sections of the international labor and socialist movements; their subsequent activities in the KOL demonstrates that not only did these migrants then participate in local labor politics, but they were also instrumental in creating new organizations within the United States. Furthermore, they worked to send new "American" ideas back to their native

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[1] Robert Weir, "'Here's to the Men Who Lose!': The Hidden Career of Victor Drury," *Labor History* 36, no 4 (1995): 530.

countries. As Steven Parfitt states, "The Knights of Labor must be considered as an international and not merely North American institution."[2] In fact, after it began to decline in the United States, the KOL succeeded in establishing itself in Europe, particularly Belgium and France.[3]

According to labor historian Leon Fink, "The quintessential expression of the labor movement in the Gilded Age was the Noble and Holy Order of the Knights of Labor (KOL), the first mass organization of the American working class."[4] Although the IWA created its American chapters around the same time as the formation of the KOL, it never came close to reaching the same level of success as the KOL, which outlasted the IWA by decades. Uriah Stephens, a cloth cutter from Philadelphia, founded the KOL in December of 1869, and the organization focused on uniting all laborers. The Knights were unique because they were the first major US labor organization that attempted to cross gender and racial lines and incorporate skilled and unskilled laborers. According to Parfitt, "Female Knights accounted for about a tenth of overall membership while some women rose to leadership positions."[5] Although many Knights participated in anti-Chinese movements, they were also active in recruiting African American workers. Regardless of some members' anti-immigration stances, more frequently than not,

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[2] Steven Parfitt, "The First-and-a-half International: The Knights of Labor and the History of International Labour Organization in the Nineteenth Century," *Labour History Review* 80, no. 2 (2015): 135. See also Steven Parfitt, "Constructing the Global History of the Knights of Labor," *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 14, no. 1 (2017): 13-37.

[3] Michel Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique: dictionnaire biographique du mouvement social francophone aux États-Unis (1848-1922)* (Paris: Les Éditions de l'Atelier, 2002), 16. See also Leon Watillon, *The Knights of Labor in Belgium*, trans. Frederic Meyers (Los Angeles: Institute of Industrial Relations, 1959); Maurice Dommanget, *La Chevalerie du travail française, 1893-1911: contribution à l'histoire du socialisme et du movement ouvrier* (Lausanne: Rencontre, 1967).

[4] Leon Fink, *Workingmen's Democracy: The Knights of Labor and American Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), xii.

[5] Parfitt, "The First-and-a-half International," 141.

because the KOL represented both skilled and unskilled workers, the Knights rallied to organize immigrants in the workplace.[6]

The Knights' mission is evident in the preamble of their constitution:

> The alarming development and aggression of aggregated wealth, which, unless checked, will inevitably lead to the pauperization and hopeless degradation of the toiling masses, render it imperative, if we desire to enjoy the blessings of life, that a check should be placed upon its power and upon unjust accumulation, and a system adopted which will secure to the laborer the fruits of his toil: and as this much-desired object can only be accomplished by the thorough unification of labor, and the united efforts of those who obey the divine injunction that "In the sweat of thy brow shalt thou eat bread," we have formed the Order of the Knights of Labor, with a view of securing the organization and direction, by co-operative effort, of the power of the industrial masses; and submit to the world the objects sought to be accomplished by our organization, calling upon all who believe in securing "the greatest good to the greatest number" to aid and assist us.[7]

The preamble notes that the Order will strive to include all workers from every department of every productive industry and endeavor to achieve for them a fair amount of the wealth they create. More specifically, the Knights sought reforms such as the creation of Labor Statistics Bureaus, the formation of productive and distributive cooperatives, the banning of the reservation of land for speculators and railroads, and the adoption of safety laws for hazardous jobs such as mining. The KOL also wanted to outlaw scrip and require that all companies pay workers with established US currency, advocated for the abolition of child labor under the age of fourteen, and for the establishment of equal pay for equal work for both sexes.[8]

The organization itself was divided into Local Assemblies, District Assemblies, and a General Assembly. Members of the Local and District Assemblies would elect delegates to represent them in the General Assembly. The General Assembly would vote on matters such as

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[6] Parfitt, "The First-and-a-half International," 142.
[7] "Preamble to the Constitution of the Knights of Labor, 1881," https://college.cengage.com/history/ayers_primary_sources/preamble_constitution_knightslabor.htm#:~:text=To%20secure%20to%20the%20toilers,them%20capable%20of%20enjoying%2C%20appreciating%2C.
[8] Ibid.

the constitution, plans of action, the expulsion of members, the addition of new assemblies, official positions of the organization, and various additional organizational business. Structurally the KOL was intricately organized with numerous hierarchical positions. At the top was the Grand Master Workman who served as elected president of the organization. Each Local Assembly also had a Master Workman. Additionally, there were Worthy Foremen, Venerable Sages, Worthy Inspectors, Recording and Financial Secretaries, Worthy Treasurers, Judges, and Judge Advocates, just to name a few.

Originally, the Knights of Labor was cloaked in secrecy and based on semi-Masonic rituals outlined in a book entitled the *Adephon Kruptos*. As described in Ezra Cook's 1886 exposé, *Knights of Labor Illustrated*, the three founding members of the Order "drew up the ritual and attended the birth of an absolutely secret society, and so well were the secrets of the order guarded that not even the name was divulged until 1881, and then only with the approval of the proper authorities."[9] The Knights operated on a system of abbreviations and secret codes, and each initiate was provided with a handbook that listed each of these.[10] Secrecy was important to the KOL, as is evident in several of the listed abbreviations: S O and MA, which stood for Secrecy, Obedience and Mutual Assistance; AK, for the *Adelphon Kruptos*; and ATPW, for the Annual Traveling Password. The ingrained secrecy and ritualism of the KOL is also apparent in the letters between Leonora O'Reilly and her mentor French mentor Benoit Hubert. In one letter, he tells her, "I would be very glad to receive from you the grip of a fellow associate of the Knights of Labor and also the secret 'password'."[11] In subsequent letters he

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[9] Ezra Cook, *Knights of Labor Illustrated, "Adelphon Kruptos": The Full Illustrated Ritual* (Illinois: Ezra A. Cook, 1886), 5.
[10] Leonora O'Reilly Papers, *Papers of the Women's Trade Union League and Its Principal Leaders*, ed. Edward T. James (Reading: Research Publications, 1979), microfilm, Reel 11.
[11] O'Reilly Papers, Reel 4.

would remind her not to “divulge the secret of the order.” The continued secrecy can further be viewed in the peculiar shorthand they employed to obfuscate or protect the finer details. Hubert wrote, for example: “In answer to your question about … … I must tell you to ‘Cultivate Solidarity’.”[12] The series of dots are adorned with flourishes, indicating that they were written in code.

In 1879, Uriah Stephens stepped down as Grand Master Workman and Terrance Powderly replaced him. Unlike Stephens, Powderly felt the secrecy practiced by the KOL was outdated. After two years of heavy campaigning, he garnered enough votes to make the KOL an open order. Shortly after, in 1882, New York City reached fifty-five local assemblies, allowing it to create District Assembly 49. The New York local assemblies were known to be more radical than many of those in smaller towns and cities. Powderly, however, was the mayor of Scranton, a small Pennsylvania town, and was an open critic of big cities. In 1886, a letter of Powderly’s was leaked to the press stating, “I am sorry that the order ever found a foothold in New York, for no good has ever come from large cities which are prolific in whiskey and crime.”[13] Nevertheless, within four years, DA 49 reached 65,000 members, making it the second-largest district assembly in the KOL.[14] Within DA 49, an inner circle of members led by Victor Drury, known as the Home Club, took over the decision-making process.[15] Tensions within the District Assembly and between it and Powderly caused nearly a decade of infighting most commonly referred to as the “Home Club controversy.”

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[12] Hubert to Leonora, April 19, 1886, O’Reilly Papers, Reel 4.
[13] *The Sun* (New York)*,* January 6, 1887.
[14] Robert E. Weir, *Knights Unhorsed: Internal Conflict in a Gilded Age Social Movement* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2000), 24.
[15] Ibid., 30.

The KOL has been at the center of many studies by historians such as Norman Ware, Robert Weir, Leon Fink, Matthew Hild, and most recently Steven Parfitt. Ware's 1929 *The Labor Movement in the United States* was long considered the quintessential study on the Knights of Labor, but it now suffers from age.[16] Leon Fink's *Workingmen's Democracy* (1983) is also an older study of the organization, focused on the political activism of the Order in cities such as Richmond, Rochester, and Kansas City. Fink concludes that overall, American workers did not care much about politics and only turned to them in desperation. Like other early studies, Fink pays little attention to the importance of immigrants in the KOL, and he mistakenly assumes that all French-speaking members of the Order were French-Canadians, entirely ignoring prominent French members such as Sanial or Drury.[17] Numerous newer historical methodologies and frameworks have provided more useful takes on the KOL, especially cultural history and, of particular importance to this study, the "transnational turn." Robert Weir has devoted much of his academic career to studies of the Knights of Labor, including *Beyond Labor's Veil: The Culture of the Knights of Labor* (1996) and *Knights Unhorsed: Internal Conflict in a Gilded Age Social Movement* (2000). In *Labor's Veil*, Weir argues that the KOL, unlike unions such as the American Federation of Labor (AFL), had an accurate understanding of the stratified society of the Gilded Age and attempted to rebuild it by creating a political culture that encompassed labor issues, ideology, music, social gatherings, art, rituals, and more. In his words, they tried to construct an "entire KOL universe."[18] Although this study of the KOL is instrumental for understanding the complex meanings of what it meant to be a Knight, it does

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[16] Norman Ware, *The Labor Movement in the United States, 1860-1895: A Study in Democracy* (New York: Appleton and Co., 1929).
[17] Fink, *Workingmen's Democracy*.
[18] Robert E. Weir, *Beyond Labor's Veil: The Culture of the Knights of Labor* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1996), xix.

little to cast light on the role French immigrants played in the organization. While Weir mentions Drury and the Home Club, it was not until a later article that he proposed that Drury may have been at least partially responsible for the creation of the KOL, and highlighted Drury's overlooked role in the organization's development.[19] Since the Knights are largely thought of as an American institution, the focus rarely rests on the impact of foreigners within it.

Weir went a different direction with *Knights Unhorsed*. In this work, he focuses on the internal conflict that he believes led to the downfall of the Knights of Labor. Weir places blame for the ultimate failure of the Order on the rise and fall of several competing trends and powerful sects within the organization, including the Home Club, as well as debates over trade unionism. Ultimately, Weir stresses the importance of understanding how "personality overrode chains of command and how selective application of bureaucratic machinery had the potential to undermine any structure the Order built."[20]

Steven Parfitt's more recent works argue that the Knights of Labor should be looked at as an important chapter in international labor history. According to Parfitt, after the fall of the First International the KOL helped fill the gap in international labor politics until the creation of the Second International. His research focuses on the Order in Britain and Ireland, whereas Weir's last book, *Knights Down Under*, chronicles the organization's history in New Zealand.[21] Building upon these transnational studies, this chapter emphasizes not only that the KOL was

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[19] Weir, "Here's to the Men Who Lose!"
[20] Weir, *Knights Unhorsed*, 19.
[21] Parfitt, "The First-and-a-half International"; Parfitt, "Constructing the Global History of the Knights of Labor"; Steven Parfitt, *Knights Across the Atlantic: The Knights of Labor in Britain and Ireland* (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 2016); Robert E. Weir, *Knights Down Under: The Knights of Labour in New Zealand* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2009).

influenced by French activists in the United States, but also that the organization itself expanded into France and Belgium with the formation of Local Assembly 300.

Victor Drury is not well-known among most American labor historians. For example, Frederic Trautmann, author of *The Voice of Terror: A Biography of Johann Most*, inaccurately refers to Drury as an "American anarchist."[22] Despite this, Drury was arguably one of the most influential members of the Knights of Labor. Drury initially migrated to the United States in order to help establish French-language chapters of the IWA and in New York he joined the Socialist Labor Party (SLP), but by the end of the 1870s he had shifted his attention away from Marxism.[23] In fact, Weir argues that Drury's repudiation of Marx launched his illustrious KOL career. Drury first moved away from Marxism by embracing the Fourierist socialism that other French immigrants such as Francis Santerre practiced. Around 1880, he joined New York City's Social Revolutionary Club, where he became close friends with German anarchist Justus Schwab. Drury's political ideology became most closely aligned with anarchists such as Schwab and German émigré Johann Most, whose American speaking tour Drury cosponsored in 1882.[24] Despite his move away from Marxism, Drury gave a passionate speech in New York following Marx's death in 1883. He was joined by his KOL brothers Edward King and PJ Maguire, and the anarchist Most.[25] Drury's first appearance at a KOL General Assembly came in 1879 or 1880. Initially the organization's presence in New York was weak and controlled mostly by those Weir refers to as "orthodox Marxists." Drury was one of many dissenters who were more aligned with

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[22] Frederic Trautmann, *The Voice of Terror: A Biography of Johann Most* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1980), 105.
[23] Weir, "Here's to the Men Who Lose!"
[24] Weir, *Knights Unhorsed*, 24. On Schwab, Most, and the German American anarchist movement, see Tom Goyens, *Beer and Revolution: The German Anarchist Movement in New York City, 1880-1914* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007).

anarchists, ritualists, and "anti-trade unionists" who viewed conventional unions as doomed to failure. According to Weir, in 1882, "When Marxist leaders engaged in an ill-advised boycott of a local starch company—a move for which they were suspended—new leaders came to the fore."[26] This provided Drury with the opportunity to exert greater influence. Although he was not elected to any official leadership position, he soon achieved de facto control in District Assembly 49 as unofficial leader of the Home Club. In the name of secrecy, Drury preferred to use his influence with men of power rather than be in the spotlight himself. By 1884, Weir argues, "all the ingredients of the Home Club agenda were in place; secrecy, opposition to Powderly, education and recruitment of new members, ideological commitment to anarchism and anti-trade unionism."[27]

Drury's 1885 pamphlet entitled *The Polity of the Labor Movement* was considered staple reading for KOL members. In fact, the Proceedings of the General Assembly in 1888 moved, "That the 'Polity of the Labor Movement,' of which Brother Victor Drury is the author, be included in the list of supplies furnished to all Local Assemblies from the General Office, with instructions to every Local Assembly to read and discuss the same, under the head of Labor at every meeting."[28] The work was originally printed as a series of articles that ran in the Marxist journal *The Socialist* in 1876, and it gave detailed descriptions of Drury's own complex ideas of land and ownership (prior to his turn to anarchism). Drury's base precepts can be summarized as follows: all wealth is created by labor, all wealth belongs to those who create it, and society has a higher capacity to create than to consume. The three elements essential for reform were therefore

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[26] Robert E. Weir, "A Fragile Alliance: Henry George and the Knights of Labor," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 56, no. 4 (1997): 424.
[27] Weir, *Knights Unhorsed*, 33.
[28] *Proceedings of the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor, Twelfth Regular Season, Held at Indianapolis, Indiana, November 13 to 27, 1888* (Philadelphia: Journal of Labor Print, 1889), 14.

land, labor, and unions. Drury viewed labor as critical for the mental and physical health of all individuals, but also acknowledged that those unable to labor due to mental or physical illness, age, or disability should be given accommodations.[29] According to Drury there are two classes of people, producers and non-producers. He referred to non-producers as loafers, bestowing this title on capitalists and bondholders whom he felt lived solely off the production of others.[30] The activist preached that unions were necessary for the education of the masses of unskilled and skilled workers alike.

Like other radicals and politicians in nineteenth-century America, Drury wanted to eliminate land speculation by putting land directly in the hands of settlers and citizens. However, his ideas were more radical than most, as he advocated the abolition of private property altogether and supported collectivization. He also introduced the idea that unions should purchase land and possibly take it by force if necessary.[31] These theories are present in both his writings and the speeches he gave across the United States. Because of the widespread use of *The Polity of the Labor Movement*, Drury achieved a large amount of popularity. He capitalized on this to form what he called "Spread the Light" clubs. According to Weir, "'Spread the Light' meant to hold the Order accountable for its rhetorical emphasis on educating the masses."[32] He worked with William Horan, another Home Club member who favored the ritualism of the KOL, to spread these clubs throughout New York and beyond. These offshoots of the KOL amplified Drury's political and economic ideas by debating their meaning and the ways in which the KOL should implement them.

[29] As summarized in Weir, "Here's to the Men Who Lose," 533.
[30] *Philadelphia Inquirer*, February 5, 1883.
[31] Weir, "Here's to the Men Who Lose," 534-35.
[32] Weir, *Knights Unhorsed*, 27.

Drury's involvement in the Knights of Labor is both well-documented and yet somehow also obscured. Drury's part in DA 49 is well-known in both historical studies and contemporary newspapers; however, his day-to-day involvement in the organization is relatively mysterious. In 1886, at the height of DA 49's power, *The Times* of Philadelphia ran an exposé on the Knights of Labor that included a write-up of Drury. According to the paper, Drury was "an able man, old, sincere, narrow and intense, a lifelong revolutionist." He was also described as "probably" sixty years old, a fresco painter, the editor of a labor paper, and a man with no known family who has instead devoted his life to revolution. The article stressed Drury's anarchist sentiments, criticizing him for his "profound contempt for the slow processes of ordinary agitation."[33]

It is evident that Drury was an advocate for racial equality and used the KOL as a platform for that cause. In 1881, he traveled to Kansas and participated in a festival commemorating the life of John Brown. Not only did he deliver a powerful speech, but Drury worked with the governor of Kansas to get a statue of Brown built. He also attended the Knights of Labor General Assembly of 1886 which took place in Richmond, Virginia. The convention was particularly noteworthy because black delegate Frank Ferrell was introduced by DA 49. Violence nearly erupted throughout the city when Ferrell and DA 49 attended a performance at a whites-only opera house.[34] Although bloodshed was avoided, it was obvious Richmond was not comfortable with the integration of the northern district assembly. In response, at a banquet held by Richmond's black community, Drury gave a fiery speech illustrating support for his black KOL brothers. An article in the *Virginia Gazette* stated, "It was only a few minutes in duration, but was one of the most thrilling and eloquent I have ever heard." The newspaper continued by

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[33] *The Times* (Philadelphia), June 20, 1886.
[34] Fink, *Workingmen's Democracy*, 163.

declaring that Drury was known to be one of the greatest living orators. He brought thunderous applause with his speech, “Speaking of the aims of 49, what forty-eight was to the oppressed millions of Europe, it was hoped Forty-nine might be to the struggling masses of America in this day.” The newspaper also stated, “He declared that if it were their fate to die, as three great champions of the brotherhood of men had died--Socrates by the poison hemlock, Christ upon the cross, and John Brown upon the scaffold--they would go to their fate saying with Christ, ‘Forgive them father for they know not what they do.’”[35] Additionally, Drury, James Quin, and Ferrell worked to create Chinese chapters of the KOL in New York City. This was done during the height of Chinese exclusion and xenophobia, causing a great amount of pushback, particularly from western assemblies. Drury responded by simply transferred the nearly five hundred Chinese workers from trade assemblies, which the KOL barred Chinese from joining, into mixed assemblies, which were not subject to the ban.[36]

Drury was also at the center of the Home Club controversy, which, although overlooked by some historians such as Fink, is a critical chapter in the history of the Knights of Labor. Weir cites Drury as the “mastermind of the plot.”[37] The Home Club consisted of Drury and his supporters throughout the Knights of Labor. Some of those linked to the club were Thomas McGuire, James Quin, Thomas Barry, and Hugh Cavanaugh. These men all served in some administrative or leadership role within the Order. Although the tensions that plagued the KOL are multilayered and complex, they can be traced to two specific issues: the opposition that arose when Powderly pushed to make the KOL an open organization, and the conflict between trade

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[35] *Virginia Gazette* (Williamsburg), October 19, 1886.
[36] Weir, *Knights Unhorsed*, 37.
[37] Robert E. Weir, “Powderly and the Home Club: The Knights of Labor Joust Among Themselves,” *Labor History* 34, no.1 (1993): 84-113. For more information on the Home Club see Craig Phelan, “The Warp of Fancy: The Knights of Labor and the Home Club Takeover Myth,” *Labor History* 40, no. 3 (1999): 283-299 and Weir, *Knights Unhorsed*.

unionism and anti-trade unionism. As we have seen, Drury had early cited unions as the cornerstone for achieving true revolution; however, by the 1880s he had, like Johann Most and many other anarchists of the time, accepted German socialist Ferdinand Lasalle's notion of the "iron law of wages," which argued that workers' wages under capitalism would remain at a level low enough to do nothing more than sustain workers' most basic needs, and therefore trade unionism focused on obtaining wage increases was doomed to failure. On this basis, Drury stood against conventional unionism and was especially opposed to the trade unions that divided workers by occupation, arguing instead that they must be replaced with mixed assemblies, which would unite and educate all workers to pursue more radical goals.[38] The Knights of Labor became an ideological battleground for these theories, and Drury led the charge.

Hostilities escalated between Powderly and DA 49, as Powderly continued to open the KOL and pushed to eliminate elements of the ritualism many of the New York members cherished. Powderly attempted to suspend DA 49 in 1883, but Drury proved to be more popular than Powderly and the New York members simply ignored the order.[39] In August of 1886, the *Pittsburgh Sunday Leader* published an article accusing the Home Club of plotting to assassinate Powderly. According to the flurry of press coverage that followed, New York members began denouncing their associations with the Club, claiming it had "brought much disgrace on the order." Victor Drury was named its leader and was proclaimed to be an "offshoot of the Paris Commune" who had "been trying to make District Assembly 49 an engine of Socialism."[40] Drury was hardly alone in his support of socialism, as has been demonstrated. Most members of DA 49 supported socialist ideas, be they Marxist or LaSallean. Additionally, Drury was not a

[38] Weir, "Powderly and the Home Club," 94.
[39] Weir, *Knights Unhorsed*, 31.
[40] *Virginian and Carolinian* (Norfolk, VA), September 2, 1886. This same article appeared in several other newspapers.

member of the Commune, as he was already in the United States when the conflict erupted in 1871. As illustrated in Chapter 2, American mainstream media reacted to the Commune with shock and fear; therefore, naming Drury a Communard stoked that same fear in readers. It is revealing that the American press continuously highlighted Drury's background as a French revolutionist whilst demonizing him as the mastermind behind the attempted KOL coup. Several contemporary sources place blame entirely on Drury for the conflict in the KOL. His name made headlines throughout the United States. Although Drury was influential, intelligent, and well spoken, there were many Knights who were likewise displeased with Powderly. Powderly and the executive board ordered an investigation into the allegations surrounding the "attempted assassination." Both reports found the accusations to be baseless and the Home Club was exonerated.[41] Powderly blamed the rumors about the Club on enemies of the labor movement.

Nevertheless, at a meeting of the general executive board of the Knights of Labor in 1889, Drury and a handful of other members were expelled from the order. Powderly and the board claimed they were guilty of committing treason against the Knights of Labor by waging war on the Grand Master Workman.[42] Drury's power came to an end and opened the way for the rise of Daniel De Leon, a committed Marxist who would work closely with Lucien Sanial within both the KOL and the Socialist Labor Party throughout the 1890s.[43]

Nevertheless, Victor Drury continued to influence the American labor movement in other ways. Drury and his friend Benoit Hubert recruited members into the Knights of Labor who would later prove to be key labor organizers. An important example is Leonora O'Reilly.

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[41] Weir, *Knights Unhorsed*, 35.
[42] *Waterbury Evening Democrat*, March 18, 1889.
[43] Weir, *Knights Unhorsed*, 43. On De Leon, see Carl Reeve, *The Life and Times of Daniel De Leon* (New York: AIMS/Humanities Press, 1972).

Not only did she devote most of her life to the labor movement, but she was also a founding member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, a women's rights activist, and a diligent opponent of the United States' involvement in World War I.[44] O'Reilly was born in 1870 to Irish immigrant factory workers. At a year old she lost her father, forcing her mother, Winifred, to go back to work in a garment factory and take in boarders to make ends meet. As a small child she attended meetings at Cooper Union with Winifred. Cooper Union was an institution built in 1859 to offer an education to anyone who wanted one regardless of race, sex, or class, and frequently hosted political speeches, rallies, and union meetings. In fact, it is likely that O'Reilly was first exposed to Victor Drury in 1881 when he presided over a meeting of the Brewer Workman's Union there.[45] By that time, age eleven, O'Reilly was already working as a seamstress in a collar factory.[46] By sixteen, she was being recruited into the KOL by Benoit and Drury.

Benoit Hubert (or Jean-Baptist Hubert) appears to have been a French associate of O'Reilly's father who looked in on the family after Mr. O'Reilly's untimely passing, who Leonora referred to in her correspondence as "Uncle B." Hubert participated in numerous labor and political organizations, including the IWA and the Union Républicaine de Langue Française.[47] On March 3, 1886, he wrote to O'Reilly: "At the French meeting yesterday (not the K of L) I have been elected president for six months over a great number of French societies in this city."[48] Although Hubert is vague about which "societies" he now led, this letter illustrates his continued connection to his native language and community. Much like Drury, however,

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[44] Jacklyn Collens, "Cultivating Solidarity: Leonora O'Reilly, Working-Class Women, and Middle-Class Allies in the American Woman Suffrage Movement" (MA Thesis, Sarah Lawrence College, 2016), 2.
[45] *Brooklyn Daily Eagle,* June 23, 1881.
[46] Collens, "Cultivating Solidarity," 17.
[47] Cordillot, *La Sociale en Amerique*, 235.
[48] Hubert to Leonora, March 3, 1886, O'Reilly Papers, Reel 4.

Hubert immersed himself firmly in both American and French institutions, and while a member of the aforementioned French bodies he also began work on an English-language newspaper entitled *The Worker*. It is also possible that O'Reilly's father met Hubert through the latter's work integrating newly arriving Irish immigrants into the labor movement. The Frenchman gave several passionate speeches before Irish audiences, begging them "not to isolate themselves but to join the common global cause of labor."[49]

"Uncle B." started actively recruiting O'Reilly in early 1886. Although it would prove a trying year for the Order, the KOL was at its peak membership at this time. He commended O'Reilly for her ability at such a young age to not only understand but sympathize with the plight of working people. It does appear that O'Reilly suffered from some doubts about being a woman in the KOL, as Hubert specifically addressed what he assumed to be her questions. He assured her there were other female members of the organization, stressing, "I know of one assembly, so called for lodge, in which one woman has been received as a member of it. She is very bashful being the only female in it. But she soon will have other of her sex there." He also mentioned another District Assembly that already has several female members, and concluded by imploring her to "consult mama, your pulse and your pocketbook."[50] Despite any reservations held by O'Reilly, she joined DA 1563 only a couple of weeks after receiving "Uncle B.'s" convincing plea.

After joining, Hubert served as one of her mentors as she began her journey into the labor movement. In their correspondence, he often asked her what she thought about union activity such as strikes and offered his own opinions. Hubert also taught O'Reilly French, often asking if

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[49] Cordillot, *La Sociale en Amerique,* 235.
[50] Hubert to Leonora, March 3, 1886, O'Reilly Papers, Reel 4.

she had been practicing. He never wrote to O'Reilly in his native language, despite his insistence that she become proficient. "Uncle B." quickly found himself so inundated with work in the movement that he suggested to O'Reilly that she seek guidance from two of his comrades: Joseph Barnes and Victor Drury. Drury, in turn, often brought her literature, such as Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* and works written by Charles Fourier.[51]

But O'Reilly's doubts as a female in the KOL soon resurfaced. Less than a year after joining, Hubert informed O'Reilly that she could transfer to a local assembly where there was a significantly higher number of women. He assured her that she would be much "more at home with them and in good company." Hubert implored O'Reilly to remain in the Order, as it would provide a worthwhile education to help her throughout her life. He ends the letter by saying that he would be happy knowing that he had been instrumental in bringing the benefits of the KOL to her, and "I wish everybody could be happy."[52] The letter is melancholy, in contrast to his usual playfulness. At the time of the correspondence the KOL was suffering from backlash arising from the events that occurred in Chicago on May 4, 1886, perhaps explaining his cryptic tone.

1886 was a year of great promise for the KOL, which is clearly illustrated in Hubert and O'Reilly's letters. He wrote to her on May 2:

> Talking about the order of KoL I can tell you that it is spreading very much all over the country. I would like to see the she-males joining it at the same ratio as the men are doing now. I am surprised at the number of new members coming in the ranks every night in this city. It is all the rage and the same can be said comparatively in the country. If it goes on that way, I expect that next year we will be over one million members. Then we shall be more powerful in obtaining some amelioration to our condition. Let us hope and be cheerful the future will be our own and happiness our lot.[53]

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[51] Leonora O'Reilly journal, O'Reilly Papers, Reel 1.
[52] Hubert to Leonora, n.d. [early 1887], O'Reilly Papers, Reel 4.
[53] Hubert to Leonora, May 2, 1886, O'Reilly Papers, Reel 4.

Unfortunately, only two days later, tragic events in Chicago would cause the Knights of Labor to lose much of the popularity it had so quickly gained. On May 1, 1886, thousands of workers participated in a general strike promoting an eight-hour workday. Two days into the strike, Chicago police killed one striker and injured several others. The following day anarchists organized a protest demonstration in Haymarket Square. Violence broke out when an anonymous assailant through a bomb into the ranks of the police. In all, seven police officers and at least four civilians were killed, and many others injured. The Haymarket Affair led to the arrest of eight Chicago anarchists, and the labor movement was repressed throughout the United States. The Knights fell under heavy scrutiny because defendants Albert Parsons and August Spies were KOL members. Parsons was initiated into the KOL in 1876 and had cofounded the first local assembly in Chicago.[54] Prior to May 1, Powderly had ordered the Knights to refrain from participating in the nationwide strike. Parsons ignored Powderly, encouraging members of Chicago's DA 24 to join the demonstration.[55] Despite Powderly's attempt to distance the KOL from Parsons and Spies, the general public tended to associate the Haymarket Affair with the Knights.[56] The tragedy also caused divisions within the Order after Powderly refused to support a plea for clemency for Parsons and Spies, who were given the death penalty.[57]

Ultimately O'Reilly did not remain in DA 1563, even though she made a few lifelong friends there. The KOL technically accepted women and a few even rose to positions of leadership, but for the most part women were few and far between. However, Victor Drury would prove to be her lifelong mentor and friend. They worked together on several projects, such

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[54] Paul Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 24.
[55] Weir, *Knights Unhorsed*, 55.
[56] Weir, *Beyond Labor's Veil*, 170.
[57] Ibid., 171.

as creating a newspaper for laborers and organizing sewing classes.[58] In her journal O'Reilly provides frustratingly few details, but she often makes note of her interactions with Drury; they shared meals, exchanged letters, and he sometimes sang for her and her guests in the evening. He spent the last part of his life in her home, and she took special care to preserve his belongings. Among those possessions was the following poem. It appears to have been written later in his life and serves to illustrate how his views on society and capitalism remained consistent throughout his later years.

> Glory to those in the world of matter who have sought the microbe and have made them scatter. Let's hope that someday soon some power may find an antiseptic for the world of the mind. The miasmatic microbes that infect the laws and customs of mankind, the germs that cause poverty, the curse of war, the cursed greed of gold. That's all things man. The microbe that infects the politician who seeks to plunder, place power and position, the microbe that infects the deadly thing that goes by the name of man—and wants a king. The microbe that destroys our liberty, and makes a slave of man, by nature free. So many microbes are there yet to find which tarnish, defile, corrupt, pollute the mind.[59]

Drury and Hubert were not the only French migrants to play crucial roles in American labor politics. In 1863, the French newspaper *Le Temps* sent writer Lucien Sanial to the United States to cover the Civil War. After the war Sanial moved permanently to the United States. He married Caroline McClenahan, an American, and the two had several children. In order to support his family, Sanial practiced law in New York City. Some French historians have claimed Sanial participated in the Paris Commune, but Cordillot dismisses this theory, stating that Sanial did not exhibit any radicalism until after his move to the United States. Cordillot believes his introduction into the labor movement began when he joined Drury as a member of the English-language Section 9 of the IWA in 1872. Through the IWA he participated in attempts to organize New York's unemployed throughout the Panic of 1873. The well-educated lawyer also served as

[58] Leonora O'Reilly journal, 1902, O'Reilly Papers, Reel 1.
[59] Victor Drury, untitled poem, O'Reilly Papers, Reel 3.

co-editor for an English-language newspaper created to popularize this workers' movement and retained support from IWA members in New York throughout the 1870s.[60]

Sanial and others also established the Committee of Safety, a local organization that advocated for the creation of jobs in lieu of charities, but which received little attention from the city government, which declined to meet with them. When the organization planned a demonstration in Tompkins Square Park in January 1874, local officials banned the gathering. Sanial and others pressed authorities to rescind the restrictions but to no avail. On January 13, 1874, violence broke out in the park when thousands of workers gathered anyway to march to City Hall and demand a public works program.[61] The failure of the unemployed movement in New York marked Sanial's transition into the English-speaking socialist movement.

The Socialist Labor Party, formed in 1877 out of the remains of the short-lived Workingmen's Party, was the first Marxist political party in the US, and Lucien Sanial joined soon after. By 1879 he was one of the key figures in the party's New York City section and would go on to become one of its most famous leaders. Sanial wore many hats for the SLP during his years of membership. He ran for Congress twice as an SLP candidate.[62] He also ran for mayor of New York City twice, in 1894 and again in 1897. In the 1894 election, he received 7,181 votes, placing him third behind the Democratic and Republican candidates but ahead of the Prohibitionist and Populist nominees.[63] While running for mayor in 1897, Sanial offered support to the tailors on strike in the city, making the news when he stated that municipal governments

[60] Cordillot, *La Sociale en Amerique,* 385.
[61] Herbert G. Gutman "The Tompkins Square 'Riot' in New York City on January 13, 1874: A Re-Examination of Its Causes and Its Aftermath," *Labor History* 6, no. 1 (1965): 45.
[62] *Salt Lake Tribune,* August 2, 1896.
[63] *Buffalo Evening News*, November 9, 1894.

should be covering the costs of the strikers.[64] He also served on a committee responsible for compiling reports on the standing of the socialist movement in various parts of the country, and the party's overall progress.[65]

Cordillot believes the Socialist Labor Party introduced Sanial to Marxist theories. Seeing as he was an active member of the IWA, it seems somewhat farfetched that Sanial would not have been exposed to Marxism during that time. Either way, Sanial became a committed socialist until his death. At the age of eighty-three, he attended the 1912 New York State Convention of the Socialist Party of America. He was described as "the most striking figure among the delegates" and was said to have been a "participant in the growth and struggles of the Socialist party from its inception in Europe and America." According to an account of the event, "The calling of his name on the roll was the signal for a great demonstration."[66]

Figure 5. Lucien Sanial at the 1912 New York State Socialist Convention. Source: Coming Nation *(Girard, KS), July 27, 1912.*

The Socialist Labor Party, the Knights of Labor, and later the American Federation Labor had a close yet prickly relationship. It is unclear when Sanial joined the KOL, but he belonged to LA 1563, the same assembly as Hubert and Drury. Sanial believed the Knights were the only organization capable of uniting unskilled labor, and particularly day laborers, which he viewed as necessary to achieve socialism. For this same reason, he was also a member of the Central

[64] *Snyder County Tribune* (Middleburg, PA), August 27, 1897.
[65] *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, June 4, 1900.
[66] *Coming Nation* (Girard, KS), July 27, 1912.

Labor Federation (CLF). In the 1890s in New York there were two organizations that competed to serve as "umbrella" groups for unions and workers: the Central Labor Union and the Central Labor Federation.[67] The CLF was created out of dissatisfaction with the Central Labor Union, and included thirty-eight trade unions and the local Socialist Labor Party, of which Sanial served as delegate.[68] Being a delegate brought him into contact with the AFL, which he believed would also be instrumental in achieving his socialist dream. The AFL used the eight-hour workday, something socialists had been championing for several years, as a rallying cry. Sanial believed that it was essential to get both the KOL and the AFL to support the SLP. Unfortunately, he failed at enlisting either.

At the December 1890 AFL convention, Samuel Gompers squashed any hope of supporting the SLP. Refusing to accept complete defeat, Sanial turned his attention to the Knights of Labor. He attempted to make a deal with James Sovereign to keep Powderly from regaining control of the Order.[69] Sovereign agreed to name Sanial editor-in-chief of the KOL newspaper if Sovereign was reelected as Grand Master Workman. Sanial and the other SLP members believed control of the newspaper would allow them a greater degree of influence within the organization. However, Sovereign never lived up to his end of the bargain, and Sanial was never given possession of the publication. This caused a schism within the relationship between the KOL and the SLP.[70]

Lucien Sanial may have dedicated the majority of his time to the American labor movement, but he never forgot about his home country of France. In 1893 a group of French

[67] Ronald Mendel, *A Broad and Ennobling Spirit: Workers and Their Unions in Late Gilded Age New York and Brooklyn, 1886-1898* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2003), 175.
[68] Reeve, *The Life and Times of Daniel De Leon*, 51.
[69] James Sovereign served as Grand Master Workman from 1893 to 1901.
[70] Cordillot, *La Sociale en Amerique,* 384.

workers visiting the Columbian Exposition in Chicago met with Sanial to discuss the possibility of forming KOL assemblies in France.[71] That same year, Sanial was selected as a delegate of the Central Labor Federation to the Second International's Third Congress in Zurich. While traveling there, he stopped in Paris to deliver information to the Fédération des Bourses de travail about another upcoming conference designed to create a lasting relationship between American and French labor organizations. While in Zurich, Sanial spoke extensively to Eugène Guérard, the secretary of the French railway union, about the benefits of the Knights of Labor.[72] Shortly thereafter, France established its first chapters of the Order. The Knights of Labor in France, which operated in secret, would prove to be a significant, if discreet, part of the French labor movement into the twentieth century.[73] Sanial was instrumental in bringing the KOL to his native country, and served as a spokesman for the French KOL within the American Order. Sadly, Fredrich Engels chastised Sanial, claiming Sanial could not possibly simultaneously be a leader in the Socialist Labor Party, a representative of the French KOL, and a member of both the AFL and KOL in the United States.[74] By 1895, Sanial had been pushed out of both the KOL and the AFL. But he continued to work with socialist parties throughout the duration of his life.

The bulk of what is known about French-speaking immigrants in the KOL is centered around New York because of the high profiles of men like Victor Drury and Lucien Sanial, but others joined the Order outside of the New York area. The KOL's first experiment in international representation occurred with the creation of LA 300 for glassworkers. Even though the KOL generally frowned upon organizing by trade, LA 300 was a nationwide trade union for

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[71] Steven Parfitt, "Powderly Will Go to Paris: The Paris Exposition 1889 and the Knights of Labor," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 92 (2017): 208.
[72] Cordillot, *La Sociale en Amerique*, 384.
[73] Dommanget, *La Chevalerie du travail française*.
[74] Cordillot, *La Sociale en Amerique*, 384.

glassworkers within the Order. These American glassworkers worried foreign laborers would be brought in to replace striking Americans, so in an effort to thwart that possibility, the KOL opened conversations with European workers to include them in the Order. According to Ken Fones-Wolf, "LA 300 organizers established branches of the *Chevaliers du Travail* for the glassworkers and miners of the Charleroi region (Belgium), seeking to regulate wages and working conditions through a *Conseil de Prud'hommes*."[75] LA 300, with its deep coffers, sent financial assistance to striking Belgian workers, which then led to a conference with glassworkers from Belgium, England, Italy, and France. Thus, the Universal Federation of Glassworkers was born.[76] Shortly thereafter England and Belgium began founding local KOL assemblies of glass workers.[77]

Jules Quertinmont was one of the men who joined the LA 300 during this expansion. In 1884, he and several other French-speaking Belgians moved to Jeanette, Pennsylvania where he became active in the KOL. By 1897, he represented glass blowers in the National Executive Board of the Glass Workers Union.[78] Quertinmont helped organize a strike that lasted much longer than anticipated, with very few results. In response, Quertinmont and other Belgium workers in the factory pooled together their capital and opened the Jeanette Window Glass Company.[79] The workers continued to grow the company and eventually Quertinmont created a glass facility in Fairchance, Pennsylvania, with him as president. It eventually became known as the Quertinmont Window Glass Company. The company was devastated by the Great

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[75] Ken Fones-Wolf, "Transatlantic Craft Migrations and Transnational Spaces: Belgian Glass Workers in America, 1880-1920" *Labor History* 45, no. 3 (2004): 299-321.
[76] Cordillot, *La Sociale en Amerique*, 359.
[77] For more information see Ken Fones-Wolf, *Glass Towns: Industry, Labor, and Political Economy in Appalachia, 1890-1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007); Parfitt, *Knights Across the Atlantic*; Watillon, *The Knights of Labor in Belgium*
[78] Cordillot, *La Sociale en Amerique,* 359.
[79] *Daily American* (Somerset, PA), July 24, 1935.

Depression and the courts took possession of the property. The workers went on strike, and Quertinmont, ever the champion of the glassworkers, paid their wages out of his own pocket. He died less than a year later and was mourned by the community. A local newspaper wrote, "Fayette County and the nation owe him much for his progressive contribution in developments of the glass industry and national and civic loyalty."[80]

Albert Delwarte, a Belgian socialist who traveled throughout Belgium and Brazil participating in various labor organizations, including the IWA, worked directly with LA 300's A.G. Danny to spread the Order throughout the region of Charleroi.[81] Due to their efforts, nearly three thousand miners and iron and steel workers there joined the Knights of Labor by the end of 1885.[82] In 1888, Delwarte attended the Knights of Labor International Conference held in Indianapolis on behalf of the Belgium sections.[83] Delwarte was described as "a short solid man with a great red beard and a general appearance of having descended from a line of old Norse sea kings. His language is French and when he speaks an interpreter becomes a necessary accessory."[84]

Delwarte relocated to Pennsylvania in 1891, where he went to work for the McKee Glass Company.[85] He remained active in the labor movement and joined the SLP. During a series of strikes in 1896, Delwarte was arrested and imprisoned for a short time. According to the *Pittsburgh Press*, "It is…asserted that the Belgians are all members of a secret organization of the socialist type and are under the instructions of Albert Delwarte and Oscar Falluer, both of

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[80] *Morning Herald* (Uniontown, PA), February 25, 1936.
[81] Parfitt, "The First-and-a-half International," 152.
[82] Ken Fones-Wolf, "Immigrants, Labor, and Capital in a Transnational Context: Belgian Glass Workers in America, 1880-1925" *Journal of American Ethnic History* 21, no. 2 (2002): 59-80; Watillon, *The Knights of Labor in Belgium*, 21.
[83] *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 19, 1913.
[84] *Indianapolis News*, November 15, 1888.
[85] Ibid.

whom are prominent socialists in Belgium."[86] Delwarte later became close to the anarchist Louis Goaziou (discussed in Chapter 4).

Overall, as has been seen, French migrants played a vital role in significant labor and political movements in the United States during the late nineteenth century. Their disproportionate influence in both the Knights of Labor and the Socialist Labor Party illustrates their importance to the formative American labor movement of the Gilded Age. When the IWA dissolved, French migrants looked to both the KOL and SLP as vehicles to bring about the change they envisioned for both their native countries and their adopted one. As the labor movement evolved and a new generation of French migrants arrived in the United States, several would shift their attention away from the KOL and SLP, and toward anarchism and the International Working People's Association.

[86] *Pittsburgh Press*, February 28, 1896.

CHAPTER 4

ANARCHY IN THE USA: THE IWPA, THE RADICAL PRESS, AND FRENCH-AMERICAN ANARCHISM

Many French migrants, like Victor Drury, arrived in the United States as self-proclaimed socialists or anarchists, while others came from France to take advantage of job opportunities and became involved in radical movements after migrating, like Louis Goaziou. Drury, as discussed in Chapter 3, came to the United States as a Marxist socialist, and after his arrival evolved into an anarchist, disavowing Marx and Engels. Goaziou, on the other hand, initially migrated temporarily to Pennsylvania as a coal miner, and later relocated permanently and became part of the backbone of several radical movements in the US. No matter which path they took, numerous French-speaking migrants during the late eighteenth century participated in America's anarchist movement, either individually or through groups such as the International Working People's Association (IWPA).

Familiar characters such as Drury and Jules Quertinmont were influential in the spread of anarchism, while new personalities such as Goaziou and Jean Brault would also make their own lasting contributions. Some of these radicals were previously members of the International Workingmen's Association (IWA, or First International) and/or the Knights of Labor (KOL), but others were not. They were influenced by Marx, Bakunin, Proudhon, or Blanqui; many shifted between different radical ideologies. Women like Marie-Louise David and Marie Haubry likewise devoted their lives to radical movements, eventually settling on anarchism, which they both wrote about and promoted at length. Each of these examples represents a somewhat different way of attempting to reconcile being a French anarchist living in the United States.

The International Working People's Association was an anarchist federation created in 1883 as an alternative to the Socialist Labor Party. The IWPA came into existence at the Pittsburgh Congress in 1883, in order to unite the varying factions of revolutionary socialism within the United States. Johann Most, the German-born anarchist, served as head of the congress. Drury was also in attendance. Most and Drury were close, as Drury had greeted Most when he arrived in New York in December 1882. Drury also introduced Most at several of his stops during his speaking tour throughout the United States. Both men were known to be eloquent speakers and were particularly gifted at firing up their audience.

The IWPA promoted the achievement of socialism through direct action and revolution. The group rejected electoral participation and reformist approaches to social problems. The IWPA grew rather quickly and reached a membership of approximately five thousand by 1886.[1] It was particularly successful in cities like Chicago which housed a large number of immigrant workers. For several years, the IWPA brought together a group of radical thinkers, activists, and workers that would continue to influence anarchist movements within the United States for several decades. At the 1883 congress, a committee comprised of Victor Drury, Johann Most, August Spies, American-born anarchist Albert Parsons, and Joseph Reifgraber--an Austrian anarchist based in St. Louis--worked together to draft the "Pittsburgh Manifesto" which was then adopted as the program of the IWPA. The document, officially named "To the Workingmen of America," outlined the organization's ideology and goals. According to Paul Avrich, "The Pittsburgh Manifesto embodied all the basic principles of the revolutionary socialist movement" and appealed to "American as well as European traditions."[2] Parsons' influence is clearly present

[1] Paul Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), 86.
[2] Ibid., 74.

in the opening invocation of the Declaration of Independence, reminding his fellow workingmen that it is their duty to fight against an abusive and unjust government. The Manifesto urges American workers to destroy capitalism "with and by all means, and with the greatest energy on the part of every one who suffers by it and who does not want to be made culpable for its continued existence by his inactivity."[3] The writers remind readers that the American founding fathers resorted to force to overthrow their oppressive rulers, and that change cannot come through political institutions such as voting, as these are maintained and operated by the propertied class. Their goals are outlined in six steps:

> First: - Destruction of the existing class rule i. e. by energetic, relentless, revolutionary and international action
>
> Second: - Establishment of a free society based upon co-operative organization of production.
>
> Third: - Free exchange of equivalent products by and between the productive organizations without commerce and profit mongering.
>
> Fourth: - Organization of education on a secular, scientific and equal basis for both sexes.
>
> Fifth: - Equal rights for all without distinction to sex or race.
>
> Sixth: - Regulation of all public affairs by free contracts between the autonomous (independent) communes and associations, resting on a federalistic basis.[4]

The Manifesto also addressed religion, claiming, "The Church finally seeks to make complete idiots out of the mass and to make them forego the paradise on earth by promising a fictitious heaven."[5] Most, Drury, and the Manifesto had a large impact on French migrants in the United

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[3] "The Pittsburgh Manifesto, 1883," The Dramas of Haymarket, Chicago Historical Society and Northwestern University, https://www.chicagohistoryresources.org/dramas/act1/fromTheArchive/thePittsburghManifesto_f.htm.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Ibid.

States, particularly among the miners and glass workers of Pennsylvania. Not only did Drury help write the Manifesto, but he also was responsible for its translation into French.[6]

Unlike the IWA, the IWPA did not organize its sections by language, but there were French-speaking members, some of whom had high profiles within the radical movement. French involvement in the IWPA is not surprising. As historian Marjorie Murphy recounts, in Chicago, "By 1884, Parsons and the IWPA had assumed control over the annual celebration of the Commune and revived the huge parades, the celebrations of revolutionary traditions in parade tableaus and floats, and created new traditions in the movement which included singing the 'Marseillaise' during the city's annual Thanksgiving Day parade."[7] In 1886, members of the Société des Réfugiés de la Commune de New York came to Chicago and gave a series of speeches in French to commemorate the fifteenth anniversary of the Commune.[8]

Besides Drury, Edouard David and Frederic Tufferd were also members. David (no relation to Marie-Louise David) was a Communard who fled to New York shortly after the fall of the Paris Commune. By the end of 1872, he was the member of several French radical groups within his new city. Although he never renounced his Blanquist roots, he was one of the first supporters of the IWPA in New York City. David had journalistic experience, which he put to use in a sustained attempt to keep the French-American radical press alive during the 1880s. He played a key role in the publication of the newspapers *La Torpille* and *Réveil des masses* during

[6] Michel Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique: dictionnaire biographique du mouvement social francophone aux États-Unis (1848-1922)* (Paris: Les Éditions de l'Atelier, 2002), 20.
[7] Marjorie Murphy, "'And They Sang the Marseillaise': A Look at the Left French Press as it Responded to Haymarket," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 29 (1986): 29.
[8] Ibid.

that decade. The IWPA introduced him to anarchism, but his evolution continued after the fall of that organization. By 1891, he was hosting anarchist meetings in his home in New York.[9]

Frederic Tufferd also turned to anarchism after the creation of the IWPA and the Pittsburgh Manifesto. Similar to Edouard David, he was likewise fairly prolific in print media. He submitted articles for both English and French anarchist newspapers, including Parsons' *The Alarm* and *Les Réveil de mineurs.* Tufferd addressed more technical issues concerning workers, such as industrialization. In a series of articles published in *The Alarm*, he speaks directly to the people "clamoring against machinery as the cause of all the evils." According to Tufferd, they are "mistaking machinery for the man behind the curtain, the employer."[10] Tufferd explains that modern technology such as looms, steam engines, and so on do not hurt workers, but instead could help lessen the load of workers if not for the greed of the employers.[11] Tufferd also spoke out against landlords, shareholders, and bondholders, calling for the end of all three; "The owners who are not users (of the means of production, i.e. workers), the landlords, bankers, share and bond holders, are useless parasites and we must discharge them."[12] Tufferd believed that in order to accomplish anarchists' goals only two things were required: "to know how to do it" and "to dare to do it."[13]

However, the Haymarket Tragedy led to a rapid decline in the IWPA.[14] Despite this, throughout the 1890s there were still several small groups of activists claiming membership in the organization. Several of these were led by French-speaking migrants. For example, according

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[9] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 131.
[10] *The Alarm*, April 3, 1886.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] For more information on the decline of the IWPA see Avrich, *The Haymarket Tragedy*. For a revisionist account, see Timothy Messer-Kruse, *The Haymarket Conspiracy: Transatlantic Anarchist Networks* (Urbana: University of Illinois, 2012).

to *La Tribune libre* in 1898, German-born anarchist Theodore Appel served as the French-speaking secretary of a reading club claiming to be associated with the IWPA.[15] Celestin Pugin was a French anarchist miner who, in 1889, was active in an IWPA section in Westmoreland, Pennsylvania, where he subscribed to the anarchist journal *Reviel des masses* on behalf of the organization. Pugin openly denounced the eight-hour campaign for being reformist and spoke out against the United Mine Workers for being too soft and not demanding more concessions for miners. Not only did Pugin subscribe to and write for the *Reviel des mineurs,* but he also served as a trustee for the newspaper. He moved around Pennsylvania frequently, searching for work, but stayed linked to the anarchist movement through his connections with these French-language newspapers.[16]

Overall, however, Louis Goaziou was probably the most influential French member of the IWPA. As early as 1882, Goaziou participated in his first strike in Houtzdale, Pennsylvania, which lasted nearly two months. According to Cordillot, at the time Goaziou was completely ignorant about unions or politics.[17] Less than two years later he was involved in another work stoppage that continued for several weeks. It was during this time that he first joined an IWPA section located in Sturgeon, Pennsylvania. Through his involvement with the IWPA, he fully embraced a new identity as a revolutionary.[18] During the Haymarket trial, Goaziou was nearly lynched for publicly protesting the innocence of defendants Albert Parsons and August Spies. He also joined the Knights of Labor, which caused him to lose his job. While unemployed, he

[15] *La Tribune libre*, June 30, 1898. For more information on Appel see Sam Dolgaff, *Fragments: A Memoir* (Cambridge: Refract Publications, 1986), 42.
[16] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 357.
[17] Ibid., 210.
[18] Ibid., 211.

convinced himself that unions were the key to the emancipation of the miners.[19] For nearly twenty-five years thereafter he considered himself a communist anarchist.

Like Tufferd, Goaziou wrote in both English and French. Having spent a long time in the United States, he straddled the line between his French cultural roots and his new American identity. He worked tirelessly to unite French language speakers in North America while also navigating American radical networks such as the IWPA. The influence of the Pittsburgh Manifesto and the IWPA can clearly be seen in Goaziou's writings. In 1890, he wrote an article for the *Réveil des masses* decrying prisons and churches. The city of Hastings, Pennsylvania was completing construction of both a prison and a Catholic church. About the former, Goaziou states: "The prison is almost finished and will soon be ready to receive lodgers, no doubt they will be chosen from the working class and the poor. Wouldn't it be funny if the workers who built it were the first occupants there?"[20] Echoing the sentiments of the Manifesto, he also spoke out against religion: "If we are to be successful in our goals, we must get rid of the religious prejudices that make us slaves. Let us not be afraid to defy public opinion, but move forward toward our goal, and learn to live without priests, if we want to live without masters."[21] Goaziou's anarchist roots are also evident in his early critique of electoral politics. In reference to the 1888 elections he wrote, "Now that the elections are over and everything is calm again, let's see what the elected candidates can do for us, and if by chance they keep some of their promises."[22] He proceeded to list the campaign promises of local officials, which included things such as overtime pay, safer working conditions in mines, and cash payments instead of company scrip. Goaziou claimed that, despite these promises and laws made to correct such problems,

[19] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 211-12.
[20] *Les Reveils des masses,* June 1890.
[21] Ibid.
[22] *Le Reveils des masses,* January 1889.

nothing had changed. Most workers were not aware of their rights and politicians did little to ensure the laws were being upheld. He asked his readers why they should continue to elect legislators if they did nothing but fill people with misguided hope and false expectations. His solution is to "take our salvation into our own hands" and to "get rid of all our enemies, our masters and anyone who wants to become our masters."[23]

Goaziou learned English very easily and by 1886 he was asked to serve as translator in labor meetings that involved other French-speaking miners. In 1895, he taught English lessons for approximately forty-five French speakers in Charleroi, Pennsylvania.[24] His grasp of the English language enabled him to easily gain access to North American newspapers as well as French ones. He was published in numerous English periodicals; for example, in June of 1892, the journal *Freedom*, edited by Haymarket widow Lucy Parsons and affiliated with the IWPA, published his article "Among Miners—Their Deplorable Condition."[25] Even though his work as a miner plunged him into an English-speaking world, he was converted to anarchism through French-language brochures and newspapers published in Paris.[26] This cultural duality was perpetuated throughout his militant career. He participated in countless American workers' movements while simultaneously single-handedly keeping alive the radical French-American press for over twenty-five years. Goaziou openly embraced his ethnicity and his cultural origins, never turning his back on his French and Breton roots. In fact, according to Cordillot, it was in the United States that he truly formed his identity as a Frenchman.[27]

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[23] Ibid.
[24] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 212.
[25] Ernesto A. Longa, *Anarchist Periodicals in English Published in the United States (1833–1955): An Annotated Guide* (Lanham: Scarecrow Press, 2010), 96.
[26] Constance Bantman, *Jean Grave and the Networks of French Anarchism, 1854-1939* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021), 41.
[27] Cordillot, *Révolutionnaires du Nouveau Monde: Une brève histoire du mouvement socialiste francophone aux États-Unis, 1885-1922* (Montreal: Lux Éditeur, 2013), 26.

Goaziou remained a devoted communist anarchist for nearly a quarter of century, making a name for himself nationally. He lived in Hastings, Pennsylvania from 1888 to 1895, and during his time there he organized several strikes.[28] He was also elected to serve as check weighman for the local coal miners, verifying the findings of the mine owner's weighman, as miners were paid according to the weight of the coal they mined. Considering the sensitive nature of the position, and given Goaziou's politics, several disagreements broke out between the miners and management over this election. Even though Goaziou often criticized American unions, he was very active in the United Mine Workers (UMW). He participated in all of the union's Central Region conventions in this era, as well as the 1894 national convention held in Columbus, Ohio, where the miners voted in favor of the union's first general strike, targeting Pennsylvania's coal mines. In 1899, Goaziou was elected to serve on the executive board of the UMW, and the following year was permanently assigned to the position of national organizer for the union.[29] This position meant that Goaziou's main function was to organize strikes and meet with owners to negotiate settlements.[30] Despite Goaziou's success in the union and his grasp of English, he still met with resistance from union officials. Dana Caldemeyer describes how Goaziou's opinions on union matters were often dismissed because union officials claimed that Goaziou, as a French speaker, did not really understand the complexities of the union. According to Caldemeyer, "Goaziou played into this stereotype" and told union officials, "What little English I can speak and understand I have learned in or around the mines, and the little I can read and write I have learned at home in the evening, so you can easily see that having such an ignoramus

[28] Ibid.
[29] *Daily Notes* (Canonsburg, PA), February 16, 1900.
[30] *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, April 6, 1900.

as myself for teacher it's no wonder that my education is very imperfect."[31] Goaziou stressed that although he might be ignorant, several of the less ignorant white American miners agreed with him.

While working as a miner and navigating his position as an immigrant union member, Goaziou also started his career in publishing. He picked up the reigns from Edouard David and fought for several decades to keep the French radical press alive. Goaziou served as writer, editor, and publisher of numerous French-language newspapers throughout his lifetime: *Réveil des mineurs* (1890-1893), *L'Ami des ouvriers* (1894-1896), *La Tribune libre* (1896-1900), and *L'Union des travailleurs* (1901-1916).[32] Goaziou's dedication and tireless efforts can be seen in his plea to the readers in an early issue of *L'Ami des ouvriers*: "Some people believe that a newspaper writes itself with very little work or cost. But the opposite is true. The work is done in the evenings after we have finished our days working in the mines and on Sundays when there is no work in the mines. For the costs we have to rely on the subscriptions of the readers."[33]

Goaziou's political ideas are plainly on display in all of his publications. *Réveil des mineurs*, *L'Ami des ouvriers*, and *La Tribune libre* (1896-1900) are clearly anarchist publications, which took a more radical approach than earlier French-American socialist newspapers such as *La Socialiste* and *La Commune.* They encouraged workers by insisting they were only weak because they allowed themselves to be weak. *Les Réveil des mineurs* urged the men to "Lift up your heads and have confidence in yourselves."[34] The newspaper implored workers to "stop fearing, respecting and praying to them (the owners), show them your strength

[31] Dana M. Caldemeyer, "Run of the Mine: Miners, Farmers, and the Non-Union Spirit of the Gilded Age, 1886-1896" (PhD diss., University of Kentucky, 2016), 195.
[32] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 212.
[33] *L'Ami des ouvriers,* September 1894.
[34] *Réveil des mineurs,* March 14, 1890.

and take what is yours."[35] The miners were reminded that employers only numbered a few, whereas the miners were many.

L'Ami des ouvriers contained material about local as well as national labor organizations, including critiques of labor unions such as the Knights of Labor for being susceptible to the pitfalls of centralized leadership. In 1894, after the KOL's national convention, the newspaper observed that the organization was "rapidly deteriorating." According to *L'Ami*'s anarchist analysis, "The rapid deterioration of the Knights of Labor is an inevitable consequence of its authoritarian format."[36] According to the paper, this was clearly illustrated when the union's leadership voted to exclude the miners' delegates from participating in the 1894 convention. In response, the president of the UMW sent out circulars to each local branch demanding that they seek answers as to why they were excluded and what action would be taken to prevent this from happening again. The newspaper believed the end result would be that miners would leave the Knights of Labor. Similarly, when the nationwide Pullman Strike ended in failure that same year, *L'Ami* expressed its frustration by stating, "The masses were in favor of the strike, but the largely bourgeoisie aspiring leaders [of the American Federation of Labor] were afraid that the bourgeoisie might actually be overthrown."[37]

Goaziou's publications also included a "Correspondence" section for the newspapers' readers to send in letters and engage in conversations with both other readers and the editor. This fostered a sense of community between French-speaking migrants. In 1894, an anonymous source located in McDonald, Pennsylvania wrote *L'Ami* expressing frustration with the attempts

[35] Ibid.
[36] *L'Ami des ouvriers*, December 1894.
[37] *L'Ami des ouvriers*, August 1894. Most of the articles in *L'Ami* are unsigned, but it is likely Louis Goaziou wrote many of them.

of a local newspaper to slander French-speaking inhabitants. Interestingly enough, the newspaper was apparently a French-language publication designed to help migrants get settled in the area. The letter claimed the newspaper had a new editor who made numerous spelling mistakes and misused the feminine and masculine while only talking about trivial things such as churches and chapels. The source states that instead of helping readers improve their situations, the editor only talked about nonsense, and published an article that criticized the French-speaking workers for drinking beer daily, even on Sundays. The letter states, "The whole population of McDonald knew this long before he (the new editor) arrived in America, because for the last ten years we have been drinking beer or whiskey and no one has ever complained about it. But here is this young white man, this water drinker, and he comes here and tries to make us look like savages, probably just to elevate his own social position."[38] It is unclear where the editor was from, but it is apparent he was not from the United States. It is also interesting that the author distinctly referred to him as a "white man." Regardless, the author takes offense at the attempted slander and defends the French speakers with the following comments: "If we drink beer on Sundays, the other six days of the week we are busy producing, and the proof of that is for ten years we have been busy building McDonald, including relief aid. But what has he produced? Why did he come to America?"[39] The letter closes with the assertion that the French speakers will not be bullied or have their behavior modified in any way.

Many of French migrants arriving after 1880, like the author of the letter about McDonald, became active in America's growing anarchist movement, particularly in the coal mining regions of Pennsylvania and Illinois. Although Pennsylvania had been home to a French-

[38] *L'Ami des ouvriers*, December 1894.
[39] Ibid.

speaking section of the IWA, overall, the number of French-speaking migrants in that state remained low until the 1880s. Then, an increasing number of young Frenchmen made their way to the United States looking seeking employment in the anthracite mines and glassmaking industries. Syndicalists, anarchists, and socialists among them began to develop cooperatives, mutual aid societies, and cultural organizations throughout both the small towns and larger cities across the state. Their activity spread to Illinois in the early 1890s, spurred by increasing worker discontent.

Mining is notoriously both dangerous and physically taxing, conditions that have historically led miners to participate in frequent, and often violent, strikes. In fact, according to Ronald Creagh, "The harshness of the living conditions in coal mines was used to persuade the French-speaking miners to join in the struggle."[40] Authors like Edouard David and Louis Goaziou used their newspapers to remind the miners of the abject misery they were subjected to daily. Even if the newspapers utilized these circumstances for their own ends, the deplorable conditions they described were neither exaggerated nor falsified. H. Haubry, a Pennsylvania miner, wrote to *Le Réveil des mineurs* describing instances of exploitation in the coal industry:

> You are cheated with a vengeance on the weight of the vehicles, and there are water leaks in all the mine chambers. With a comrade I have moved forward eighteen meters in a heading. The boss had promised us a dollar per meter but on payday we received fifty cents. He cheated us out of nine dollars. Next, I went to Millwood shaft. There we get thirty-eight cents a ton, and the coal is as hard as the coal by the river. Then I moved on to Lilly; but no sooner was I there than a strike started. If only it were the last one! How long will we have to travel from one place to another, hungry, and looking for a tiny piece of bread.[41]

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[40] Ronald Creagh, "Socialism in America: The French Speaking Coal Miners in the Late Nineteenth Century," in *In the Shadow of the Statue of Liberty: Immigrants, Workers, and Citizens, 1880-1920,* ed. Marianne Debouzy (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 146. On conditions in the mines see also U.S. Congress, *Immigrants in Industries*, Reports of the Immigration Commission (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1911), vols. 6-7.

[41] *Le Réveil des mineurs*, January 1891.

Haubry serves as an example of Goaziou's target audience. Miners like Haubry kept the paper in business through their subscriptions. Insofar as a French-speaking anarchist movement existed in the United States, it was made up of the readers of Goaziou's papers.

At the tender age of ten years old, Jean Brault went to work in the mines in France, making twenty-two *sous* a day. By age fourteen, Brault was hauling fifteen to sixteen tons of coal daily for the increased sum of thirty-five *sous* a day. For several years, he traveled back and forth between the United States and France, participating in various strikes on both sides of the Atlantic. He was in the US at least as early as 1881, but back in France in 1889 to take part in a miner's strike in Lens and Pas-de-Calais. By November of 1890 Brault was ensconced within the anarchist movement within the United States, as made evident by his three-month jail sentence for hosting an unauthorized anarchist meeting in Houtzdale, Pennsylvania.[42]

Brault's troubles in Pennsylvania caused him to flee the state and make his way to Spring Valley, Illinois, where he served as one of the main organizers for a French anarchist group known as L'Union Libre. Brault announced the creation of L'Union Libre in the December 1891 issue of *Le Réveil des mineurs*, proclaiming: "Bourgeoisie, it does not matter what you do, L'Union Libre is teaching us how to see through your lies and how to live without you."[43] He believed L'Union Libre would successfully emancipate the miners and he stressed they did not need money because money was responsible for the corruption of the labor unions, specifically citing the Knights of Labor as a key example. Brault argued that KOL president Terrence

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[42] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 67. For more information on the strike at Lens and Pas-de-Calais, see U.S. Bureau of Labor, *Coal Mine Labor in Europe*, Special Report of the Commissioner of Labor (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1905), 244-45.

[43] *Le Réveil des mineurs,* December 26, 1891. On Lamendin, see Justinien Raymond, "Lamendin Arthur," Le Maitron: Dictionnaire biographique, mouvement ouvrier, mouvement social, https://maitron.fr/spip.php?article115630.

Powderly was guilty of stealing from the union fund instead of helping those who needed it—more than likely a veiled reference to Powderly's failure to defend the Haymarket martyrs. But Brault did not restrict his comments to American topics; he also criticized events unraveling in France and often spoke out against reformist French miners' union official Arthur Lamendin.[44]

Brault was very close to Louis Goaziou and an ardent supporter of his newspapers. According to *Le Réveil des mineurs*, "Companion Jean Brault of Spring Valley, Illinois, keeps the *Le Réveil des mineurs* for sale. He also makes available to the comrades of this locality copies of all anarchist newspapers, as well as brochures."[45] He also used the newspapers to advertise for his anarchist groups and their meeting times—L'Union Libre met every second and fourth Sunday at a local German bar.

Brault traveled throughout various parts of Illinois organizing workers and urging large groups of exploited miners to commit acts of direct action and "propaganda by the deed." From March through July of 1894, he organized workers in Ladd, Illinois, orchestrating numerous strikes. The workers' resistance peaked with the looting of a company store, during which Brault and his fellow strikers carried off and destroyed approximately thirty thousand dollars' worth of goods, burning what they could not carry. Local newspapers criticized the immigrant strikers with headlines like one that ran in *The Inter Ocean*: "Lowest Class of Foreigners Unite to Commit Deeds of Mob Violence."[46] According to the article, over twelve hundred "alien" miners were involved in the assault against the Whitebreast Fuel Company. The paper claims that the men responsible for the looting were "Lithuanians, Poles, and Italians," and were the

[44] *Le Réveil des mineurs,* December 26, 1891.
[45] Ibid.
[46] *Inter Ocean* (Chicago), July 9, 1894.

same men who instigated the most recent strikes in Spring Valley.[47] The paper makes no mention of the French-speaking participants in either the strikes or the plundering of the company store. This is probably because Eastern Europeans and Italians were viewed less favorably by most Americans. The French were generally seen as much "whiter" so they did not fit the imagery associated with looting foreigners.[48] However, Cordillot notes that Brault in fact led approximately six hundred men to Ladd, where they participated in the growing unrest.[49] Brault himself also noted that several French miners were arrested, and he escaped only because he fled to Mystic, Iowa.[50] He later complained about conditions in Mystic, stating, "At least in Spring Valley we survived well throughout the strike. When we ran out of provisions, we looted the company stores and what we could not eat we broke."[51]

Additionally, Brault condemned the predominately American troops and private detectives sent in to break up the strike and arrest strikers. "The Americans would rather die of hunger working for their exploiters than die fighting for their rights."[52] He maintained that the arrests were the fault of the "Americans with their respect for the law" and that he had witnessed these "petty criminals" distributing "bullets instead of bread." He further recounted a story of the hired guns opening fire on seven Italian miners who were doing nothing more than playing cards

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[47] Ibid.
[48] The American Consul in Marseilles, for example, believed "that a large proportion of the few French emigrants who go to the United States are industrious, law-abiding people, who rely for success in their new home upon their intelligence and skill in some form of industry, and are therefore likely to become good citizens and a desirable addition to our population." U.S. Congress, *Reports of Diplomatic and Consular Officers Concerning Emigration from Europe to the United States* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1889), 40. On degrees of European immigrant "whiteness," see Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998); David R. Roediger, *Working Toward Whiteness: How America's Immigrants Became White; The Strange Journey from Ellis Island to the Suburbs* (New York: Basic Books, 2005).
[49] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 68.
[50] *La Ami des ouvriers*, August 1894.
[51] Ibid.
[52] Ibid.

and ends his account of the events in Spring Valley by warning the private detectives, "Stop selling yourselves to the bourgeoisie and assassinating your brothers. You had better have a change of heart and join the proletarians working to demolish the current system that makes us slaves and you assassins. When the next strike breaks out, be sure to side with us because you will find us much more prepared to defend ourselves and the revenge will be terrible."[53]

Within a year, Brault was back in Spring Valley leading local anarchist meetings. In February of 1895, he implored the readers of *L'Ami* to create and join a French labor union. He insisted that the union would not be run by leaders but would be free and led by the members. The aim of the union would be to help French workers who were displaced due to unemployment and economic downturns.[54] Although Brault often advocated for French-speaking unions, it does not appear that he restricted his activism to the French community. He talks about the Italian and Polish strikers that he worked with in the Spring Valley mine strikes, and he collaborated with famed Italian anarchist Pietro Gori to create an Italian anarchist group in Spring Valley, an organization that Brault stayed connected to. He also openly protested the treatment of anarchists in Spain, and rallied support for Cuban rebels facing execution at the hands of Spanish authorities.[55] Brault remained thoroughly connected to his French culture and language, devoting himself to French-language radical groups, but at the same time participated in radical movements that transcended ethnicity, often working toward his anarchist goals regardless of language or culture. Brault's interaction with various ethnic groups illustrate how interconnected the anarchist movement was in the United States, and that it was less separated into language groups than the IWA.

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[53] Ibid.
[54] *L'Ami des ouvriers*, February 1895.
[55] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 68.

Throughout the 1890s Brault advocated for a general strike, something most anarchists supported. In 1895, he worked diligently to bring about working-class unity even when clashes were breaking out between black and white workers. Brault firmly believed that the only way a general strike could succeed was with the support of all workers in the United States. Strangely, however, in 1895 Brault was accused of being involved in a violent race riot against black miners in Spring Valley and was arrested along with twenty-seven other activists. The jury found him and all of the others guilty of rioting and inflicting bodily harm.[56] But the judge granted Brault a retrial because of the strength of his alibi, and he ultimately served no prison sentence outside of the time he spent in jail during the trials. Cordillot claims that Brault was in fact arrested for his agitation in the name of interracial worker unity, and notes that since Brault had a wife and five children this was a particularly trying time for them, yet through it all Brault maintained his moral integrity and insisted he was innocent.[57]

By 1897, Goaziou and other French-speaking anarchists were starting to engage in conversations about socialism and the use of the ballot box as a weapon, but Brault stayed firm in his anarchist beliefs for several more years. For a short time Brault and his comrade G. Jacques moved into a house in the countryside of Marseilles, Illinois. Goaziou commented that the two looked more like farmers than miners. During their stay in the country, the two campaigned for the creation of a regional libertarian organization, but they could not garner enough local support.[58] Both Jacques and Brault continued to speak out against any form of electoral participation. Brault only spent about a year in the country before he moving to Lasalle,

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[56] *Bureau County Tribune* (Princeton, IL), September 6, 1895. On the riots, see Caroline Waldron Merithew, "Making the Italian Other: Blacks, Whites, and the Inbetween in the 1895 Spring Valley, Illinois Race Riot," in *Are Italians White?: How Race is Made in America,* ed. Jennifer Guglielmo and Salvatore Salerno (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2003), 79-97.
[57] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 69.
[58] *La Tribune libre,* February 18, 1897.

Illinois, where he resumed organizing anarchist meetings in his home. Brault's last known anarchist activity was the coordinated commemorations of the Paris Commune he arranged with various groups within Illinois in 1899.[59]

French-speaking migrants did not only come to the United States to mine coal, but they also came as skilled glass workers. Although the experiences of glass workers were not the same as those of "unskilled" mine workers, they still banded together to resist exploitation, with some of them finding common ground in the anarchist movement. As explained in Chapter 3, the Knights of Labor expanded into Belgium and France, but simultaneously the United States was importing more advanced glass making technology from Belgium. New technology meant that American glass companies rapidly expanded, offering opportunities to Belgian workers who were fleeing a shrinking job market.[60]

According to Ken Fones-Wolf, the Belgian glass makers "moved to new communities and occupied the upper rungs of the working-class job market," and "Such immigrants contributed to working class formation in ways decidedly different from the bulk of Southern and Eastern Europeans."[61] Fones-Wolf also contends that French-speaking communities surrounding glass plants in West Virginia tended to be more conservative and showed little to no interest in local politics.[62] What Fones-Wolf does not take into account is the high participation of French speakers in the anarchist movement that swept through both coal mines as well as glass factories during the late nineteenth century. Belgian glass blower Jules Quertinmont, as discussed in Chapter 3, joined Local Assembly 300 of the Knights of Labor and became a

[59] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 68.
[60] Ken Fones-Wolf, "Immigrants, Labor, and Capital in a Transnational Context: Belgian Glass Workers in America, 1880-1925," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 21, no. 2, (2002): 60.
[61] Ibid., 61.
[62] Ibid., 72.

prolific activist. Quertinmont also subscribed to *L'Ami des ouvriers* and later *La Tribune libre*, and was closely connected to the anarchist movement. Between 1899 and 1900, Quertinmont also wrote a series of articles for *La Tribune libre* under a pseudonym, detailing the inner workings of the American Glass Workers' Association. Despite his critiques of the union, he continued to work closely with the organization while attempting to make his dreams of cooperatives a reality[63]

Like his anarchist comrades, Quertinmont openly dismissed electoral politics as a waste of time and focused instead on direct action through general strikes, mutual aid, and cooperatives. In September of 1897, Goaziou and several of his anarchist friends met for a lively debate with former KOL member Albert Delwarte, now a follower of Daniel De Leon, in Jeanette, Pennsylvania. Quertinmont attended and participated in the discussions. He argued that a glassmakers' cooperative was the best solution for ending the poor conditions glassmakers and blowers faced in American factories, whereas Delwarte insisted that a cooperative was not a proletarian project.[64] Such disagreements aside, the presence of activists like Quertinmont and Delwarte shows that, while glassmakers, as skilled craftsmen, did typically make more money than miners and other unskilled workers, many subscribed to the same anarchist and socialist newspapers and ideologies as the lower-paid mine workers.

In 1901, Quertinmont wrote an article entitled "The Woman," in which he advocated for women's rights, predicting, "The free woman will become the free and equal companion of man and the heavy and often criminal chains of today's marriage will be broken."[65] Both his push for equality and his stance against electoral politics reflect the influence that anarchist writings had

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[63] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique,* 359.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Ibid.

on him. Such ideas appealed to French-speaking women, as well. Far fewer in number than their male comrades, they found themselves having to navigate their way within American radical movements not only as migrants, but also as women.

Former IWA General Counsel member Marie-Louise David, whose earlier activism was discussed in Chapter 2, appears to have been the most impactful French anarchist woman in the US. Soon after she and her husband arrived in New York, David dropped her married name (Huleck) and seems to have never mentioned her husband again. It remains uncertain whether they divorced, or he died. Regardless, David would spend several years away from activism while she struggled to support herself. Yet her skill with cloth and sewing allowed her to make a name for herself within New York's garment industry. When describing this phase in her life, David stated, "In a harassing and ceaseless labor I passed several years, dead to all thought, save that of getting money to pay notes matured, and preserving the means for earning an honest and independent livelihood."[66] David suffered several economic hardships, including three burglaries of her clothing shop that nearly destroyed her. It was during this period that she began to devote herself to anarchism. David's misfortunes solidified her belief in anarchy, which she closely associated with love and beauty, and helped to propel her back into a life of activism. David believed, "Our enemies are lovable, for it is not the man that is bad; it is the conditions about him that force him to do evil. What the human creature needs is opportunities to do good and freedom to develop his potential qualities."[67] According to Cordillot, at an ideological level her personal

[66] "Character in Unconventional People: A Pair of Anarchists," *Phrenological Journal and Science of Health* 99, no. 2 (1895): 95.
[67] Ibid., 96.

development brought her from Republicanism, to agnosticism, then to socialism, and at last to anarchism.[68]

David's activism took many forms: protests, marches, speeches, and publications. Although it is unknown when or how David first met famed Russian-Jewish anarchist Emma Goldman, she presided over the New York celebration of Goldman's release from prison in August of 1894. The gathering was held at the Thalia Theater, a location frequently used by Lower East Side activists, and attracted an estimated 2,800 anarchists.[69] The *New York World* described David as a member of the Paris Commune who was garbed in a black satin dress with a red necktie. (There is no evidence that David participated in the Paris Commune; to the contrary, documents indicate that she left France several years before its appearance.) The article also referred to David as the most "motherly a person as ever recommended the overthrow of all governments."[70] More than once she was referred to as "obese" and "fat." Interestingly, the article detailed the appearance of all the female speakers but did not mention the looks of the men at all, serving as a subtle reminder that women revolutionaries struggled to be taken seriously.

Soon, David was working closely with Goldman and several other female anarchists in attempts to gain support for their cause. On October 30, 1894 she hosted a meeting with several prominent women, including Goldman. American newspapers referred to Goldman and David as part of the more "rampart anarchist wing" in New York City.[71] The purpose of the meeting was to organize a more radical branch of the Women's Municipal League that would be used to

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[68] Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique*, 132.
[69] Candace Falk et al., eds., *Emma Goldman: A Documentary History of the American Years*, vol. 1, *Made For America, 1890-1901* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2003), 203.
[70] Ibid., 204.
[71] *Salt Lake City Herald,* October 31, 1894.

combat the corruption of Tammany Hall and bring better government to the socialist-leaning sections of New York. Reverend C. H. Parkhurst, a renowned New York reformer, stated that although he did not agree with the anarchists on anything else, he believed they should work together to get rid of the corruption of Tammany.[72] In 1897, David also accompanied labor activist Leonora O'Reilly to political speeches by Goldman and Eugene V. Debs.[73] Considering how close O'Reilly was to both Benoit Hubert and Victor Drury (as described in Chapter 3), it is not surprising that she would also be connected with David, especially since both women worked in the garment industry.

David defined what anarchism meant to her in numerous articles published in various English-language radical newspapers, including *The Alarm*, *The Individualist*, *The Firebrand*, and *Solidarity.* Unlike Goaziou and Tufferd, David does not appear to have continued writing in French, choosing instead to focus her energy on the English American press. When asked what anarchism is, David exclaimed: "Anarchism is a legal science, it is born from natural laws, it rests on natural laws and asserts its truth through natural laws, laws from which there is no appeal and from the jurisdiction of which there is no escape."[74] For David, the ideology was most prominent among intellectuals. According to her, "Anarchism is a mental growth."[75] She continued by explaining that most exploited workers who are questioned about abolishing capitalism and existing governmental structures will express opposition. David believed the average man is nothing but "an unreasonable serf, a stupid worshipper of the rich and the mighty, a human, an animal whose intellect is still in the embryonic stage."[76] Lastly, David maintained

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[72] Ibid.
[73] Leonora O'Reilly datebook, Leonora O'Reilly Papers, *Papers of the Women's Trade Union League and Its Principal Leaders*, ed. Edward T. James (Reading: Research Publications, 1979), microfilm, Reel 1.
[74] Marie Louise David, "What is Anarchism?" *Twentieth Century,* August 22, 1889.
[75] Marie Louise David, "Co-Operation an Adjunct to Anarchism," *Advance*, December 1911.
[76] Ibid.

that "under a system of society where coercion is acknowledged as a proper factor to maintain order, you can but educate slaves and knaves, that coercion is moral death and love alone is conducive to human happiness , and love dwells in the abode of absolute liberty."[77] Even though David promoted a peaceful and loving anarchism, she was often very critical of the mass of people, and tended to utilize harsh language as a way to convince others to join her cause.

Whereas David's anarchism contained a strong individualist and perhaps even elitist streak, French women in midwestern coal towns elaborated an anarchism grounded in the everyday life of working-class households. For example, in April of 1895, Marie Haubry, wife of miner H. Haubry, wrote an article for *L'Ami des ouvriers* entitled "To Women." Unlike David, whose writing engaged heavily in debating anarchist theory, definitions, and applications, Haubry directly addressed women and their importance to the movement. While historian Ronald Creagh claims that French miners' wives insisted on being included in anarchist meetings,[78] Haubry states that she is frustrated that women were not putting more energy into the cause. She argues that women play a large role in shaping the future generations of society, and as such it is vital that they teach their children about anarchism. According to Haubry, women often asked her what they should do, and her response was, "Teach our children their natural rights instead of religious doctrines that keep society in the dark. Teach them to love harmony and peace and to hate the patriotism which has always only served to make our sons murderers. Let us replace patriotism with love for the human race."[79] Her remarks here are similar to David's about the beauty and peace that anarchy has to offer. She also reminded women of the importance in teaching the younger generation to hate the money that made people into

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[77] Marie Louise David, "A Plea for Absolute Freedom," *Twentieth Century,* April 17, 1890.
[78] Creagh, "Socialism in America," 151.
[79] *L'Ami des ouvriers,* April 1895.

"machines to be exploited" and turned "daughters into prostitutes." Haubry believed that it was past time for women to wake up and fight for anarchism and the revolution, even if their role was confined to the home in the form of educating their children.[80]

The French anarchists profiled in this chapter represent the different ways radicals attempted to spread their ideology throughout not only their French-speaking communities, but to exploited workers and women across the United States in an attempt to make their anarchist dreams a reality. Some, like Goaziou, used the press not only as a vehicle to inspire workers but also to cultivate a sense of community for French speakers. Others, like Marie-Louise David, embraced English-language agitation and worked with other women of various backgrounds to bring about change in their local communities. Meanwhile, the likes of Brault utilized strikes and direct action to try and bring about both immediate improvements and the social revolution. Still others, like Quertinmont, made use of cooperatives in order to elevate workers' lives. All of them utilized different strategies, but each operated with the same goals in mind. The Pittsburgh Manifesto clearly laid out a set of demands that each one of these radicals interpreted in their own way. Although none of the migrants saw their ultimate anarchist goals achieved, many of them attained admirable successes throughout their lifetimes. Nearly all of them converted to socialism by early 1900s (as discussed in the Conclusion), but they still left an imprint on the American anarchist movement of the late nineteenth century, as well as on the lives of thousands of French-speaking immigrants.

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[80] These ideas of "revolutionary motherhood" are very similar to those that existed in Italian anarchist communities. For more information see Jennifer Guglielmo, *Living the Revolution: Italian Women's Resistance and Radicalism in New York City, 1880-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012), 166-68; Caroline Waldron Merithew, "Anarchist Motherhood: Toward the Making of a Revolutionary Proletariat in Illinois Coal Towns," in *Women, Gender, and Transnational Lives: Italian Workers of the World*, ed. Donna R. Gabaccia and Franca Iacovetta (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), 217–46.

CONCLUSION

"We must now go and vote against the capitalist candidates!" Louis Goaziou exclaimed in the May 4, 1899 edition of his newspaper *La Tribune libre*.[1] He further explained the only way he could foresee bringing about meaningful change in the United States was through political and electoral action. According to Cordillot, "When Goaziou took over the publication of *La Tribune libre,* he was still working as a paid organizer for the miner's union, which meant he met numerous activists throughout his extensive travels, speaking to them about the realities of activism."[2] These experiences, combined with the debate Goaziou had engaged in with Albert Delwarte, caused him to intensely reflect on his own ideology. Ultimately, Goaziou maintained that his anarchist views were correct, but he no longer believed they were realistic. Goaziou officially joined the Socialist Party of America (SPA) shortly after its formation in 1901. His support of the Socialist Party marked the beginning of the end of French involvement in America's anarchist movement.

Ironically, Goaziou, who struggled internally with his decision to join the Socialist Party, would become the soul of the French socialist movement within the United States. His reader subscriptions even increased after his conversion to socialism, illustrating that the shift was a popular one.[3] Largely due to Goaziou's influence, Jean Brault, clearly one of the more militant anarchists, shifted his energy to support of the ballot box by the end of 1900. Brault was one of

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[1] *La tribune libre*, May 4, 1899.
[2] Michel Cordillot, *Révolutionnaires du Nouveau Monde: Une brève histoire du mouvement socialiste francophone aux États-Unis, 1885-1922* (Montreal: Lux Éditeur, 2013), 48.
[3] Ibid., 50.

the first subscribers to Goaziou's new socialist newspaper *L'Unions des travailleurs*.[4] He also became a frequent contributor to its content.[5]

Living in Georgetown, Illinois, Brault organized an international socialist club in March of 1902, which included French, English, and Italian speakers.[6] Similar to Goaziou, Brault continued to hold anarchist ideals, but insisted that voting was a right that should not be ignored. In true anarchist fashion, he defined socialism as the absence of all authority.[7] He also stated that he was not opposed to violence but believed the ballot box brought the highest chance of success for socialism. In addition to the socialist club, Brault helped establish a mutual aid society for French-speaking workers, and shortly after was elected its president. Brault was frequently forced to search for employment, as his activism often got him fired, and as a result he moved to Limon, Indiana in 1906. Once again, he created a socialist club and its sixty-one members voted him in as president.[8] Very quickly he found himself leading labor strikes in Limon. Wherever Brault moved, it is obvious that both his French culture and his political activism remained important to him.

The overall goal of the French socialists became establishing a French-speaking federation within the SPA, with Goaziou spearheading this movement. At the Socialist Party's national congress in 1912, Goaziou proposed the creation of an autonomous French federation that would house five sections. Additionally, Goaziou argued that having an estimated five hundred members in the federation would give them the right to receive a paid translator who

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[4] Michel Cordillot, *La sociale en Amérique: dictionnaire biographique du mouvement social francophone aux États-Unis (1848-1922)* (Paris: Les Éditions de l'Atelier, 2002), 69.
[5] According to Cordillot, Brault contributed to roughly thirty-eight issues.
[6] Cordillot, *La Sociale en Amerique*, 68.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Ibid.

could act as secretary.[9] Although initially rejected, Goaziou's proposal became reality in May of 1913. Cordillot believes it was finally accepted because of the participation of French-Canadian workers in New England. The French Federation would house twenty-five sections with nearly five hundred members by 1915, and Goaziou would serve as a member of its executive board.[10]

While Goaziou and the others were pushing for the creation of the Federation, Goaziou was also making changes in his own life. By 1901, he was disgusted with the corruption he witnessed within the United Mine Workers, leading to his resignation from the organization. Although he was now skeptical of unions, he was eventually persuaded to support the syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) after its formation in 1905. While he called for the creation of distinct French-language unions, he believed they should be affiliated with the IWW.[11] Yet again, the power of Goaziou's influence was reflected in Brault's actions. Goaziou visited Brault in Indiana after voicing support for the IWW, and shortly after Brault paved the way for the creation of an IWW section in Limon.[12] Because of Goaziou's influence and hard work, Charleroi, Pennsylvania also became home to a section of the IWW in October of 1909. Despite this, his relationship with the IWW remained tense. Goaziou had struggled to come to terms with his own ideas surrounding electoral politics, but once he joined the SPA, he was convinced that voting Socialist candidates into office was the only real solution to American workers' plight. In 1912, he was the main speaker at an IWW rally in Charleroi in support of the striking textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts, but he still openly criticized the IWW for

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[9] Ibid., 212.
[10] *The American Labor Yearbook: 1916* (New York: Rand School of Social Science, 1916), 132.
[11] Cordillot, *La Sociale en Amerique*, 213.
[12] Ibid., 69.

what he considered wasted time and effort fighting against the political organizations of the workers.[13]

Throughout the early twentieth century, Goaziou ran for numerous elected positions as an SPA candidate, and he came close to winning a few of them, including mayor of Charleroi.[14] Goaziou was also active in the local co-operative store, serving on its board of directors. Poor health and personal tragedy would cause him to slow down his activism, but he never retired entirely. In addition to his efforts with the SPA, he worked closely with French professor Antoine Muzzarelli to open the first chapter of the Co-Masonic American Federation for Human Rights.[15] Co-Masonry, or "Freemasonry opening its Temple to women as well as men, recognizing as it does that their united strength is a necessity and that efforts made solely by one sex must be inadequate for the solution of economic, social and ethical problems," became Goaziou's passion, as he felt it helped to bring about gender equality.[16] Additionally, Co-Masonry was something Goaziou believed kept him connected to his native country, as he often stated that Co-Masonry originated with the Masonic Grand Lodge of France in 1898.[17] Goaziou also convinced Brault to join the Federation for Human Rights.[18]

On October 18, 1903 Goaziou became the first master of the new Alpha Lodge 301. One of the first four women to be inducted into the order was his wife, Marie Goaziou. Within five years the Federation opened fifty more lodges across the United States. Following the death of

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[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid., 213.
[15] For Goaziou's thoughts on Co-Masonry see Louis Goaziou, *Women in Freemasonry* (Charleroi, PA: n.p., 1925), https://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=mdp.39015069762113&view=1up&seq=1.
[16] *Brooklyn Citizen*, July 2, 1922.
[17] *Victoria Daily Times* (Victoria, BC), October 27, 1921.
[18] Cordillot, *La Sociale en Amerique,* 69.

Muzzarelli in 1908, Goaziou was elected as the first president of the Federation.[19] Within a year he was appointed representative of the Supreme Council of the International Order. Under his leadership the organization continued to grow. On February 16, 1928, the *El Paso Evening Post* ran an article about "the first Texas lodge of the International Co-Masonic order."[20] The article reported that fourteen El Paso women had taken the first three degrees, and the initial organizing work had been done by Goaziou and members from California and Oklahoma. Goaziou also gave a speech to honor the opening of the lodge. He remained involved in Co-Masonry until his death in 1937. At the time of his passing, the *Daily Republican* of Monongahela, Pennsylvania recorded that he was "President of The American Federation of Human Rights, a member of the Grand Orient of France, the Loyal Order of the Moose, the Typographical Union 504 and the Charleroi Mutuelle Benefit Society."[21]

Goaziou's family maintained his print shop in Charleroi, and today it is the sight of a well-kept museum still containing many of Goaziou's personal belongings. Unfortunately, historians have failed to recognize Goaziou's importance and to place him where he belongs within in the annals of migration history and working-class radicalism. Part of this is due to his family suppressing his memory during the Second Red Scare of the 1950s: in an attempt to hide their associations with the socialist movement, they destroyed many of his political papers.[22]

Goaziou's story represents the many transformations that French migrants underwent while navigating their new identities as migrants, American workers, and radicals. However, his story is only one of many, and it should not obscure the history of the broader French-speaking

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[19] Karen Kidd, "Louis Goaziou, A Leading Founder of North American Co-Masonry," http://phoenixmasonry.org/goaziou_co-masonry.htm.
[20] *El Paso Evening Post,* February 16, 1928.
[21] *Daily Republican* (Monogahela, PA), April 2, 1937.
[22] Kidd, "Louis Goaziou."

radical movement. For example, the IWW did not randomly select Goaziou to serve as the main speaker at a rally in support of the 1912 Lawrence strike. The Franco-Belgium community in Lawrence itself played a significant, often-forgotten role in that struggle, and was in direct correspondence with Goaziou. In 1908, Goaziou had gone on an extended speaking tour of Canada and the United States, looking to sell subscriptions to his newspaper *L'Unions des travailleurs*. While speaking in Lawrence, Goaziou met with August Detollenaere, who introduced him to several members of the French community in the area. Goaziou agreed to support their cooperative in his newspaper through advertisements and notifications, and in return the community agreed to become subscribers.[23] By the time the 1912 strike took place, the Franco-Belgians were "at the forefront of radical labor organizing in Lawrence, just as they were in France and Belgium."[24] Their cooperative store and the Franco-Belgian Hall were important centers for the Lawrence community and served as the strike's headquarters for the duration of the two-month walkout. The Franco-Belgians' importance to the Lawrence strike serves as further proof that French-speaking migrants have wrongfully been erased from the labor history of the United States.

Perhaps this erasure is most evident in the case of Eugene V. Debs. No other figure embodied the Socialist Party of America more than Debs, who was the party's presidential candidate five times, and garnered nearly a million votes in 1912. What is less known is he was the son of French immigrants. Debs spoke and wrote fluent French and grew up learning about French Republican theories and reading French philosophers.[25] Despite the influence of this

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[23] Janelle Bourgeoise, "'Believe Comrades...the Day is Coming When Those at the End of their Rope Will Require Struggle. It Will Be, Perhaps, Tomorrow': Franco-Belgian Immigrants and the 1912 Strike," in *The Great Lawrence Textile Strike of 1912: New Scholarship on the Bread and Roses Strike* eds. Robert Forrant and Jurg Siegenthaler (New York: Baywood Publishing Company, 2017), 15-35.
[24] Ibid., 16.
[25] Nick Salvatore, *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1982), 12.

French upbringing, Nick Salvatore's celebrated biography devotes very little attention to this aspect of Debs' background, and instead focuses on his hometown of Terra Haute. Additionally, Salvatore makes no mention of the significant support French communities throughout the United States provided for Debs throughout his numerous political campaigns. Salvatore instead discusses his interaction with Italian, Polish, and German groups.

But in 1908, for example, Jean Brault worked to organize a rally for Debs in Limon and brought together five hundred French citizens who greeted Debs with loud applause and sang the Marseillaise. In fact, it was common for the Marseillaise to be played before his speeches when campaigning, further highlighting the French radical influence on American socialism.[26] In 1912, on behalf of IWW Local 328, Brault called for all "revolutionary activists, anarchists, socialists, free thinkers and trade unionists" to unite for a rally organized in support of both the SPA and the IWW. The event attracted over four thousand participants who flocked to see the floats and listen to Eugene V. Debs speak.[27] Despite these obvious connections to his French heritage, Debs's transatlantic roots have been largely dismissed by historians.

The French migrants who made their way to the United States between 1850 and 1900 have been all but forgotten, their radical legacies erased or ignored. For example, in 1932, the *Dallas Morning News* ran a series of articles highlighting the history of the city, including several pieces focused on La Réunion and its members. In one article Frank Cockrell claimed most of the French colonists assimilated, becoming "loyal and patriotic" citizens who learned English and cherished "the guarantee of freedom, free worship, liberty, peace and happiness."[28] Only five years earlier, the same newspaper had noted that the Santerre family had successfully

[26] *Baltimore Sun,* October 20, 1912.
[27] Cordillot, *La Sociale en Amerique*, 69.
[28] *Dallas Morning News,* August 8, 1832.

maintained its socialist and French connections ever since the colony's formation in the 1850s. Over time, the radical element of La Réunion fell out of the common narrative surrounding the colony. Instead, articles, plaques, and descriptions of the settlers focus on terms such as "artists," "educators," "farmers," and "aristocrats." In 1974, the Texas Historical Commission placed a plaque at the entrance of La Réunion cemetery that reads, "Burial place of French, Belgium, and Swiss settlers brought here 1855-1858 by Company for European American Colonization in Texas…The company failed, but certain families remained, including the Loupots, Remonds, Reverchons, and Santerres. They became business and cultural leaders in Dallas area, and used this cemetery as late as 1939 for family burials."[29]

Texas may have worked diligently to erase the word "socialist" from the cultural memory of La Réunion, but its colonists nevertheless played a formative role in establishing radicalism on American soil, and in founding long-lasting transatlantic radical and migratory networks. From the American branches of the First International and the Knights of Labor, to the anarchist movement, the Socialist Party, and the IWW, French-speaking migrants played a significant role in shaping American radicalism. In turn, these radicals were themselves often remade by their American environment. Through this process of adaptation, synthesis, and hybridization, "French" ideas, practices, and individuals became "American" ones. But American radicalism often spoke with the French accent.

[29] A photo of the plaque can be found online at http://img.photobucket.com/albums/v193/derby378/Texas%20Ghost%20Towns/DSC01960.jpg.

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