



THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

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WHOLE NO. 29.

FISHING FOR A JURY

Property Qualification is Peaches and Cream for Prosecution

(Georgie Kotsch, REVOLT Correspondent.)

One who has read Tolstoi's "Resurrection" is forever tinged with his impressions of a court. Were it not for the momentous issues involved this case would appear to an unsophisticated on-looker as a good-natured and rather foolish game between overgrown children.

Judge Bordwell's smile is positively benevolent, and it may be an index to his personality in a general way. It will not do to base any illusions on it for the defense, however. "Not prejudiced, but hostile," one writer puts it. Judges, giving them credit for fair intentions, are the product of their environment and education, and to expect a fair trial of a class-war case in a capitalistic court is one of the delusions in which the labor movement indulges because of its immaturity. Watching the deliberate, time-consuming proceedings one feels like crying out to them to hurry and stop the drain of dollars that are flowing in from the toil and sacrifice and life of those who have so little to spare. At present, though, until labor has developed its more effective weapon, there cannot be too great deliberation on the part of defense.

Darrow paces the floor, his broad, drooping shoulders and seamed face seeming built to carry world-burdens. Imperturbable under censure, relentless in developing the state of mind of a juror, stern when his rights are jeopardized, and with wit and sarcasm like the flash of a knife, he is the master mind in the courtroom and every atom of his ability will be needed. He possesses the faculty for throwing into relief any discrimination or disadvantage under which the defense may labor, and this is a valuable asset in the final outcome.

Deputy Horton is notable for his pertinacity, his youthfulness and the glib fund of legal knowledge he has on tap. Fredericks' physiognomy suggests a bird of prey watching a prospective feast.

If young McNamara has any nerves he leaves them over at the cell. He is tall with rather frail-looking physique, prison-bleached face and brown hair and moustache. His face expresses rather more character than his pictures indicate, but a more inoffensive-looking individual would hardly be encountered in a day's walk. He sits day after day with the air of a spectator naturally interested in so great a case.

The selection of a jury is not an exhilarating process. At this time (Friday, Nov. 3rd) there are eleven talesmen in the box, most and perhaps all of whom will go down when the peremptory bullets begin to fly. Frampton and Winters are especially objectionable to the defense. The attorneys for the defense feel that Judge Bordwell's rulings predominate in favor of the prosecution and they are accordingly much dissatisfied. Monday morning was marked by a severe rebuke to Darrow from the bench.

George N. Johnson, an aged but robust venerean examined Monday morning had a convenient lapse of memory with a surprising ability to recite details upon occasion. He had been a foreman in brass and iron foundries and said union men were dictatorial and associated them with tramps. He was a good fencer and the prosecution came to his aid at all crucial points, always being sustained by the court. Ford, of the prosecution, declared that the defense is trying to involve union labor and make some other issue than one of murder. The defense's challenge to Johnson was overruled.

A humorous talesman enlivened the week. Lorenzo Romanes has a personal feud with Mulholland, head of the Los Angeles water system. He called the \$100,000 fund to investigate the Times explosion a corruption fund, and said he would look with suspicion upon most of the testimony of city officials called in this case. After relieving his mind and the dullness of the courtroom he was excused by consent of both sides.

Early Friday morning H. D. Blenkiron was passed for cause by the defense and most of the

BASIS OF GOVERNMENT

Terrorism Does Not Terrify for a Long Time

Demonstrations in Representative Bodies Can Be of Benefit to the Workers

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

The political struggle is for the purpose of gaining governmental power.

The government is the machinery by which the dominant economic class is enabled to control the resources of the community over which it presides. Government implies power of taxation and control of the armed forces. The one supplants the other and both are exercised by the class in possession of the government.

There is nothing new in this, it is a statement as old as knowledge of the functions of government. Yet it seems to be most difficult for the average American to grasp the notion in its entirety. He has always been taught that government is the will of the people, and yet he finds a government which is manifestly not the will of the people. He is brought into collision with the governmental powers in a fashion which he cannot conceive as being possible did government represent the will of the people, or to be more concise, his will.

The tyranny, the stupidity, and the actual brutality of government and the representatives of government, fill him with dismay and indignation and forthwith he conceives government to be that against which the attack should be directed—the accursed thing, and he is ready to step upon the slippery slide of anarchism.

The government which should be close to the average man, according to the democratic theory, and which should mirror his ideas and hopes, appears to be something distinct and distant. It seems to have its own entity and to occupy an exalted sphere to be clothed with thunder and armed with relentless authority. It is anything but the echo of the voice and aspirations of the plain people who make up the mass of the nation.

If government appears thus to the average American, what must it seem to the man who perforce is brought into collision with it? To the out of work tramp in search of employment and without means or resources, the vagrant in the eyes of the law; the government is an enemy which will seize and imprison him. It is a power which will set him to work at enforced labor without pay for sixty or ninety days, and then will loose him upon the community in no better condition than before and just as much an object of governmental attack as ever.

To the ordinary workman who by reason of his poverty is helpless to rebel against robbery of his wages or against the destroying conditions in which he is obliged to work, government looms up as a colossal monster.

He blames government; and the anarchist lecturer who translates hatred of government in the heart of the outraged workingman into words can always gain the applause and frequently the adherence of the latter.

Yet to attack government is folly. Government is an intangible thing and is impervious to attack. In fact the anarchists themselves who are not satisfied with talk but actually desire to accomplish something direct their attack from government to the persons composing government and we get the useless propaganda of the deed. This only tends to render the threatened government officials angry so that they resort to methods of reprisal against which the rebellious are unable to contend, for lack of material power.

For it must not be forgotten that the basis of government is material power. To strike at the government or at governmental officials and not to strike at the material power in terms of which government exists is a futility.

Government rests upon the necessities of a superior economic class and cannot be reached except through an attack upon the economic position of that class. As soon as the fact of the illusory nature of governmental power is grasped it is seen at once that there is no need to attack

governments or governmental officials, that it is waste effort in fact, even if nothing worse.

Terrorism does not terrify for any long period and is by no means a satisfactory method of disposing of enemies for the simple reason that it is too expensive for the terrorists. It cannot be denied that governmental power may be shocked to a certain extent by terrorism, and that governmental action against the revolution may even be checked momentarily by the confusion due to some blow delivered under the proper conditions. But no such blow can be effective nor can it produce even temporary results unless there is a large body of public opinion behind it and a fighting organization which will render the persistent striking of such blows probable. However, when a revolutionary movement has attained these dimensions there is little need for such manifestations as are embraced in the propaganda of the deed, and as a matter of fact they seldom occur. Terrorism is in itself an admission of weakness, a confession that the economic power of the revolutionary body is not such, that it has been able to develop a political representation, either in the form of a vast economic organization able to operate successfully within a given sphere, or a political party which is able to bring direct pressure upon a government by virtue of the position which its power gives it. It need not be here insisted that one of these manifestations of economic power would imply the other, that both would exist simultaneously and therefore there would be no necessity for any attack upon government. The only demonstration would be against the governing class and would consist on the one hand of knocking out its economic props by industrial conflict, and on the other of directly embarrassing the governmental functions by political action, i. e. demonstrations in the representative bodies and in public tending to discredit and to harass the exercise of those functions.

It will be seen therefore that the most violent controversial attacks upon government delivered by the anarchists may be fully admitted and yet the movement towards the overthrow of that tyranny not advanced one iota thereby. The young and impetuous, the foolish theorists and the propagandists of the deed, dash their heads against the intangible thing in vain. Government is phantom-like, one cannot tell where it begins and where it ends, it is pervasive; it resembles the aura which it is said by some surrounds each human being. One conceives a dislike to the aura of an enemy and proceeds to demolish that aura. A blow at the aura, however, penetrates that most elusive and delicate atmosphere, and the fist coming into contact directly with the proprietor of the aura, the latter retaliates in proportion to his strength. Thus the aura smasher finds that he cannot break that particular emanation without trying conclusions with the person from whom it emanates.

The same argument applies with equal force to what is generally called direct action. The anarchistic element in the labor movement, impatient against all governments, detests and despises parliamentary action. It resents the slowness and the tortuousness of political methods and suspects every development which has the flavor of parliamentarism. In this attitude it has the approval of a much larger proportion of the working class of the country, than is usually suspected, for there is in the ordinary American laboring man a distinct tendency to individualism developed from the history of the country itself. The political exposures and scandals which have attached themselves to administrations of all kinds; the shuffling, the doubling and the actual dishonesty of the professional politicians have filled the mind of the proletariat with detestation of the very name of politics. This attitude may not only be admitted but it may frankly be confessed that it is justified by events. But, even so, what steps are to be taken, other than the same slow and painful steps by which we have hitherto progressed.

FLASHES OF LIGHT

Paralyze Industry by Letting It Alone

EUGENE V. DEBS.

Notwithstanding the law of Indiana John J. McNamara was forcibly taken from the State by the thugs, hirelings and murderers of the corporations.

We are not trying to condone violence or crime. We are protesting against the commission of crime by those who are supposed to prevent it—for kidnaping is a crime.

The sooner the trusts get us, the sooner we will get the trusts.

You will find yourself out of a job and without money and wonder what is the matter. It is what you voted for.

The politician near election day tells you you are intelligent, to keep you ignorant. The Socialist tells you you are ignorant so that you may become intelligent.

Rockefeller isn't a Socialist because he knows what it means, but you don't know enough to know what Rockefeller knows.

Carnegie has an income of \$25,000,000 a year from the steel trust and yet he has no more to do with producing steel than if he inhabited another planet.

It is perfectly vain for your ministers to preach human brotherhood as long as this industrial system remains which compels human beings to struggle for bread.

We have a better right to presume them innocent than have the corporations and their hirelings to presume them guilty.

I appeal to you workers who love liberty and justice to make your protest and add it to the general volume that will be heard and heeded in Wall street before we get through.

Four years ago we saved the lives of Moyer, Haywood and Pettibone, whom the mining trust wanted to kill and thus disrupt the Miners' Union. Now the Erectors' Association and the Steel Trust are attempting to destroy the union of the Structural Iron Workers. They had their Harry Orchard five years ago, and now they have their Ortie McManigal.

Be on the alert. We don't have to resort to violence, but we can do what they did in Great Britain a few weeks ago. They didn't commit violence there. They simply paralyzed industry by letting it alone. We are no longer dumb, driven cattle.

OUR OPPORTUNITY.

The decisive defeat of the Union Labor party in this city, together with the many Socialist victories throughout the country, have given rise to much speculation as to what will be the effect on the Socialist movement, especially in San Francisco. We unhesitatingly predict a rapid growth of Socialist sentiment and a corresponding increase of the party membership. This is as it should be. There is, however, one phase of the question that merits a careful consideration, for therein is a threatened danger to the whole movement. We refer to a probable scramble of the professional politicians and office seekers to fasten themselves upon our movement. Particularly will this be true of the defeated leaders in the Union Labor party. A goodly share of these men are the ones responsible for the DISREPUTE their party finds itself in to-day. If these leaders were permitted to come in in wholesale lots they would dominate the organization and dictate its policies, and thus disgrace the Socialist party as they have done the Union Labor. Under a new name they would play the same old game.

What then should we Socialists do? The answer seems to be plain: Let us, for the time being at least, quit our hair-splitting over tactics and MAKE ONE HUGE, CONCERTED EFFORT TO REACH THE RANK AND FILE OF THE WORKING CLASS (BOTH ORGANIZED AND UNORGANIZED) WITH THE MESSAGE OF SOCIALISM. If we will but see to it that the AVERAGE MAN knows what Socialism is we will have nothing to fear from the scheming labor politicians. Let us for the moment forget our differences and do this one thing, and next fall will witness a harvest of intelligent votes that will send some of our comrades to the State Legislature and to Congress.

A. K. GIFFORD.

**COMMEMORATION CELEBRATION OF LABOR'S MARTYRS
AT BREWERY WORKERS' HALL, NOV. 12th, 8 P. M.**

BOURGEOISIE GRANTED THEMSELVES POLITICAL PRIVILEGES.

By DONALD D. HORNE.

The Declaration of the Rights of Man, published by the National Assembly of France in 1789, was a purely bourgeois document, says Aulard in his "Political History of the French Revolution." But it had economic and social consequences of which but few of that day were able to conceive. For effectiveness, the document was made universal, not because its authors intended its operation to be universal. It was in fact a declaration of the rights of man. But it was intended to operate as a declaration of the rights of the rising bourgeoisie. And thus it did operate at first; but Aulard traces the effect in the minds of succeeding generations in France, and shows that its actual operation has been to spread the philosophy of Socialism.

It seems to me that the comments of Aulard on the Declaration of the Rights of Man in France could very well be applied to our Declaration of Independence in America. I quote from Aulard:

"It was by no means a piece of puerile pedantry that the Committee of the Constitution proposed to inscribe these principles before the Constitution. It was a political move and an act of war. To proclaim them at this moment was to settle the principles from which the Constitution should issue. It was to strike the supreme blow at absolute power. It was to consecrate, to ratify the Revolution.

"Nor was it only in puerile pedantry that a few defenders of the royal authority proposed an adjournment; they knew that the American Revolution had begun in this manner, and that the Revolution had ended by the Americans ridding themselves of their king.

"Many of the bourgeoisie, then on the eve of granting themselves political privileges, hesitated to proclaim the rights of the proletariat. They did not contest these rights; they did think it imprudent to shout them in the ears of the proletariat, for the reason that they were willing only for the partial application of these rights, reserving the political exercise of them for themselves."

In accordance with the Declaration of the Rights of Man, political privileges were abolished by the National Assembly. This was entirely in the interests of the bourgeois class. There was only one proletarian in the National Assembly. And it was also entirely in the interests of the rising bourgeoisie to allow economic privilege to remain. Aulard traces the development of the idea of the abolition of economic privilege from the Declaration of the Rights of Man as follows:

"Take the bourgeois, the man who received, at his birth, an economic privilege and a political privilege; in 1792 the people will strip him of his political privilege. Would it not be logical to relieve him of his economic privilege as well?"

"Such an idea scarcely occurred, at first, to anyone. A first revolution, social and economic, had taken place, or was about to do so, through the destruction of the feudal system, the abolition of the right of primogeniture, the sale of the national properties, and a less unjust constitution and partition of property. The generality of Frenchmen were satisfied with this revolution, and saw no further; the most crying injustice, the most serious complaints, having just been righted. "It was when other sufferings, born of the new order of things, began to make themselves felt, that men began to think of demanding the complete consequences of the Declaration of Rights. And as it was a minority which actually suffered—workmen of the towns, reduced to poverty by the economic conditions produced by the continuation of the war—it was a minority which demanded such consequences and attempted to rebel; the more so because the bourgeoisie, in the year III, had resumed their political powers. Babeuf preached communism, and representing only a minority, was easily defeated.

"How, later on, the development of machinery, the changed relations of capital and labor, were to bring about a movement known as Socialism, a movement which has not yet come to a head, because it has not had the assent of the mass of the nation—this is a subject we cannot at this moment discuss.

"What I do wish to demonstrate is that one is wrong in opposing Socialism with the principles of 1789. It is the same sort of mistake which confounds the Declaration of Rights with the monarchial and middle-class Constitution of 1791. Socialism, to be sure, is in violent contradiction to the social system established in 1789; but it was the logical, extreme (and, if you will, dangerous), consequence of the principles of 1789, which was demanded by Babeuf, the theorician of equality."

This middle-class constitution had, incorporated in it, the Declaration of Rights; it then proceeded to limit the suffrage by a property qualification. But this constitution remained in effect just about one year. During this very period a number of communists and students of economics began to formulate the socialist philosophy and economic theory. Babeuf, Barnave, Morrelly and Boissel are particularly worthy of mention. Boissel replied to Robespierre after he had read the Declaration of the Rights of Man, at the Tribunal in 1793, by a declaration of the rights of the Sans-Culottes. Incidentally, Boissel was guillotined during the Reign of Terror. Boissel said:

"Robespierre, you read yesterday the Declaration of the Rights of Man; but I came to read the declaration of the rights of the Sans-Culottes. The Sans-Culottes of the French Republic recognize that all their rights come from nature, and anything contrary to these are not binding. The rights of the Sans-Culottes consist in the faculty to reproduce, feed, and clothe themselves; in the enjoyment of the fruit of the earth, our common mother."

SYMPTOMS.

To those who depend for their information of Socialist progress upon the foreign press, the fact that the social revolution is actually on in Europe and that armed conflicts are continually taking place between the revolutionists and the governmental forces will come with a shock of surprise. The following items constitute the news of a single day:

"At Bilbao, Spain, the rioters cut the railway lines at several points and also the telegraph and telephone wires. As a consequence the whole service between Spain and Portugal came to a standstill. The soldiers patrolled the streets continually and with their drawn swords dispersed the crowds. On the same day the strikers tried to blow up a bridge with dynamite near Zaramillo. From Oviedo came the news that a body of revolting miners had blown up the local railroad bridge. Turning to France, we find the news of widespread rioting and bloodshed. A column of Socialists in military order entered Creil and broke all the shop windows. They were charged by the soldiers and defended themselves and wounded several. When the cavalry arrived their horses were stamped by firecrackers, wire was stretched across the street, and the horses that fell were promptly stabbed. At Montataire 2000 rioters entrenched themselves behind a barricade and the attacking troops lost fifteen men. The battle was then transferred to the Creil road, a series of barricades was erected, some of them twenty feet high, and when the last telegram was sent it was to the effect that the battle was raging furiously. A similar story comes from Vienna, the reports being headed, 'Barricades and Street Fighting—Cavalry Charges—Six Killed and 250 Wounded—Shops Looted and Cars Set on Fire.' Such was the news of one day from Spain, France, and Austria, and it was a representative day."

WOMEN SLAVING IN IRON FOUNDRIES.

Following the discovery of women employed at the hardest kind of labor in foundries in Massachusetts comes another shocking revelation in the plant of the Henry B. Worthington Co. at Harrison, N. J. It has been revealed that between 150 and 200 women are employed as core-makers in the latter place. The work is exceedingly hard and rough, and the women are required to labor in a stifling atmosphere, impregnated with the fumes of gasoline, burning coke and coal. They shovel sand and lift all kinds of forms and molds and perform tasks that eventually cripple and unfit them for womanly duties. Their faces and hands are begrimed with black dust and grease, and were they not required to wash themselves before leaving the plant they would present an unseemly appearance on the streets.

The reason for the supplanting of the male coremaker is plain. The men got from \$3.00 to \$3.50 a day; the women get from \$1 to \$1.35 a day.

Discussing the revelations in Massachusetts, the Boston Common, under the caption, "How Labor is 'Protected,'" has this to say:

"In the plant of the Walworth Manufacturing Co., to cite one example, a reporter found 57 women and girls making cores of sand, flour, water, molasses and fish oil. A dozen girls worked on one bench within ten feet of a furnace. The heat was intense. Their eyes were inflamed, and their attire as light as frequently seen on the densely populated streets in the tenement districts during the hottest days in summer. These girls are paid an average of about \$6 a week. Some get as high as \$9. The manager admitted that the girls had displaced male coremakers, who had been paid from \$12 to \$18 a week. What is more, some of the girls liked the work, or at least preferred it to working in a department store, where they would receive less money and have to pay more for clothes."

RESURRECTION OF THE SOUTH SAN FRANCISCO LOCAL.

The South San Francisco Local of the Socialist Party, which has been asleep for the past few months, showed signs of reawakening in a well attended, rousing meeting, held last Sunday in the Solidarity Hall in South San Francisco.

Comrades Clement and Kun discussed the causes of unemployment, its general effect upon the welfare of the working class, and the only remedy for it—the abolishment of wage slavery.

The South San Francisco Local will have its meetings every Thursday night from now on. With the help of the women voters, the Socialists of San Mateo county expect to capture, next year, the county.

Every workingman living in this neck of the woods is heartily invited to attend our meetings. CHAS. KUN.

THE MILITANT PROLETARIAT.

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

Is the most important contribution to Socialist theory that has yet been produced by any American writer. The scientific basis of the tactics which REVOLT has advocated is in this book set forth logically, clearly and forcibly. Every Socialist speaker and writer, whether he is in sympathy with us or with our opportunist opponents, will need to read The Militant Proletariat, is the opinion of the International Socialist Review, in order to defend his own position intelligently. Take our word for it; this is a book that you should not miss if you have any interest in the work of the Socialist Party.

REVOLT CANNOT DIE!

One of the important projects which will be carried out under the auspices of REVOLT in the near future will be a tour of Dorothy Johns, known wherever she has spoken as one of the most effective speakers in the revolutionary movement. Mrs. Johns will deliver a short series of addresses where desired, or one presenting the chief points where only one meeting can be arranged, on the general topic of, **WHAT THE COMING POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF WOMEN IN CALIFORNIA WILL MEAN TO THE WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT.**

The plan of this tour is not to be, directly, on a subscription basis. The rate for each meeting, to pay the expenses of the trip, will be \$5, and all receipts of the meeting in excess of that amount will remain in the local treasury. When it is remembered that on the last tour of California which she was permitted to make under the auspices of the party (before the general black-listing of speakers who stand solidly for working class action), under difficult conditions, with very short notice and in some cases none at all, Mrs. Johns in a majority of cases brought a surplus to each local for which she spoke. In one case, in Vallejo, where few highly successful meetings had been held before, the surplus over advertising and all other expenses, including the amount paid the speaker, was more than \$50. With the interesting subject on which she will speak on the forthcoming tour, and with a few days to work up each meeting, every local should gain financially as well as in the advance of the true Socialist cause.

Aside from the \$5 for each meeting, to cover railroad fare and expenses, Mrs. Johns asks only that, after the regular meeting, collection and asking and answering of questions, she be permitted to speak for a few minutes for REVOLT to such part of the audience as shall remain to hear her.

Locals wishing to secure Mrs. Johns for a meeting should apply at the earliest possible moment to

REVOLT PUBLISHING COMPANY,
305 Grant Avenue,
San Francisco, Cal.

ANOTHER SECOND.

Stockton, Cal., October 22, 1911.

Dear Comrades of Revolt:—

As we were formerly members of the Stockton Local, over a year ago our Financial Secretary was instructed to order a lot of our new State Constitutions, for which he forwarded the money; but those Constitutions did not arrive yet.

In many of State Secretary Meriam's letters is found his expression: "That is against our State Constitution." Our members are very anxious to know that Constitution, and so repeatedly ordered our Secretary to demand them, but we received only empty excuses.

To our last letter we received the enclosed answer:

"Los Angeles, Cal., Oct. 10, 1911.

"Anthony Tittel, Stockton, Calif.,

"Dear Comrade:

"Enclosed find 20 dues stamps as per your order of the 8th.

"Fraternally yours,

"F. B. MERIAM."

Now is not this a fine explanation? It is high time that we hold our State Convention in order to improve our State Constitution and also the condition of our State officers.

This is the reason that Local Homestead, San Joaquin County, seconds the motion of Local Oakland for holding the State Convention.

As ever yours for Real, Revolutionary Socialism.

EUGENE PILLIOD, CHAIRMAN.
ANTHONY TITTEL, Secretary.

FISHING FOR A JURY.

(Continued from page 1.)

day was consumed by the prosecution battling to eliminate him. The property qualification for jurors is peaches and cream to the prosecution, being a clear asset on the property side of the case. Blenkiron was attacked on this ground and his domestic affairs aired. Failing to impeach him on an affidavit in a divorce case, Horton examined him on his attitude toward circumstantial evidence and the infliction of the death penalty, finally deducing that he was "defective in moral faculties and therefore an improper juror." He was excused.

Judge Bordwell has ruled that the defense cannot take advantage of a juror's opinion against circumstantial evidence as grounds for challenge, but that that right goes only to the State.

W. H. Andrews, a rancher, was opposed to all the strikes he has ever heard of, but was not against union men. Walking delegates came in for his particular displeasure, and Darrow quickly agreed with him that they ought to have automobiles and ride. Admitting frankly his prej-

dice against the prisoner he was challenged by the defense. At the close of the session the prosecution was trying hard to qualify him and he was still clinging to his little prejudice.

The week-end sensation is that Harry Chandler, assistant general manager of the Times, is on the new panel of jurors.

Burns Still Hunting For "Evidence."

Los Angeles, November 8.

The net result of the four weeks of the McNamara trial is three jurors and the confirmed conviction upon the part of the attorneys for the defense that their case is not safe in the hands of Judge Bordwell.

Next week the defense will renew their motion for a change of judge, citing many instances during the trial showing Judge Bordwell to be prejudiced against the defense. Darrow is aroused over having to use three of the defense's valuable challenges against men whom he claims were passed through the bias of the judge. These were McKee, Frampton and Winter. The defense declares this compelling of challenges is reversible error, and, in case of conviction may be the basis of a new trial.

Dr. Gideon S. Case, of Pasadena, was examined for two hours Tuesday afternoon by Darrow. His terse, self-assured replies became, in the course of an hour, as monotonous as your neighbor's phonograph. He is a physician and surgeon and one fell to wondering if he would hang a man with the same sangfroid that he ground out his replies. He takes The Times for the sake of his wife's cousin and housekeeper and reads it more or less, but said he was not in sympathy with its views.

"You don't view the question of unions and union labor as they do?"

"I have no particular opinion on the question of union labor."

He was discriminating, however, in regard to strikes, viewing each according to circumstances; had no prejudice against strikers if they kept within the law, but considered that when they exceeded their rights at picketing, it was proper for them to go to jail. He formed an opinion at first that the explosion was caused by dynamite, but later heard two workmen say it was gas and thereby gained the idea that there were two sides.

"Have you no interest in whether The Times was destroyed by crime or by an accident?"

"I don't know."

"The killing of twenty-one people under such circumstances does not interest you? How long were you in the war?"

"Three years."

"You were used to seeing people killed then?"

Dr. Case was a Mason. His composure did not survive the two hours' grilling. He was passed by Judge Bordwell over the challenge of the defense. He was the twelfth juror.

A milestone had been reached in the great trial. There was a buzz among reporters and telegraphers, the lawyers fell to parleying on the method of peremptory challenge and the prisoner yawned with apparent weariness.

After consultation the simple words, "We excuse Mr. —," began clearing the jury box.

Two peremptories were used by the state and five by the defense. The state excused Frank Frakes, farmer, and M. T. McNeeley, retired tailor. The defense, George W. McKee, George W. Johnson, Walter M. Frampton, Dr. Case and A. C. Winter. The Fredericks group settled into their chairs with much complacency and passed the surviving five, waiving their right to further challenge.

On Wednesday, by consent of all parties, Wm. F. Clark, considered an ideal juror, and Samuel Mendenhall, whom the defense had about decided to retain, were excused because of illness.

This leaves but three, Robert F. Bain, 69, Los Angeles, carpenter; F. D. Green, 47, Pomona, capitalist and orange rancher, and Byron Lisk, 61, president Pasadena Milling Company. The latter demanded to be heard on his reasons for not wishing to serve and the court promised to hear him later.

A new venire of forty is drawn for Thursday morning.

Fredericks is jubilant over word received from Burns to-day that all the evidence seized in the raid on the offices of the International Association of Bridgemen and Structural Iron Workers will be available for use in the present trial; that the union attorneys have lost their fight and that as soon as the Federal Grand Jury now in session in Indianapolis concludes its investigation he will have the evidence turned over to him and will bring it here in person. This news is said to have saved one of the state's challenges.

Darrow says that if Burns brings his alleged evidence, which the union officials declare was planted, all the alleged crimes charged by the National Erectors' Association will be dragged into the case. This the defense will fight to the bitter end.

On Monday the court ruled that Socialism was not on trial in the McNamara case any more than any other method. A juror may take his beliefs as to capital and labor into the jury box with him; they are not relevant to the issues on trial.

41 BREWERY WORKERS HALL, 8 E. M. COMMUNIST

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Official Gang Attempts to Destroy Press That Exposes Deals.

By CAROLINE NELSON.

When the scribe of this became a Socialist she had a "fat" job in a millionaire's family. Her employer was a typical plute-hating labor unions and Socialists with his whole well-fed body. She kept the Appeal to Reason. She knew if Mr. Plute ever got hold of it her position was in danger, but she risked it and carefully watched the mail. One day Mr. Plute came in, and in a low, angry voice called his rebel housekeeper before him.

"Madam," he said, "do you subscribe for this contemptible, dirty, treasonable gutter sheet?" and held out the Appeal to Reason.

"Yes, Mr. Plute," she said, "I had heard so much about it. I believe in investigating everything."

"Of course," he said, "that is right. I believe in having an open mind and look into everything. But this sheet ought to be suppressed because it is not only filthy, but it tells lies about our noblest men, and holds up the criminal Debs as a martyr. It never has anything good to say about anybody who has any position or any responsibility of any kind. I believe in progress, but you can't make any progress by circulating lies and filth, you must foster purity and nobility and truth."

The above is not an imaginary conversation or incident, but took place just as it is here told. It came vividly to my mind last night when I was attending the business meeting of our San Francisco Local, where the woman's committee of the Socialist party petitioned the Local to pass a resolution to prohibit the sale of REVOLT in all party meetings upon the ground that it was a "filthy, dirty, lying, gutter sheet, which lied about our noble standard bearers in the Socialist party, and had never anything good to say about anybody who had responsibility and position in said party."

Our secretary, Miss Bishop, is a very enthusiastic young lady, and it is but natural that she should champion, as she said, the cause of "purity, nobility, and truth as against filth, lies and slanders," in the Socialist party, and that in her youth and inexperience she should be unable to see beneath this mere word juggling, is also very natural. But when one realizes that this inexperienced comrade was the mouthpiece of a committee dominated by gray-haired women, who came upon the world's stage when the ideals of the new life had not made the slightest impression, and therefore could not help to shape their minds to any extent, one feels that there is a possibility of the old life prolonging its existence by influencing the new in our party itself. This is a thousand times more serious than the life of any paper. Anyone who has read history knows that every progress of the human race has met a solid phalanx of ugly sounding words backed up with all the power that could be commanded. Everything in that sense has literally come from the gutter and the so-called gutter people. Every world savior, according to legends, was born in a filthy stable, because there was no other room for such an event. So that the REVOLT'S suppression as a filthy sheet ought not to disturb anybody who has anything to do with its publication. But that such a thing could occur in the Socialist Party, in the year 1911, ought to make a profound impression upon the minds of the party membership. We are fighting tooth and nail for free press and free speech outside our party, while inside, the San Francisco Local triumphantly votes to suppress a Socialist paper that does not strike the fancy of the official gang by forcing through the following resolution fostered by a few of the ring:

To Local San Francisco Socialist Party:

We, the Woman's Committee of Local San Francisco Socialist Party, hereby recommend that the sale of the newspaper called "Revolt" be prohibited at the headquarters and at all meetings held by Local San Francisco.

We make this recommendation because of the malicious, false and misleading statements which REVOLT is continually publishing regarding Socialists

who have been elected to public office, Socialist party candidates now running in Los Angeles, the State Secretary, the State Executive Committee, the last San Francisco Campaign Committee, the present San Francisco Campaign Committee, the Organizer of Local San Francisco, the proceedings of Local San Francisco and the Local itself.

We consider this sheet as an enemy to the Socialist party, a treacherous Judas in our midst, and a fraud upon the Socialist movement, slanderously endeavoring to undermine the organization, confuse the membership and the outside public, while hypocritically posing as a champion of Socialism and a paragon of honesty, sincerity and purity.

As party members who are acquainted with the facts referred to, and who have the welfare and solidarity of the Socialist party at heart, we feel that we have tolerated the foul fighting tactics of REVOLT long enough, and that it is time to consign it to the gutter from whence it came.

And we further urge that copies of this recommendation be sent to all Socialist papers, and to the State and National Officers of the Socialist party.

THE WOMAN'S COMMITTEE OF LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO.

Above resolutions were endorsed and recommendations concurred in at the last regular meeting of Local San Francisco, Socialist Party, on November 6th, 1911.

As per instructions I am hereby mailing copy to all Socialist papers and the State and National Officers.

Fraternally,

JOHN KELLER,

Organizer Local San Francisco, Socialist Party.

THIS DOES NOT REPRESENT THE WILL OF THE MEMBERSHIP, AS AN AMENDMENT CALLING FOR A REFERENDUM VOTE WAS VOTED DOWN.

Now, here in California we are not so foolish as to believe that we are the only folks who have trouble inside our party. In any party or organization there is always trouble, where members are allowed to think for themselves, because our thinking apparatus revolves at different speeds in different directions. It is only the Christian Science and the Catholic churches that are able to maintain harmonious organizations, by having popes who perform that thinking function infallibly (?). For centuries we were used to that sort of harmony with its diabolical strength. We fear it perhaps with an unreasonable fear. Our ancestral brain shrinks from it with horror, and sometimes we conjure up straw popes to swat with mighty blows. On the other hand, other people's ancestral brains have a strong leaning toward popesism, and gloat over the strength of it, and dream of what could be accomplished with it. This is the brain that glories in noble "standard bearers." But of course a standard bearer cannot be recognized as such without his host. So the fellow that can gather the largest host about him in our party is the standard bearer for the time being. His method and means of gathering this host is not questioned so much as the fact that he catches the crowd and the vote.

Here is our trouble. We demand that the Socialist principle shall be spoken straight out, without any trimmings or compromise, no matter if it turns thousands away from us. The "opportunists" hold that that is bad policy, that Socialism can be so presented that all classes will accept it, and that that is the only way to get it. We hold that that is the only way it can be defeated, because it will be so twisted and distorted that it will enable the ruling class to use it to fool the workers.

But sometimes it happens that a good, sound revolutionist comes to us laden with literary fame from the capitalist press. Such a comrade is Charles Edward Russell. He practically takes the side of the "suppressed" REVOLT. He looks with horror upon compromise with capitalist-minded craft labor leaders and political grandstand plays. He is too big for the official gang to suppress. So, they calmly accept him, and make use of his name to boost themselves, while the little fellow, standing for the same principle, is requested to go back to the gutter from whence he is supposed to have come. Too human, alas! The ruling-class taint impressed upon our brains. We have it all in some form. When the worker speaks his own philosophy, unvarnished in its awful truth, the mind sees not the white-washed sepulchers of life, the rotten bones hidden there, and we say, "for God's sake let us get away from it." But it would show much more wisdom to say, "Let us clean up the rotten bones and dirty headquarters," instead of saying, "To the gutter with you, and a nice clean office building for us, where nice people live."

However, it is well for the Socialists to look calmly at this latest tendency in our movement and then act calmly. This REVOLT episode is merely a manifestation putting forth its first sprout. We may be sure that it will sprout all over, if it is not uprooted. And the best way to uproot it is to support REVOLT until it'll become a daily paper. Ultra radicalism will be the cry of the workers in the very near future. Let us prepare to boost it along with a radical sheet. SO, THREE CHEERS FOR REVOLT, AND A LIBERATED "GUTTER POPULATION" WHO MUST DO THE JOB THEMSELVES.

The majority at this meeting refused to submit the resolution born in the "Woman's Committee" (?) to the membership of San Francisco, for the simple and sufficient reason that the last referendum taken on the question of recalling Merriam, in the city of San Francisco, was 154 to 144 favorable to the recall. So in reality the "resolution" is the output of a minority.—Ed. Note.]

NAILING A "SCIENTIFIC" EDITORIAL WRITER.

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

The San Francisco Chronicle of the 4th inst. contains an article entitled "Scientific Shop Work," a veritable mine of economic fallacy. It possesses, however, more than a transient interest as being a very complete and, no doubt from the point of view of the Chronicle editorial policy, effective apologetic for the "scientific" idea. This promises so much gladsome sport that the "present speaker," as "P. H." would say, has a present intention of staying with it for a few weeks. To get the full measure of delight, however, would require a much longer period than the editorial management of this paper could conceivably grant.

As a mild preliminary, however, natural surprise must be expressed at the unusually inferior character of the article as gaged by the standard of Chronicle articles on economic subjects. For more than a decade it has been a source of pleasure to the writer to endeavor to meet the always scholarly and occasionally brilliant argument of Mr. Young who has given the Chronicle more than a national reputation for his economic opinions which, while frequently archaic, have always been distinguished.

For many reasons the article under immediate consideration does not belong to those more brilliant predecessors. Can it be that Mr. Young wrote it? The style is very reminiscent of his, but the young man in the office frequently copies the style of his superior, and a California young man with journalistic ambitions of the more serious variety would be hard put to it to find a better model than his veteran chief. Still, there is a denial of the old gods, implied rather than actual. More like the traditional Julian on his deathbed than Mr. Young of the Chronicle which is, at least, perplexing.

The old economists upon whom the Chronicle was wont to rely for its theoretic economics have been cruelly abandoned in the article in question; indeed the absolutely essential capitalistic doctrine of the commodity value of labor-power is treated with something very like contempt.

The argument is pivoted on the two following paragraphs: "The greater the outturn per man employed in an industrial establishment the more men it can employ and the better the wages paid."

"For the greater profit there is the greater the inducement to increase the force and the better the wages that can be paid for labor."

It does not follow at all that the greater the individual outturn the greater the numbers employed. As a matter of fact individual output is not an essential of calculation in modern industrial production. It is group output that determines the product of the industrial establishment.

Any variation from the standard in individual output would, far from being an advantage, actually be detrimental to the group output. The greater output does not therefore necessitate the employment of a greater number of men. In fact, the entire reverse is more likely to be true. The problem is to increase the output without increasing the number of men employed, and this problem has been solved to the extent at least that the number employed continually diminishes in proportion to the growth of output. If this were not true the whole modern industrial organization with its boasted "economy" in production would not exist.

But the statement "the better the wages paid" is simply staggering in its crass falsity. To claim a relation between output and wages is in itself a falsification of the economic theory from which the modern system depends. Wages is the price of labor power, as a commodity in the market. That is the Ricardian thesis, as it is the accepted point of view of the employer. The laborer has no claim on the output. To concede such a claim is the rankest kind of heresy and opens the doors to every description of Socialist attack. It is fundamental that the laborer is hired at such rates as he can dispose of his labor power in the market with the assistance of his trade organizations. The output belongs to the employer. Hence there is no connection whatsoever between greater output and increased wages. In fact, in some of the industries where the output is actually abnormally great, as in the steel manufacture, wages are really abnormally low.

The reasoning upon which the conclusion is based is equally faulty: "The greater the profit the greater the inducement to increase the force" is absolutely untrue. The contrary is true, i. e., the greater the potentialities of profit, the greater the incentive to relatively reduce the cost of labor power. This is done by more complete organization of labor, by the introduction of improved machinery and may be supplemented by the employment of "scientific" shop-work. But in every case wages will decline relatively to the product, otherwise there would be no incentive for increasing production. For this reason the conclusion "the better the wages that can be paid for labor" falls to the ground. That better wages CAN be paid is clear enough. The question is, ARE they paid? It has to be conceded that as a matter of fact in proportion to the entire product, better wages are certainly not paid.

Resting upon these two frail hypotheses, the "Chronicle" proceeds to erect its defense of "scientific" shop-work. The subject seems to be sufficiently important to deserve more complete handling. Next week we shall revert to it again.

PRESIDENT JOINS ANOTHER UNION.

One of the many stunts on the program for President Taft during his recent visit to Chicago was the laying of the corner-stone for the Hamilton Club's new building. In order to have everything "according to Hoyle," from the standpoint of organized labor, it was deemed advisable that Mr. Taft should join the Bricklayers' Union. We admit this to have been a good political move on the part of the President, but we can not say as much for Organized Labor. The President, in a patronizing way, thought to HONOR the workers by joining their union. In return for this honoring (?) he will expect the votes of the union men to keep him and his class in power—and he will likely not be disappointed.

Members of organized labor that will vote to admit to their union a man of Taft's caliber will also vote to re-elect him President. We believe Mr. Taft fairly earned the title of "Injunction Bill" and we can see no particular reason for taking it away from him. He is distinctly plutocratic in his make-up and is therefore an enemy of the working class. This being true, the Bricklayers' Union of Chicago, when it admitted Taft to membership in their organization, trailed in

A. K. G.

"Don't compete!—competition is always injurious to the species, and you have plenty of resources to avoid it!" That is the tendency of nature, not always realized in full, but always present. That is the watchword which comes to us from the bush, the forest, the river, the ocean, "Therefore combine—practice mutual aid." That is the surest means for giving to each and to all the greatest safety, the best guarantee of existence and progress, bodily, intellectual, and moral." That is what Nature teaches us; and that is what all those animals which have attained the highest position in their respective classes have done. That is also what man—the most primitive man—has been doing; and that is why man has reached the position upon which we stand now, as we shall see in the subsequent chapters devoted to mutual aid in human societies.—Mutual Aid, P. Kropotkin.

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MUST THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA INDORSE COMPROMISE OR FUSION?

The Missouri Controversy. By CLYDE A. BERRY, National Committeeman for Missouri, Indorsed by the Missouri Local Quorum; R. R. Ristine, State Secretary; Marion Cope, State Chairman.

To the Locals and Members of the Socialist Party:

1. National Referendum D is, in all probability, the most serious question of party principle and policy yet submitted to the National Party membership. THE FACTS WILL SUSTAIN THE FOLLOWING DECLARATION:

BACK OF ALL THE CANT AND DODGING THE REAL ISSUE, LIES THE FACT THAT THIS MOTION PROPOSES TO COMMIT THE SOCIALIST PARTY TO AN INDORSEMENT OF FUSION AND COMPROMISING TACTICS. Was Compromising or Fusion Committed by Local St. Louis?

2. The plain facts are as follows: In the spring election of 1909 Local St. Louis placed three NON-SOCIALISTS on the SOCIALIST TICKET, one member of said local was a candidate on the Socialist ticket, was nominated also on the Republican ticket, and was elected and accepted the office. Another member of said local and candidate on the Socialist ticket was also a candidate on an independent ticket.

This Local, now expelled but still claiming to be the Socialist party of St. Louis, in a circular letter addressed to the Socialist Locals of the United States, says, in substance, that the charges of fusion were based on the fact that Dr. Simons was placed on the Republican ticket, (they falsely call it the Bi-partisan ticket) and that "Dr. Simons himself could not compel the election commissioners to take his name off the Bi-partisan (it was Republican) ticket." The author admits that "this was a Republican Ticket to Catch the Liberal German Vote." But he does not explain how the "Republican party machine" or any one else could have forced the names Priesmeyer, Hill and Miller, none of them members of the party or even Socialists, on the Socialist ticket without the co-operation and consent of the majority of those holding responsible positions in Local St. Louis.

Priesmeyer, Hill and Miller all have since avowed they were not Socialists. I do not know the politics of the two former, but it is well known that Miller is a Democrat. He is a prominent leader among the Union men of St. Louis, and his ability to mislead them politically was so appreciated by both old party machines that his name was placed on both party tickets as a "Decoy Duck," as was made of Dr. Simons. Then the committee of Local St. Louis placed his name also on the Socialist ticket. WAS THIS TO WIN THE CONFIDENCE (?) OF THE WORKERS BY SHOWING THEM THAT THE SOCIALIST PARTY CAN BE AS CAPABLE OF VOTE-CATCHING TRICKERY AS THE OLD PARTY MACHINES?

To my mind, if this Miller incident was nothing more, it was a compromising, groveling, begging policy, shorn of dignity and self-respect. The Socialist party has proven its loyalty to organized labor not only by our membership in the unions of our trades, but by jeopardizing our party press and even the lives of our comrades in all the serious organized labor battles of the last twelve years. We do not need to crawl on our bellies to covet the smiles and approval of labor leaders, who scorn the revolutionary program of our party, nor to gather crumbs of the patronage of those of our union brothers who still are blindly handing it out to "reward their friends." We will win and earn their confidence and enlighten their minds, not by compromising and begging, but by standing up like men and fighting their battles because they are our battles!

What does it matter if these candidates were for a "Charter Commission Board" or for the City Council? The effect of training the members of the party to compromise or fuse would be just the same in one case as in the other. If it is good Socialist Party policy to place a Single Taxer or a liberal minded Republican or Democrat on the Socialist ticket for a Charter Commission Board Member, why not nominate them for Legislator, Judge, or Councilman, etc.? Not one of the exponents of the cause of this expelled Local dares to openly defend a policy of this kind. So they are resorting to every sort of subterfuge, in an effort to frame up a case against the Local Quorum to draw the attention of the comrades away from this most flagrant violation of the Constitution for which the Charter of this Local was revoked.

Why Their Charter Was Revoked. Their Charter was revoked, not alone because Dr. Simon accepted the office to which he was elected on the Republican ticket and G. A. Hoen was a candidate on an independent ticket. Three non-Socialists were on the Socialist ticket. But this was not all. When the investigating committee of five, three of whom the officers of this Local, in a letter, later expressed confidence in, went to St. Louis to ascertain the facts in the case, the officials of said Local not only refused to have anything to do with this committee, but profanely cursed it. Dr. Simon informed the committee that he would not resign from the office to which he was elected on the Republican ticket, even if requested to do so by the entire Socialist party membership of the State. This conduct and attitude on the part of Local St. Louis made it impossible for the State membership to impose a milder penalty than to revoke its Charter. A new Local St. Louis was

immediately organized under a new Charter and all the members of the old Local, except eleven who were barred for one year, were invited to join.

Vote of Accused Local Counted in Referendum That Decided Its Fate.

4. Facts briefly stated as follows: When 78 of its members formed a Protest Committee for the purpose of getting the question before the membership of the State, the accused Local refused to sell them Dues stamps, thus depriving them of the right to vote on the questions they were raising. As a result of the agitation of these "protesters," Referendum A of the State membership was taken on the following questions:

QUESTION NO. 1. "That an investigating committee of five disinterested comrades who reside outside of St. Louis be elected by the State Quorum to investigate charges made by protesting members of Local St. Louis."

QUESTION NO. 2. "Local St. Louis being divided into two opposing factions in this case, namely, plaintiff and defendant; therefore, shall Local St. Louis and its individual members of both factions be permitted to vote?"

The vote of Question No. 2 was, 298 in favor to 19 opposed, to excluding the vote of Local St. Louis. Local St. Louis had, in a circular letter, advised the members of the party not to vote on Question No. 2, and but few of the members of Local St. Louis did vote on it; but had the 150 votes it cast on Question No. 1 been added to the 19 votes against excluding its vote, the vote would have stood 169 opposed to 289 for excluding its vote.

Such as the above statements of facts was the situation confronting the Local Quorum at the time it excluded the vote of Local St. Louis from Question No. 1 in Referendum A. BEAR IN MIND, THIS QUESTION NO. 1 WAS NOT TO DETERMINE THE MATTER OF REVOKING THE CHARTER, BUT ONLY TO DETERMINE IF AN INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE SHOULD BE ELECTED. First—STATE MEMBERSHIP OVERRULED ACTION OF STATE COMMITTEE. Following this rather confused state of affairs, W. E. Kindorf and W. F. Crouch, members of State Committee and also of Local St. Louis, submitted the following as Question No. 2, in the State Committee Referendum:

QUESTION NO. 2. "Shall the vote of Local St. Louis on State Referendum A be included in the count?" On this motion five voted yes and five voted no. The motion thus failing to get the majority, was lost.

The State Committee, however, proceeded to elect an investigating committee of its own to go to St. Louis. But very soon after this action was known to the membership of the State, a protest came in from 25 Locals and demanding another referendum. This was State Referendum D. And the following is Motion No. 1 and 2:

"That the action of the State Committee in electing a second committee to investigate party affairs of Local St. Louis is hereby revoked, and the State Secretary and Local Quorum are instructed to pay no expenses of any committee except the committee elected by the Local Quorum in conformity to the instructions by the vote of the membership of the State (outside St. Louis) on State Referendum A, 1910." This was the motion whereby the State membership (not the Local Quorum) overruled the action of the State Committee. And all the stories that have been told about the Local Quorum arbitrarily overruling the action of the State Committee are pure fabrications.

Second—CHARTER REVOKED BY FAIR VOTE AND FAIR COUNT. This question of the 78 or more members of the Protesting Committee being deprived of a vote on this question would not down, so Motion 2 of Referendum D, reads as follows: "That Local St. Louis shall have no vote on this or any other referendum of the membership of the State in regard to party affairs of Local St. Louis."

ON THIS MOTION THE VOTE OF LOCAL ST. LOUIS (voting 300 strong, the largest vote it ever cast on any question) WAS COUNTED, while the 78 PROTESTING MEMBERS whose vote would have been for the motion, had they not been deprived of it by former action of said Local, WERE NOT ALLOWED A VOTE. But with this vote of the protesting committee excluded the vote was 457 for, to 395 against. If there was anything undemocratic or unfair in this procedure it was in barring the vote of the 78 protesting members, but in no way a discrimination against the accused Local. THE STATE ORGANIZATION WAS AT LEAST 78 VOTES MORE THAN FAIR TO THE ACCUSED LOCAL.

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Therefore when it is stated or assumed that, by arbitrary action of the Local Quorum, for any other reason, the accused Local was denied a full and fair vote in the procedure that resulted in the loss of its Charter; or that the full party membership of said Local (except 78 protesting members) were in any way denied an opportunity to be heard and to vote on the question, such statement or assumption is utterly false. It is a fabrication invented for the express purpose of diverting the attention of honest and loyal comrades from the shameful act of compromise and fusion tactics of which the accused were guilty and for which their Charter was revoked.

Impossibilism. Another charge to divert the attention from the real issue is the charge that those who are endeavoring to uphold the Constitution are IMPOSSIBILISTS!!

For years the municipal platform of the Socialist Party of Joplin has demanded every measure for the immediate interest of the working class that the local situation afforded. The following is a declaration that has appeared in every platform: "While the ultimate aim of the Socialist party is to abolish Capitalism and establish the industrial democracy of Socialism, it is none the less consecrated to every immediate interest of the working class."

JOPLIN LOCAL AND THE UNIONS.

First—A member of the Joplin Local is president of the Building Trades Council; another member is vice-president of the Joplin Trades Assembly; another member of the Joplin Local, R. R. Ristine, our State Secretary, is financial secretary and treasurer of the Trades Assembly, and of the delegates to the Trades Assembly and Building Trades Council the Socialists have a goodly number. A little over a year ago the Socialists Local co-operated with the unions, in the biggest strike they had here for a number of years. So it must be that it has not been impossible for us to get along with the unions. Nearly all of us are members of the unions of our trades and we believe as loyal to our unions as any of the St. Louis comrades who are opposing us in this controversy. We are more loyal, I think, in that we do not try to trick our union brothers with some sort of vote catching policy. We try to make them understand the logic of the revolutionary program of our party, and that we are as loyal to it as we are to our union, and will in no way fuse or compromise its principles.

The charge that we are impossibilists is a puerile beggary of the question. If fusion and compromising is a better immediate vote-catching policy, that does not prove that it is a safer policy for the Socialist party.

BUT THEY DO NOT TELL THE TRUTH ABOUT THE VOTES, for in their circular letter they say: "While during the same time the vote of St. Louis increased from 4,843 in 1904 to 7,882 in 1908," etc.

The official account as recorded in the Missouri Blue Book is as follows: St. Louis 1904 Socialist vote for President5,168 St. Louis 1908 Socialist vote for President4,901 Jasper County 1904 Socialist vote for President1,185 Jasper County 1908 Socialist vote for President1,026

In Jasper County the Socialist vote is a larger per cent of the total than that of St. Louis. St. Louis had a large increase in its vote in the spring election of 1911. So did Joplin and many other cities of the Nation, and the local policies of the party had little to do with it.

The Great Danger to the Socialist Party.

6. In their appeal from the decision of the National Committee, they have ignored the question of the right of State autonomy over which the battle has been fought in the N. E. C. and the N. C. and have made THEIR FUSION COMPROMISING POLICY TO WHICH THEY COMMITTED LOCAL ST. LOUIS, THE ISSUE. At this time thousands of workingmen are being virtually driven to the Socialist party by the policemen's clubs and the hangman's rope. With this and other distressing conditions that are growing upon them they will come to the Socialist party because it is the only party that offers them any hope of relief. When they come in such great numbers it will be a great task to keep their visions clear as to the revolutionary program of our party.

Many office-grabbing politicians will come with them, AND FOR THE SOCIALIST PARTY TO AT THIS TIME ESTABLISH A PRECEDENT OF ENDORSING A FUSION OR COMPROMISING VOTE-CATCHING POLICY IS INVOLVING THE SOCIALIST PARTY IN A DISRUPTING POLICY THAT MAY DISRUPT THE PARTY OR SAP AND DRAIN IT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY FEATURES OF ITS

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PROGRAM UNTIL ITS NATIONAL VICTORY WILL NOT MEAN THE LIBERATION OF THE WORKING CLASS FROM SERVITUDE AND EXPLOITATION.

In Conclusion. Don't be deceived by the plea that this petition would put the question back into the hands of the party membership of Missouri, for it would not. It is imposed under a condition in which only about 25 per cent of the present membership of the party in the State will be permitted to vote on the question. The expelled Local still claims the right to cast 300 votes on the question, which was the largest vote it ever cast while it was in the party five months more than a year ago. According to this statement no fusionist or compromiser ever dies or moves away or becomes delinquent like the ordinary human that belongs to the party in other parts of the State.

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO MAKE THE NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY ACQUAINTED WITH ALL THE FACTS INCIDENTAL TO THIS MISSOURI STRUGGLE TO DISCIPLINE LOCAL ST. LOUIS FOR ITS VIOLATION OF THE CONSTITUTION, SO THE ONLY QUESTION UPON WHICH THE NATIONAL MEMBERSHIP OF THE PARTY CAN VOTE INTELLIGENTLY IS, SHALL WE SET THE SEAL OF APPROVAL OR DISAPPROVAL UPON THE FUSION OR COMPROMISING TACTICS FOR WHICH THE CHARTER OF THIS LOCAL WAS REVOKED?

EUGENE WOOD DEMANDS VOTES FOR SOCIALISM.

"That I have been nominated for the assembly on the Socialist ticket is something that is sure to leak out sooner or later, anyhow, and get talked about the village, so I might as well own up to it here and now. Tell the truth and shame the devil. "The other time I ran for this office there were several more votes cast for me than for the straight ticket. Now, while I appreciate the compliment paid me by my neighbors, I hope it will not be taken amiss if I say that I'd rather not run ahead of my ticket this time. "It is very pleasant to have citizens vote for me, because I am such a fine-looking man with a figure like a young Greek god, or because I am probably the most brilliant writer for the magazines between Clerke's Corner and the Valley Road, or because I am the finest amateur operatic Dick Deadeye in the village, or for any other foolish reason. "Vote for Socialism, but please don't vote for me. Maybe you don't intend to, anyhow, but I just thought I'd mention it."

PROPOSED NATIONAL PARTY REFERENDUM.

"Local Allegheny County moves to amend Section 6, Article 12, of the National Constitution, reducing the national dues from 5 to 3 cents. "Respectfully submitted, "LOCAL ALLEGHENY COUNTY, SOCIALIST PARTY."

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Jefferson Square Hall, 925 Golden Gate avenue, held under the auspices of Ladies Tailors' Branch 1, Clothing Workers, Ind. Union No. 3, I. W. W. November 12th, 1911—Austin Lewis, subject, "Industrial Socialism." November 19th, 1911—James H. Hughes of San Jose, subject, "Industrial Unionism versus A. F. L. of Craft, or Independent Unionism." November 26th, 1911—Wm. McDevitt, subject, "Political Power." December 3rd, 1911—Sidney Armer, subject, "The New America." Questions and discussions following lectures. Lectures commence at 8 p. m.

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