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WHOLE NO. 28

THE PIVOTAL POINT

Official Gang Subservient to Trade Union Leaders

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

The continual agitation (it might perhaps be better called fermentation), in the Socialist party is a matter of very serious concern to numbers of members, some of whom consider that the mutual recriminations and the struggles inseparable from human controversies, are bad in themselves, tending to destroy the unity of the party.

The chief deprecators are naturally those who are in authority, who have the emoluments of office, and who see in every activity which they do not control a menace to their continued domination.

Such has been the case in every party at every time. Possession gives rise to the notion of vested rights. Accordingly, the office holder even in a democracy gets an impression that somehow he is superior to those who hold no office. The Socialist party is not exempt from the same human tendencies. For example, it has been painful and disheartening to observe the way in which those responsible for the conduct of the party have viewed the tendencies towards a strengthening of the proletarian element. One would have thought that as straight, and, presumably, well informed Socialists, they would have welcomed a robust and effective working class demonstration. It comes as a shock therefore to discover that the controlling element of the party only recognizes the workingman when he comes clad in middle class habiliments. That, in fact, it is distinctly hostile to any development of the Socialist movement among those who are most in need of it, that with all the miserable sycophancy of its grovelling middle class training it still regards the mass of the working class as something to be despised and treated with contumely.

There is no use in disguising or attempting to deny this obvious fact. The history of the last few years shows a cumulative tendency towards laying the burden in an ever increasing degree upon the shoulders of the lowly. No movement on the part of the toilers receives any approbation unless it may seem, in some respects, at least, to further the political aspirations of what for want of a better term may be called the official gang.

Take the Mexican question as an example. In that regard we should have expected to see a certain definite sympathy with oppressed humanity manfully trying to make its way to better economic conditions in face of the most overpowering odds, fighting one of the noblest and most desperate fights in modern history. This language may perhaps seem exaggerated but it will not be considered so when we take into account that nobody, the revolutionist least of all, had any idea of the essential rottenness of the Diaz forces.

But what does one see? The Socialist party in the United States to the undisguised scandal and dismay of even the official Socialists in Europe, took the side of a political adventurer, with no higher ideas of progress than a bastardized liberalism, even if his professions in that respect were sincere, an hypothesis which is, to say the least, open to the gravest kind of doubt. At all events there is no question that the adventurer is at present receiving the plaudits of that part of the United States press which is ever bitterly opposed to the proletariat.

We know of course that the steps taken were in pursuit of the policy of subservency to the trade union leaders which has been the pivotal point of official policy. The assumption is that the support of the trade union leaders is essential to political success. San Francisco is only one indication that this fundamental idea of official political action rests upon an entirely false basis. The industrialists could be flouted; the poor and unskilled are contemptible politically, therefore they are contemptible every way. Such is the reasoning.

But to be false to the basic proletarianism of the Socialist movement is to destroy the faith of working men even of those who have votes, in the integrity of the party.

This effect is being produced in the organized labor movement to-day. Industrialism is spreading rapidly in the unions. The leaders to whom the Socialist officials have looked for support are being discredited, and something very much like a revolt is at present going on in the unions themselves. How will this new movement regard the officials of the Socialist party who have so sedulously endeavored to make a career? The patient observer already recognizes that a dis-

SAVING THE SYSTEM

Taft Enlists as a Savior of the System of Capitalism

Political Quacks Attempting to Sterilize the Steel Trust with Nostrums Labeled Socialism

By WILLIAM McDEVITT.

The article on "Capitalistic" Socialism in the November International Review is both timely and entertaining. Every student of the dialectic of things social should study Walling's interpretation of some of the tendencies of the times. Comrade Walling, however, mis-names his subject; it should be "Socialistic" Capitalism, and not "Capitalistic" Socialism.

To prove this, let me present the other side of Walling's problem. He conceives it as a basically industrial or economic change, and, as such, it may necessitate a very radical review of the Marxian premises and conclusions. But, as a matter of fact, what Walling calls Capitalistic Socialism is simply an effort, more or less concerted, more or less instinctive, to save the system of capitalism by political means. The new saviors are not seeking Socialism (of any kind); they are trying to save the present system, and they are willing to go so far in their effort to save it, as to attempt to socialize it, that is, make it more socially useful and socially acceptable.

The leaders of these system-saviors, men like Roosevelt and La Follette, Woodrow Wilson and Hiram Johnson, are politicians first and economists afterwards. They are aiming at political action for political changes, with economic changes to follow. The effort to make labor-power more efficient and productive is an old one—in fact, this effort was in reality the father of capitalism, and not, as Walling seems to suggest, the child of the old age of capitalism. The new thing is the attempt of the saviors of the system (from itself) to give it a socialist bias or bent, so that it may outlast the present gales and storms of social agitation and discontent. In the same manner, feudalism was given a capitalist meaning, and monarchy a democratic guise, even before the genuine industrial development of capital or of democracy made the seeming and the guise a real thing for a really accomplished internal revolution.

The New "Rooky."

The startling incident in this development of the political saviors of capitalism is the new accession. That Roosevelt should captain this political crew of capital's life-savers, was of course inevitable; that La Follette, representing the rural uprising, should marshal the forces of the Insurgents into the ranks of those who were ready to serve as a sort of Red Cross (or Red Flag) Nursing Corps for the battle of Capitalism, was only natural; that Brandeis and Taylor should be exploited politically as doctors of a new and marvelous school of labor resuscitation, was normally a part of the game. But, hello! who is this new knight that comes into the lists? This modern Front-de-Beef Trust? This physical incarnation of the corporation idea? Is it our old friend, Jack Falstaff, in the resurrection?

No, oh! no. This apparition of light, this fresh champion in the field, is none other than our old daddy of the injunction, Bill Taft! Yes, President Taft, like Belshazzar of old, has seen the handwriting on the wall—the political wall, of course;—he has read the flaming legend that reactionary capitalist politics is everlastingly augspeilt, and he has capitulated to the new idea.

Now, the phenomenal part of these things lies in this: When Roosevelt apparently flew in the face of those economists and "practical men" who, like Harriman, wanted to drive capital right through its natural industrial development into the field of unalloyed monopoly, the capitalist industrialists, caring little for political conse-

quences, selected Taft as a kindred spirit. They commissioned him to go out and 'undo Teddy's work. They selected him as a strong man who would not cater to the sickly sentimentalism of either Capitalist Socialism or Socialist Capitalism. Teddy's ideal was to regulate and restrict the natural development of monopoly; Harriman's nature (like Rockefeller's and that of all those who were actually engaged in battling and WINNING industrially) was to play the game and let the deluge come—"after us." But the successful politician looks farther forward; Teddy has imagination; he saw the menacing collapse of capitalism as a popular American institution, and so, as a born reformer, he proceeds to tinker and doctor the system, politically, in order to save it from itself.

What Class Does Taft Now Represent?

That is why many students of things social have regarded Roosevelt as a representative of the interests of the middle class. But is Taft a representative of the middle class because his Attorney-General is endeavoring to break up or fracture the Tobacco Trust, the Sugar Trust, and now, greatest task of all, to pulverize the Steel Trust? No, not at all. It so happens that the Steel Corporation, politically, is the thing most feared and hated by the great body of capitalists outside of this particular chief trust. The capitalists have a political fear of the Steel Trust; as well as, incidentally, an industrial fear of it. They realize that the figure of this monstrous monopoly with its control of the sources of supply, the transportation of the raw material, and the fabrication of the finished product, is the most ominous menace and the most dire exposure of the system of capital. Hence the POLITICAL need to regulate it—to purify or to sterilize it. Industrially, they are powerless to regulate it; but, by taking the matter up now before it is too late, they CAN deal with it politically, or, failing that, they can deal with the political aspects of it. Their desire, then, is to fumigate it, if they can't dissolve it; in other words, if they can't paralyze its pernicious power, they hope, at least, to keep it from smelling so foully on the political field as to threaten to asphyxiate the whole system out of which it has sprung.

So, our new saviors of capital are not, indeed, united in seeking to raise wages and increase profits thereby; they are not combining to intensify the efficiency of labor-power. These are matters for the captains of industry, and there are no very remarkable NEW aspects of that side of the case. The new thing is that even the most reactionary capitalist politicians like Balloon Bill are forced to join the crew of system-saviors, and to evolve a new theory of the right of government to regulate combinations of industries—a political theory which they are aiming to work out in a political way.

Incidentally, it may be noted that of course the world of capitalism will welcome and applaud and reward those "Socialists" who happen to be aiding Taft and Roosevelt and La Follette, in their little game of saving capitalism by redeeming it with sundry political palliatives and momentary nostrums. And the political saviors of the system are no longer frightened because these nostrums and sedatives and palliatives are labeled "Socialism." Call your medicine what you please, they cry, so long as it saves the life of "the best possible system under the sun"—Capitalism. That is the safe and sane and successful Socialism—for the capitalist class.

economics to grasp the significance of a movement which must spread, they have succeeded in effectually alienating the sympathy of a great and growing portion of the proletariat. The result is to-day that in the State of California vast masses of the unorganized proletariat, upon whose organization and education the very existence of the Socialist movement in the last analysis actually depends, are absolutely convinced that the Socialist party is their enemy. Here again the stupidity of those in control is hardly short of incomprehensible. They raised the cry that the industrialists were anti-political. As a matter of fact the industrial unions as economic organizations are no more anti-political than are any other economic organizations.

The truth of this very plainly appears from the report of the I. W. W. convention where a non-political stand was recommended in contradistinction to the anti-political attitude which the Socialist party in this State at least has been anxious to make the industrialists assume.

WAGES AND PRICES

Capitalists Devide the Surplus Value

By CHAS. H. KERR.

The question has been asked: Suppose the wage-workers through an effective industrial organization were to succeed in raising the general wage level fifty per cent., could not and would not the capitalists respond by raising the general level of prices fifty per cent., so that the purchasing power of the wages would be no more than before? No. They would like to do so, but they could not. Some prices would rise, others would actually fall, the general average would remain the same.

What fixes prices? Some amiable reformers talk as if bad capitalists charged high prices and good capitalists were satisfied with low prices. Other people talk of the law of supply and demand as if this explained not only fluctuations, but the point around which the price of each commodity tends to fluctuate.

And some of us revolutionary Socialists have the habit of saying that commodities as a rule sell at their values. Now when we mean that the sum total of the prices of all commodities is equal to the sum total of the values, this is an accurate statement of fact, but if we are talking of the price of any particular commodity, that is another story.

In the highly developed capitalism of to-day, no one capitalist OWNS any one wage slave. But all wage slaves toil for all the capitalists. And the capitalists divide among themselves the surplus value created by the wage-workers, not in proportion to the number of wage-workers employed by each capitalist, but in proportion to the amount of capital owned by each. This law of division enforces itself automatically in this way. If the capitalists in one industry are making more than average profits, other capitalists rush into the industry and their competition brings prices down. If the capitalists in another industry are making less than average profits, some of them go to the wall or pull out, until supply falls below demand and prices stiffen. And the net result of this fluctuation is that the price of any commodity tends to be equal to the cost plus a profit equal to the average rate of profit at the time and place in question, figured on the capital required to produce the commodity in question.

This price MAY be equal to the value, and there is one case in which it WILL be equal to the value. That case is where the commodity is produced by labor working with capital of AVERAGE COMPOSITION.

Here we must stop and define our terms. The capital used to produce a commodity is COMPOSED of two parts, CONSTANT and VARIABLE. The VARIABLE capital is that portion used to pay the WAGES of the people who do the work. It is called VARIABLE because the work which it pays for, represents two different values, the value of the LABOR POWER, which the wage-worker gets, and the value added to the products by the expenditure of the labor power. This the capitalist gets, and it is always more than the value of the labor power. The CONSTANT CAPITAL is that invested in machinery, raw materials, fuel, etc., in fact all except that used for the payment of wages.

The COMPOSITION of the capital employed in any given industry means the PROPORTION in which it is divided between CONSTANT and VARIABLE. In backward industries like the sweat-shops where clothing is made, there is a small proportion of constant and a large proportion of variable capital. Capital so invested is said to be of LOWER composition. In the most highly developed industries, such as the manufacture of shoes, the proportion of constant capital is high, that of variable capital low. The capital in this industry is of HIGHER composition.

Now, every Socialist knows or should know that the profits of the capital class come from the surplus value produced by the wage-workers. But if EACH commodity were sold at its VALUE, then the biggest profits would be made by the capitalists employing the largest number of laborers, regardless of the machinery used. But the owners of the best machinery do not need to sell their products at their value; they can get more. As a general rule, apart from temporary fluctuations, the owners of capital of HIGHER composition than the average can and do sell their product ABOVE its value, while the owners of capital of LOWER composition than the average must and do sell their product BELOW its value.

Let us then see what must happen if, without any change in the productivity of labor, wages were to be raised fifty per cent. In chapter XI of the third volume of Capital, Marx figures out in full detail exactly what must happen. His conclusion is that the total profits of the capi-

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

talist class would fall by the amount of the increased wages. Also that the prices of commodities produced by capitals of average composition would remain unchanged.

Also that prices of commodities produced by capitals of LOWER composition would rise, but not in the same proportion in which the profit falls.

Also that prices of commodities produced by capitals of HIGHER composition would actually fall, but not so much as the profit.

Capitalists can not FIX prices. These are determined by social forces stronger than any capitalist or any group of capitalists. Marx discovered a generation ago what is now becoming more and more apparent to every keen observer, namely, that the interests of each individual capitalist are bound up with those of the capitalist class, while the interests of each wage-worker are bound up with the interests of the whole proletariat.

The solitary craft is to-day as helpless against concentrated capital as the solitary laborer. But concentrated capital itself will be helpless when it faces a working class fully organized and resolute in its demands. To unite, educate and organize the working class of the world is the historic task of the international Socialist movement of which the Socialist Party of America is a part.

Shrewd capitalists see that they must grant some reforms to allay discontent if they are to stay much longer on the workers' backs. As the Socialist Party grows in strength they may even ALLOW it to win local victories where it is LED in such a way as to make it look SAFE to the capitalists. But for the most part all the REFORMS we can propose that leave WAGE SLAVERY to continue will be taken over bodily by the capitalist parties. Sooner or later, the Socialist Party MUST stand squarely for REVOLUTION, for the ABOLITION of wage slavery. Let us face the issue now, and save years of misdirected effort.

A Highbrow Essay on Woman.

A Dissertation on the Economic Function of Woman with the Part Played Therein by Scientific Bulletins and Deep Thinkers.

By EUGENE WOOD.

If there is any one thing in the reading line that I dote upon more than another, it is a bulletin, a real Scientific Bulletin, whether it be on the Stomach Contents of Arctomys Miurus or The Method of Procedure in Making Salt-rising Bread. Those fellows go at it so thoroughly. Right up to the handle. They don't have to worry whether the editor will like it or not. They don't care whether it will hit the public or not. If anything, they'd a little rather it didn't. It can't be very scientific if people read it and enjoy it. They aren't like literary folks, who when they take hold of a subject must not do more than pull out a few of the prettiest tail-feathers. They pluck the subject as bare as a teacup. And then they take the hide off it. And they then cut it open and have a look at its insides, and dissect away every muscle from every bone, so that when they get all through, and washed up, that subject hasn't one secret left. They know it backwards and forwards, lengthwise and crosswise, up and down, and outside and inside.

So, when I received a few days ago a Teachers' College Bulletin on "The Economic Function of Women," by Edward T. Devine, Ph. D., Professor of Social Economy of Columbia University, I just knocked off work on that hurry job I had, part of the pay for which is going to reward the insurance company for my not dying this year, and settled myself to a really enjoyable intellectual sozzle. Here was something that nobody else could ever read clear through unless he was paid for it or had to read it in order to get a term-standing. And I'm interested in Woman. Most men are, if you'll notice. More or less. It is a subject that is brought to the male attention so often, so very often when you consider the whole period from the cradle to the grave. And then, again, this seemed a particularly promising viewpoint from which to consider Woman—what, if any account, is she?

There is not an extended piece of writing, however foolish it may seem, from which it is entirely impossible to get one good idea. And I will say for Dr. Devine that he sets forth some very sound and sensible things. I am sure of this because they're exactly what I think. When he says that students of the economic processes haven't paid as much attention to Consuming as they have to Producing, I think he's quite right. (I want the printer and the editor to let these capital letters stand as they are because I want to give the impression that I am a Deep Thinker. Nobody can be a Deep Thinker without capital letters sticking up through his copy like bristles on a cucumber. If I can't have any other symptoms of a Deep Thinker than Capital Letters, I must have them.)

That this thing of overlooking of Consumption in favor of Production is what ails Society is what I have contended all along. Society takes a lot of pains to produce automobiles and never turns a hand to see to it that I consume one. Doesn't pay any more attention to me in that respect than if I didn't exist. And, from what I can learn, there are many others in just my fix. It isn't that we can't use them or don't want to use them; the trouble is that Society doesn't pay us enough to buy them, and charges us far too much on things that we can't get along without, food and shelter and clothing and coal and carfare and such things. I can't consume near all I'd like to, just on that account. As a nation we can produce till you can't rest. No trouble in the world about that. But when it comes to getting all these things consumed so that, as a nation, we can keep the producing end of the enterprise running full-powered, why, we simply aren't there. The working-class doesn't get in wages what will buy back the things it produces. (I don't know if you ever heard that

before. If not, you ought to write it down so that you won't forget it.) If we could rig up some kind of a scheme so that all the working-people could swap their products on an even-Stephen basis with each other, so many hours' time of the shoemaker's being exchanged for so many hours' time of the farmer's; and the pianomaker, and the weaver, and the tailor, and so on, till we all got all we wanted, and no middleman cutting in between to grab off his profits, or his interest on the investment, or his cost of credit, or any of the charges we have to pay that represent no real use-value, why, then we'd come pretty close to having the Co-operative Republic, and all we'd need of political control would be to keep the predatory class's hands off what did not concern them.

And it isn't wonderful, either, come to look at it, that more attention has been paid to the Productive Department of the Nation's house-keeping than to the Consuming Department. It has only been about half a century that we have really got to that stage of human progress where, if we wanted to run full-powered, we could produce such oodles and oodles of the things we'd like to have that we don't know what to do with them all. (That is, some of us don't.) It is only quite recently that we have begun to produce more than we know what to do with until a large proportion of the people get over the notion that they are lucky to be alive. A great many of our citizens aren't educated up to believe that they are entitled to more than four things to eat, or more than two rooms to live in, or better clothes than what will do very well for a mop-rag. We are trying to educate them to live better, but oh, dear! It's an uphill job. The demagogue that goes about inflaming the passions of the poor and making them envious of their more fortunate brethren has got his work all cut out for him, I tell you. But the fact remains that it is only the other day, so to speak, that we put in electricity, and scientific processes, and cut up industries into sets of two and three motion jobs, so that any kind of mudheads could learn how to work at anything in a week. And now it's time we gave our attention a little to getting the good of all this. At Production we're a hickey; at Consumption we're a lot of thumb-handed dubs. Most of us.

Now here are two grand divisions in Economics; Production and Consumption. Singularly enough, there are two grand divisions in the human race, Male and Female. So, Dr. Devine concludes—and what could be more natural? Why, it's almost providential, as you might say—that the Men-folks should have charge of the Productive end and the Women-folks of the Consumptive end of the job. Mr. Man puts on his hat, and takes his dinner-bucket, and starts off Monday morning when the whistle blows, and works till Saturday night, when he receives his little old pay-envelope, with \$13.80 in the upper left-hand corner. He fetches it home to Mrs. Woman, who thereupon begins to function. She throws her shawl over her head, and takes the market-basket on her arm, and goes out to spend that \$13.80 to the best advantage.

Wait a minute. Wait a minute. Don't you begin to crow because you perceive that when Mrs. Woman fries the beefsteak she is also adding value to the raw material, and is also a productive laborer just the same as Mr. Man. Dr. Devine saw that, too. As a matter of fact, he beat you to it. Not only that, he also saw that Mrs. Woman not only works in the old-style hand-powered factory of the home, but very frequently in the new-style steam-powered factory away from the home. But if he saw, farther, that Mrs. Woman, with a frequency not known before in history, goes to the factory on Monday morning when the whistle blows, and works till Saturday night, while Mr. Man cooks the victuals, and sweeps the floor, and even minds the baby—If Dr. Devine saw that also he has kept mighty still about it. In a case of that kind, what is the Economic Function of Man?

Now, in spite of all my capital letters, you are onto the fact that I am not a Deep Thinker, so I might as well own up to you that I have never been able to get my copy into any kind of a Scientific Bulletin. But poor and unworthy though I be, it yet appears to me that Dr. Devine hasn't even picked the feathers off his bird of a subject, let alone cut it open to see what's inside of it.

Maybe right now, in this year of grace, 1911, most men do bring in the pay-envelope, and most women try to make the poor, pitiful, little dab of money that it holds go as far as possible. (And I don't envy them their job, either.) But that's no sign of a duck's nest. It is no great effort of the imagination to figure "she-towns" becoming practically universal. Then will the Economic Function of Woman be to attend to the Consumption end of the job? (The pay-envelope will look rather consumptive, when that time comes, too. Believe me.)

Men have charge of the field of Production now, eh? What d'you suppose old Injun chief Walks-in-the-High-Grass would have to say if you asked him who ought to do the manual labor, men or women? And not to go so far back as the Garden of Eden and Mother Eve taking a bite out of the apple of knowledge of what was good and made folks wise, I have just returned from a trip to the Ozarks, where the women-folks wait on the men, and no more think of sitting down to the same table with them than niggers would think of sitting down to the same table with white folks. The women have always done productive work. See if you can think of one trade or profession that the women did not originate and now do practice. The laundry business? Medicine? Agriculture? Pottery? The men didn't turn their hand to anything in the way of productive labor until they, too, were enslaved. If you find men swinging the hammer while women fry the beefsteak, I can also show you women swinging the hammer and men frying beefsteak, both remaining essentially masculine and feminine. When it comes to cooking—

They tell the story of a man who stepped into

a restaurant and asked: "What have you that's good?"

"We've got some very nice roast lamb to-day," the waiter said. "And the asparagus is extra good. And say, Captain, we've got coffee like your mother used to make!"

"Is that so? Well bring me a cup o' tea. And I'll try the lamb and asparagus."

Women do most of the cooking that's done, but there are some mighty good men cooks, and most men can cook nearly as badly as most women. Women do most of the marketing, but there are men who can shop expertly, and most men can buy with as little judgment as most women. (Present company, you understand, always included.)

No. You take a thousand men and a thousand women. Give to each batch an equal amount of intelligence, instruction and experience, and whether you put them on the Productive end or the Consumptive end, there won't be five cents' worth of difference between them. What small difference there may be in the matter of labor too hard for women is being rapidly done away with by machinery. Just as soon as it appears to be cheaper to install a machine and set a woman on the job, just that soon will the big, strong husky man get a blue envelope. Attending to the buying for the household is just about as much of a sex-characteristic as long hair.

But if you count Labor-Power as a Commodity, then Woman puts it all over Man as a Producer of Commodities. At that she is a specialist who stands unrivalled. And while shoes, and ships, and sealing-wax, and many other things are of great importance to be produced, I submit that a good crop of children coming on is of importance the vitalist. If the world were full of nothing but grown-ups, all getting older every day, if not a finger of them ever were to be poked into a young mouth to feel the gritty edge of a new-cut lower front tooth, oh, what a no-account and dead-and-done-for thing this world would be! What would be the use of anything?

No, folks and friends, not Consumption of Commodities, not Production of Commodities, but Reproduction of Labor-Power is the main-top, all else being but side-shows of the snidest sort. This, which truly is the whole shooting-math, is The Economic Function of Woman. (Which anybody knows who is more than seven years old last birthday.)

But in this matter, you ask, aren't the men-folks entitled to some slight consideration?

Oh, yes, but not nearly so much as they think they are. For quite a good way up the scale of life, they get along pretty well without males at all. And when they do appear, they cut very little ice. When a plant has been cultivated as long, for instance, as the banana-plant, and knows it will be taken care of on its merits, it quits all that sex-foolishness. Males aren't such a much. It is a cheap experiment to try, to fancy a steady diminution of one sex while the other remains constant. If there were fewer and fewer women until finally there were only men, it would be fairly easy to figure out just about when human beings would cease to exist altogether. But up-end the proposition, and keep all the women, and gradually diminish the men until there are no more of them, it isn't so easy a problem in arithmetic.

Mind you, I am not advocating the extermination of the men-folks. While I have tongue or pen to raise in protest against such a procedure, I shall do so—unless, of course, I were one of the few left till the last, and it came about my time to go anyhow. I simply wish to point out that such a slew of us as now exists is far in excess of the real need. In heathen countries where they have never had the Gospel light, and women are in the way, they kill the girl babies. Some day, maybe, when the tidings comes: "It's a boy!" the instant response will be: "Who had the hammer last? Somebody go hunt for that hammer."

If Loeb and those fellows pry into Nature's secrets much farther, you know there mayn't be any need at all for that which so fondly thinks itself the Superior Sex. Coming up on the boat from Mobile, I had for fellow-passenger as far as Key West, an assistant at a biological experiment station on one of the Florida keys. He told me of sea-urchins, living and thriving, that never had a papa, unless an artificial mixture of certain chemical salts be called by that dear name. I listened with interest not unmixed with horror, for with the prophet's eye, I saw the finish of my sex!

No, Dr. Devine, there is no Economic Function peculiar to Woman but the one. Whatever the Man is able for, she also is able for, and then some.

But look at the paradox of Her! The more Woman is explained, the deeper grows the mystery. If she gain the Ballot, she will one day run everything, even to running Man off the earth, if necessary. Yet, while most men favor Votes for Women, most women do not.

After all, they're good to us.—The Masses.

WHAT WILL THEY DO NEXT?

By FRANK BOHN.

The Wholesale Grocer states that SIX MILLION BAGS OF COFFEE (2,400,000,000 pounds) WERE THROWN INTO THE SEA OFF THE COAST OF BRAZIL. THE PURPOSE WAS TO HOLD UP THE PRICE OF COFFEE IN THE AMERICAN MARKET. (The number here given seems excessive. But were it 600,000 or only 60,000, the character of the deed would still be the same.)

The following news item appeared in the Chicago Daily Journal, October 18:

"Coffee hits highest price in 20 years. Advances 110 per cent since 1909; best grade 35 cents a pound, wholesale. When coffee, best grade Brazilian, hit the 35-cent-a-pound mark at whole-

sale to-day it set a record that has not been neared in a score of years. When this top notch figure was reached it represented a 110 per cent increase in the last two years and marked the success of the so-called manipulation by the Brazilian government and the money powers in Germany, France, England and the United States. 'The only relief we may expect in the future,' said one prominent dealer, 'is a reform in the Brazilian government or an improbable softening of hearts of the money powers.'

Upon a foundation of slavery the profit system has erected a pyramid of crimes. The pile is made up of every form of cruelty and wickedness which the ruling classes of the ages have handed down one to the other.

Each ruling class, with accumulating power, with greater knowledge and more unbridled greed has added stone unto stone. The top stone of the pyramid which bears down upon the flesh of the working class has now been set in its place.

The profit system starves millions. The profit system foments wars. The profit system creates hundreds of thousands of criminals, whom it thrusts into foul prisons where they labor, go insane and die.

These crimes against humanity are degenerating our race and preventing civilization.

The culminating crime is now being accomplished by the trusts. Upon first thought it does not appear in all its naked meanness and wickedness. It seems to have to do with property alone. The human aspect appears only upon second thought.

The facts are briefly as follows: The Morgan Banking Syndicate loaned to the government of Brazil \$50,000,000. As payment for interest, perhaps principal also, it was guaranteed the Brazilian government's share of the coffee crop. This share amounts to, in at least many cases of large land holdings, one-third of the whole harvest. This year the crop was immense, unprecedented. The part which the Brazilian government had to turn over to the Morgan Syndicate is reported to have amounted to 6,000,000 bags, four hundred pounds in a bag. This was enough to give 26 pounds to each inhabitant of the United States. To have offered this for sale in the market it would have reduced the price so low that for once each citizen in the world might have had all the real coffee they wanted. But it is cheaper for the trust to sell chickory, dried pigs' liver, etc., in place of coffee. Under the old competitive system, when the workers had heaped up products which they were too poor to buy back, there was always a panic. The trust can prevent a panic and increase profits at the same time. How? By throwing the surplus food into the sea while the hungry workers who produced it look on and starve.

Where the trust has developed a monopoly it is quite possible for it, within certain limits, to control prices. With 6,000,000 bags of coffee at the bottom of the Atlantic Ocean, it is possible for the trust to make bigger profits than with 6,000,000 more bags of coffee for sale for profits in the markets of the world. And this in the presence of soaring prices, unemployment and the actual starvation of unemployed and over-worked alike.

The universal excuse given by capitalism for the profit system has been that both Labor and Capital have been paid for their services—that profits became new capital and that labor was thus again employed. What excuse can the defender of the profit system offer for the wanton destruction of the bounties of nature—the product of labor—the necessities of life?

Prices continue to rise. Wages do not rise. Let it be told the workers in every nook and cranny of the land that while they and their families have not enough to eat that the plutocratic system commands them to destroy with their own hands the food they have produced lest they get too much of it back again at too low a price.

If any act of capitalism ever merited an investigation and nation-wide attention this does. We hope that Comrade Berger will honor himself and serve the cause by making one of his first acts at the opening of the new session of Congress the introduction of a bill providing for an investigation of this matter. Let the plutocratic agents in Congress vote it down if they will. They will get their answer from the Socialist Party during the next campaign.

Is any further argument needed to prove to the deaf, dumb and blind that the machine process permits the workers to provide enough and to spare for all? Who dares say that poverty is longer necessary? Who dares oppose a shorter work day? How long will the proposition of the social ownership of the earth and the machines be opposed by a working class enslaved like beasts of burden in the industries and hounded like vermin from the feast their labor has provided?

ON THE ROAD.

Dear Comrades:

The steady struggle for existence forces me to change my address again. The most important "tools" a mechanic needs in the wilderness of "progressive" California are blankets. When will there be a law passed that will force the railroad companies to furnish for the workers clean beds and clean grub? Yours,

PAUL PETERS.

(Old address, Auburn, Cal.) Willows, Cal.

SECONDS CALL FOR CONVENTION.

Branch Sawtelle seconds the motion of Branch Oakland for a State convention.

Yours for the Revolution.

B. E. EASTHAM,
Correspondent.

REVOLT

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VOTE FOR SOCIALIST AND ONLY FOR SOCIALIST CANDIDATES ON NOV. 7.

To avoid fusion, to rebuke trading, to nullify compromise, VOTE FOR THE SOCIALIST CANDIDATES at the election on Tuesday, November 7th.

To vote for straight Socialists is easy NOW. Look at your sample ballots. See that blank line for each office to be voted for. That blank line after the names, Fickert and Hathorn, under the heading, District Attorney, is for the voter who refuses to vote for either the OFFICIAL nominees on the official ballot. Courts have decided that the voter cannot be prevented from voting for his own choice, regardless of the printed names. In other words, no law can take away a voter's privilege of making his own nomination and selection; the law merely favors such candidates as legally qualified for the official nomination—it favors them by having their names printed on the official ballot; other candidates have to have their names written in. That is what the blank line stands for—the voter's choice, in case he does not wish to vote for the official or regular candidates.

Insidious efforts, as well as open attempts, to seduce or cajole Socialist voters into voting for capitalist candidates are being made. Among other things it is said that "you can't vote for the Socialist candidates." The statement that you can't vote for Socialist candidates for District Attorney, Auditor, Sheriff, Coroner, and ALL the 18 Socialist Supervisors, is an absolute falsehood for the sake of fusion.

Let every Socialist voter read again the platform of the Socialist party—adopted and readopted by the convention and again by the mass meeting of the party:

"We, the members of the Socialist party of San Francisco, in convention assembled, proclaim ourselves an integral part of the International Socialist movement. We stand in absolute antagonism to the capitalist class and to every candidate of that class, including the candidates of the so-called Union Labor party.

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

The duty of every Socialist, therefore, is to write in the name of the following Socialist candidates on his ballot on Tuesday, November 7th:

District Attorney—EMIL LIESS.
Auditor—A. K. GIFFORD.
Sheriff—THOS. J. MOONEY.
Coroner—DR. M. B. RYER.

Supervisors

ROLLAR ALLEN CHAS. LEHMAN
EDW. W. BENDER OLAF MORK
GEORGE BOSTEL CHAS. PRESTON
DAVE CAMPBELL ERNEST L. REGUIN
K. J. DOYLE JOHN M. REYNOLDS
MARTIN EAGAN GEO. STYCHE
LOUIS FORTIN SELIG SCHULBERG
C. W. HOGUE L. VANALSTINE
ROBT. LARKINS W. E. WALKER

DEATH CLAIMS STALWART REVOLTER.

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

The death of Leslie Brown removes one of the straightest and most stalwart fighters in the movement on the Pacific Coast. To his influence the wide-spread sorrow not only among the revolutionary element, but among others not generally in sympathy with the movement, abundantly testifies. One of the prominent politicians in town, a man who is bitterly opposed to the Socialist movement, remarked to the writer, "I am sorry that Brown is dead. I did not agree with him, but he was a man."

That is the keynote to Brown's life. He was a man in the full sense of the word. He had a man's weakness, and a man's strength. His very follies were essentially manly follies, his virtues were transcendently manly.

His magnificent physique; he was a bigger man than Haywood, impressed all. He was strong, and had a justified pride in the beauty and strength which had been his as a youth. His temper was the proverbially amiable temper of the giant. Only once in my knowledge did he ever strike a blow in anger, and that was under the severest provocation. That one blow, however, disposed of the offender who was taken away in an ambulance.

Night after night he spoke on the streets of Oakland and San Francisco for years. It is very doubtful if Socialist theory was ever better expressed in popular terms than by Brown. It is certain at all events that no other man in the country, perhaps in the world, has delivered a

series of such brilliant street speeches as he poured out for the Oakland proletariat. This must not be understood as the exaggerated praise with which we are wont to decorate the corpses of our departed. Leslie Brown indeed was exceptionally gifted. He had a beautiful voice, his knowledge of classical literature was unusually wide; he could quote the masters aptly and effectively and he had a fund of good humored railery and catching human wit.

He was never bitter, never cynical, but frequently sad.

Like many huge men he had a gentle and tender heart. He was easily wounded, and exceedingly sensitive, so that the not ill meant roughnesses of those for whom he fought frequently hurt him. As I knew him and had his confidence his essential sweetness and delicacy of feeling seem to have been his most striking qualities, those and his broad Falstaffian humor, his strength, power and virility.

As a Socialist he belonged to the "impossibilist wing." He was a strong industrial unionist and of late ceased to have any great sympathy with the political "cow traders" of the movement. A modest fighter in the ranks, he asked nothing for himself save the opportunity to serve.

Recognition of his effectiveness appeared in the sorrowing crowd of comrades who met on Sunday afternoon to bid all that remained of him farewell, and to pledge anew their fealty to the cause, for which he fought, and for which he might be said to have died.

CLASS CONSCIOUS JUDGE IN ACTION.

Bordwell Fixing Things So that J. B. McNamara Can Be Legally Murdered.

(By National Socialist Press.)

LOS ANGELES, Cal., Oct. 31.—By his action in refusing to disqualify A. C. Winter and Walter N. Frampton as jurymen, Judge Bordwell has convinced the organized working class that the chances of getting a fair jury for the trial of J. B. McNamara are most remote.

Bordwell's decision amazed the attorneys for the defense and everyone else in the courtroom with the possible exception of District Attorney John D. Fredericks.

Clarence Darrow halted proceedings the day previous by demanding that the challenge of Venireman Winter be passed on by the court. He explained that he wanted the records to show the action of the court.

Bordwell sought to rebuke Darrow but the attorney stood firm and said, "We ask that the court now pass upon the challenges we have interposed against Mr. Winter and Mr. Frampton. Neither of them, in my opinion, should be kept in the jury box a minute. I object to their mixing with the other jurors."

Bordwell stiffened on the bench and said coldly that the challenges would be acted on the following day.

"Then we refuse to go on. I intend to have the record completed," said Darrow defiantly.

District Attorney Fredericks, who has difficulty in keeping track of the proceedings, was bewildered. Darrow cleared up affairs for the dull-minded prosecutor by saying that they would read their refusal to proceed into the record and then, when compelled by the judge to proceed, as they knew they would be, have the record show that they did so under protest, which would be a most important point should it ever be necessary to have the result of this trial reviewed by an appellate court.

The examination of Winter developed that he was violently prejudiced against organized labor; that he believed the defendant guilty; that he wanted the defendant to PROVE HIS INNOCENCE.

The examination was as follows:

Q. By Mr. Scott (defense)—Mr. Winter, you were interested in the strike of the wholesale butchers some six years ago, weren't you?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Were you a wholesale butcher or retail butcher?

A. I was a retail butcher.

Q. You helped out the wholesalers in that strike, didn't you?

A. I was president of the retail butchers' Board of Trade at the time.

Q. You took off your coat and went down there and helped them out, didn't you?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. And helped break the strike, didn't you?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. Is it true that after one of those experiences, that some crowd tried to mob you, or assault you with rotten eggs, and one thing and another?

A. Well, there used to be things coming my way, but I didn't know who threw them.

Q. You didn't care to make the acquaintance of the things that were flying your way, did you?

A. They come—that is all I know. I don't know as I could identify anyone that done it, or anything of that sort.

Q. Well, you put it up as a part of the policy of the union men?

A. There was some lawless element in that union.

Q. You made some speeches during that strike?

A. I don't know that I did.

Q. You made some speeches after that strike, about two years ago, at the Merchants' Exchange here?

A. I never knew I could make a speech.

Q. How was that?

A. I might have talked on the subject.

Q. That was in opposition to the labor unions?

A. In our business—yes, sir.

Q. Well, you expressed yourself rather bitterly at that time against labor unions as they affected your business, didn't you?

A. Yes, sir.

Q. You have that opinion now?

A. Yes, sir. I still have the opinion some in the unions that are out to win, anyway they want to win.

Q. In that talk you made two years ago you said that the unions ought to have been driven out of the city, didn't you?

A. I don't recall, I don't think so.

Q. Do you say that you did not make any such statement as that?

A. Well, I don't think so.

Q. In this case don't you know from the fact that the defendant is a labor union man you would lean a little more to the theory that he was guilty to this act of violence?

A. Well, I might, but of course if I went into the jury box he would be handicapped by that opinion; that is, he WOULD HAVE TO PROVE TO ME THAT HE IS ENTIRELY INNOCENT.

Mr. Scott—We renew the challenge, your Honor, for the cause specified already by Mr. Davis.

Mr. Fredericks—Oh, I think this man's frame of mind has been fully brought out. It is clearly within the statute. I don't see any use going over it again.

The Court—Mr. Winter, if you were a juror in this case, who would have to present this proof to establish the guilt of the defendant?

A. Why, the State would have to prove that he was guilty.

Q. They would have to prove it by evidence presented by the jury in the court room, wouldn't they?

A. Certainly, yes sir.

Q. And if the State failed to satisfy your mind by such proof beyond a reasonable doubt that this defendant was guilty, what would you do when you came to render your verdict?

A. If the State could not prove the case?

Q. Yes?

A. I would say he was not guilty.

Q. And in determining what your verdict would be upon the evidence presented to you here in the court room, if you were a juror, would you be influenced in any degree whatever by any experience that you had with unions or any feeling that you may have had regarding them?

A. Well, I could not lay that aside altogether. There would be that feeling here that they are people that would do that. If they could prove to my satisfaction THAT THEY DID NOT DO IT, why I would render my verdict accordingly.

Q. Would you require the defendant to prove he WAS NOT GUILTY, or would you require the State to prove that he was guilty before you rendered a verdict?

A. THE DEFENDANT WOULD HAVE TO PROVE THAT HE WAS NOT GUILTY.

Q. What?

A. THE DEFENDANT WOULD HAVE TO PROVE HE WAS NOT GUILTY or the State would have to prove that he was guilty. I would weigh the evidence and act on my own judgment.

Judge Bordwell then declined to excuse the juror on the challenge for cause and on the following day Winter was seated in the jury box and nothing short of a peremptory challenge will dislodge him.

Scores of attorneys were astonished by Bordwell's action and all declare that when such matters go before a court of appeal a reversal is inevitable.

Darrow has taken care to keep the record straight in these matters but his bitter disappointment at the action of Bordwell could not be concealed.

Judge Bordwell further refused to allow Clarence Darrow five minutes to discuss the ruling. It was his intention to get his remarks on the record. Later on when LeCompte Davis came into the courtroom and asked for a few minutes time to speak or to ask Winter a few questions, Bordwell boiled over and curtly refused.

Bordwell's decision caused much gloom in labor circles, as it was taken to indicate that the judge was determined on a certain course that bodes ill for the defendants.

Clarence Darrow said that the attempt to get the "evidence" in the hands of Indiana authorities and send it to Los Angeles in charge of United States authorities showed how hard pressed were the local authorities in the case. It indicated why they were so anxious to get a labor hating jury.

Burns and Fredericks have been exchanging scores of telegrams every day and the plea for possession of the "exhibits" which Burns has framed up are most agonizing.

"The prosecution has even a poorer case than we had expected," said Job Harriman. "They seem to be hard pressed."

The prosecutors were elated over their victory in getting biased jurors in the box. They hope to exhaust the pre-emptory challenges of the defense, then send into the box the men whom they know can be depended on to convict the workers.

TRIBUTE TO LESLIE BROWN.

The Socialists of the Bay Cities met on Sunday, October 29th, to pay a last tribute of respect to Leslie Brown, who had died of heart failure on Thursday, October 26th. The attendance was large, and genuine sorrow was evident. Many brought floral offerings. The coffin was covered by a huge Red Flag.

Speeches were made by Abe Herschen, Fellow-worker R. L. Brazell of the I. W. W., William Costley, Selig Schulberg, and Austin Lewis. The proceedings closed with the singing of the "Marseillaise" and the "Red Flag." Miss Carlsen furnished the music.

HARRIMAN LEADS.

Following are the complete returns for Mayor at the primaries in Los Angeles:

Harriman 20,157
Alexander 16,790
Mushet 8,168
Gregory 327
Becker (Socialist-Labor) 59
Harriman's plurality 3,367
Lacking for majority 4,188

RUSSIAN COMRADES DEMAND REPRESENTATION.

The Socialist movement is fast growing all over the world; in the places where a few years ago there was a lone Socialist, now there is a Local with a strong membership.

With the movement going ahead, old systems of handling it must be changed.

With the defeat of the "Union Labor Party," workers will abandon hope in their "leader-politician," with their doctrine of "brotherhood between Capital and Labor," and if the workers will really want to change the unbearable existing conditions, they naturally will reorganize craft unions into strictly working-class organizations, then they will demand of Socialists to show them what they know about Socialism.

Socialist organizations in this city can not serve as an example of ideal organization of working classes; there is no solidarity among them, nor understanding.

San Francisco Local of the Socialist Party does injustice to language branches whenever it acts in the name of the Socialist Party of San Francisco, because not a single language branch is represented there.

Hundreds of true Socialists are deprived of the Socialist movement because they can not express themselves in English.

Something must be done, and the Russian Local of the Socialist Party presents an initiative in the form of a resolution, copy of which is sent to every Socialist organization in San Francisco.

Comrades, it's up to you to act, if you agree with the Russian Local; elect your delegate at once, and inform our secretary of the same, whose address is: K. Puzewich, 3475 Seventeenth street, San Francisco.

Resolution.

Whereas, The Socialist movement in San Francisco is directed by the Local of the Socialist Party through its Campaign Committee; and

Whereas, Moral responsibility of its action falls upon all organized Socialists of San Francisco;

Resolved, That we, the Russian Local of the Socialist Party, protest against such non-democratic conditions, and demand representation for all Socialist language branches on Campaign Committee, with right of voice and vote.

N. ELLERT, Chairman.
K. PUZEWICH, Secretary.
(Ordered published in REVOLT.)

DUNCAN SPEAKS FOR ONE BIG UNION IN LOS ANGELES.

I am not much of a success at getting subs for anything, but will make an effort to get them for REVOLT.

Tremendous crowds attending the campaign meetings. Mayor Duncan, of Butte, makes a good impression. In his speech on the 25th he said: "The sentiment in Butte is of a revolutionary character and for industrial organization. The Socialists there are all of that type. I do not know one in Butte but is of that kind. They all look to the organization of The One Big Union to completely dominate the labor interest of this country and make effective the demands of labor." These statements elicited mild (not wild) applause, even in a Los Angeles campaign meeting.

Yours for the revolution,
GEORGIA KOTSCH.

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At Brewery Workers' Hall

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Every dollar contributed now will count doubly in the saving of expense and the upbuilding of REVOLT'S subscription list.

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 stand in absolute antagonism to the Capitalist Class and to every candidate of that class, including the candidates of the so-called Union Labor Party.

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. We realize, however, that all such measures are only a part of the legislation needed by labor in its daily warfare with capitalism, and we pledge ourselves to every remedial measure that will aid the workers industrially or politically, or in any way advance the cause of man against mammon, human life against graft and greed, of freedom of thought and speech and deed against every device of the despoiler and the despot. We pledge our candidates to the following measures:

- 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.

VOTE

FOR

SOCIALIST

CANDIDATES

MISSING OR DELAYED PAPERS.

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

WHERE TO GO.

Regular mass meeting of Local San Francisco at Fifteenth and Mission streets, the first Monday in each month, 8:15 p. m. Educational meetings on all other Monday nights.

Women's Committee of the Socialist Party, every Tuesday night in Jefferson Square Hall, 925 Golden Gate Avenue.

Wednesday evening dances (resumed), under the auspices of the Women's Committee of the Socialist Party, Franklin Hall, 1881 Fillmore Street.

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.

LOCAL ST. LOUIS, SOCIALIST PARTY.

Central Trades and Labor Union Headquarters, 3535 Pine Street, St. Louis, Mo.

The Controversy of 1909-1910, and the Present State of Party Affairs in St. Louis and Missouri.

Dear Comrades: We will not tire you with full details, but will give as briefly as we can the true facts of the Missouri situation.

A few men had for years tried to rule the former St. Louis Local with a high hand. Any member who dared to dispute their arbitrary acts was promptly expelled without any pretense of a trial. On one occasion they expelled in this manner an entire Ward Branch of 32 members, all earnest, active Socialists.

On account of their intolerant and outrageous methods, many good members quit in disgust and numerous other sincere Socialists refused to join the Local.

The climax came in the campaign of the St. Louis city election of April, 1909, when party laws and principles were thrown to the winds. (On the last page of this circular is a facsimile of the official ballot of that election.)

Three men, none of whom had ever been party members, were placed on the Socialist ticket, one of them being a well-known Democratic politician.

G. A. Hoehn, a local member, after being placed on the Socialist ticket, had his name appear on an "Independent" ticket, and was himself mainly instrumental in getting up said "Independent" ticket and having it placed on the official ballot.

Dr. Emil Simon, a member of the local, who had been put on the Socialist ticket as a candidate for the Board of Education, was afterwards nominated for the same office by the Republicans. Dr. Simon claims this was done without his consent, but the fact remains that he made no effort to have his name stricken from the Republican ticket. In fact, he, G. A. Hoehn, Wm. M. Brandt and others of the self-appointed leaders of the local, were jubilant over the prospect of a Socialist (?) being elected to office, even though on a Republican ticket.

The Republicans were working hard to oust the then Democratic city administration and were trying to capture Socialist votes. In this they were eminently successful, for the Socialist party vote, which was about 5000 in November, 1908, dropped to less than 3000 in April, 1909. In G. A. Hoehn's own ward this drop was 600 votes, the Republicans gaining just about that number in that ward.

The Republicans carried the city and Dr. Simon was elected along with the other Republican candidates. If, as he tries to make it appear, he could not get his name taken off the Republican ticket, no power on earth should have forced him to accept the Republican city position to which he was elected entirely by Republican votes. But he did accept it, and as it was for four years, is holding it to this day.

This lawless work was put through by the executive board of the Local, no general meetings being held during the entire campaign. When the minority members of the board strongly objected to these shameful violations of party laws, they were told "If these are violations we will fight it out after the election." That is what we did. All sorts of obstacles were placed in the way of those who tried to discipline the offenders, but finally charges were placed before the State Committee, which at that time consisted of only nine members, seven of whom voted on same. Three of these seven were St. Louis members, who were included in the charges, but they, with the assistance of others of their same class, dismissed the charges against themselves and their fellow-violators. Otto Pauls, then State Secretary, and the State Local Quorum, all of them members of the St. Louis Local and all under charges, helped this fine work along.

A Change Takes Place. In December, 1909, R. R. Ristine, of Joplin, Mo., was elected State Secretary and the state office was moved to Joplin.

Soon after this Locals in the State started State Referendum "A," 1910, which consisted of two motions. No. 1. That the State Local Quorum select a committee of five disinterested Party members, all living outside of St. Louis, to meet in St. Louis, investigate the charges against Local St. Louis, and then submit their findings to another State Referendum, which would follow. No. 2. Shall the members of Local St. Louis, now divided into two factions, plaintiff and defendant, be allowed to vote, and thus act as jurors in this, their own trial?

The defendant faction was allowed to vote in this referendum, did vote, and their votes were counted. But the plaintiff faction could not vote at all, as Otto Kaemmerer, then Secretary of Local St. Louis, and one of Hoehn's chief supporters, had refused to sell them due stamps or recognize them in any way. The vote of the entire State, including the St. Louis votes, overwhelmingly decided that no one

in St. Louis could vote in their own trial, and the St. Louis votes were therefore excluded on Motion No. 1, not by any arbitrary act of the State Quorum, as the St. Louis defendant faction tried to make it appear, but because so ordered by this referendum, the highest court of the Party in the State.

The Local Quorum then selected a committee of five prominent members, one each from five of the largest Locals in the State. This committee came to St. Louis June 18, 1910, and after three days' impartial investigation unanimously recommended that the charter of Local St. Louis be revoked and that G. A. Hoehn, L. E. Hildebrand, Wm. M. Brandt, Dr. Emil Simon, Otto Pauls, Otto Kaemmerer and others, eleven in all, be debarred from the Party for one year.

This was submitted as Referendum "E" which closed August 10, 1910, the vote being 408 yes, 86 no, no one in St. Louis being allowed to vote. The charter of the former Local was therefore revoked August 11, 1910, and the present Local organized in St. Louis and given a charter.

An effort was made in September, 1910, to appeal from this action of the State to the National body, and a few Locals which had been somewhat friendly to the old St. Louis regime, started State Referendum "F," which was defeated by 595 to 194. Local St. Louis (this time the new Local), not being allowed to vote. Sec. 4, Art. XII, National Constitution, plainly declares that each organized State shall have sole control over its own membership, and that the National organization "shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective State organizations." The Missouri membership having in Referendum "F" declared in the most decisive manner that they considered the whole matter closed, that should have settled the question.

Now these St. Louis persons who have been out of the party for over a year, have the brazen audacity to contest the regular election of State Party officers of December, 1910, claiming that said election was illegal because their votes in State Referendum "A" of April, 1910, were arbitrarily and illegally excluded by the State Secretary and Local Quorum.

They also say that they were not allowed to vote in the State Party election of December, 1910. The fact is that knowing they had no right to vote in such election, they made no effort to do so. Their whole argument being so utterly absurd, you may wonder why the N. E. C. paid any attention to it. The acceptance of their petition and orders for a Missouri Party election was not the work of the entire N. E. C. It was the work of only two members, Comrades Berger and Hillquist, whose friendliness towards G. A. Hoehn and the others of that small group who were actually barred out, has been of a personal nature. At the N. E. C. meeting, August 14, 1911, when the petition was accepted, six of the seven N. E. C. members were present, but only the two above named voted favorably, one other strongly opposed and voted against it, the rest not voting at all.

So you see, Comrades, that if this National Referendum carries, it means placing in the hands of two members of the N. E. C. the power to override our Party laws and make a farce of State autonomy in Party affairs.

We have no personal quarrel with these two comrades, but we do feel that they made a grave mistake in this matter.

An appeal was taken to the National Committee from this decision of the N. E. C. and that higher court, composed of representative Party members of every State, promptly overruled the N. E. C. and prevented it from carrying on this uncalculated election of State Party officers in Missouri. Comrades, we ask you to stand by the decision of your National Committee. Vote NO on National Referendum "D," which is now before you.

Conclusion. After being barred out of the Party, the former St. Louis dictators began to print stamps bearing a close resemblance to the genuine Party due stamps, which were well calculated to deceive the unwary.

These stamps they have been selling at 25 cents each to the uninformed who are led to believe that such stamps actually make them members of our National Socialist Party. They have carried this deception further by placing these spurious stamps on genuine Party red cards which they evidently had on hand when their charter was revoked. Many who were tricked in this way have joined our Local when they found out the truth. Soon after receiving its charter, our Local, believing that most of those who had remained with the former Local until its dissolution, were all heart sincere Socialists, invited all such to again become members of the Party. A large number have done so and are good, active members of our Local.

The former dictators of the old St. Louis regime have continually tried to injure our Local by all sorts of misstatements and abuse, but have only lost more of their former adherents by such methods.

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We have paid little attention to them, but now that this ancient corpse has been taken from its grave and placed before you in this Referendum for final disposition, we ask you to vote NO, and thereby bury it to stay buried for all time.

Our Local has been accused of having neglected to put a ticket in the field in the St. Louis city election of April, 1911. Our accusers well know that the election commissioners do not consider our dues-paying Party organization at all, and will only do business with the city central committee, who must be elected at the primary election, which is held every two years. The last primary was held in 1910, while the former Local yet had its charter and was in full control of the election machinery of the Party. Don't worry. The city central committee elected in 1912 will be composed of Party members.

The expelled fusion leaders also tried to claim credit for the large Socialist vote in this city in the April, 1911, city election. Much of this was, no doubt, due to the more general awakening of the working class to the necessity of independent political action. We believe we are safe in saying that whatever of this increase was due to local propaganda work can be placed to the credit of our Local, which had kept up a continuous agitation in the way of lectures we had the Chicago Daily Socialist Lyceum Course, Eugene Debs, to an audience of over 5000; Kirkpatrick, Ries, Hayward, Rev. Wm. A. Ward, and others of national reputation.

We have also kept at it all summer, principally with street meetings. Of those from outside our city, we had McAllister here for five weeks. Our Local's own staff of over a dozen soap-boxers were also busy all over the city all summer.

Our women members have not been idle. They originated the Universal Scouts of Freedom, to combat the Boy Scout movement, and are spreading it all over the country.

Believing that the true facts herein contained will appeal to your sense of justice, and hoping that you will vote NO on this Referendum, we are, Yours for Socialism,

LOCAL ST. LOUIS, SOCIALIST PARTY. H. J. STEIGERWALT, Sec., 3557 Olive St.

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