



## THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

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### BASIS OF REVOLT.

#### Industrialism to Compel Political Action.

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

To try to subordinate the strike and boycott and to place them in an inferior position to the political action movement, is to fail to comprehend the very basis of the proletarian revolt. Political action is a by-product. The real essential fight is the one to be carried on in the shop and the political party with its parliamentary action cannot be other than the reflex of the actual political fight. "Direct Action" in the shape of the economic struggle is the very life-blood of the revolutionary movement, but such direct action can no more escape being mirrored in the political manifestations of the time than a man can escape his shadow.

What "Direct Action" is it proposed shall take the place of the political struggle and eliminate the political factor? The general strike? But the general strike cannot take place without a long period of preliminary contests. A general strike does not leap into the field; it is the product of long and carefully prepared industrial organization. It implies that many minor industrial conflicts have occurred before the general strike makes its appearance and each one of the minor conflicts will have mirrored itself in the politics and will have produced proponents of the strike in the various political bodies. Such a result is unescapable, given a democracy, a prime essential of the social revolution. For, at least as far as we know, the development of the proletariat to the point of becoming a revolutionary force implies the development of modern industry with its by-products of popular education, suffrage, and the other concomitants of the regime of liberalism.

To declare that any form of direct action can be independent of political results is to state an obvious absurdity, for results will follow automatically. Not only so, but the economic facts which in their turn form the justifying basis of the so called direct action will have reflected themselves in the political world in proportion to the degree of importance of those facts, as compared with the other economic facts, all of which taken together form the economic milieu of a given society at a given time. Kautsky recognizes this when he says in "The Road to Power" (p. 95 Samuel A. Block; Chicago) "Strikes in those branches of industry that are dominated by employers' associations and which play an important part in the general economic life tend more and more to take on a political character. On the other hand, opportunities come with increasing frequency in the purely political struggle (for example, battles for the suffrage) in which mass strikes may be used as an effective weapon."

"So it is that the unions are compelled more and more to take up political tasks. In England as in France, in Germany as well as in Austria, they are turning more and more towards politics. This is the justified kernel of the syndicalism of the Romance countries. Unfortunately, however, as a result of its anarchistic origin this kernel is buried in a desert of anti-parliamentarism. And yet this 'direct action' of the unions can operate effectively only as an auxiliary and reinforcement to and not as a substitute for parliamentary action."

The second paragraph does not apply to this country, and it is more than doubtful if it applies to Great Britain or France. In Germany, where the bourgeois political conditions are not yet developed in their entirety, the political struggle occupies the center of the stage. It is, however, not a working class political struggle but an effort of the actual economic values of the bourgeoisie to mirror themselves in the national politics. The unions turn more and more towards politics because their economic fight compels it, they must demonstrate their economic values on the political field. The conclusion to the paragraph therefore is not correct. Direct action is not an "auxiliary and reinforcement" to parliamentary action. It is the impulse and necessary stimulus to parliamentary action. Without direct action, in the sense of economic movement, there can be no proletarian parliamentary action; on the other hand, economic action cannot avoid showing itself in parliamentary action. The most recent and convincing fact in support of this view is the action of the French parliamentary party at the time of the syndicalist railroad strike. The direct action carried on by anti-parliamentary syndicalists found, in spite of the instigators of the strike, a parliamentary expression, the parliamentarians on their part, in spite of bitter antagonism to the methods and operations of the direct actionists, and in spite of the

### COMPROMISE MEANS RUIN!

#### Warning Against Political Trading.

#### SOCIALIST PARTY THREATENED WITH FATE OF AUSTRALIAN MOVEMENT AND OLD PEOPLE'S PARTY.

By CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL.

The strength of the Socialist party of America lies in the fact that so far it has kept itself absolutely free from political maneuvering and the tricks and deals by which other parties seek and win a temporary political success.

Of course we can abandon this policy and lower our ideals if we choose to do so at any time. But if we should ever contemplate such a step we ought to bear in mind what have been its invariable consequences so that we shall not be surprised if disaster come upon us.

Compromise and the pursuit of merely temporary victory have been the ruin of every previous proletarian movement. We can ruin ours also if we so desire, or we can keep it in the straight path of the ultimate goal.

There was once a promising proletarian movement in New Zealand. It has been killed by compromise. Now, except for the efforts of a small band of enthusiasts, Socialism is dead in New Zealand.

There was a proletarian movement in Australia. It became bewitched by the idea of winning elections and gaining offices. To-day there are few countries where the outlook for Socialism is more depressing.

There was a promising proletarian movement in England. It was switched into the Labor Party. Now Socialism is dead in England, and the political party that promised so much for the working classes has gone mad about parliamentary success and political tactics.

Perhaps it is because I have examined the situation in these countries that I am impelled to utter a warning that may not be needed in America. Possibly, also, I have no right to offer any advice. But I cannot refrain from expressing the hope that the proletarian movement in America will never repeat the blunders that have wrecked such movements in other countries.

I know something of the huge temptations to compromise and combinations. I was for many years a political reporter and Washington correspondent; I know how strong is the allurements of contest, the delight of battle and victory and all that these mean.

But we ought never for one instant to lose sight of this fact:

We are not fighting to win offices but to abolish from the earth a most pernicious and baleful system. We are not fighting for to-day but for all the days to come. One battle, one election, one campaign is literally nothing. We have a world-wide cause and a world-wide purpose. It

fact that they were smarting under parliamentary losses due to the abstention of direct actionists from the polls at the preceding election, were compelled to act as the representatives of the economic power of the direct actionists, and by their political action to render service to the latter on the political field.

The two manifestations are inseparable, the attempted exclusion of one or other would be impossible. If there is any degree of relative importance the balance would incline to the economic side, as the necessary preliminary to any political action.

To shake the economic foundations of the governing class, and at the same time to encroach upon the machinery of government in the hands of that class, is obviously the present work of the proletariat.

#### LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO TO ELECT OFFICERS MONDAY NIGHT, JUNE 5.

The question of retaining on the Campaign Committee for six months more the members who, at the instance of a member of the State Executive Committee from Los Angeles, sought to have alterations made in the San Francisco party platform, and thereafter tried to have our revolutionary candidate withdrawn, will be settled Monday night, June 5. All party members entitled to vote for officers, (three months' membership required), who believe that this should be done, or that it should not be done, should give up everything else for the sake of attending and participating in the election of officers in Germania Hall, Fifteenth and Mission streets, at 8 p. m.

is nothing to us if we win not a battle in our day. We are preparing for the only victory that is of the least importance, which is the destruction of wage slavery, and if we do not see that victory our children shall see it, if we do our part now, and that is enough for us to know.

Here also is another fact worth our remembering:

If we were to win every office in this country, literally every one, every national office, every state office, every local office, that would not be of the least value in the world to us unless we had back of us a strong majority of the people, thoroughly informed about Socialism and resolutely determined to have it.

Otherwise we could never have the Co-operative Commonwealth, compared with which no other object in the world is worth thinking about.

Now if the Socialist party stopped to lower its standards that it might win any election anywhere, I should be unable to see any particular difference between it and the dead and gone Populist party of America, or the Labor party of Australia or the Labor party of England; and I should expect the Socialist party to share the fate of the others.

It is not in any degree a question of purity of motive. The Labor party of Australia began with motives as pure as any party ever had and with an inspiration as high. I can conceive of a man with the purest motives allowing himself to be carried away by the thought of winning an immediate locality for Socialism so that the ultimate good should become obscured to him. But this very danger should make us the more determined that under no circumstances shall we ever compromise our faith nor divert our attention from the real cause we have undertaken.

All men convinced of Socialist truth are welcome to enlist with us in this fight, but the thing we aim at is too important to justify us in leaving the ranks for a moment. If men do not now feel the issue enough to join the Socialist party we can well afford to wait. The time will come when all good men will see the truth. Meantime, as the old Maoris said, "We fight right on, we fight right on."

And under the same flag always. It is Socialism or nothing. Not because we are fanatics but because we see that only Socialism can cure the world's ills and bring release to the millions that now toil in slavery.

It is not any matter of personal preference or prejudice. We seek the emancipation of the race.

#### HIS MAJESTY HONORS LABOR.

By REGINALD VON ASTORBILT.

Press dispatches from London tell us that "the King has paid an unprecedented honor to the labor movement by a 'command' invitation to two representatives of trades unions to attend the coronation ceremony."

Now most of my clubmates are rather inclined to resent this. They do not fancy being forced to mingle on a supposedly equal footing with these labor people, not even in a purely official manner and for a brief period of time. Personally I do not agree with my over-particular friends. For my part I am very glad that King George has seen fit to take this salutary and progressive action, and I hope the wage workers of England will show themselves to be gratefully sensible of the admirable broadmindedness of their democratic sovereign. There are, it is true, many of the rougher sort of working people who erroneously conceive the labor movement to be something essentially antagonistic to what King George and his court stand for. These people, naturally enough, will not appreciate what the Associated Press, with its almost unerring sense of values, rightly characterizes as an "unprecedented honor" paid them by His Majesty. Steeped in the baneful dogma that they themselves supply King George and his ladies and gentlemen with the food they eat, the palaces they live in and the clothes and jewels they wear, these misguided malcontents will scoff cynically, or growl menacingly, at the mark of royal favor thus graciously bestowed upon two of their ambitious erstwhile brethren. All of which simply goes to show that these jarring souls are hopelessly out of sympathy with the "get-together" spirit of the times. They utterly fail to grasp the happy significance of the great conservative craft union movement so ably rep-

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### LIGHT! MORE LIGHT!

#### Basic Knowledge Means Basic Demands.

By ROSE PASTOR STOKES.

It was five years ago. The editor of the "Magazine" (a very popular, and ostensibly a "democratic" one), had sent a special emissary all the way out to my home in Stamford to request me (even to beg, if a request brought no results) to write an article for the "Magazine" on "What a Millionaire Woman Could Best Do With Her Money."

"Her money!" I thought as I listened to the man who made the request. There was no need to beg—I cheerfully agreed to write the article. "But," I added, "it will be radical."

"Very well; we'll print it," said the emissary.

"Pardon me," I added carefully, "but I mean radical; not 'liberal,' nor just non-conformistic, nor just rebellious, nor even what you or your editor would call 'Socialistic,' but radical. I shall go to the root of the question. Are you willing?"

"Certainly, Mrs. Stokes," said the man. "You may write anything you like on the subject, and we'll print it."

That was assurance! So I wrote my article (on a broiling day in July, too), and sent it promptly to the "Magazine."

Before many days, however, the bread I had cast upon the waters came back to me—on the wave of a new emissary. Alas! they were "unable" to publish the article!

Unable? But why? What was the matter with it? Was it false? They could easily expose false statements! Was it too long? I could easily shorten it. Wasn't it to the point? I could make it more so.

The new emissary did not know what the matter with it; he only knew the editor could not use it.

I bade him good morning with a smile. We did not tell one another; but—he knew that I knew the reason, and I knew that he knew.

About a month later I happened to meet in the home of a wealthy friend, one of the largest stockholders of that same magazine publishing company. Before the evening was over we were on very friendly terms. I told him what a tongue-tied magazine his was—told him the story of my article, and challenged him to publish the thing.

"You pride yourself upon your liberalism; your absence of bias; your 'public' spirit; your freedom from 'class interest'; here's a chance for you to prove it," I said. "Of course, I warn you, it's a radical article, but your editor ordered it and gave me a free hand. Dare you publish?"

He protested that he knew nothing of it, and would certainly bring the matter up at the next meeting of the Board of Directors.

Evidently he did, for soon the editor himself called and asked for the article. Oh, no! he was not afraid to print the truth! It was thought inadvisable to publish the thing, because it was too long. If I would cut it down some and modify it a little, it would be published.

"Very well, I'll cut it down and modify it, too," I promised. "I find it needs 'modifying.' I haven't said things quite so clearly as I might have said them, and I'll try to clarify a little the things I've left rather vague for an uninformed public."

So I modified, cut, and sent. The editor had been so apologetic and eager to make amends, that I was certain he would publish my article on the Millionaire Woman quite conspicuously. So what was my amused horror and mock surprise when the postman brought me my MS.—just as good as new—back from the capitalistic junk shop. They really could not publish it—it was quite out of the question! It was too inflammatory. Their pocket-books would not stand for it. It would disturb law and order!—the law of hate and the order of the club! They really couldn't do it.

All because I questioned the legitimacy of those millions, the right of the woman to her unearned dividends.

Well, they are wise, some of them, and recognize their class interest clearly. Could but the oppressed, befuddled working class recognize its own interest as clearly;—the working class! fed upon the "news" of a press owned and controlled by the masters of its destiny!

I send you this story—with part of the original article enclosed, dear comrade-editor of REVOLT,—that those who read and support this splendid paper may be roused to greater effort for its distribution among the capitalist-guided workers.

So long as the workers of the world continue reading what their masters choose to give them in the shape of newspapers and magazines, just so long will they be separated from the truth that will set them free.

Indeed, in my article, after it exposes the sources of the "Millionaire Woman's" wealth, I suggest a free, un gagged, unmonopolized press as a "hobby" for her—one that she herself or any group of in-

terested persons shall be unable to control. In the present fierce struggle between the working class and the master class, it is clearly to the interest of the working class that the truth be told, and none but the militant, class-conscious fighters in the ranks of labor can tell, or are trying to tell, the rest of their class the whole miserable truth of the struggle.

Light! light! comrades, and more light! Without light, without the light of knowledge, the struggle is lost. Acquire (and spread) basic knowledge and you'll make (and cause others of your class to make) basic demands.

Therefore, on with the work for this newspaper, REVOLT. Carry this torch of light into the dark places you all know so well. No power on earth or above it can withstand the demands of an organized, conscious, brain-cleared humanity. And humanity (the great uncountable mass of men and women and little children that labor!) humanity cannot withstand the least wind that blows if it be neither brain-cleared, conscious or organized. And it cannot become these three without the WORD—the written, the spoken, the printed word.

We cannot all be speakers, but we can all be distributors of the printed word. Comrades, on with the mental revolution without which all other revolutions end in dust and ashes, in reaction and slavery.

Remember, the printed word—the power, incalculable, the power unconquerable—of the printed word!

[Editor's Note:—The article by Comrade Rose Pastor Stokes, refused by the "progressive" magazine, will appear in the next issue of REVOLT.—C. J.]

THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENT IN THE MIDDLE WEST

By FRANK BOHN.

At the last election, Ohio distinguished itself by polling the largest vote ever cast for the Socialist Party in any State of the Union. This vote was not the product of unstable causes. In 1904 the Ohio vote was 36,000, in 1908 33,000. The 1910 vote of over 60,000 was the normal result following two years of hard work and careful organization on the part of Ohio comrades. Needless to say, the writer was anxious to observe at first hand the methods which had led to these results and to become acquainted with the comrades who had developed them.

The Middle West is a region of rapidly developing industrial cities, large and small. In Ohio there are eighty of more than 5,000 population and five of more than 100,000. The Socialist movement develops first in the small industrial towns. So Ohio now leads in the number of dues-paying Party members, having more than 6,000.

Marysville may be taken as a representative of the type of smaller towns in Ohio. It has 5,000 people. During the past twelve months it has increased the membership of its local from seven to a hundred and twelve. A weekly Socialist paper is published at Marysville which has a circulation larger than either of the capitalist papers. The problem of having a paper in a small town has been solved in this part of the country. At Findlay, Ohio, a co-operative organization publishes seventy-two local papers. Of these fifty-eight are for Ohio towns and fourteen for towns in other States. A part of each paper is devoted to general propaganda and educational matter. This is the same for all papers. A portion, as large as local comrades may wish, is devoted to news of the particular town in which it is to be circulated.

The social distinctions in the small towns are now much more clearly marked than formerly. It must be remembered that practically the entire population of the average city of from 5,000 to 15,000 people in the Middle West is American. Formerly a large degree of social equality obtained. This resulted not only from the common origin of the wealthy and the poorer elements of the population, but also from the manner of living, their ideas and the education of the children. All this is now changed. During the past twenty years towns of 2,000 people and up have developed water works, electric lights, usually a gas plant, and have built fine new high schools. Electricity and gas for lighting and heating, paved street, automobiles and the new homes which correspond to these luxuries, have been of course appropriated by the "better people" of the community. The workers live in small unpainted cottages on the unpaved streets. They use oil lamps and carry coal in buckets. The new high school building is the pride of the small town in the Middle West, but the working class is fortunate if it can send its children through the grade schools.

The old time American workman is very much embittered when he sees men he has known from boyhood and who are "no better than he is" enjoying the new luxuries of the present generation, while his condition is becoming steadily worse. His poverty and the other man's wealth is known to the whole community. He thinks at first that he was born to something better but that he missed his opportunities through some failure of his own. Then comes the Socialist movement with the true explanation of the social condition. The point of departure in the reasoning of the man in the small town is usually as regards his conception of government. In the larger cities it comes often through the failure of the labor union to succeed and the necessity of revolutionary theory and practice. In the small town the worker is bred to be both religious and patriotic. When his living conditions have deteriorated, when he sees his children denied the opportunities that would make their life easier than his, and after he has seen several local politicians grow rich through town and county political graft—then he is ready for a larger view of life. Its form is usually bitter enmity toward the wretches who have debased "his country" and its government. The tremendous hold the Appeal to Reason has upon this population is due to the fact that its editors comprehend perfectly the psychology of the American-born worker and specifically the worker in the small town. The Appeal to Reason

comes into the home of this man and he begins to sweat from anger. This is the first act in the making of a revolutionist.

Besides the generally understood factors which make propaganda in the larger cities hard, another element is evident. The workers in the small towns do not have to contend with a local trade union machine, whose business it is to deliver the working class vote to the Democratic and Republican politicians. In Toledo this gang has supported Brand Whitlock, the heir of "Golden Rule" Jones. In Cleveland it was pie for Tom Johnson during his whole career. In Chicago, however, the old party machine which is endorsed by the A. F. of L. always loses in the election. In Pittsburg we have conditions coming to a head. The Socialist Party there numbers, in dues-paying members, 1500 strong. According to the reports in "Justice," the Socialist Party paper in Pittsburg, corruption and disruption in the A. F. of L. beggar all description. Consequently the Socialist Party organization has been educated to a knowledge of how little may be expected from that source. The same is true of Chicago.

The Middle West is the home of the metal-working industries. These industries have, during the past twenty years, developed entirely out of the craft system. As a result, craft unionism in the factory has been abolished. It exists only in the building trades. The machinists cannot make head against the ten hour day, because in the old sense, there are no machinists. But there is a ten hour day. Industrial development has not abolished work.

The Socialist Party has permeated every factory and every working class home in the remotest village. The whole mental life of this population is being revolutionized. The writer found that a profound interest in revolutionary unionism has been everywhere developed by the Party. The workers again are taking up the matter of shop organization. The rallying cry already has sounded forth. It is "One Big Union and the Eight Hour Day!"

We are on the eve of one of the most important labor struggles in the history of the country. It will take place in the metal industries of the Middle West. On one side the forces of capitalism will be led by the Steel Trust. On the other, the workers, angered by twenty years of defeat, but with renewed hopes, will be solidified industrially, and will be in possession of a considerable degree of political power. The struggle will be gigantic, bitter and desperate and will be fought with any and every weapon which the rival forces can lay hold of. Kid gloves are not fashionable in the iron and steel industry. The fight will not begin this year. It will develop in the next period of business prosperity, when the workers are pretty generally employed. At the present time, with from twenty-five per cent to fifty per cent of the workers unemployed, the Socialist Party is making the greatest strides. Revolutionary unionism will later come abreast of it. Here, between the Ohio River and the Great Lakes, from Buffalo and Pittsburg to St. Louis and Minneapolis, where the flat country is cobwebbed by railroads and thick with factories, is the industrial heart of America. The coming struggle is likely to be of crucial importance. The numbers involved will give it the form of a labor rebellion. For an intimation of the nature of the conflict, we must return to the old days of the K. of L. in Pittsburg, Cleveland and Chicago.

The present is a time of preparation. To 800,000 working class homes in this Middle West goes the Appeal to Reason, The International Socialist Review, The New York Call, The Chicago Daily Socialist, Pittsburg Justice and more than a hundred other Socialist papers. Within two years the Socialist Party will carry scores of small towns and two or three more larger cities. And the more cities and towns carried by the Socialist Party, the greater the police power in the hands of the workers, the more bitter, relentless and decisive will be the battle which every revolutionary worker in the Middle West is now eagerly awaiting.

ALL FOR REVOLT.

In spite of the fact that announcement of disposition of the money taken in at the McDevitt-Goldman debate was made at the meeting and elsewhere, it has come to the attention of the editor of REVOLT that some "comrades" have been asking with eager interest, "What did McDevitt get out of it?"

It is a well-known fact that money, even a large bill, can pass before McDevitt's eyes without drawing his fascinated gaze like that of an owl that sees a fat mouse in the dark. He speaks anywhere and everywhere for the cause of revolutionary socialism without charge or even allowance for expenses when those are inconsiderable.

The receipts at the meeting were \$215.30. The expenses totaled \$55. The remaining \$160.30 was divided according to the agreement, 45 per cent and 55 per cent, Miss Goldman receiving \$88.15 and REVOLT \$72.15. McDevitt got the joy of doing good work for the cause of the revolution.

DEBS AND SLANDER.

By JACK WOOD.

I detest the writer of the "anonymous" letter; and under a "nom de guerre" vicious attack is equally covered. They of the Judas-bag still kiss and stab! To readers of Debs' "Danger Ahead" in the "International Socialist Review" the following correspondence from the London "Justice" will be of vital interest, and I am sure the readers of REVOLT will appreciate the action of the veteran, H. M. Hyndman, and join in wishing Eugene V. Debs all power and health when he visits "merrie England."

"EUGENE DEBS"

"About three weeks ago the contributor who writes over the nom de guerre of 'Nicias' in the 'Petite Republique' of Paris, in an article dealing with what he declared to be the growing tendency of leading Socialists to take part in bourgeois Governments, associated our comrade Eu-

gene V. Debs with Burns, Millerand, Viviani, and others as a 'renégat' to the old uncompromising doctrines of revolutionary Socialism. I thereupon took it upon myself to write to the 'Petite Republique,' whose editor, M. Gaston Gagniard, I happen to know pretty well, asking him to allow me to repudiate on Debs's behalf this aspersion upon his thoroughly uncompromising career. The letter was duly printed, defending Debs, and I cut it out and sent it to our comrade to 'The Appeal to Reason,' Girard, Kansas. I also earnestly begged Debs to make a strong effort to come to this country in order to address public meetings under the auspices of the Social-Democratic Party, and others, who wish to hear the real revolutionary doctrine preached by the leading American Socialist, who has three times stood as candidate of the Socialist Party for the Presidency of the United States. To this I received a letter from Debs, of which the enclosed is a copy. I think it will be of interest not only to readers of 'Justice,' but to all comrades in the cause.

"H. M. HYNDMAN."

"Mr. H. M. Hyndman, London, England.

"Dear Comrade Hyndman:—Your kind letter of the 1st inst. with clipping enclosed has just been received. I have read your article in the 'Petite Republique' with genuine satisfaction. A thousand thanks! You may be assured that this kindly personal interest on your part is fully appreciated. I know of no one I would rather have set me right in such a matter than yourself.

"I readily perceive the mischief that might result from permitting such an accusation to go unchallenged in a paper of such wide circulation. My record will attest, I believe, that there is absolutely no shadow of a foundation for such a charge. Exactly opposite is the charge made here, where my record is known. Here I am a fanatic and impossibilist. Never before, to my knowledge, have I been flattered with the charge that I am a compromiser, and if there is a word or an act in my record to warrant it, I would be glad to have it pointed out.

"The kind invitation you extend appeals to me strongly, and I hope it may be my pleasure to some day address your meetings.

"Thanking you again, and with all good greetings to yourself and comrades, I remain, loyally your comrade.

(Signed) "EUGENE V. DEBS."

HIS MAJESTY HONORS LABOR.

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resented in England by John Burns and in America by Messrs. Mitchell, Morgan, Gompers, McCarthy, Roosevelt and a host of other devoted men and women who are gloriously consecrating their lives to the cause of industrial peace.

A few million grumblers, misled by wicked and sinister agitators, will protest that they see no joyful portent in King George's graciousness. Rather will they profess to see cause for concern and grave alarm in this opportunity granted to their deserving leaders to consort for a while with kings, princes and dukes. Harboring the pernicious delusion that the King and his commercial advisers are robbing them of some four-fifths of a wealth which they fancy they create, they will raucously assert that their leaders might be better employed than in availing themselves of what all right-thinking people will consider an unparalleled opportunity for loyal men of humble origin to meet their betters on something like even terms. But a fig for these trouble makers! They are not, fortunately, in control of the Anglo-Saxon labor movement—that is, not yet. Happily for all patriotic lovers of Things as they Are, the great trades union movement of the English-speaking workers still treads the sedate paths of constructive opportunism, guided by safe men who have the good sense and sound judgment to consult the wishes and interests of the employing class whenever their obstreperous followers threaten some ill-advised action that might jeopardize the value of industrial stocks and bonds. With men like these at the helm there is little fear that the labor movement, either here or in England, will be turned over to the unbridled aggressiveness of the revolutionary rank and file. It should be our constant care to see that these same leaders are handsomely rewarded for the service they so masterfully render to the twin causes of prudent labor and progressive capital.

Messrs. Gompers and Mitchell have already been signally honored by accredited representatives of our own upper class. If they can continue to keep the American labor movement in order it is quite possible that King George will ask them to visit him at Windsor.

FACTS IN THE DALTON CASE.

A Sinister Illumination.

The arrest and indictment of Henry Dalton, the Assessor of Alameda County, on the charge of acceptance of bribes sheds a sinister illumination upon the pious politicians of that very respectable and church-going city of Oakland, the inhabitants of which viewed with such lofty scorn the delinquencies of the rabble in the neighboring Sodom.

The facts are about as follows: At the last election Dalton was opposed by one Thomas, who was regarded as the candidate of the Realty Syndicate. That concern, which is one of the great capitalistic enterprises, and in some respects the most important in Oakland, is reported to have spent one hundred thousand dollars in promoting the candidature of Thomas. Dalton was elected but the election cost him thirty thousand dollars, while his total salary for his entire term of office would only amount to sixteen thousand dollars. Dalton is reported to have said that he would have to make up the money somehow, and the present act of the drama is occupied with the results of the making up. It is obvious that no one in his senses is going to expend thirty thousand dollars with only sixteen thousand in sight.

Dalton is personally very popular. The reason

is that he has always been friendly to the small business man and the small property owner. He is a sort of survivor of a more Arcadian day. He knows personally a very large number of the struggling middle class. A man owning a small piece of property and in difficulties, or a small business man threatened with annihilation, would come to him and ask personal favors in the assessment. Dalton would frequently grant these favors, so it is reported, and hence had a host of personal friends.

In the meantime he had to recoup. Business reverses in the shape of the failure of certain speculations in ranches and mines were embarrassing him. The money expended by him in the winning of his election was a millstone around his neck. He found himself threatened with ruin. He thereupon told the Spring Valley that he would keep their assessment down on the payment of twenty-five thousand dollars in installments. The company shied at the amount. And informed the District Attorney. Detectives were called in and according to the account of the District Attorney, Dalton was trapped into taking marked bills to the amount of five thousand dollars and was arrested, the marked bills being found on his person.

If one wishes an example of the bourgeois in all his treacherous nastiness, could anything more complete be found?

There is not a decent person in the whole outfit. The Spring Valley Company, which has unquestionably paid a whole succession of County Assessors, suddenly turns virtuous because the amount of money asked is more than it cares to pay, the District Attorney marks bills, employs detectives, actually lays a plot and smilingly sees the trap close. The Assessor apparently has accumulated funds fraudulently and in violation of his public trust. And behind them stands the uncaught Realty Syndicate which expended a vast sum of money to elect some one whom they could handle at the last election.

Why did the Realty Syndicate want its own Assessor? The reply need not be made. It is obvious in the question itself. Why did Dalton spend so much money on his election?

There is a disease in the body politic obviously enough, but the disease is on the way to be cured. The refusal of the Spring Valley to pay means that the greater capitalism no longer needs fraudulent Assessors or fraudulent politicians. It is beginning to feel secure in its position, and as soon as it does so the corrupt politics which have been so noticeable in the political life of this country will disappear. Corruption in politics marks the transition stage to the greater capitalism. Once that stage is passed corrupt politics will pass away, for there will be no longer any need of corrupt politicians. The greater capitalism will control the State, the politicians will be theirs beyond peradventure, and the State will pay their salaries. There will soon be no money in politics.

THE ANARCHISTS' DREAD.

To the Editor of REVOLT:

In number 4 of REVOLT there appeared an article on Law by Mr. Donald D. Horn, in which he justly criticizes the way of how certain ideas become enacted laws and how certain conduct is called Right or Wrong. Among other things he says and seemingly disapproves of are the following:

"Right is the will of the supreme power of the state. All else is wrong, but right and wrong are arbitrarily determined by the supreme power of the state. Right and wrong are relative terms and their meaning has always been set by the supreme power in a state. It (the law) is the solemn expression of their (the ruling class) will and it is right. They have so determined. We can see clearly that it (the law) is the instrument of all oppression."

Toward the end of his article, Mr. Horn states that the worship of law is a superstition of the worst kind, "more completely false than any other in history." Mr. Horn also tells us that this religion is tottering and will disappear as soon as the workers get conscious of their power. "Then will the law also disappear and in its place shall come co-operative organization of all the people for the benefit of all the people."

I infer from this that Mr. Horn means to tell us that as soon as the industrial republic, co-operative commonwealth, social democracy or what not, is ushered in, presumably under the auspices of the Socialist party, there would be no more laws and no supreme power in the state whose expressed will it is. If authoritarian socialism, in whose name Mr. Horn seems to write, means anything, it means social democracy, the application of the democratic ideal, effective majority rule to everything that concerns the community or society, including the main issue—what does concern this same society or community?

The majority is the supreme power here and its expressed will is the law. In virtue of having the largest number of votes the majority, indeed, can arbitrarily determine what is right and what is wrong. What looks beneficial to the greatest number shall be imposed on all the people. This includes the minority, whether this identical thing looks beneficial to them according to their own judgment or not.

All authoritarian socialists agree on very few things, but one of them surely is that the mandate of the majority is holy, supreme, and must be executed at all times. The power of the majority is unlimited. Is this not a very close resemblance to the form of law to which Mr. Horn so strenuously objects? Here we have the same old supreme power in a state, a little modified, perhaps, but just as almighty as that of the divine kings of whose direct mandate from the gods there was no doubt. But just as the divine rights of kings were swept away by the great French revolution, so will the superstition of the right of the majority to rule the minority, be swept away by the realization of the fact that the bottom principle of majority rule and rule by divine right are identical, namely, the forcing of the will of some on others.

Under majority rule there are rulers and ruled, the enacted law (to differentiate from natural law,

(Continued on Page 3.)

REVOLT

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AGGRESSIVE POLICY IS BEST.

With the employing class resorting to every expedient to strengthen public opinion against the men accused of causing the Times building to blow up,—from the broadcast publication of innuendoes of all sorts to the running of moving pictures arranged by Burns for the purpose,—the subsidized prosecutors, bonus-hungry, still continue to hand out "dope" to the press about the preposterousness of organized labor thinking the defendants may not get a fair trial. The very persistence of these efforts to bluff union men into considering themselves mere "law-abiding citizens," in duty bound to think that the laws and the courts can do nothing wrong, looks very queer.

Labor had best bestir itself, taking first as a good working hypothesis the theory that the laws have been made by capitalist representatives in the interest of the employing class, and that judges are not expected to stop at aiding judicial murder in the service of those who have got them their jobs.

Admitting, for the sake of argument, that some of the employers who have interested themselves in the prosecution, providing the enormous fund, actually believe the Times-building was dynamited and by members of Union Labor, it is clear that they would be in a very bad position in the eyes of the "public" if the fact that they have been victimized by reward-hungry detectives is made to appear. Therefore it is to be expected that these gentry, who are accustomed to consider that their own laws should not apply to them nor their own courts take cognizance of their own illegal actions, will feel it their holy duty, in the interest of their class, to go on with the proposed hanging of McNamara ever after learning of his innocence. Some of them, being sentimental, will feel that the necessity is a sad one, of course, but their dread of organized labor gaining strength to improve working class conditions at the expense of the master class gives them what they feel to be a moral excuse for any act. Just as the employing class is ever ready to send hosts of recruited workingmen as soldiers to murder and be murdered in the interest of commercialism, so it will not hesitate to put the rope around the neck of any man who is needed for an "example" or a part of the struggle to check the growth of labor organization.

Labor must meet this condition and, recognizing the fact that the master class will stop at nothing to attain its end, meet every one of the insidious moves aggressively.

The union man that would continue to work in a moving picture theatre where the Burns-fixed films were being or had been displayed would be far more a traitor to his class than any mere "scab." The workingman who fails to oppose aggressively every effort to "prepare public opinion" for the hanging of the McNamaras is himself accessory before the fact to the judicial murder of his brothers in the Los Angeles county jail.

IT IS TO LAUGH!

Roaringly funny are the frantic struggles of McCarthy and his crowd of "union labor" politicians to get themselves out of the mess into which the "Industrial Peace," "Paris of America," etc., etc., have plunged them.

"What McCarthy says goes," announced Mr. Flaherty, the emergency police commissioner recently drafted to help get rid of a chief of police formerly appointed to meet another emergency in the devious career of the administration. Mr. Flaherty had been taught to think so, of course, which accounts for his willingness to give his aid to the effort to accomplish the impossible task of rehabilitating the great political contortionist with various divisions of the propertied class in San Francisco and the semi-goo goo element in general.

McCarthy and his crowd appear to have lost all idea of planning any systematic defense against the attack of the host of enemies they have made, and are butting around like a bunch of crazy billy goats that have been stung blind by swarms of bees.

HAYWOOD BARRED BY THE S. E. C.

To the imposing list of powerful workers for revolutionary socialism (Debs, Brown, Bohn, Walling and others) placed under the ban by the State Executive Committee of the Socialist party of California has been added the name of William D. Haywood, now on his way to the Coast. Haywood for months has been studying labor conditions in different European lands, and his articles in the International Socialist Review show an increasingly keen insight into the character and meaning of different phases of the class struggle.

The latest circular sent out by Secretary Meriam, instructing all locals to refuse to arrange meetings for Haywood, has met with a response which augurs well for the socialist movement in California, even though it is not in line with the "California Movement" as formulated by Harriman, Meriam et al. Several locals already have adopted resolutions condemning the S. E. C. for its edicts against socialist speakers of international reputation who, in teaching socialism, might lose a few votes which otherwise could be won for selected party candidates by making "the public" feel that the Socialist party in California is "not revolutionary."

The "California Movement" is doomed to failure, for the socialist movement in California is growing stronger day by day. The "California Movementers" should give up the idea of controlling the Socialist party in this State, and go where they belong—to the Johnson gang of "Insurgents." Of course, that would mean the end of their dream of ruling a movement, but that will come any way, for it is not destined to be realized in the Socialist party.

"NEWS FROM MEXICO."

Brief reports carried by the press services from Mexico bring to the waiting public in this country the information that Senor Francisco I. Madero, Jr., the general who has been trying to command the army of revolt in that awakening land, still is trying to convince "his followers" that the war is over. The fact that he feels constrained to keep on doing this is interesting, at least, if not altogether satisfying. In the "news" we get there is everything to indicate that the real "news" in Mexico is what we are not getting.

Time was, in Mexico as elsewhere, when a "general" commanding forces in revolt against established government could end the war whenever he could make satisfactory terms for himself, the troops getting the satisfaction of knowing that they had not fought and bled in vain, since "their" general was to become Something Important in the new government to be. Not now in Mexico! In the much-sneered-at "Land of Manana" the dawn of a to-morrow filled with promise of a potent working class movement already is lightening the war-darkened sky.

REVOLT wishes Madero a safe journey to Mexico City, and hopes that he may arrive there as the unharmed prisoner of the real army of the Revolution. This, of course, may prove impracticable. Whatever else may come to pass, REVOLT hopes the embattled workingmen of Mexico will not permit the gentleman to establish himself in the capital city as a part of the proposed new government which offers nothing to the working class.

A NEGLECTED OPPORTUNITY.

"Diaz in tears," is the headline of a newspaper report of the departure of the tyrant of Mexico from the country which for three decades he has ruled so cruelly in the interest of foreign capitalists (Morgan et al). Other contemptible servitors of the master class in the enslavement of peoples for the sake of profits have wept over the loss of their jobs. The spectacle is somewhat impressive, but disgusting, not pathetic.

In the interest of the true revolutionary movement in Mexico, it is to be hoped that Senor Madero soon may have as good cause to weep.

The expelled dictator is quoted as saying: "I am grateful to the army, that I could count on it to the last moment of leaving Mexican territory. It is the only real defense the country has, and to re-establish peace in this republic its services will have to be called upon in this crisis." So, while weeping over the loss of his hangman's job, he thought of the people of Mexico, the working class, only as slaves of the masters to be kept in submission by means of wholesale governmental murder.

We will not weep with Diaz over the loss of his job!

Having shed his few tears,—in grief that he no longer could cause the tears of bleeding Mexico to flow,—the retiring dictator declared: "I shall die in Mexico!" This, according to the press report, was "uttered in a tone of prophecy and with a look of inspired conviction."

He could have made surer of it by not going to Spain.

PLAYING THE GAME!

The following information, sent out to socialist papers by the National Office of the party, should be of especial interest to organized labor in San Fran-

cisco, where moving picture shows ("fair" or "unfair") are numerous:

"A New York film company is getting out special slides, as stated in their circular, 'Showing the arrest of J. J. McNamara and the evidence from which Detective Burns proposes to convict the dynamiters.' If these slides are as described they cannot help but create public prejudice against the accused, and in that case objections should be raised by Socialists and trade unionists to their use in the respective communities."

Apparently, besides sending pictures of the men he had selected as the victims of capitalism to the newspapers on the Coast, Burns also "tipped off" the moving picture men in advance. Hoping for great rewards if he should "make good" with his frame up against organized labor, he neglected no chance to gather in a few pennies on the side.

COURAGE.

By ROBERT JOHNSTONE WHEELER.

Courage, moral courage, is a prime necessity in a revolutionist. Physical courage we possess to a high degree. No one ever accuses the workers of a lack of it. To be a wage slave under the conditions of modern industry requires bravery far in excess of that demanded of a soldier. Every hour of the day upon countless fields of industrial endeavor the worker proves his indifference to danger of injury and death. But he lacks moral courage. He is afraid of the boss; afraid to join a union; afraid to risk losing his job. Therefore the industrial movement goes forward slowly.

We must admire the courage of the managing capitalist. He may not have the dull, brute-like physical courage which we possess, but he has a large supply of mental bravery. He knows he is in a hopeless minority, but he goes right ahead as though all power was on his side. He dominates the workers by sheer nerve. Even when conflict breaks out and he has enraged and vindictive men to contend with, he is prone to carry his plans through with a high hand. And often he wins out when by every sign he should have lost. Even though he may have been a worker himself and when in the ranks may not have been noted for any marked degree of moral courage, yet he seems to possess it as a capitalist. How did he get it? He found out that he needed it in his business and set about learning to use it. Here is a great lesson for the worker—the revolutionist of to-morrow. Moral courage is a quality of the mind. It can be developed. The worker is being driven to revolt against economic conditions. He is forced to organize—industrially and politically to defend himself, and also to prepare for the mighty mission of his class. It is a new task, and he needs new tools. His mind, because of long periods of slave-like obedience, has become subjective. He is meek, submissive. The revolt into which he is being forced calls for the exercise of different qualities—initiative, determination, pride; the courage that enables a man to count all well lost if the cause triumphs. These the worker must learn to use. Once let him throw off the yoke that fear lay upon him and the revolt will come.

Therefore, let us say to ourselves: "I have but little to lose. I will risk it all. I will be a slave no longer. I will learn to despise the idea of submission to anyone. I will learn to look all men in the eye and own no one my master. I need courage of the mind to enable me to stand with my fellows. I will possess it. I will join a union and the political party of my class. I will boldly proclaim my freedom to all who will hear!"

And, brother, if a man will do this, he shall be a mentally free man, even though he be a wage slave, and the cause shall go forward. For, "as a man thinketh in his heart so is he."

Allentown, Pa., May 30, 1911.

THE ANARCHISTS' DREAD.

(Continued from Page 2.)

or the social law of "equal freedom" will not disappear, nor the supreme power whose expressed will it is.

Yours truly,

T. WEINBERGER.

Editorial Note.—In his comment on an article headed "Emma Goldman's Dream," the editor expressed his conviction that society, being an organism, must function as an organism. The anarchists' dread of authority assuredly is well founded, but the anarchists' proposed substitute for authority in the more or less orderly functioning of society as an organism ("voluntary co-operation") is on a par with Ingersoll's suggestion that "health be made contagious instead of disease." It would be beautiful if practicable under the laws of life, which do exist and will continue to operate even though the anarchists continue to inveigh against them forever.

Comrade Horne will reply more at length to the above in some succeeding issue.

SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT

HYMAN STRUNSKY

Frederick W. Taylor walked over to a soda water fountain, flopped down a nickel and ordered a glass of lemonade.

The Greek behind the counter took down a bottle of syrup and was about to pour from it into a glass when Fred stopped him.

"Look here," he shouted, "I am a scientist and will have none of that stuff. Give me the genuine."

Whereupon the Greek picked up a lemon and proceeded to squeeze the juice into a glass. After a few seconds of laborious application the man behind the counter filled one-third of the tumbler, and discarding the lemon, was about to fill the balance with water from the fountain.

The trained eye of the "scientist" looked at the discarded lemon and then cast a reproachful glance at the Greek.

"Look here," he said, "the lemon is not squeezed enough, there is some juice left."

The chastised waiter applied himself more energetically and after a few seconds of strenuous squeezing he extracted several drops of the precious liquid.

The additional drops brought a theory to the thoughtful Fred, which he later developed and christened "Scientific Management."

In short, the theory is this:

Our lemons are not squeezed enough. There is always some moisture left which goes into waste.

During a ten or twelve hour day there are moments when the mind wanders. Some men, while at work, are guilty of thinking of their wives. Others indulge in musing over some pleasant incident or feast their memory on the joy-giving antics of their children. Others, again, meditate over some industrial problem, and many there are who ponder over radical theories. Six million working women allow themselves the luxury of romantic thought. They perform their work, it is true, but their minds wander and their hearts are possessed of emotions, and their real selves are carried off by reminiscence and fancy. Especially wasteful is the mind of the working child. The playful habits and cheerful spirit of the young assert themselves in spite of unfavorable conditions and oppressive environments. The minds turn to thought of recreation, and the hearts crave for play, air, sunshine, story-books, frolic and sports.

All these are deviations, and as such hinder continuous, exerting concentration on work. What is true of the lemon is true of the workers. They are not thoroughly squeezed as long as there is some moisture left. Fred knows the value of drops, he knows that in time they make a river.

"Squeeze them dry" is the slogan. Establish your industries on scale of efficiency that will make thought, fancy, reminiscence, desire, memory, longing, musing and similar sentimental indulgences, impossible while at work. Let the mind be centered on the work only, let the hands move with a rapidity never known before, let the body be imbued with an energy hitherto unsurpassed. But how?

By placing an incentive before the workers. Let a round, glistening silver dollar hang above them and urge them on to greater activities. At the sight of the dollar men, women and children will give up thought, fancy, musing and play; will abandon desires and hope; will cast aside sentiment and emotion and will turn into machines. They will try to excel and will force themselves to become implements of production.

With this renewed battle for supremacy a new standard of efficiency will be established. The good man will set the pace and the others will have to follow. Industry claims the best and the best it shall have.

The new standard will be a standard of greater production. This increase in production will do away with millions of workers—the unfit, those who could not keep up, those who will fall out, will be the ones that will not survive. (Science.) This falling off in numbers of employees will save a couple of million pay envelopes every Saturday. (Commerce.)

Judging merely by the amount of money paid in wages to the workers the innovation seems small and unimportant. The wages of a few million workers more or less seems hardly worth considering when measured by dollars and cents. But the scientific manager sees broader, deeper and more significant reasons for his system. The several million dismissed workers will swell the army of unemployed and will bring about a lowering in the standard of wages by the keen competition that their dismissal is bound to follow. Industry will then be in a position to choose its men. It will choose men strong, willing and obedient. It will not be forced to employ children because grown men and women will be glad to do the work, because of the general lack of em do the work, because of the general lack of employment. It will not have to employ the weak and old, since the young are stronger and more fit. It will clear the industrial army of the sick, the feeble, the lazy, the impudent, the sentimental, the fanciful, the old. In time these will die of hunger or disease and the human race will be cleared from a burden and relieved from a charge. By virtue of the new requirements the new employee will be a giant—strong and powerful. Titanic! Under threat of losing his position he will be forced to regulate his family, and he will have no more children than what Scientific Management will require. Under such conditions society is bound to prosper and develop into two powerful classes. The rich, happy employer and the strong, skillful employee; a perfect society of master and slave, a well divided, well regulated, scientifically managed, human family!

From The Agitator (Lakebay, Wash.):

"Revolt, the Voice of the Militant Worker," is fresh from 'Frisco. It's a Socialist party paper, though not official and it's better for that. Official organs are dreadful dull things.

SOCIALIST PARTY PLATFORM.

SAN FRANCISCO.

We, the members of the Socialist Party of San Francisco, in convention assembled, proclaim ourselves an integral part of the International Socialist movement.

We call attention to the failure and neglect of the McCarthy administration to advance the interests of the working class in San Francisco.

We realize that in society there rages a conflict between the working class and the capitalist class and that this conflict finds expression on the POLITICAL as on the INDUSTRIAL field.

The capitalist class grows ever more dominant by taking possession of the product of the working class and entrenching itself behind governmental power.

The working class has been reduced to a condition where it is allowed a wage only sufficient to keep it alive and reproduce its kind.

Government, whether it be national, state or municipal, has in the past been only an instrument in the hands of the capitalist class to keep the workers in subjection.

The Socialist Party is alone capable of administering government in the interest of the workers, as its historic mission is to further the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery.

The freedom of the working class is possible only when the instruments of labor are transferred to the control of the worker and the product is justly and equitably distributed.

Realizing that the emancipation of the toiler must be by the efforts of his own class, we call upon the San Francisco workers to unite as one in the Socialist Party, the only party financed and controlled by the working class.

Program.

Pledging ourselves to a real working class administration in this city, the Socialist Party presents to the workers the following program as measures to defend or advance the interests of labor.

- 1. A universal maximum work day of not more than eight hours.
2. Immediate relief for the unemployed by giving them employment on useful public work at union wages for union hours.
3. The most improved sanitary shop and housing conditions.
4. The strict enforcement of adequate child labor legislation.
5. Adequate provisions for free public employment agencies and the abolition of private employment agencies and kindred forms of grafting on the workers.
6. Adequate provisions for the education of all children. This to include free text books and free mid-day meals.
7. The abolition of the "third degree" and similar forms of police outrages.
8. The collective municipal ownership of all public utilities as an inevitable part of the general Socialist program to transfer the ownership of the means of production to the working class.

SOCIALIST PARTY TICKET.

Primary Municipal Election, September 26, 1911. Mayor—William McDevitt. Police Judges—W. E. Dillon, David Henderson. District Attorney—Emil Liss. City Attorney—W. H. Sigourney. Assessor—H. F. Sahlender. Auditor—A. K. Gifford. Treasurer—Oliver Everett. Tax Collector—David Milder. Recorder—Henry Warnecke. Public Administrator—W. A. Pfeiffer. County Clerk—M. H. Morris. Sheriff—Thos. J. Mooney. Coroner—Dr. M. B. Ryer. Supervisors—Rollar Allen, Edward W. Bender, George Bostel, K. J. Doyle, Louis Fortin, C. W. Hogue, Robert Larkins, Chas. Lehman, Joe Moore, Olaf Mork, Chas. Preston, Ernest L. Reguin, John M. Reynolds, William Schafer, S. Schulberg, George Styché, Lynus Vanalstine, Walter E. Walker.

To vote for Socialism, vote this ticket and Vote It Straight!

First-Class Union Work Phone: Market 6570

W. V. Jusaitis CUSTOM TAILOR For Men and Women

3037 Sixteenth Street (Formerly Humboldt Bank Bldg.) Near Mission San Francisco

Wm. Schafer's Band and Orchestra 1876 Mission Street

Members Musicians' Union No. 6, A. F. M. Telephone: Mission 3599

RAPS AND WALLOPS.

The Social Revolution must be the objective goal of the Socialists. Political action and industrial organizations are forced that must be used to cement the workers of the world into a power competent to accomplish the overthrow of the capitalist system.

At times the Associated Press proves that it is a useful institution; for instance, on the 27th of May, two leading physicians of the great city of New York, Wm. H. Rockwell, M. D., and George Steward, M. D., and one McGlove doing duty as private secretary to Thomas F. Ryan, reported that "Mr. Ryan has been suffering from a boil on the leg; it has been operated upon and he will be out shortly." According to McGlove, this boil was discovered by himself without the aid of Dr. Cook in April last. According to latest reports the Associated Press was a useless institution? Does it not report the interesting things that happen in this world? We are very grateful because it was reported that Mr. Ryan had a boil; we needed that information. It has lessened our hardships as toilers; it has encouraged us to take more risks in breaking our bones in producing ever more wealth for the master class.

There is one trust that the "muck rakers" leave alone. They don't exploit its doings, and the simple reason is that the "American News Co." with arms reaching into every city of this country, can break any periodical that dares meddle with its "private" affairs.

Socialism is the only remedy and only hope of eradicating the social evils.

There cannot be too much stress laid upon the necessity of the international solidarity of labor. By emphasizing the international character of the Socialist movement, it in itself destroys the fetish of patriotism.

Now that the sweltering days are here, in New York, Chicago, and in all the other large cities where the toilers live in crowded tenements, we can hear the heart-rending sobs of distracted mothers, kneeling over their little babies' dead bodies. This destruction by wholesale of the babes of the workers is our reward for our stupidity in being willing that capitalism should continue. We can end capitalism if we will accept the truths of revolutionary socialism and be militants.

Our tremendous productive capacity transfers the "high priced" American labor to the cheapest paid labor in the world, by virtue of the fact that the worker is exploited of a bigger share of his product.

On the 19th of May, 1911, Mrs. Ava Astor went to the great ball given in honor of Emperor Bill of Germany. That fact was cabled across the Atlantic Ocean; the news item appeared on the front page of all the great American dailies, and now, on the 25th of May, word comes from London that Mrs. Ava Astor went to another ball on the night of the 24th of May. The San Francisco Call proudly boasts that it came as a "special cable to the Call." This trip, Mrs. Astor was clad "in a pink gauze." Watch! Look! Listen! "With a mantle of turquoise blue." The old girl is certainly there with the dope to cover up with, when one is attired in a gauze. And she came into the ballroom "leading a live peacock by a gilded chain. She carried a long gilded staff and wore sandals which showed her bare feet." The report tells us that the bird became frightened and raised hell in the ballroom. Where is the society for prevention of cruelty to dumb animals when stupid individuals of the Ava Astor type abuse poor innocent birds? Go to it, Ava! The doings such as yours only bring into play the fact of the class struggle all the more strikingly.

An ordinary burglar in doing his job hides his face behind a mask and works in the dark, and when caught, society does not scruple in inflicting punishment. On the other hand Capitalist swindlers of the Morgan and Carnegie type "work" with the aid of governmental power, and steal millions openly. In place of punishing the more vicious criminals, we greet over them as leading members of our community.

There are some who encourage and urge the State ownership of the means of production under capitalism. The French Syndicalists warned against it in the following strong words: "The struggle against State Collectivism, which, in subordinating the workers to the State would place them in the grip of an anonymous monster, irresponsible and harsher than any private employer." The recent prevention of economic organization of the State postal employees in this country by President Taft supports that statement. Public ownership is only of use when the workers are the public. SELIG SCHULBERG.

FROM THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

San Francisco, June 1, 1911. Dear Comrade: The Young Socialists wish to call your attention to the splendid progress shown in their work in San Francisco. The number of children in the class last Sunday morning was twenty-three, the largest yet, and the interest is increasing steadily. The importance of teaching the principles of Socialism to the children is great, as has been shown in Germany, Italy, Austria and other countries where these classes in Socialism for the young have been conducted for years. The movement in San Francisco was launched some months ago on the urgent recommendation of Dr. Karl Liebknecht when he was in this city. The school, meeting every Sunday morning at 10 o'clock in Jefferson Square Building, 925 Golden Gate Avenue, with Rena Hermann as music instructor, Cora Reed and Alice Joy as Socialist teachers, at first had few pupils, but the number has been

growing steadily. Socialist songs are taught in connection with the musical instruction. Kirkup's Socialist primer is used in the Socialist teaching. Send all the children to these classes. The undersigned, elected as a committee of one from the Senior Division to extend the organization of the Young Socialists and encourage larger attendance at the Sunday morning classes, asks the co-operation of all comrades who are parents or relatives of children, urging them to aid in securing a more rapid increase in the numbers of pupils in the school. Yours fraternally, THOMAS J. MOONEY.

San Francisco, Cal., May 28, 1911. To the Editor of the Revolt: Dear Comrade—This is to let you know that the Sunday class of the Young Socialists is a complete success. The people of San Francisco are happy over the fact that, at last, there is an institution in the city where the children can learn something different from what they learn in the churches and schools under capitalist supervision, and therefore are sending their children to our school.

We have an average of twelve men members a week, and every member is enthusiastic over the class studies. We are starting a dialogue dealing with the army and navy forces, two other capitalistic organizations, showing where they are wrong and cowardly. It shows where three boys have an argument, one of the boys stands for the navy, another for the army and the other for Socialism. The Socialist wins out, causing the other two to agree with his ideas.

Next Sunday, June 4th, 1911, after the class is dismissed, the children will have an outing at the Socialist picnic in Glen Park. The outing will be under the supervision of Mrs. Hermann, one of our teachers, and a few other teachers.

With the best wishes for the success of the Socialist Party in the next election, I remain yours for the revolution. (Signed) LESTER BERNARD, President of the Advisory Board.

Editor Revolt: Dear Comrades—I am a charter member of the Young Socialist Sunday class. Ever since I started I saw improvements. At the first few classes five or six children came at the most and we only had a little singing and step dancing. Every time more came until last Sunday we had twenty-one. We are now being taught the Evolution of Man in this way: Our teacher told us the story of Robinson Crusoe, and she asks us questions on his needs and how he lived, etc. Our music and singing and dramatic teacher is Mrs. Rena Hermann, and our teacher on economics is Miss Cora Reed. Just ask the "kiddies" to come once and you won't have to ask them again. Yours for the education of the child, MALVINA MILDER.

AN IMPORTANT WORK In view of the two recent decisions, the attention of Socialists as well as the general public has been concentrated anew on the Supreme Court of the United States.

Under the direction of the National Executive Committee, upon the recommendation of Local New York, a work will shortly appear serially in the Socialist press of the country that will be the first reliable and full disclosure of the hitherto unknown history, personnel and functions of this "august tribunal." This work will be "The History of the Supreme Court of the United States" by Gustavus Myers. For a long time Comrade Myers has been engaged in the necessary painstaking and laborious research. He has uncovered facts of the greatest significance and importance—the facts that will serve as tremendously effective propaganda.

The Supreme Court of the United States has been an exalted mystery. People have been taught to look up to it with awe and reverence. But when Myers' work appears, dealing, as it will, with the history of the Court from the beginning of the Republic down to the present, no more reverence or mystery will remain. Everybody will have an opportunity to learn the true story from the public records—how the Supreme Court originated as the instrument of the capitalists, how it has consistently represented the dominant capitalist class of the day, and how now it is true to its master—the capitalist class of today. There will be no generalizations in this work. It will be fact, and such startling, verified facts, that it is bound to produce a great sensation and undermine the strongest mainstay of capitalism.

The Supreme Court has once more asserted that it is the real government of the United States. It is executive, legislature and judiciary rolled into one. It creates and construes law at will to suit the capitalist class. Nine men, vesting themselves with this power, rule absolutely a hundred million people.

With the infamous decisions of today the public is familiar. But what of the long line of a century's decisions, and what of the record of the judges before and after they become members of the court? Nothing but eulogistic works have been written. The truth, as it will be incontrovertibly brought out in Myers' work, will shatter any illusion that the Supreme Court can ever be reformed, and thus will destroy this last and strongest prop of American capitalism.

For the present the propaganda meetings of the Young Socialists will be discontinued, the youthful revolutionists and their associates having concluded that the most important work to be done at the present time is the extending of the sales and the subscription list of REVOLT. The resumption of the meetings, when it shall be decided upon, will be announced in these columns.

MISSING OR DELAYED PAPERS. Any subscriber to REVOLT failing to receive the paper in due course (it should be delivered in San Francisco and the bay cities on Monday following the date of issue), will confer a favor upon the board of directors by sending notice of the failure. Address Revolt Publishing Co., 305 Grant Avenue, San Francisco, Cal.

WHERE TO GO. Regular mass meeting of Local San Francisco at Fifteenth and Mission streets, the first Monday in each month, 8:15 p. m. Educational meetings on all other Monday nights. Women's Committee of the Socialist Party, every Tuesday night in Jefferson Square Hall, 925 Golden Gate Avenue. Liberal League for Mexican Freedom, second and fourth Tuesdays in each month, 8 p. m., in Jefferson Hall, 925 Golden Gate Avenue. Socialist dance every Saturday evening, Puckett's Maple Hall, Polk and California streets. Open Forum meets in Jefferson Square Hall every Thursday night. Street meetings of the Socialist Party every Saturday night at Grant Avenue and Market Street. J. Stitt Wilson speaks in Valencia Theatre every Sunday morning at 11 o'clock. Propaganda meetings of Local San Francisco held every Sunday night in Germania Hall, Fifteenth and Mission streets.

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"LIBERTY GROUP" MEETINGS.

The following program has been arranged by the "Liberty Group" for Sunday night meetings in Jefferson Square Hall, 925 Golden Gate Avenue: May 28, J. Edward Morgan. Subject: "Christ and Revolution." June 4, Wm. Thurston Brown. Subject: "Ibsen's Message to Women." June 11, Wm. McDevitt. Subject: Bernard Shaw's "Getting Married." June 18, E. B. Morton. Subject: "Stray Thoughts of a Kicker."

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