



REVOLT

THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

VOL. 2.

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., SEPTEMBER 9, 1911.

No. 11.

REVOLT MEETING.

Subscribers Will Elect New Board.

In next week's issue of REVOLT a detailed announcement of the time and place, with other circumstances, of the first semi-annual meeting of the REVOLT subscribers (there being no stockholders. REVOLT never having entered into the business of selling stock or anything else except subscriptions, the subscribers, as announced in the first prospectuses issued, are to form the governing body of this publication).

To Elect Directors.

A special program of great interest, to be given after the business meeting, is being prepared, and will well repay subscribers even at distant points for coming to San Francisco for the occasion. Those who are not subscribers to REVOLT, but who are more or less interested in its course through reading purchased copies or otherwise, will be admitted as spectators for an admission fee of 25 cents. Subscribers, of course, will be admitted without charge, and will have equal voice and vote in deciding the policy of the paper in future and the election of the Board of Directors for the ensuing six months.

Historical Review.

REVOLT was planned in the spring of 1910, by two members of the present Board of Directors in the course of a talk in which the ominous tendency in California (even then manifest to all who have studied the Socialist movement in its various phases for the past few years) toward mere political opportunism or job-hunting. Such a paper, it was felt, would become necessary.

Early in the present year it became apparent that fusion and confusion to a degree which none of us had thought possible was in contemplation by certain "prominent" comrades, and the fulfillment of the plans which had been under way for nine months were hastened to meet the issue. How the issue was met, and the party preserved from disruption and probable absorption, all readers of REVOLT are aware.

Friends and Enemies.

We have been denounced with great fury by the supporters of the fusion movement which we defeated, and we have been commended with equal fervor by Comrades Eugene V. Debs, William D. Haywood, Jack London, Rose Pastor Stokes, William English Walling, Mary E. Marcy, Archibald Crawford, Robert Rives La Monte, Frank Bohn, Charles Edward Russell, Gustavus Meyers, Odon Por and many others who have won well deserved fame by their devoted and effective service of the Revolutionary Socialist movement of this and other countries. Some small-minded supporters of the political adventurers who hold that to win office for themselves by political trading would be to "win California for Socialism," have wailed that "REVOLT has deceived all these." To deceive the men and women of the Socialist movement who have proved themselves the deepest students and the clearest thinkers, as well as the most loyal workers, would have been a most amazing achievement! Possibly it is the petty politicians who are deceiving themselves.

Up to the Subscribers.

A few of those who objected to our manner of hewing to the line, letting the chips fall as they might, are subscribers. At the subscribers' meeting, when the future course of REVOLT will be determined as announced when the publication was launched and as printed on every subscription card sold, these will have opportunity to effect changes in the Board of Directors and the policy of the paper if they can win a majority to their way of thinking.

The present Directors of REVOLT are: Frederick F. Bebergall, David Milder, Thomas J. Mooney, Jack Zamford, James Dukelow, Louis E. Fortin, R. MacIntosh, M. Merit, and Selig Schulberg.

Proxies May Be Voted.

The meeting will be called for 2 o'clock some Sunday afternoon within one month, soon after the close of the first half year of REVOLT'S existence.

Subscribers too far distant, or unable for any other reason to attend the meeting, may send their proxies to any subscriber to REVOLT, or

AFTER TEN FULL YEARS!

"UNION LABOR" PARTY FAILURE!

Record of Reaction and Futility Condemns Laborite Politics to Extinction.

BY WILLIAM McDEVITT.

Ten years ago the Labor party of San Francisco took control of the local political field. During eight of the past ten years this party has been in office. For four years the labor administration had control of every department of the city government. The labor party has had power, possession, prestige, opportunity. What has it accomplished? Where does it leave us to-day?

It is timely—this interrogation; very timely, for the labor party is through. It is going out of its job; it is retiring, or being retired. Its era is over. It has had its day and now it ceases.

When you have digested Charles Edward Russell's great summary of the history of the Labor party in Australia and New Zealand, under the title of "What Comes of Playing the Game?" (International Socialist Review, September), you will understand fully the failure of the San Francisco labor party.

"Playing the Game."

Never has the futility of false politics been more blazoned to the gaze of the workers than it has been by the ten years' record of Laborism in San Francisco. The game of "laborism by politicians" or "politicalism by laborites" has been played thoroughly and to its inevitable conclusion; and it is much more than mere political irony that finds some of the most prominent founders of the Union Labor party now working hard for the election of Rolph and the annihilation of laborite politics and the labor party so-called.

After ten years of labor politics of the most highly successful kind (successful, that is, in votes and offices), the workers of San Francisco are precisely where they were ten years ago. It is true that the trades unions may show some appearance of an improved condition; but close inspection proves the fact that the unions in San Francisco have gained nothing substantial from their so-called "political power." Even Mayor McCarthy himself admitted last week in one of his speeches that Oakland had the same union labor conditions and advantages as San Francisco has. And Oakland has never had any Union Labor party in power or in importance.

More than that, the civic affairs of San Francisco during the past ten years display a marvelous reaction. They have stood still so long that they now lean backward. No progressive legislation in any way superior to the average Republican or Democratic city; none to equal such examples of capitalist progressiveness as Mayor Pingree displayed in Detroit or Golden Rule Jones and his successor have exhibited in Toledo. Of course there has been no radical labor legislation.

Wherever San Francisco's labor administration record of four terms is now studied, it is not studied as an example of anything new, anything advanced, anything fine in civic affairs; it is, on the contrary, the classic example of graft, of open licentiousness, and of corporation rule. We need not say, however, that San Francisco under a laborite government was any more flagrantly indecent or decadent than the average old-party city. It was not so, simply because that is impossible.

direct the secretary to cast their votes for any change of policy or in the directorate they desire.

Of the nearly fifteen hundred subscribers (aside from the large number who purchase the paper from week to week), nearly two hundred have been placed on the subscription list for three months (less than the period entitling subscribers to a vote on the affairs of the paper), paid for by donations to a special fund for that purpose, without paying anything themselves. These, or such of them as fail to send in subscriptions for themselves, will be dropped soon after the first semi-annual meeting, and, of course, cannot take part in the business meeting. All subscribers for six months or more, placed on the subscription list, at any time before the first semi-annual meeting, will be entitled to voice and vote on all matters coming before the business meeting.

RECALL VOTE STILL OPEN.

The vote on the recall of Meriam will be open at the educational meetings in Shakespeare Hall, Fifteenth and Mission streets, Monday nights, September 9 and 16. Don't fail to go and vote on this. The vote now stands 100 for the recall, 94 against it.

False Foundations.

Nor must the appallingly rotten record of the Union Labor party be laid at the door of Schmitz or Ruef or McCarthy or Jerome Bassity or Little Joe Sullivan. It is not a matter of corrupt or weak governors; it is something deeper. It is a matter of false principles, false lights, false positions, false foundations.

When Gompers Lied.

When Samuel Gompers, the supreme spokesman for the A. F. of L., imported to this city in the final desperate struggle of the laborite politicians to hold on to their fleeting power, solemnly stated to the audience at Shell Mound Park on Labor Day that the world of capitalism had a nightmare when it learned of the election of laborite McCarthy, President Gompers solemnly lied. It was a paltry lie, so obviously false was its purpose. But it was in one way a useful lie, for it was so admirable an example of the sort of lying on which the Union Labor party was founded.

The weakness and corruption of the labor party is the result of two great factors: first, the weakness and corruption of the A. F. of L., and, secondly, the weakness and corruption of all politics not consciously class politics. The A. F. of L. will be weak and corrupt so long as it is founded on the solemn lie that the interest of labor is parallel to, or subordinate to, or coordinate with the interest of the employing class; the laborite aggregation of politicians will be weak and corrupt (at bottom) so long as they build on the solemn lie, proclaimed by McCarthy on all "profitable" occasions, that he represents or proposes to represent the interests of all classes.

Good men or bad, the Schmitzes and the McCarthys, the Kellys and the Gallaghers, will be submerged in the gulf of corruption or reaction, so long as they remain part of a system of politics that is rotten all through, or part of a unionism that is futile and false from center to surface. We cannot blame the poor little transient political moths that fly around the candle of laborism. They are merely names, after all—some forgotten to-day, some sunk in oblivion to-morrow.

Real Labor Politics.

Meanwhile the working class remains; wage-slavery remains; the oppressor's power remains. How to upraise the working class to a consciousness of its own power and destiny—that, after all, is the supreme question; and we can thank the labor party for at least one thing—it has given us the best answer to the question of what NOT to do. The only party that can answer that supreme question of what to DO is the Socialist party—not the Socialist party of the laborite politician with a new name, but the Socialist party of the modern working class, the class that understands its INDUSTRIAL power, and that proposes to use political power not as an end in itself; but merely as a means to a far vaster end. The working class that understands that the organization of the workers for class conquest is the great goal, and that political power (so-called) is not the typical means for conquest, but merely a means towards organization for conquest, is the working class militant, on the march, triumphant.

SAN FRANCISCO VOTES FOR RECALL.

Rebukes Campaign Committee.

Local San Francisco, which tabled the motion to second the recall motion at its August meeting (not by 91 to 47, as stated in the California Social-Democrat with its customary veracity, but by 91 to 82), last Monday night voted as follows on the referendum to recall Meriam:—Yes, 100 to 94. The forces which favored practical fusion in San Francisco, and sought by every possible means to put our revolutionary Socialist candidate off the ballot, put forth every effort to secure votes to sustain Meriam.

The motion to launch a national referendum to debar national party officials from holding office for more than three terms was carried by 100 to 98. Immediately a bluff at a fight was made in the back of the hall and in the confusion a recount was called for. Chairman E. L. Reguin sanctioned this, with the result that the motion, carried a moment before, was declared lost by a vote of 100 to 95. The confusion over and quiet restored, the chairman refused to recognize the demand for a second recount. Letters have been received, however, which show that many locals

(Continued from Page 2.)

ON GAS REBATES.

How "P. H." and His Gang Worked It.

By W. H. SIGOURNEY.

The campaign pamphlet issued by P. H. McCarthy gives a number of alleged reasons why he should be re-elected to the office of Mayor of the City and County of San Francisco. It is claimed in reason number fifteen, that the efforts of the Union Labor Administration won for the rate payers of the city the sum of five hundred thousand dollars, by and through the compromise of the so-called "gas rate cases." The writer ventures to challenge this statement, and to assert that the compromise brought about by the so-called "Union Labor" administration marked the consummation of one of the biggest pieces of graft pulled off by a public service corporation since the days of Ruef.

In the first place, the Constitution of California (its fundamental law), makes it incumbent on the Board of Supervisors to fix the rates for the gas and water to be furnished during the ensuing year. A time and place was set by the Board and the gas company notified. After an investigation, during which the gas company was ably represented, the Board fixed the rate at eighty-five cents per one thousand feet. Every known legal presumption sustains the validity of the rate so determined, and it can only be overcome upon positive proof of fraud and unfair treatment.

But the Federal Court enjoined the enforcement of the rate, upon the affidavit of one of the corporation's clerks, and ordered that the company be permitted to collect one dollar per thousand feet, but directed that the excess of fifteen cents over the rate fixed by the board be impounded until a final determination upon the merits. Years passed and no determination of the cases could be got by the people's "representatives." In the meantime the impounded fund put up by the people mounted toward the million mark. In New York City a similar state of affairs obtained, but a decision was forced. That decision held eighty cents to be the proper rate in that city. The gas corporation had its ear to the ground in San Francisco, saw both its danger and its opportunity (while the representatives of the people slept), to be charitable, and proposed: First, to accept 85 cents for 1911-12; second, to accept 80 cents for 1912-13, or an average rate of 82½ cents for the two years, provided the people would consent to accept one-half of the impounded fund and consent to a dismissal of the litigation. And the so-called "Union Labor" administration, the "Good Government" City Attorney and the Federal Court, one and all, consented to the "compromise."

The agreement of compromise shows by the terms the gas company accepted for the next two years and in future, that the rate originally complained of was a fair rate for the gas company; this same company's officials were indicted on charges of bribing a previous Board to fix the rate at the very 85 cent figure later complained of as "unfair." The terms of the "compromise" show that the gas company never had a case on the merits, and prove beyond a question that the corporation was not entitled to a single dollar of the impounded fund. A review of all the circumstances, including the use of the Court's "frank" on the envelope of the gas company, should reveal to the thinkers amongst the workers who were represented and who misrepresented in this latest effort in "high finance." All in all it proves the necessity for a recall provision, applying to the judiciary; proves that the workers are not represented and shows who controls the political power.

EDITORIAL NOTE—Workingmen don't use very much gas, and labor's problem is not how the price of gas may be reduced for those who use it, but how the workers may seize the means of production and produce everything for the use of the producers. Time spent in working toward this end is better utilized than if it were devoted to raising a disturbance over the payment of an average rebate of 19 cents to workingmen when, under our new "reform" laws which are "against" the "grasping corporations," it should have been 38 cents.

However, as an instance of the double duplicity of the present "labor" administration, made up of saloonkeepers, divekeepers and sundry hungry

nondescript political yahoos, the facts are interesting. First, McCarthy's Board of Supervisors aids and abets reformers of the freak type of Daniel O'Connell in bamboozling the workers into the belief that cheaper gas and rebates would help solve some of their problems; second, the same Board aids and abets the gas company in beating the consumers out of half of the rebate. "P. H." acquiesces.

And Job Harriman, member of the State Executive Committee of the Socialist party, wanted the party to fuse with that sort of a bunch, to be directed by a "P. H.-Job" partnership!

And Just It Wilson joins with the same "P. H." on the same platform in a mutual effort to make the coming "woman vote" solid, each for himself and both for each! However—

"The best laid plans of mice and men
"Gang aft agley."

Also those of politicians greedy for spoils or fame or both.

THE RECALL.

Although the recall is one of the fundamental principles of the Socialist party, yet, when the time comes for it to be applied in the Socialist party, there is the same opposition manifest against its application as we find in the old political parties. And the same methods of opposition which we find in these old parties we find also among ourselves.

Human nature is the same whether in the Socialist party or out of it. Salaried officials naturally desire to continue themselves in office; and in order to do this the natural tendency is to combine for this purpose. The official clique or ring, thus formed, tacitly agrees to stand by each other, right or wrong, in order to protect themselves against "The Common Herd." The false patriotism embodied in the expression, "My Country, Right or Wrong," might by a little change of phraseology be made to read, "My Comrades in Office, Right or Wrong." And from all appearances this would be regarded as good "political" orthodoxy by the bunch of officials who are now so anxious to whitewash their man and to blackwash all opposers. If the rank and file of the Socialist party in the State of California, as well as elsewhere, do not make a vigorous protest against the high-handed game now being played in high places, they might as well go back to their old parties. "The servant is not greater than his master," neither is the creature greater than the creator. The quicker officials learn that they are the servants of the people and not their masters, the better it will be for Socialism and humanity in general. When the autocrat now posing as State Secretary sent out his bombastic circular letter advising the Branches to recall their secretaries if they did not do certain things, Branch Sawtelle sent back word to this autocrat that when they desired any more of his advice in reference to this matter they would let him know. It is needless to say that, up to the present time, no more of such advice has been forthcoming from the State Office.

We close this letter somewhat abruptly so as to keep within the two-hundred-word limit.

ALEXANDER PROTSMAN.

Sawtelle, Cal.

SAN FRANCISCO VOTES FOR RECALL.

(Continued from Page 1.)

in California are ready to launch this referendum. It should be done by a local of large membership, and will be held in abeyance for awhile. Its passage by the national party membership, which has learned much from the final outcome of the Barnes case in spite of all the National Executive Committee's efforts at whitewashing, is certain.

The failure of Organizer Keller to obey the instructions of the Campaign Committee relative to getting Comrade McDevitt's statement as candidate for Mayor into the booklet which, under the election laws, is to be sent out to all the voters in San Francisco, was discovered near the close of the meeting, and he and those compromising members of the campaign committee who have been directing his course came in for severe criticism. Even many members who have supported the fusionistic "leaders" on the Campaign Committee in their futile efforts to force McDevitt off the ballot expressed their disgust at Keller's failure, for they realized that it was a blow, not especially at the revolutionary candidate, but at the Socialist party in San Francisco. Keller's explanation was that he "forgot." A vote of censure against organizer and Campaign Committee for their neglect was passed.

A committee was elected to try and undo the mischief, although the specified time for getting candidates' statements in the booklet is past.

An attempt to make a motion to adjourn the meeting only to next Monday night, so that important unfinished business laid over for several of the monthly meetings provided for by the "opportunist" majority which adopted the constitution last year might at last be reached and disposed of, was prevented by the chairman, and the meeting was automatically adjourned under the provisions of the Constitution at 10:30 p. m. The next business meeting of the local will be held October 2, long after the primary election. At that time, REVOLT believes, steps should be taken to provide for weekly meetings of the local, and those who agree should resolve now to be there and in good standing in the party even though they do have to subscribe for the Social-Democrat to do so.

SOUTH SAN FRANCISCO MEETING.

A big mass meeting of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund Society will be held on September 10 at 2 o'clock p. m., in Del Paso Hall, opposite the Armour Hotel, on San Bruno avenue in South San Francisco, San Mateo County. For further information see

CHAS. H. STUERMANN,
Care Armour Hotel,
South San Francisco, San Mateo County.

SOCIALIST CANDIDATES

Working Class Champions

NOMINEES OF THE TRUE PARTY OF THE WORKERS FOR MAYOR AND SUPERVISORS



ROLLAR ALLEN
Socialist Party Candidate for
SUPERVISOR



EDW. W. BENDER
Socialist Party Candidate for
SUPERVISOR



CHAS. LEHMAN
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SUPERVISOR



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K. J. DOYLE
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WM. McDEVITT

For MAYOR



MARTIN EAGAN
Socialist Party Candidate for
SUPERVISOR



SELIG SCHULBERG
Socialist Party Candidate for
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SUPERVISOR



W. E. WALKER
Socialist Party Candidate for
SUPERVISOR

BURNS GROWING DESPERATE.

(By National Socialist Press.)

LOS ANGELES, Sept. 5.—Driven to desperation by the goading he received at the hands of labor leaders who are exposing his methods all over the country, William J. Burns is making wild and unwarranted statements, according to Clarence Darrow, chief counsel for the defense of the McNamara brothers.

"Burns' wild statements make no impression here. He does not help his case. The intent is plain; he seeks to increase the prejudice against the defense. We will not reply to it now," said Mr. Darrow.

Other attorneys for the defense look on the statements of Burns that the defense is seeking to purchase evidence or to kill some one as the mouthings of a madman. Job Harriman took the affair calmly. "Whom the Gods would destroy they first make mad," he said. "The unflinching one must be growing nervous. We will make no reply to-day."

Other attorneys for the defense were not so calm: Joseph Scott said, "Darrow and Harriman have had much experience in these labor cases where the workers are victims of such people, and I suppose that is why they are so unruffled. For my part I am not inclined to stand for much more of that kind of work."

Attorney Scott is a big, strong Irish-American, popular and good-natured. He is president of the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce and head of the Board of Education. When he first entered the case he vigorously opposed Burns' operatives in their brutality in abusing Mrs. McNamigal and her children. He went so far as to throw a Burns operative out of the elevator at the court house when she was carried half fainting from the grand jury room after an ordeal in the inquisitorial chamber.

Burns and his operatives continue to do all in their power to prejudice the people of California and especially those of Los Angeles county to the end that the McNamara brothers may not receive a fair trial, or secure a jury capable of returning a fair verdict. The District Attorney's office of Los Angeles county is aiding in this work, J. D. Fredericks having written newspaper stories in which he expressed his firm belief that the men were guilty and should be convicted.

The grand jury has been held in session nearly a year, according to the statements of Clarence Darrow, for the express purpose of browbeating and intimidating witnesses for the defense and persons interested in the defense.

Every power that the Steel Trust and the Manufacturers' Association can purchase is being invoked to prevent the workers who are in prison from getting a fair trial.

Every few days the Burns operatives release some worked up feature story for the daily papers. Many of these stories are based on some wonderful exploit of Burns or some discovery of explosives which they have had plenty of time to plant since the arrest of the workers.

Prospective jurors are being canvassed with great care so that every man friendly to labor, who by any mischance might be chosen to serve on the jury, would be a marked man before he enters.

While this nefarious interference with justice is going on every hour the prosecution is untidily telling through the newspapers that the McNamara boys will be given a fair trial.

Detective James Hosick returned to Los Angeles during the week. He hurried back to the city after pleading not guilty to a charge of kidnaping John J. McNamara in Indianapolis.

Hosick at first denied all knowledge of the whereabouts of the missing hat and bludgeon which were the only tangible pieces of evidence in the case of the disappearance of George H. Shoaf on the night of Aug. 13th. Later Hosick produced the evidence, saying they were in the property room all the time and that they had not been removed from there.

No clew has been found by which the disappearance of the Socialist writer can be accounted for. Capt. George C. Shoaf of San Antonio, Tex., is in Los Angeles and has men working on the case. He says he has witnesses who saw two men lifting a limp body into a buggy near the scene of the disappearance, and no effort is being spared to clear up the mystery.

A SLAM.

San Rafael, Aug. 31, 1911.

To the Editor of Revolt:

As a dues-paying member of San Rafael Socialist Local I desire to protest against your slanderous methods used against certain of our prominent comrades in this State as very unsocialistic. You may think you are making a hit and gaining something for yourself but you are not. The rank and file of Socialists are on to the game; the comrades here are thoroughly disgusted with your methods.

Yours truly,
L. E. FLEISCHMAN.

San Francisco, Cal., Sept. 6, 1911.

L. E. Fleischman,
San Rafael, Cal.

Dear Comrade:—

Your critical letter received. The only things we who are publishing REVOLT can "expect to gain for ourselves," as you put it, besides a good deal of hard work without pay and the necessity of putting in money ourselves in addition, is the encouragement given us by such loyal comrades in the revolution as these and the most gratifying disapproval of comrades like you who are willing to leave the party to the mercy of "certain prominent comrades."

For the Revolution,
CLOUDESLEY JOHNS.

(Note:—The inclosure was a clipping from last week's REVOLT, containing the encouraging letters of approval from Jack London, William English Walling, Rose Pastor Stokes, Odon Por and Mary E. Marcy.)

REVOLT

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A CRITICISM.

Editor of REVOLT, San Francisco.

My Dear Sir:—Socialism in San Francisco and its environs presents at this moment a spectacle of confusions and contentions within the party camp that must be as gratifying to the enemies of Socialism as it is distressing to its sympathizers and disintegrating to the hopes of those who perceive in the typical Californian an open-mindedness, a generosity that makes him a ready recipient of any liberal propaganda.

The present situation is, temporarily, disastrous to the cause, and as an observer outside the lines of battle, I believe it, has been brought about through a failure, or inability to grasp the larger issue at stake.

The issue is not, nor cannot be at the present time, the election of candidates to public office. The tragedy of that event is manifest—since under existing conditions the elected official takes his solitary place in the face of an antagonistic social and political order, and in a group of antagonistic administrators who effectually tie his hands, even though they leave his mouth un gagged. Necessarily, the radical hopes and promises that his election has anticipated in the name of Socialism are but a burden upon his back that crushes him and leaves the ignorant public jeering, not alone at the victim, but at the impotency of Socialism to fulfill its teachings.

This regrettable accident of election must happen again and increasingly in the coming years; the victim must be sacrificed upon the altar as a public spectacle. But that the adherents of Socialism (of whatever school) should have so little of philosophical or scientific tolerance or perception of the stages in the human struggle for emancipation, as to join the mob, and be loudest in the hooting of the victim, this is inconceivable.

The harm done, locally, to the cause of Socialism by this narrow intolerance, is immeasurable; for the field in California is singularly ready.

The laborers seem to fail, not through inactivity, but through ignorance of the peculiar conditions surrounding us—ignorance, in fact, of what the psychological temper of the typical Californian truly is.

The Californian is blessed (or cursed) with an unintellectualized good nature that entirely rules his relationships with his fellow men. He is open, generous, constitutionally a liberal, but only a radical and a revolutionist under the stipulation that he shall not be involved in a prolonged "row." He is ready for changes, readjustments; welcomes advance, but always with the condition that the march tune be lively and the leader not a "sour-face."

He insists upon the humanized relationship between men and ideas; he is not a thinker, but he has imagination and responds to any warm appeal to his emotions.

Your logical hard-headed propagandist will meet this tolerant good nature everywhere in California. His wallet of tracts on Scientific Socialism will win disciples. But let that same propagandist attempt to inject the virus of bitterness and hatred into the universal good-nature, and there is an instant repudiation of the whole teaching, as alien and disintegrating.

No one can doubt the sincerity of the group of writers who give expression to their belief in the columns of REVOLT; but as they present these beliefs and discontents and disaffections, week by week, the impression is reinforced in the mind of the reader that here is something that is alien and alienating to the average Californian—to the average man wherever he may dwell in America.

The paper recalls the radical publications of darkest Europe in her darkest hours of stress; these convictions are the convictions of despair. The hope that is the basis upon which Socialism is founded and upon which is building the new order; the hope that belongs to a new country, a new society ready to be molded by strong and efficient hands, that hope is so absent as to leave the reader in irritation with the prejudices of men and in gloom at the futility of their aspirations.

This narrow and warped expression seems to me in the printed words only of the writers, and not in the men themselves, as one meets and talks with them. The thing is explicable; deeply versed as they are in the literature of revolution, the minds of the writers (in the artificial act of writing) become subject to the tradition of words and ideas as presented upon the printed page; they appear to write under the dictation of an outworn, inflexible formula, which cannot adapt itself to new conditions of thought and life. The remedy for this danger (which every close student must constantly fight) lies in a renewed scrutiny of life disassociated from tradition—the life immediately about one.

There is a liberality in the California air, in the social aspects of life here, that will prove corrective. The writers, if they will give themselves to a penetrating analysis of what kind of men we are who are to be reached by Socialist teachings, will see that they, as leaders, must slough from

off their minds old prejudices and beliefs that do not naturally or generously apply themselves to the California conditions. These prejudices are lacking in good nature, in liberality, and are thus unrelated to the temper of the people at large.

If the main issue is to educate the populace to Socialism, if Socialism is social, adaptive, inclusive, it must accept a race or a community in its true character and not attempt to force the bread of life down the native throat before removing the foreign wrappers. Old paper is not nutritive nor easily digested. If Stitt Wilson offers bread with sugar, there is still the bread, and the people are nourished. If REVOLT offers the bread without sugar, there is still the bread, and the people are nourished, but in offering bread to the well-fed Californian, it is necessary to assure him that it is not soured, that it is home-made, good for food and that when he is hungry, he can find it in various forms, sweetened and unsweetened, but made, essentially of the same sound wheat.

Be assured that it is only on condition of a free choice in good nature that the Californian will eat what we offer, and I trust you will generously permit me to say that there is the risk, in the present tone of REVOLT, of spoiling his appetite.

Very truly yours,
BRUCE PORTER.

(Editorial Comment:—REVOLT cannot believe that anything is gained for the working class movement by feeding taffy to mildly discontented but complacently prosperous bourgeois Californians. The chief purpose of REVOLT is to prevent just such gentry from bamboozling the workers into becoming catspaws to get chestnuts for politicians. The criticism, however, is thoughtfully prepared, and is here presented for the consideration of the readers of REVOLT.)

HAYWOOD AND GOMPERS.

By DAVID MILDER.

When Comrade Haywood was here recently, he endorsed Comrade McDevitt's candidacy in the following terms:

"A man of the caliber of my Comrade McDevitt, who understands the class struggle so thoroughly, who urges class organization of the workers so emphatically, can be trusted by the working class to carry out the principles of Socialism, and I have no fear that he will make any mistake as far as advancing the interest of the working class. I can heartily recommend Comrade McDevitt to the workmen of San Francisco."

Of course the papers did not come out in glaring headlines announcing the fact, as they did when Sammy Gompers endorsed P. H. McCarthy. Although Gompers' endorsement was anything but laudable, it did not have the appearance of a spontaneous outburst of great hearts' desire. He made us feel that he was in duty bound to drag McCarthy into his Labor Day address by the ears. He referred quite liberally to his mistakes and shortcomings while in his office, and I venture to say that if someone would have interrupted him with a question of, "What has McCarthy done for the working class?" he would have been sorely up against it.

How Haywood spoke of McDevitt, or Gompers of McCarthy, is aside from what I want to convey to the readers of REVOLT. My main object is to show the reason for their choice. Is it really as Gompers said, because McCarthy carried a union card in his pocket? Why did he work against the election of Taft for the Presidency? Is not Taft a member of the Steam Shovelers' Union? Does carrying a union card in one's pocket make a union man? No! that is not the reason. Gompers stands as the head of reactionary trades unionism. A reactionary trades unionism, when driven into politics, can not bring forth anything better than a deformed abortion like the Union Labor party, a so-called organization of labor that stands for an absurd lie like the identity of interest between Capital and Labor. It naturally supports a candidate who pretends to represent all classes in a community. An organization which can stand a spectacle of seeing its representatives, members of the Civic Federation, hobnobbing, wine and dining with the most outspoken and astute enemies of organized labor, must naturally stand for a candidate who walks arm in arm with Charles M. Schwab, hobnobs, wines and dines with open shop Gerstle, eulogizes Mike De Young and dickers with the representatives of the greater capitalism such as the heads of the Gas and Street Railway Trusts in this city.

But with Haywood it is entirely different. He does not care whether a particular candidate carries a union card in his pocket, although McDevitt carries one. What concerns him is whether the Socialist candidate stands on a sound working class platform which is based on clear, working class philosophy, advocating class unionism where the working class stands united as a class. For he knows that unless the workers of this city are an integral part of the organized worldwide protection movement, they are doomed to wage slavery.

Between the employer and the employee there is no common ground. An industrial peace is impossible so long as conditions prevail where the producer of the machinery of production along with the rest of their class, must beg for the privilege of using that machinery, and pay dearly for the privilege. Haywood knows that McDevitt does not stand for a "fair day's pay for a fair day's work," which was the gist of Gompers' speech at Shell Mound Park. He urges the workers to demand more and more of the product of their toil, until there is nothing left for the shirker. He wants a shorter and shorter workday until the workers will work no longer than necessary to produce the wealth which they themselves will consume. This is the reason why Haywood so enthusiastically recommends McDevitt to the workers of San Francisco, and not only McDevitt, but every candidate on the Socialist ticket; because McDevitt does not stand alone for his personal office; he stands with every candidate on the ticket and every worker for the emancipation of the working class from wage slavery.

WHO ARE THE "PARTY WRECKERS"?

Richmond, Cal., Sept. 9, 1911.

Editor REVOLT:

I wish to concur in the sentiment expressed by a contributor in the last number of the State paper, hoping that party wreckers would meet with ignominious failure.

I am waiting watchfully to learn who the party wreckers are. One of the most ominous signs of danger I see is the discovery that the dues-paying membership have no control over the doings of the State conventions, and the State and County Central Committees.

It would be very easy for a few interested parties to secure some fake Socialist registrations on the polling list, and thus pack the conventions, and the law would recognize them as the legal Socialist party.

What dilemmas may result from these conditions can only be guessed at; but whether the conventions are packed or not, if the conventions vote, and not the State referendum, is recognized as the highest authority, democracy in the party management has received its death blow.

I cannot believe that either faction of the party deliberately intends to hurt the People's Cause. It is simply a quarrel over methods of education. The Socialist party is trying to teach the world's wealth producers that they must own and manage the world's industries, as the alternative to being slaves to the present owners.

The Impossibilists say, "Agitate and educate until a working majority are ready to act."

The Opportunists say, "Use all the varied phases of discontent to secure reforms and innovations; learn what Socialism is by experimenting with its counterfeits."

The Impossibilists are accused of being nothing but a hot-air party.

The Opportunists threaten to side-track the movement in the desert of State capitalism, duped by far-sighted malefactors of great wealth.

But for the fact that unsupported charges of dishonesty naturally throws the suspicion of guilt on the accuser, there is no probability that the present struggle in the party is anything but a conflict between these two theories of world education.

There will be plenty of time to fight our brothers when they have proved traitors to the cause.

O. J. GIBBONS.

CLASS UNITY VS. INDUSTRIAL AUTONOMY.

By FRANK BOHN.

In a recent issue of "The Rebel" there appeared from the pen of the editor a review of the pamphlet entitled "Industrial Socialism," written by Comrade Haywood and myself. The editor had so many kind words to say about our pamphlet that I hope it will not be thought indecent of me to discuss the one serious criticism made by the editor. But the matter at issue is important and a little further discussion can only arouse interest and thought on the part of all advocates of industrial unionism.

The statement objected to is as follows:

"One union of all workers and industry; all industries in one union."

Briefly stated, the editor's claim is that all industries should not be organized into one great union, but that there should be one union for each great fundamental industry of the Nation. For instance, one union of the railroad employees, one union of the iron and steel workers, one union of the coal miners, etc. But these, the editor says, should not be joined together into a single greater whole.

For a general discussion of this subject, I would refer comrades to the pamphlet under discussion in which Comrade Haywood and I take up and analyze the whole matter. Just now I would offer the following comments:

First, the industrial "plant" of the Nation is rapidly reaching a state of great perfection. It is being systematized under one head. All the Trusts are being organized into one great Trust. This is being done by those who control the Nation's credit system, the chief factor being J. Pierpont Morgan.

Second, in the industries themselves, in the shops, mines and on the railroads, it is no longer possible to draw a straight line between one industry and another. For instance, if there would be a single autonomous union of the metal and machinery workers and another of the railroad workers, one could foresee as merry a jurisdictional war over the possession of the steel car builders as ever "raised ned" in an A. F. of L. convention. On the other hand, if the Locals which are made up of the builders of steel cars realized that they were members of one big union, and if the members of both the industrial departments of railroad workers and metal and machinery workers, realized that their organizations were not separated but united, then and not till then, would jurisdiction disputes be at an end.

Third, during the last three years there has been brought upon the field of battle a working class weapon so potent that all other means of fighting will in the future undoubtedly be subordinated to it. This big gun is the general strike. Now the general strike demands, and demands relentlessly, the very system of organization which Comrade Hickey fears—centralization of authority. But, let it not be forgotten that centralized authority does not mean the authority of a group of leaders. The awakening of the working class implies an awakening to its own interest. The expression, "industrial unionism," includes a thousand fold more than a mere form of organization. Industrial unionism means revolutionary unionism. Industrial unionism means

class unionism. Revolutionary class unionism demands and implies democratic government.

Socialism means freedom. It will be realized by means of the workers' growing power to govern themselves. This government develops in the industries. The evils attendant upon centralized authority have been due to the undeveloped state of the labor movement in the past, which in turn, has resulted from an undeveloped industrial system. As the labor movement understands its problems, gets a clearer view of its goal and comes to possess the organized power to work its vision into fact, that old bogey, centralized authority, becomes a totally different institution from what was known of old in the K. of L. and the S. T. and L. A. Whatever errors have been made by the I. W. W., and I do not deny that they have been many, the centralization of its administration has not been one of them.

The workers are learning loyalty to class. Class loyalty can express itself only in a class organization, not in single industrial unions.

The fear of unified government as expressed by Comrade Hickey, deeply moved at least a very large minority of the people of the United States in 1787. The chief exponents of democratic political freedom vs. capitalist centralized political authority, objected to the organization of a strong union of the States. But in 1807 came the steamboat on the Mississippi river and its tributaries. In 1829 came the railroad. The steamboat and the railroad held the Nation together despite all centrifugal forces.

So even will the centralized forces of modern industry unite all the workers into "One Big Union," when the workers have moved on a little further towards their emancipation.

RESOLUTIONS FROM EAST AUBURN.

Whereas, We believe that the interests of the whole people will be the better subserved by retaining the appointive or elective function in their own hands rather than the delegation of such appointive power to another; and

Whereas, Assembly Constitutional Amendment No. 6 increases the number of Railroad Commissioners from three to five and makes the officers appointive by the Governor, and lengthens their term of office; therefore be it

Resolved, That it is the sense of Local East Auburn Socialist party of California, that all Socialists, and working people in general, should vote against this amendment for the following reasons:

First. Its tendency is imperialistic rather than democratic, in that it deprives the people of all direct power to name their servants to whatever extent they are made appointive.

Second. That it deprives the people of all direct power to remove them by means of the Recall.

Third. That true democracy can only be achieved by the people naming their officials directly and in reality, and by their always being in a position to directly recall them.

Be it further Resolved, That we regard many of the proposed amendments as being strongly in the direction of true democracy; and be it further Resolved, That we regard the present tendency to centralized government as opposed to the best interests of the people.

T. A. FRENCH, Chairman.
GEO. HEFFNER, Secretary.

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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 Liess.

City Attorney—W. H. Sigourney.

Assessor—H. F. Sahlander.

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, Dave Campbell, K. J. Doyle, Louis Fortin, C. W. Hogue, Robert Larkins, Chas. Lehman, Olaf Mork, Chas. Preston, Ernest L. Reguin, John M. Reynolds, Martin Eagan, S. Schulberg, George Stycbe, Lynus Vanastune, Walter E. Walker.

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FROTH AND SUBSTANCE.

The wage workers who desire to register a protest against existing economic and social conditions that prevail will vote for Wm. McDevitt for Mayor and the straight Socialist Party ticket.

"The issue between Rolph and McCarthy is not an issue between Capital and Labor, but an issue between two men, one of whom stands for Capital and not for Labor, and the other, who stands for both honest Capital and honest labor."

Thus wrote the hired word-juggler who writes for the latest political abortion called "the New City Times," of which 70,000 copies are said to be distributed every week.

It is absolutely true that Rolph represents capitalistic interests and is a puppet in the hands of a yearning bourgeois that just can't bear to be weaned from the wealth that they squeeze out of the working class.

On the other hand McCarthy himself proclaims that he stands for both "honest capital" and "honest labor."

By "honest capital" he means the little merchant interested in selling paper in place of leather in shoes, he means the grocery store keeper who sells sand in place of sugar, he means the saloonkeepers that furnish the cheap, adulterated liquors that rapidly sap out the little strength and health that bigger exploiters allow the workers to retain.

Mayhap "P. H." means to protect the "honest capital" that is invested in the numerous gambling joints scattered all over town called "social clubs," or the "honest capital" invested in the dance halls on the "Barbary Coast."

The dullest must acknowledge that Rolph represents the beastly murdering capitalist class, and we further are forced to record that McCarthy is willing to and in the past has by his every political act strengthened the power of part of the breed that belong to the capitalist class.

The vice-president of the "Civic Federation" has been here and has made his speech. Some there are who are proud of this perpetual "labor" president!

(Wonder why the members of the A. F. of L. like to be disfranchised! Never once has any official of the A. F. of L. been elected by a referendum vote.)

The keynote of this speech was "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work." That is the highest goal of pure and simple trade unionism.

The Socialist does not want a "fair day's work for a fair day's pay." What he wants is to own his product in its entirety.

No one should have the power to pay any one.

One of the financial backers of "plain Jim Rolph" is a fellow by the name of Bradley. This Bradley gained some fame while manager of the Bunker Hill and Sullivan mines in the Coeur d'Alene district of Idaho.

This Bradley did more than any other individual to cause the men to rebel and then he it was that furnished the "brain work" in the building of the famous "bull pen" in which the miners were herded by the negro troops.

Our good comrade, Mike Devine, was murdered in the "bull pen" at that time. Other of our comrades were crippled for life and now the brazen Bradley has the impudence to thrust himself into the San Francisco political situation.

There is only one way to put the fear of hell into the souls of the capitalists who are planning to bring about the most bitter "labor war" ever seen in this country, and that is to roll up a vote for the So-

cialist candidates that will cause the capitalist class to shiver in their stolen boots.

Among the many candidates seeking office is an "honest man," who being honest naturally runs for a position that will enable him to punish the dishonest. The he-irgin has but one drawback, and that is he could not qualify for the political job, and lo and behold, you home destroying members of the Socialist party! This man has sacrificed his other pleasures and is now basking in the sunshine and the beauty of the town in which the "Messiah" rules all the people.

It will not be long before the to-be-elected District Attorney will qualify, as he will become a lawyer shortly, manufactured by the professors of Berkeley. Woe be unto all of ye who sin when this new lawyer is complete!

Three saloon men and one business agent, members of the Board of Supervisors voted and spoke against the amendment that would give to the women the privilege of voting. These three are up as candidates for office again and two of them are on the "Union Labor" ticket.

Industrial Unionism must take the place of the modern useless craft form of unionism. A working class organized industrially and with political power can take the possession of their wealth.

SELIG SCHULBERG.

NEWS OF THE MOVEMENT.

(National Office Report.)

The National Executive Committee of the Bohemian Socialist branches announces the fact that Dr. Francis Soukup will arrive in this country for an extended tour, beginning about September 15th.

Comrade Soukup was a member of the Austrian Reichsrath and one of the best known speakers in his own country. He speaks fluently in the Bohemian and German languages and will accept lecture dates for either. All inquiries for dates should be addressed to Tomas Pesek, 2317 Trumbull Ave., Chicago.

Owing to present and possible vacancies on the National Socialist Lyceum Bureau, the National Executive Committee is now voting on an additional list of lecturers.

National Committee Motion No. 3, upon which vote closed August 28th, and which provided for the recall of Comrade Goebel from Alaska, was adopted by the following vote: Yes, 32; No, 23; not voting, 16.

The National Committee is now voting on Motion No. 5, providing that the National Executive Committee be restrained from conducting a referendum for the election of state officers in Missouri. Vote will close September 22nd.

It is reported that the Federal War Department is in communication with the Governors of several States commending a law recently enacted by the California Legislature providing for the organization of military companies of high school boys, who are to be armed with Krag rifles and

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Regarding the same Local Columbus, Ohio, has adopted resolutions emphatically protesting against the public schools being used for military training, and it suggests that the National Office circulate petitions for signatures protesting against the action of the Government in this case.

Word has been received that the mailing and folding room of the Government printery has become clogged with orders and that it is at least 75,000 copies behind with Comrade Berger's speech on the tariff.

Proposed National Party Referendum.

Rockdale, Texas, August 28, 1911. "Rockdale Local No. 1088, moves to amend the National Constitution as follows:

"Art. XI, Sec. 3—Candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States of America shall be nominated solely by referendum vote. Nominations shall be called for on December 1st of the year preceding presidential election year. Each local shall be entitled to nominate two candidates, but shall not designate who is preferred for either President or Vice-President. Thirty days shall be allowed for nominations, fifteen for acceptances, and fifty for the referendum. Nominations from ten locals shall entitle a candidate to be placed on the ballot. The one receiving the highest vote shall be Presidential nominee, the one receiving the second highest vote shall be the vice-presidential nominee. Vacancies through death or otherwise shall be filled by referendum vote.

Comment: This referendum, in the minds of its authors, is of vital importance to a movement like ours, whose principles are essentially democratic. We will state here and now that regardless of the fate of this referendum the Texas membership will by State referendum instruct its delegates to the national convention of its choice for the candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency. It is to be deplored that the Republicans of Oregon and the Democrats in Arkansas should have beaten us to this thoroughly democratic measure. However, we can redeem ourselves by immediately passing this amendment by a practically unanimous vote, and thus for the first time in the history of our country make this progressive measure nation-wide. On with Social Democracy.

"Our local membership in good standing numbers 15. (Signed) "E. A. GREEN, Sec."

Since last reported charters have been granted to locals in unorganized States as follows: Alaska—Seward, ten members; Cordova, eight members; Valdez, seventeen members; Douglas, nine members; Haines, seven members; Juneau, nineteen members; North Carolina—Raleigh, fifteen members; Massey, seven members.

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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. 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. Propaganda meetings of Local San Francisco held every Sunday night in Germania Hall, Fifteenth and Mission streets.

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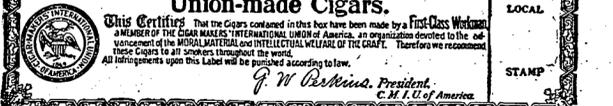
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