



THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

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WHOLE NO. 52.

OUR BIRTHDAY

Revolt Will Live---Review of the Year

By CLOUDESLEY JOHNS.

One year ago to-day REVOLT was born. It was not an easy birth, and required a sort of caesarean operation to bring it into being. Many of those who for long had been advocating a merely political movement based on sentimentality, designed to induct some lovely professional gentlemen with bell-toned or Clara Morris voices into some nice office where they could solve the class problem in accordance with their own sweet ideals of ladylike behavior, hoped it was still-born. They predicted that it would prove to be so, and snickered and sneered, and made sardonic pretense of appearing to be sorry for the poor thing.

Within two weeks they were screeching with rage and shrieking, "Liar! Nothing but lies!" with truly Rooseveltian fervor and animus. Occasionally they comforted themselves with eager predictions that REVOLT was doomed to die within the month.

Meanwhile REVOLT, first sent to the printers when the board of directors had in cash ten dollars less than enough to pay for the first issue, fought its way on and on, issue after issue, each made possible by the devoted service of men and women who believe in Socialism and that something must be done to guide the Socialist party back into the Socialist movement, uttering its warning cry against the proposed fusion of the party with the fake labor party of San Francisco. Indignantly the charge was denied by Harriman (and by Meriam and others for Harriman) with a degree of excitement which really never is aroused by any charge that is not gallingly true. The very fury of the galled jades was sufficient proof of the truth of REVOLT'S charges against them, and since then full admission has been made by the plotters, the leaders brazenly defending their schemes on the ground that success would mean the easiest and quickest way of getting themselves elected to office; Meriam and Cantrell, erstwhile Harriman defenders and frenzied shouters of the "shorter and uglier word" at the struggling REVOLT, abandoning the chief political plotter in panic, and seeking desperately to save their faces with the rank and file of the Socialist party. That story has been told fully, but it never would have been told until the plot had been carried out if it had not been for REVOLT.

At the same time, before the supporters of the principle of Industrial Unionism as the most vital and necessary part of the Socialist movement had been given the encouragement of the working class victories in the Liverpool dock strike and railroad strike, the coal strike and the American class strike at Lawrence under the direction of the I. W. W., REVOLT urged that Socialists must support the principle and the Socialist party must recognize its meaning in the Socialist movement if the party was to function as a genuine force in the movement.

Sneering and jeering, the mere political worshippers waited impatiently for REVOLT to die. Heroic work was done to keep it alive (I can hear the echo of the sneers and jeers again at this!), but splendid encouragement was given us. Eugene V. Debs, William D. Haywood, Charles Edward Russell, Jack London, William English Walling, Gustavus Meyers, Mary E. Marcy, Robert Rives La Monte, Rose Pastor Stokes, Charles H. Kerr, Frank Bohn, Odon Por. Lucien Saniel, Rose Strunsky and many other Socialist writers of international reputation, sent us words of cheer and approval, as well as articles for REVOLT and money to help keep it alive. Austin Lewis, recognized by those who really know as the greatest scientific historical Socialist writer in America, was with us from the first, and many other writers of marked ability (Roswell R. Brownson, Clarence Meily, Georgia Kotsch, Hugo Lenz, Caroline Nelson, William McDevitt, Donald D. Horne, Dorothy Johns, Selig Schulberg and many more), were especially identified with REVOLT from the beginning—such a list of contributors as no other weekly Socialist paper ever had in anything near an equal period.

In the past year nearly \$3000 has been gathered, at a personal sacrifice which few can realize, and expended (not in fat salaries to renegade Socialists to help a "State paper" turn the organization into a craft union political party) in keeping REVOLT going out each week with its message of courage and warning to the true Socialists of California.

There were dark days. Once John Murray, Harriman's editor of the State paper and former

(Continued on page 3.)

GLORY OF LABOR

The Proletarian Spirit of Revolt Is Rampant

RED FLAG HEADS POWERFUL ORGANIZED AND INFORMED ARMY OF WORKERS

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

The now general observance of May Day marks the growth of the real proletarian spirit. May Day is the holiday of the intransigents—the uncompromising foes of the present capitalist system, the implacable enemies of all in the way of the real triumph of the toilers. Other labor days may be and, indeed, are but the festivals of those who are satisfied with today, who hug their slavery and are grateful for a little relief. On May Day we see in review the armies of the militant proletariat.

On this day the true proletarian stands forth. He recognizes no fellowship, but the fellowship of Labor; he knows no end but the triumph of labor. Craft distinctions vanish. The petty little superiorities which tend to divide the workers and are so many obstacles against the advance of labor disappear in the solidarity and unity necessarily predicated by the day. Hence the aristocracy of labor has no part in its observance. Only those who can divest themselves of the snobbishness of comfortable slaves will take part in the parades and the demonstrations of the first of May.

Acclaimed by the Socialist movement in its early and more honorable days the May Day Festival acquired distinction. The bourgeois and aristocracies of the old world shivered as the annual celebration discovered a stronger development of the forces of the working class. But as the political ambitions of Socialist political leaders developed and as the fear of alienating the support of the craft officials took a stronger hold upon the imaginations and the ambitions of these leaders, the May Day celebration began to lose its significance, and in many places actually disappeared. A shivering and dishonorable cowardice took the place of the ever necessary boldness of the revolutionary movement. Thus the importance of the May Day celebration dwindled and its observance became less usual. It fell with the spirit of the sturdy proletarianism which had marked its beginning. It seemed likely to be strangled by the weight of officialism and political ambition.

But there were always those who kept it alive. Honest souls who refused to bow the knee to the dominant Baal, enthusiasts who in spite of degeneracy and cowardice still found themselves dreaming the dreams of the revolution met in small halls and held their small picnics and dances. Through years of discouragement, of betrayal and bitter disillusionment they persisted. They never lost grasp of the great idea. They struggled against the crushing weight of popular opposition and the still more dispiriting evidences of cowardice and treason in the ranks of those who seemed to march under the same banner with themselves. But they persisted, having the invincible faith of the propagandist.

And they have been gloriously rewarded. The proletarian spirit of revolt is again rampant. The most sanguine of us never even dreamed of the splendor of the new rising of labor. With the new rising came the new anthem. France, which had given the bourgeois the Marseillaise gave the proletariat the Internationale, the great song of May Day, the song of hope, the song of spring, the great new song which makes its way round the world and voices the new feeling of international solidarity.

International solidarity—that is the dominant note of the May Day celebration. In face of that proclamation all others seem weak and futile. The international solidarity of labor means nothing less than the conquest of the earth; it has no less significance than the victory of the working class everywhere. It signifies that the working class can no longer be divided by national and racial lines; that differences of race, of caste, of religion, are all as naught when confronted by the one great and indelible fact that the interests of the working class are everywhere identical as against the spoilers. That Jap and American, Englishman and German, Italian and Austrian, in spite of the machinations of politicians and the intrigues of labor leaders have one cause, one identical fight against the common enemy, one glorious and world embracing goal. This is at once the most wonderful and comprehensive fact of the present day, this growth of the international spirit of the solidarity

of labor. Beside it the futilities of bourgeois peace congresses, the stupidities of professional charity-mongers, the elaborate and hypocritical courtesies of official statesmanship are essentially cheap and vulgar.

Formerly the day of the resolute weak, May Day becomes more and more the day of the unconquerably strong. Ever the Red Flag heads a more powerful, a better organized, and a better informed army. In San Francisco year by year we mark its growth and its power, and the growth in San Francisco is only typical of the growth of the movement everywhere.

THE INTERNATIONALE.

(Translated by Charles H. Kerr.)

Arise, ye prisoners of starvation!
Arise, ye wretched of the earth,
For justice thunders condemnation,
A better world's in birth.
No more tradition's chains shall bind us,
Arise, ye slaves! no more in thrall!
The earth shall rise on new foundations,
We have been naught, we shall be all.

'Tis the final conflict,
Let each stand in his place,
The Internationale
Shall be the human race.

We want no condescending saviors,
To rule us from a judgment hall;
We workers ask not for their favors;
Let us consult for all.
To make the thief disgorge his booty
To free the spirit from its cell,
We must ourselves decide our duty,
We must decide and do it well.

The law oppresses us and tricks us,
Wage systems drain our blood;
The rich are free from obligations,
The laws the poor delude.
Too long we've languished in subjection,
Equality has other laws;
"No rights," says she, "without their duties,
No claims on equals without cause."

Behold them seated in their glory,
The kings of mine and rail and soil!
What have you read in all their story,
But how they plundered toil?
Fruits of the people's work are buried
In the strong coffers of a few;
In working for their restitution
The men will only ask their due.

BIG, STIRRING TIMES AHEAD.

Stamford, Conn., April 13, 1912.

Dear Comrades of REVOLT:

I am so grieved to see the splendid fighting paper, REVOLT, dwindle down to two pages, and I wish with all my heart that I could be instrumental in some large way in setting it on its feet again, but unfortunately, I cannot. The demands on Comrade Stokes and myself are much greater than our present means can meet. We send a very small contribution—merely as a good will offering, and our love and good wishes go with it. The movement is going forward so splendidly and there are big, wonderfully stirring times ahead.

Yours in the fight for Labor's freedom.

ROSE PASTOR STOKES.

THE MARTYRS OF FREEDOM.

They never fail who die
In a great cause; the block may soak their gore;
Their heads may sodden in the sun; their limbs
Be strung to city gate and castle walls—
But still their spirit walks abroad, though years
Elapse, and others share as dark a doom;
They but augment the deep and sweeping thoughts
Which overpower all others, and conduct
The world at last to freedom!

—Byron.

Look out! Morris Hillquit is about ready to build and fight like a tiger from behind barricades—he has lost a political job. Let's hope he will consider that he was fairly beaten for International Secretary, so that this "tigerish" business will be avoided at this time.

MAY DAY

Evolution of International Day of Labor

By CAROLINE NELSON.

May day has been celebrated by the workers from the most ancient time. It was a day when the children of toil betook themselves to the forest and field to forget their toil and to rejoice with nature in all her glory at the beginning of a new period. Our modern revolutionists in Europe took advantage of this day to promulgate their doctrine. Most of ancient festival days that the workers used to celebrate the capitalists took away from them in the name of virtuous thrift. They were so eager for profit. And they had their preachers and moral teachers tell the workers that the extra holidays led to vice and immorality. But May Day was too deeply rooted in the social psychology to be done away with. So that the workers at the present time celebrate in Europe their ancient festival day as Labor Day. What could be more fitting than that the new life of nature and that the beginning of a new age should be celebrated together?

In olden times in many countries May Day was celebrated for three days in succession. In fact, many festivals of the workers were celebrated for that length of time. It was indeed a poor couple who could not afford a three days feast when they had their wedding. In some out of the way places in the old world remnants of the olden times still linger in the customs of the people. And people born in those out of the way places know that instead of cheap theaters, nickelodeons, dance halls, saloons and other horrible places instituted to rob and degrade the worker, there was a time, not so long ago, when the workers came together in wholesome enjoyment in their own homes. True, in those feasts and festivals there was a great deal of drinking. But every drop of liquor was brewed by the women. It was pure. No ill effects followed. It was not like the poisonous stuff of to-day manufactured and sold for profit, incidentally ruining the mind and body of the worker, and filling the pocketbook of rich vampires who talk about charity and how to uplift the human race. It is a crime against ourselves to drink that stuff and it ought to be a penitentiary offense to brew it.

These ancient festival days were the source of good cheer and social strength among the common people. Nowadays we hear so much gush about no class distinction. The fact of the matter is that we never had an age where the workers have been so divided up into little cliques. Every trade and profession has its snobs and social superiors. In ancient times on feast days all the workers, the peasants and trades people came together on equal footing. Only the official and the nobility held aloof. We have lost a good deal more than our homes, with them we have lost the spirit of hope and cheer and innocent association.

Mr. Bliss, a parlor Socialist, in his encyclopedia of Social Reform, tells us that European authorities found that May Day celebrations led to riots and that therefore they had to do away with them in large cities. He did not tell us that thugs hired by the upper class were the cause of those riots. It was necessary to get an excuse to prevent the workers from coming together to learn about their own philosophy. But in spite of it the workers manage to hold their labor celebrations on May Day throughout Europe, to spread the philosophy by speeches and literature and increase the class-conscious host. Thus they undermine the present order of things and build the foundation of the new.

Here in America, by the pressure of the workers' demand the masters set aside a labor day in the fall. It has chiefly been a day of the trade unionists, who celebrated it as a day to picnic and parade in upper class style. Their orators have been selected from the masters. They have been preachers or university professors, who had not a smattering of working-class philosophy. All this, however, is beginning to change. The rank and file of the trade unionists begin to get class-conscious and demand something more than upper class respectable sermons in their orators.

The class-conscious workers in America have always insisted on celebrating May Day as the true Labor Day. And in the large cities parades in the evening through the principle streets have taken place. The Red Flag has not always been very conspicuous in these parades for various reasons, but last year in San Francisco a big Red Flag was carried in our May Day parade without the stars and stripes, and the police didn't even seem to ob-

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ject. We had a parade ten blocks long. But we need a whole day as labor day. In the evening thousands of workers are too tired to tramp the streets in a parade. Besides, it gives us no opportunity to mingle with the agricultural workers and the workers in the little towns. It is the beauty and significance of May Day celebrations in Europe, it brings the rural workers and the city workers together to discuss. We must do the same thing here in America. We must have the whole of May Day to ourselves. The evening is not enough. In our present labor day the agricultural worker is entirely left out. Thousands of them don't even know that there is such a thing as a Labor Day. In Europe on the other hand Labor Day is essentially a holiday of the rural population. He comes to town and is caught in the flow of revolutionary oratory and carries the "dynamite" home with him. But here in America, he has no part in the trade parades and their picnics. It is up to us to get a Labor Day for all the workers, where we can come together from the country and city. We have important matters to discuss. The workers in trade unions are not the most potent nor are they most susceptible to class consciousness. They are rather the least, and there is no reason why we should not go to work to compel the powers that be to recognize that May Day is the universal Labor Day the world over, and to use it for our propaganda.

The human being is a child of nature. At the season of the year when new life buds forth, he is most susceptible to new hope and new ideas and new convictions. That is one of the reasons why May Day is our Labor Day.

TWO OF A KIND.

"Long-haired preachers come out every night And tell us what's wrong and what's right."

The Rev. Dr. Alexander Irvine, a recent California acquisition, is indulging his soul in the manner that will lead to the further dismembering of the Socialist organization in the State of California. In the last issue of the "Party-Owned Social-Democrat," partially edited by the Rev. Alexander Irvine, he assumes to state what shall be the position of Socialists in the Class War.

In a lengthy review of the San Diego situation he tells us "what's wrong and what's right" for Socialists to do in conflicts with exploiters or their municipalities. "In a Union fight—all union men should be in it. In a Socialist fight the Socialists of California should be in it. If it is an I. W. W. fight purely, along I. W. W. lines * * * the I. W. W. should fight it out." The gentleman who is emulating the almost famous Napoleon, The Little, by writing a history of the life of Job Harriman. Napoleon, The Little, wrote a history "From the Palace of Tuileries in 1862 on the Life of Caesar." Napoleon, the Little's, books are very scarce. Two massive volumes did he produce on Caesar which no one has ever read. Now, the intellectual groom, Rev. Alexander Irvine, is indulging his vanity in writing a biography of Job Harriman, which no one will ever read. Napoleon, The Little, did not know personally the Caesar, but he aimed to emulate him and was a clown, so history records, to say the least. Alexander Irvine writes a history of the Job, knowing him personally, and trying to emulate him, remains a groom.

In an I. W. W. fight the Socialists should keep their hands off! Why? Did not the I. W. W. make a splendid fight in McKees' Rocks? Have they not made a glorious fight in Lawrence?

Have they not rekindled the fires of Revolution in many of the workers who had become tired of the political ambition of campaign managers and their candidates? The impression has been, and it has been correct, that the San Diego Free Speech fight was a question, not of the suppression of the I. W. W., but the prevention of the instilling in the minds of the working class, clear and rational ideas on the class war now raging in society. It is not for the Rev. Alexander Irvine to attempt to again dismember the united front of the struggling rebels of San Diego. Why does the Reverend Doctor who follows the Lowly Nazarene attempt to stab the working class in the back? Is that Christian? It is "Christian-Socialism" and harmonizes with the vulgar conception of the Socialist movement that stands primarily for political jobs and careers.

Alexander Irvine did not go to San Diego on a freight train. He did not go on the bumpers, on the rods, nor did he go on the blind of a passenger, nor did he hoof it there, but he went in company with Stanley B. Wilson, the editor of the "Citizen," the official organ of organized labor of Los Angeles, and the reactionary L. W. Butler, secretary of the Central Labor Council. These three gentlemen purchased first-class tickets or used passes, comfortably seated themselves on the cushions, avoided the vigilance committees that guarded the outskirts, went to San Diego, conferred with Stanley B. Wilson's relative, who chances to be the Chief of Police of San Diego, ascertained the error of the ways of the I. W. W.ites, by conversing with the enemies of the worker in general and the I. W. W. in particular. If the fifty-dollar-a-week Reverend Gentleman, Alexander Irvine, has earned anything by his attack on the I. W. W. at this time, when they are struggling along with others in a valiant fight against our mutual exploiters and their tyrants, he has well earned the contempt of the Socialist movement and the quicker he is canned from the editorship

of the official organ of the Socialists of California the better for the Socialist movement.

But not to be outdone, Stanley B. Wilson feverishly rushes to his desk upon his return to Los Angeles and pens a screecher that the wolfish Otis would be proud to father, against the San Diego Free Speech fight, and in large type prints it as the leader on the front page of the "labor paper," the "Citizen." Lest we forget, Stanley has done another game of rushing. One, Stanley, rushed to the police headquarters of the City of Los Angeles, for has he not a relative that is a chief of police, therefore his detective instincts are good, and when the "Times explosion" occurred it was up to Stanley to rush as fast as his pigmy soul would let him to the office of the police officials, as a midwife of "Justice," and in a sneaking manner intimate that one of his fellow unionists in the labor movement was the culprit. "Look out for Johannsen," Stanley warned the bulls. Even despite that treacherous act Wilson maintains the editorship of the "Citizen," and he says that the members of organized labor and the Socialist party (for he is also a "revolutionist" and belongs to the Socialist party), "should be careful and investigate every matter upon which they are appealed to for support." Intimating that there wasn't sufficient investigation on the part of organized labor and the Socialist party when they protested against the brutal, murderous attacks of the San Diego police and their vigilantes on the free speech fighters. Furthermore, Stanley says "That reeking reports were sent broadcast over the country depicting the most harrowing scenes of police brutality," all of which is untrue. There was no police brutality. Our poor old comrade, Michael Hoey, who died as a result of kicks administered in a prison cell, was a Christian Scientist and imagined that he was being kicked.

If anyone says that, a fireman's hose was turned on a crowd, gathered in a public meeting, they tell an untruth and the photographers that took the pictures of this incident are Theosophists and had mental visions. All the men who took affidavits to the brutality of the police were sending out "reeking reports and depicting harrowing scenes that never existed," for has not the pseudo gum-shoe man, Stanley B. Wilson, said that these reports were untrue? J. Edward Morgan smoked hop and had pipe-dreams.

In fact Editor Sauer never was kidnaped, he kidnaped himself; he tied a rope around his own neck, threatened to hang himself and Stanley B. Wilson along "with many others" smile when Sauer's name is mentioned.

The police have come to the conclusion in San Diego, and Stanley Wilson agrees with the conclusion of the police, "That no reputable person would be refused to speak outside a restricted district," and by a "reputable person" it meant Stanley B. Wilson, Alexander Irvine and others of that kidney, for the police are the judges of what constitutes a reputable person. A working man without a job, ragged and hungering, who yearns for a better day, who has not as yet been destroyed in his entirety, who wants to speak to air his grievances, is "disreputable" in the very nature of things. Well, what need be said? The time has come in the Socialist movement and in the Labor movement when they should vomit out the Stanley B. Wilsons, the Alexander Irvines, and all others who, when the mask is torn from them, appear to be what they are in actuality—enemies of the working class, masquerading as our friends and advisers. Goaded on by the Stanley B. Wilsons and the Rev. Alexander Irvines it might be possible to seduce the organized Socialists to desert the I. W. W. when engaged in warfare, but the militants of the Socialist movement, the militants of the labor movement, will continue to stand shoulder to shoulder and they will fight on despite the treachery of the Stanley B. Wilsons and the Alexander Irvines.

As we write these few lines word comes from Lawrence that William D. Haywood has been indicted on twenty-two counts. He is charged with conspiracy. These indictments against Haywood are eloquent in his behalf and in behalf of the policy of the I. W. W. generally. "Conspiracy" is the accusation against all who would do their share in putting an end to the barbarous struggle that wages in society. The Rev. Dr. Alex. Irvines and the Stanley B. Wilsons are always innocent of "conspiracy"; they are good barking lap-dogs and serve well in their chosen field of Moochers.

To close this, there is just one thing. The rank and file of the American Federation of Labor will never turn down the struggling I. W. W. man; the rank and file of the Socialist party will not throw down the I. W. W. man. Our leaders, can do as they damn please.

SELIG SCHULBERG.

THE SOCIAL WAR.

Our whole system of life and labor, with all that we call civilization, is based on nothing else than war. It is a war which the teachers are cunning to conceal; yet it is the woof and warp of the world's social pattern. It is the war between the class that labors and the class that appropriates what that labor produces. It is a war so terrible, so full of death, that its blood is upon every human hand, upon every loaf of bread, and upon every human institution. Capitalist society is but the organization of this one human fight—this one universal and comprehensive contradiction. And it is only folly, or worse, falsehood, that prates of peace in such a society. There can be nothing but war in a human system carried on by workers beneath and possessors above; nothing but war in an order wherein the whole emphasis of government, of social security, of public morality, of individual worth, is laid upon the possession of things produced rather than upon the human producers.—Professor George D. Herron.

OUR COUNTRY OR OUR CLASS.—A WORD TO MOTHERS.

By DOROTHY JOHNS.

How many working-class mothers are aware that the schools of the land are training our children in military drills and tactics? And how many know why?

Some of us undoubtedly are greatly pleased with the idea, realizing that the time so spent in outdoor exercise is of far greater value to the children than that spent in cramming their minds with the futile junk called "education." Others, those who really believe that the public school is fitting their girls and boys for the business of life—getting a living—and are anxiously awaiting their advent as bread-winners, may object to having so much time taken from their studies for military maneuvers.

However, even these submit, feeling it a fine thing for the children to be taught "Patriotism," and the boys to develop a manly, soldier-like carriage. But are they fine things—patriotism and a warlike spirit?

I warrant that the average parent, father as well as mother, does not know what the term "patriotism" implies. Most of us, who think of war at all as something our sons may have to take part in, have a hazy notion that it means fighting the declared and belligerent enemies of one's country, religion or principles. Even so civilized man must deem war an accursed thing, and with these motives lacking it becomes thrice cursed. Such excuses no longer exist in fact, as all modern wars are purely matters of business, conceived, planned, forced and conducted, as is every other business, in the interest of profits.

Is it not about time the mothers of the land began to realize this, and to question what does it "profit" them to be engaged in such a "business"?

Without fighters there can be no wars—without mothers, no fighters. As the bearers of the soldiers as well as the struggle for bread when they are gone woman bears the heaviest burden of war. Is it not time she began to inquire into the nature of this business of which she is the backbone, shouldering its losses but reaping no benefits whatever, and to decide whether or not it has her approval?

Who has done the actual fighting—who has stopped the most bullets in every war ever fought? **The fathers, brothers, husbands and sons of the women of the working class!**

Who were they fighting with—who sped the bullets that made orphans of their children and widows of their sons?

The fathers, brothers, husbands and sons of the women of the working class!

Why do working men go to war—what do they fight and kill each other for?

Technically, for "\$16. per," really, because "Business" demands it! The greed-mad profit-mongers use the workers to swell their profits through wars just as they use them in industry.

The High Gods of Business mutter, "let there be war," while their prostituted press, preachers and professors bellow, "Be patriotic!" and the blind, ignorant, stupid working men blithely go forth in the name of "Patriotism" and murder each other in order that Business may be "good!"

And we, the mothers, wives and sweethearts of these "\$16 murderers," humbly bow our necks to the yoke thus imposed.

We who bore them and who bear the burden of their loss, face patiently (like stupid cows ignorant of the slaughter-house) the slavery, prostitution, or starvation which is the portion allotted by "their country" to the widows and orphans of the working class the world over.

So infinitely more blind, more stupid and more ignorant are we than our hired murderers who kill and die at the behest of Business that we even take melancholy pride in the fact that "he died a soldier's death!"

Why such blindness, such stupidity, such ignorance on the part of the men and women of the working class? Why?

Simply because we, both slaves and soldiers, were taught in the same schools that are now training our girls and boys to be "patriots" and "soldiers!"

Think of this, mothers of the working class, when encouraging your little scouts—both boys and girls—and remember, "there's a reason."

The development of machinery to take the place of human hands is fast forcing conditions that will demand (if Business is to continue to reign supreme) the killing off of the workers that Business no longer can employ—with profit.

So, foreseeing the time when they will need more soldiers to protect their machines than workers to operate them, the business men who own and control "our" country have passed the word to "our" educators. The fight spirit must be instilled into the children of the working class and they must be trained, that they may more readily and expeditiously fight the battles of Business and kill off the unneeded members of their own class. So they are taught to shoulder arms, to march, to worship flags, sing martial songs and thrill to battle cries.

And cow-like we submit! Yes, even thrilling ourselves—for Business taught us, too—at our children's voices lifted in "My Country 'Tis of Thee." But remember, oh mothers of the working class, when in the Great Battle, the battle for bread, which wages constantly about us, daily claiming more victims than ever fell in any war—when our fathers, brothers, husbands and sons go down in this battle it is not to "My Country" that we look for help.

True, "our" country is "the richest nation on earth." True, also, the working class produced every dollar of its wealth, but when our men folks are killed or crippled in the production of that wealth the most our country offers us is drudgery, prostitution or its poor-house! Wretched indeed would be our fate

were "our" country our only refuge at such a time!

From the birth of her first manchild woman gives her all to her country, but in her hour of need, when that all has been taken from her, it is not to her country but to her class that she turns for help. The union—the organization of the men of her class is her only refuge.

When her bread-winner ceases to add profits to its wealth she becomes as nothing to her country—but her class does not forget!

CARPENTERS VOTING AGAINST THE AGREEMENT.

San Francisco, April 22nd, 1912.

Editor of REVOLT:

Dear Comrade—A very interesting situation at this time is agitating the carpenters of San Francisco. The organized carpenters have never been burdened with an agreement. Five dollars a day has been the minimum wage and time and double time has been our reward for all overtime put in. For a little while after the fire all carpenters were employed. For a period of over two and one-half years the carpenters have worked in short shifts. Many a man has lost weeks and months owing to their inability to find employment. From indications a great deal of work will be done by carpenters in the very near future. The contractors realizing this have inveigled the officials of the Bay Counties District Council of Carpenters into an agreement covering the period from May 1st, 1912, to May 1st, 1915, which would take in all the work to be done on the World's Fair, also all of the work that is to be done on the Civic Center buildings.

One would imagine that the Wise Alects of organized labor would have learned that agreements are dangerous, dangerous only to the workmen, always of benefit to the employer. McCarthy et al. have proceeded in a manner that is startling in its crudeness in their attempt to deliver the carpenters of San Francisco body and soul to the contractors. Some two hundred contractors, more or less, have already signed the agreement. It is now being voted on by the various Carpenters' Unions in the City of San Francisco. It is bad enough, to think that the carpenters will be compelled to work for \$5 a day during the entire period of prosperity, but worse yet, when one realizes that an actual reduction has been agreed to by the officials of the Carpenters' Unions when they proposed to accept time and half-time for overtime, in place of double time as is now the custom.

To show what this agreement actually means one clause quoted from it will shed volumes of light: "There shall be no strike or lockout by either party to this agreement pending the decision of any disputed matter referred to the arbitration committee (this arbitration committee consists of an equal number of contractors and an equal number of labor officials), nor shall there be a cessation of work pending such decision." So you see that the water is deep and the game is good for somebody, but that "somebody" is not the working carpenter nor any other branch of building mechanics. If the carpenter ties himself up it will be impossible for him to work harmoniously with the other crafts engaged in the building industry; but perhaps all other trades are to be blindfolded, gagged, bound and delivered in the same manner as the carpenters are about to be delivered.

To head off all of this comes a clause in this agreement that makes the blacklist an institution established with the aid of "Organized Labor." Here is the clause: "Any contractor discharging a carpenter for inability to perform his work in a competent and workmanlike manner will report the fact in writing to the Secretary of the General Contractors' Association and to the Secretary of the Bay Counties District Council of Carpenters, stating the name of the man, his address, and the number of his union. On receipt of six such reports, in writing from different contractors it shall be the duty of the secretaries to place the entire matter before the Board of Arbitration, which Board shall investigate and render the decision of its findings to the parties to this agreement, which shall be final and binding to all parties interested."

Any carpenter who has worked any period of time in San Francisco, especially if he is a spirited man who has protested against speeding up, has gained the enmity of at least five contractors in the city, all he needs to do now is to gain the enmity of one additional contractor and he can pack up his kit of tools, his family, and all of his earthly possessions and move on. I do not think that the carpenters of San Francisco will approve of this agreement. Already No. 483 has overwhelmingly voted against this agreement. At the last meeting of Carpenters' Union No. 22 the agreement was voted down by a huge majority, but tallies brought in false returns, thereby causing considerable confusion. The meeting adjourned in an uproar with the understanding that Friday night, the 26th, another vote is to be taken on this matter by "McCarthy's Union." It is to be hoped that the same number of men will attend this meeting that attended the last one and vote down this nefarious agreement. Slowly but surely the guardians of organized labor are exposing their own crass ignorance and vicious intentions. The carpenters in the past have worked without an agreement; let us hope that they will continue to work without an agreement with their exploiters.

(Signed) A CARPENTER.

DONATIONS.

Oscar Anderson \$.50
W. A. Patton 1.00
Rose Pastor Stokes 5.00
C. Johnson 1.00

REVOLT

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REVOLTERS' MEETING.

On Sunday, May 12th, at 2:30 p. m., in the Headquarters of the Industrial Socialist League, 1776 Mission street, the semi-annual meeting of the readers of REVOLT will take place. All who have subscribed to REVOLT for a period of six months are entitled to participate in the meeting. Those who have not renewed their subscriptions are debarred from voting. So re-subscribe at once. The readers of REVOLT not living in the city of San Francisco are entitled to vote. The question to be voted on is as follows: "SHALL THE PRESENT POLICY OF REVOLT BE CONTINUED?" Also vote for nine members as Board of Directors of Revolt Publishing Co.

All votes must be filed with the secretary not later than May 10th, 1912.

FREDERICK BEBERGALL, Secretary,
1384 Sutter street, San Francisco, Cal.

The present Board of Directors are David Milder, Thos. Mooney, Selig Schulberg, James Dukelow, Mrs. H. Howard, A. Johnsen, H. Pusevitch, Louis Fortin and F. Bebergall.

REVOLT in its one year has proven itself a powerful weapon in the hands of the struggling toilers. Every one should do a little, get just one additional subscriber, besides sending in his own. A small donation would be appreciated and help some.

AN OPEN LETTER TO ALEXANDER IRVINE.

Maricopa, April 23, 1912.

Your article in last issue of "Social Democrat" contains so many contradictions that we suggest that you take a day off, read it over, and tell us just what you meant to say. Your little "tour of inspection" seems to have disconnected your ideas: "Half a dozen cool heads could settle that fight in ten minutes. In the face of gag law, men and women of the working class sink their differences. They are to a degree obliterated in San Diego." Just think of it, a gag law, broken heads, and jail sentences and murder settled in "ten minutes." You follow with "the fight for free speech has been reduced to a fight between the I. W. W. and the police, with the main issue left out." It would require something of a legal mind to find out what the issue is there, in the face of gag law and move-on ordinance. If it's not a fight for free speech, with gag law, how can there be an I. W. W. campaign pure and simple? "We cannot give up our methods of education and propaganda." Has the political wing of the Socialist party a patent proprietary right on educational propaganda? "Our policies and tactics differ." Forsooth! Where would you be without free speech and why this effort to cloud the issue in San Diego and discredit our brave comrades, be they I. W. W.'s or unionists, or simply justice-loving citizens? All honor and glory to men who have the courage of their convictions that lead them to prison cells. Those who forsake them now, though "our policies" differ, are cowards and traitors to our cause. The uncompromising attitude of the I. W. W. or industrial revolutionist is the only solid foundation on which we can ever build the industrial republic and equal opportunity for all, with snobbery eliminated. To recognize the fact that "an injury to one is an injury to all," even though our policies and tactics differ, your main objection is to make Socialists and increase your strength, meaning votes alone, will avail you nothing. Let us get on the firing line with the brave I. W. W.'s.

JENNIE G. PARSONS.

Maricopa, Cal.

"SOCIALISM AS IT IS."

By W. E. WALLING.

The Macmillan Co. has just issued an important book dealing with Socialists and the Socialist movement. As the book just arrived in San Francisco, we have had only time to glance through it. This much is certain. Comrade Walling handles the question in a masterly and readable manner. "Socialism As It Is" is divided into three parts: Part 1, "State Socialism and After;" Part 2, "The Politics of Socialism;" Part 3, "Socialism In Action." In a later issue of REVOLT "Socialism As It Is" will be reviewed at length.

GERMANIA HALL LECTURES.

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EVERY SUNDAY NIGHT.

FUNCTIONING—NOT FUSION.

There once were two cats in Kilkenny,
Who thought there was one cat too many,
They scratched and they bit,
They yowled and they fit,
And when they got through there weren't any.

In Los Angeles Labor Temple on the evening of the 12th, Alexander Irvine and Edward Adams Cantrell debated the question, "Resolved, that the trade unions as organizations should function politically through the Socialist party."

Mr. Irvine took the affirmative. He explained the scheme, hit upon for bridging the chasm between the Socialist party and the labor unions in Los Angeles. "A Union Labor Political Club was organized with three members from each union to represent it and function in the Socialist party, and the cry of 'no politics in the unions' is dead in Los Angeles forever." It "happened" that for the most part, he said, the members of the Political Club were also Socialists. The labor unions, he declared, were the point of departure for all economic movements. "You can't begin with scabs or the small end of the bourgeois class. The minutes of each organization were read in both the Socialist party and the Political Club meetings. It was actually a functioning of the unions by organizations in the Socialist party. No revolution was ever brought about by politics. Politics are reflex. The only reason they exist in a revolutionary movement is to make the economic victory legal when it comes. No sane Socialist believes the revolution will come by the ballot, but by the organized workers laying down their tools and paralyzing industry. A political party will make what they do legal. San Francisco is thinking of doing what we have done in Los Angeles, and whatever cliques there are, the movement as a whole will stand by the labor unions functioning as they have here."

In the opening speech of the negative we began to hear the low mutterings of the coming storm. Mr. Cantrell took the sound position that the labor unions are not Socialist through and through as organizations and therefore should not function as organizations in the Socialist party, but that as individuals their members who are Socialists are most welcome in the party. He made a neat little speech on craft union development, saying, "Personally I am a union man through and through. I stand for the fundamental principles of unionism. I believe in it from start to finish and have never been in sympathy with the criticisms of the present craft form of organization such as we hear from some Socialist sources." Later he spoke of "craft aristocracy," and said, "Who would be satisfied if the whole purpose of craft unionism were realized? It must grow until it includes the last man in the working class." He gave an illustration of how he was marooned out on the desert for hours through the scabbing of one craft upon another and told how members of crafts cursed one another for the delay—members of this craft form in which he believes from start to finish. "The objection I have to Irvine's speech," he said, "is that he pleads from an unprecedented situation here, a program to include unionism in America. It is not logical." Irvine had said the unions made no attempt to dictate to the party. Cantrell said to function means to control.

Irvine rose and the storm broke. "Do you believe in the Los Angeles plan," he shouted. "He has side-stepped the question. He will not answer it and the State Secretary will not answer. This debate began, not to find out what is stated in the question, but because a row is on to get the State Secretary out." (Hisses and cries of "Cut it out.") "Here is the question in a nutshell so far as Cantrell is concerned. He says to the national Secretary, 'We came out of the campaign \$8,000 in debt and with a species of bossism fastened upon us.' He feels he has a boss. He can speak for his own subserviency but I refuse to let him speak for me. What union does he belong to? National ownership without democratic management would be no better than what we have now. If every craft takes and manages its own work, where will he and I come in? In the jawsmiths' union? I protest against the proletariat being led by bosses, lawyers and preachers." (This line has a very fine effect.) "The functioning of labor unions in the party tends to make leaders of the laboring men."

The Cantrell Arizona letter, aired in the Social Democrat, was trotted out by Irvine and "explained" by Cantrell. The latter said the challenge sent to him by Irvine was, "Resolved, that the State Secretary's opposition to the labor unions functioning as organizations in the party is detrimental to the Socialist party in California." His reply was that he would debate upon a broader proposition with personalities left out. "He wanted a chance for a personal fling," said Mr. Cantrell, "to make a few of us ridiculous, and a sorry, cheap program it is." Proceeding, he spoke of the latest development of the functioning process, the proposition to form Socialist locals within the crafts. Each of these sending representatives to the central Socialist body could control it. "We are beginning to realize," he said, "that the present form is deficient, and what do we mean by taking it into another field where it was never meant to function? The old form is effete and the time has come for an entirely different form." (This was the same man speaking who was not in sympathy with the criticisms of the craft form. He is a tall man which is an asset when there is any doubt about which is the best side of the fence.) "The unions will bring their jealousies and limitations into the party, will select nominees, not for efficiency, but because of their following in certain craft unions. This was done. Men were put upon the ticket, not for any particular ability, but for their following in the crafts. It was not determined by the rank and file, but by the executive element in the unions. In a show-down more heads of crafts in America belong to the Militia of Christ than

to the Socialist party. I am opposed to the sharpshooters of Jesus functioning in the party. (Hisses and applause equally divided.) I have gone through hell and high water (this is an old favorite) for the movement. I was fighting in it when Irvine was in his coward's retreat. I am more fortunate than most jawsmiths in owning as fine a set of carpenters' tools as any carpenter in Los Angeles and in knowing how to use them. If the co-operative commonwealth were ushered in and any carpenter could get a job I could. I refer you to the carpenters of Streator, Illinois, for my standing as a carpenter." Thus did he court disaster.

Rising for his closing five minutes Mr. Irvine threw into relief the fact that his opponent had not objected to the Los Angeles Plan heretofore. Then he asked him if he carried a union carpenters' card, besought an answer and offered him his time to give it. The thick Cantrellian silence was sliceable.

Admission to the debate was by red card only. Hisses and applause were about equally administered to both. Appropriate to a fight for the good things in the party, the debate was marked not only by personalities and mud-slinging, but vulgarity. Excitement ran high and at certain points groups of dignified individuals marched out of the hall. Though agreeing with the negative side of the question, the confusing statements of both left little choice, but what little sympathy I took with me went rather to the debater who stood staunchly by his mistaken position, showing some sincerity at least, than to the one who, after acquiescing in the program during the campaign, now snitches when he finds the yoke irksome.

In the lobby I came across Comrade Holston going out disconsolate because he could not have had the floor to give a few little details, such as that Whitley, for councilman, was registered as a Republican up to August; that Reagan was nominated before he was a party member; Wheeler, registered outside the city as a non-Socialist, moved in to accept nomination, and that other nominees were party members but a few weeks.

"Functioning" seems to be like charity, a mantle for a multitude of queernesses.

GEORGIA KOTSCH.

SANTA CLARA COUNTY CONVENTION.

Sunday, April 1st, the Socialists of Santa Clara County held their semi-annual convention in Eagles' Hall, San Jose, with a large number of comrades and friends in attendance, and much enthusiasm was shown for the cause of Socialism and the great progress it is making in every country in the world, but more especially was the convention aroused over the recent fights and victories of the working class in the industrial field.

Eight branches in the county were represented. In the morning the C. E. C. and the C. C. C. held their meetings.

A bounteous luncheon was enjoyed in the banquet hall at the noon hour. In the afternoon W. W. Dunham of Campbell was elected chairman of the mass meeting, and Miss Aileen Dickson of Palo Alto was elected secretary. G. G. Henry was the speaker of the day, and in his usual forceful style he gave us some "real dope" on the Titanic horror and Socialism in general.

The Resolutions Committee, Comrades Wilder of Palo Alto and Comrades Le Gassa and Fenton of San Jose, handed in some pertinent and timely resolutions, all of which were adopted, some of them unanimously. One protesting against and condemning the proposed intervention in Mexico by the United States, and pledging our moral, financial and physical assistance to our brothers and sisters of the working class in Mexico. One condemning the police brutality in San Diego in clubbing and even murdering our fellow-workers for trying to maintain Constitutional and State rights. One on the Titanic disaster. One standing for the unity of all Socialist organizations and endorsing industrial unionism as the only solid basis for the further progress of Socialism, and one condemning the action of the State Secretary and State Executive Board in not recognizing the Oakland Referendum calling for a State convention, it having received a representative vote of the membership and carried by a good majority; also calling upon the coming State convention to take similar action.

Spread the news of our May Day celebration, our eighth annual picnic, to be held at Congress Springs, on Sunday, May 5th. Wm. McDewitt of San Francisco is to be the speaker for the Socialist party. The Socialist-Labor party will also have a speaker, as this is to be a joint celebration to be held by the two parties. Hot coffee served free on the grounds, also music and dancing.

Fraternally yours,

JENNIE ARNOTT, Cor. Sec.

CRIPPLE CREEK DUPLICATED IN GRAYS HARBOR STRIKE.

Kidnaping and abduction is the change of program which the authorized thugs of Aberdeen have followed this week. Emil Silvo was grabbed on one of the main streets Monday evening and taken towards the jail. The thugs halted at a dark place and attempted to take their victim into a dark alley. Had not a couple of women come along and recognized Silvo, he would probably be among the dead. The women kept in sight and finally the thugs took Silvo to the jail. There he was held by two deputies while a third beat him. After this was finished to the satisfaction of the deputies, he was told to go. The gang of thugs were waiting at the entrance to the jail and Silvo refused to leave. The captain offered to send the fellow who beat him to escort him home, but the generous offer was declined with small thanks.

The same evening Bruce Rogers and George Speed were kidnaped, taken through a dark alley

and kept in a building which is known as a disreputable resort, where the chief viewed them. Later they were taken out of town, threatened and released. They walked to Montesano and took a return train. An effort was made to get warrants for the arrest of the thugs, but so far nothing has been done.

Tuesday morning the thugs began to grab everyone who was known and haul them out of town. Thorn and Miller were taken out about noon. An auto was sent after them, catching up near Montesano. The two were brought back the same day.

In the night several persons were dragged into dark alleys and beaten up. Several persons were awakened by the screams of some victim in the heart of the city. When one person started out to investigate, an officer drove him back at the point of a gun.

The chief of police is acting as recruiting agent for scabs. Some who have been sent in here from the outside have been told to call on the chief of police. He then tells the scabs where they are wanted.

One woman was arrested for carrying a banner in a parade of women and children. Several deputies guarded the children carefully, lest they do something horrible.

Banks in Bad Shape.

Some of the banks are about at the end of their rope. Tuesday about \$65,000 was withdrawn in two hours. Notice has been required even before this. The business elements are much worried over the financial pinch. The workers have either withdrawn their savings at the beginning or are doing so now. It is expected that some of the banks will go to the wall any moment if the strike keeps up.

Bosses Worried.

The millowners are much worried over their losses while operating with scabs. The work has become so bad that outside firms are canceling orders. Even machinery is going to rack and ruin through the inexperienced handling of the scabs. Aside from this, the bosses are worried over the following riddle: *How many I. W. W. men are coming with the scabs?* That is the rub. In the meantime the city is broke. The authorities would like to send away the thugs and dare not. The city will soon have to issue bonds to pay the salaries of the sluggers and that will be the end. To get rid of the thugs means to have the mills all tied up again and to keep them is just as bad. Ain't it awful?

The City Council declared the Finn Hall a nuisance, which is to remain closed forever and ever, amen. That means that the city will have to pay for the hall and give another site to the Finns. Every move they make costs them money.

Press Worried.

Both the Washingtonian and World are losing subscriptions and ads so fast that the editors are very sorry that the millowners are doing the bossing. Every old subscriber is being begged to stick by the servile sheets, all to no avail. From the way it looks, those sheets will soon be a thing of the past.

Holmes-Johnson Debate.

Editor Johnson of the Washingtonian was cornered into a debate. Holmes took the I. W. W. end of the fun. It was cruelty to dumb beasts the way Holmes handled the ignorant runner for Congress. The following are some of Johnson's outbursts, which show his mental caliber: "Socialism, anarchy, atheism and I. W. W.-ism are one and the same. Socialism is a communal administration. Marx's wife left him. Darrow thrown down by Gompers for preaching I. W. W. dope. Darrow a member of the S. P. All I. W. W.'s are members of the S. P. All the I. W. W. leaders are foreigners. Church, union labor and farming element will stave off the revolution," etc., etc. Even his own followers were disgusted with the poor showing and ignorant assertions of the editor. The crowd showed its approval of the show by roaring with laughter whenever the editor tried to make a point. In fact, he made no attempt to keep anywhere near the subject under discussion and did not answer a single point made by Holmes. Instead of debating, he read his speech prepared several days previous, regardless of what argument was presented by Holmes. This only made the thing the more ludicrous.

Bruce Rogers was called upon to affirm a lie which the editor passed out. Before Rogers got through the editor was very sorry. The lie was forced down the throat of the editor before the audience; he took it without even a comment and went on reading his dope.

An attempt is being made to get the other editor on the platform, though it is doubtful if it will prove successful.

In the meantime preparations are being made for a bigger move which will extend the struggle over a wider area. Until then the bosses here are going into debt and at every move getting into the net which is tightening about the enemies of the working class.

The headquarters for the secretary of Aberdeen is now at Hoquiam. That will be until the atmosphere cools a little. *But we are going to win.*

DON'T FORGET THAT MONEY IS NEEDED IN THIS STRUGGLE. IT IS UP TO YOU. J. S. BISCAY.

OUR BIRTHDAY.

(Continued from Page 1.)

secretary of a craft union party launched in Los Angeles in opposition to the Socialist party, published an editorial obituary notice for REVOLT, howling with ghoulish glee at the supposed silencing of the Voice of the Militant Worker. That was when, after all our struggles, we were compelled to send out one week's issue in the form of a circular. The following week REVOLT appeared in its old form again.

REVOLT receives no compulsory graft from the membership under the guise of dues to the organization, and has a hard struggle at all times to keep going. On the other hand, it has no Murrays and Noels to pay salaries to, and no Harrimans to bring discredit upon it. REVOLT will live.

REVOLT WILL INCREASE IN SIZE WHEN OUR INCOME WARRANTS. SEND A DONATION

REVOLT

RESOLUTIONS.

Anaheim, April 20, 1912.

Editor REVOLT—

Dear Comrade:—At a meeting of the board of control of the Socialist Party of Orange County, held at Santa Ana on April 14, 1912, the following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, the city authorities of San Diego have violated the Federal and State constitutional provisions for free speech and assemblage in prohibiting the use of a street for such purposes, after 20 years of use by public speakers of such street; and

Whereas, the city authorities of San Diego have permitted the infliction of brutalities upon men, women and children on such street while exercising such constitutional provisions; therefore be it

Resolved, By the board of control of the Socialist Party of Orange County, in session at Santa Ana on April 14, 1912, that we denounce such unlawful tactics, and hereby call upon the Governor of the State of California to assemble a great force from the national guard of the State as may be necessary to guarantee the freedom of public speech and assemblage on such street in the city of San Diego which for many years has been used as a public forum.

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent by the county secretary, under direction of the board of control, to Governor Johnson, the San Diego Free Speech League, the Associated Press, the United Press, the Labor Press, the Orange County Press, the Socialist Press, and to the city council of San Diego.

Respectfully submitted,
GEORGE BAUER,
County Secretary,
Local Orange County Socialist Party
of California.

CLASS WAR NOW RAGING.

I hear such words hurled by comrades at others within the party as: "Direct actionists!" "Impossible!" etc., and wonder with exceeding great wonder just what is meant.

I suppose poor old Columbus had the same things hurled at him, and was often jeered at and hooted when he suggested a direct route to the land of promise.

I have noticed that the Socialists, individually and collectively, always contribute to those on strike, and use the English language to its limit, on the rostrum or street, or through the press to denounce the pirates of wealth who oppose the demands of the strikers, and with all the powers commandable urge funds to sustain their battle for right. Now to be consistent, the opponents of direct action should at every and all such crisis, denounce the strikers in heated terms.

As one who believes in and ever advocates the use of every weapon within the grasp of the toilers to wrest what belongs to them from the grabbers, using the ballot with all the power we can, or are permitted to use. In the meantime, well knowing that one-half of all the workers are already shut out of the use of this weapon, let the good work go on in industrial organization; and, further, let us stand ready to back up with our lives these two arms to the move.

If this is treason, then the time is at hand when you will be forced more and more to hear such utterances, as the trend of events is fast shaping that in sheer defense of your lives and those you love you will be driven to this position.

Every upheaval only accentuates this truth. Like hungry tigers that have whetted their appetites on human flesh, these devils—not men—those money-mad monsters who rule, having wrested every fortification of justice from us, will strangle every effort we put forth for deliverance, unless we are more active than today in fortifying, for the death struggle is now on. It is a grapple with fiends devoid of conscience. It is now a struggle to preserve life, and millions of those, our brothers and sisters and the wee tender loved ones, are being murdered before our eyes; starved, tortured, torn limb from limb and hurled out upon the streets, thus ground—to be seen of all men.

Peace! There is nor can be any peace, until those devils of high finance are broken on the wheels of justice.

J. W. DYER,
Fort Jones, Cal.

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THE LABOR WAR AT LAWRENCE.

MARY K. O'SULLIVAN.

[Mrs O'Sullivan is the first of the old line labor leaders in America to challenge the organizations which have built up the trade union movement of the United States, to adjust their policies and spirit to the industrial changes which have been going forward in the last twenty years and to voice the needs of the whole of the labor force rather than merely the ranks of the skilled workers. Mrs. O'Sullivan organized the Women's Bookbinders' Union, No. 1 in Chicago and Boston in 1884, became in 1892 the first woman organizer of the American Federation of Labor and was the first woman to preside at its annual conventions. With William English Walling, Mrs. O'Sullivan organized the Women's Trade Union League of America in 1903. She at present carries a card of the News Writers' Union of Boston.

Throughout the Lawrence strike, Mrs. O'Sullivan was in touch with the Strikers' Committee, with the representatives of the State, and with the employers, and performed important services at different junctures. It is, therefore, as a life-long friend of an old organization falling on new days, and of a keen observer watching the work of a new organization, that she writes this, her first interpretation of the meaning of the Lawrence strike to organized labor.]

"We were drowning men ready to grasp at a straw when the Industrial Workers of the World appeared to save us," said more than one striker in Lawrence.

First of all, it must be understood that the Lawrence strike was not caused either by the Industrial Workers of the World or by the reduction of the working week from fifty-six to fifty-four hours with the ensuing loss of pay. The reduction was only the last straw in a situation that the workers could not endure longer. The many injustices of the section boss with his personal discrimination against men and women who refuse to submit to his standards helped to bring on a rebellion. The rise in cost of living during the last two years, including increased rents, had reduced the mill hands to an extremity where the loss of a few cents weekly in their wages became a calamity in hundreds of homes. At the turn of the year, then, the strike began spontaneously without any recognized leadership.

Up to the present time, the Textile Workers of the American Federation of Labor have failed to organize the unskilled and underpaid workers. Blocked by the mill interests, they have been defeated in their larger efforts for the skilled workers, and they have neglected the interests of the unskilled. They have ignored their capacity for strength and failed to win them to their cause or to better their condition.

In the past the foreigners have been the element through which strikes in the textile industry have been lost. This is the first time in the history of our labor struggles that the foreigners have stood to the man to better their conditions as underpaid workers. The Textile Workers had only one permanent organization at Lawrence at the beginning of the strike (the Mule Spinners' Union), while the Industrial Workers of the World had not any direct organization within the industry. Many of the unskilled workers, however, had independent unions not affiliated with any national organization. John Golden, the official head of the Textile Workers of America, instead of remaining in Lawrence and fighting for the interests of the workers, went to Boston and was reported to have denounced the strike as being led by a band of revolutionists, thus leaving them to be organized by any persons who might choose to use or to help them. This was the first time in the history of the American Federation movement that a leader failed the people in his industry.

Members of the Industrial Workers of the World sent for Joe Ettor and in four days he organized a fighting unit such as never existed in New England before. At the head of it was a strikers' committee representing eighteen nationalities and composed of fifty-six members, each with an alternate trained to act in case of the disablement of his principal. This committee was organized, not to represent the Industrial Workers of the World, but to win the strike; and when it first met not a half dozen of its members were inside the ranks of that organization. Even at the close of the strike only a minority of the committee belonged to the Industrial Workers of the World. In this connection it is worth noting that the riots, to which such exception has been taken, occurred before Ettor's organization was effected, when the strikers gathered about the mills as an organized mob and mill bosses turned streams of water upon them in zero weather. After the "blood-stained Anarchists" arrived on the scene, a policy of non-resistance to the aggressions of the police and the militia prevailed. It is worth remembering, also, that thousands of striking operatives never attended a meeting of any sort. They sat in their homes, trusting their leaders, and determined to stay out until these leaders gave the word to go back to the mills.

The strike developed leadership among the

workers of the most surprising caliber and personality—women such as Mrs. Wessenback, the highest paid worker and expert mender in the mill, who stood out for the despised foreigner; the underpaid skilled workers such as Riley and Adamson of the committee, who with others developed into remarkable leaders in the struggle; Yates, a textile worker up till the time of the strike who had been a mill hand since he was ten years of age, and who showed unexampled executive ability. He will be heard from now on. These men represent to me as an old trade unionist, the old religion and the spirit of the trade union movement when men worked for the cause regardless of consideration.

In the long run, from the organizer's standpoint this new insurgent movement may be the best possible thing that could happen to the labor unions of America. On the one hand the success of this struggle is a warning to employers who are on the job that they can no longer afford to beat down and block conservative organizations that stand for contracts and trade agreements which give the management a guarantee and surety in making estimates in business. On the other hand, the trade union with a vision will also profit by this note of warning.

There were many seeming injustices done the strikers, such as the arrest of Mrs. Wessenback and her two sisters. The evidence brought out in their trial for alleged intimidation fell flat; it was clearly a pretense to make an example of well-known workers who had thrown their lot in with the strike. Yet these girls were arrested in the middle of the night, made to dress and taken from their lodgings to the lock-up. More consideration than that was shown the murderer of Avis Linnell at Boston. One of these girls was so young that she had to go to the juvenile court to be tried. Her, they fined \$5; her sisters, \$20 each. A Syrian father who was buying milk for his child in the morning, was told to go back in the house by a militiaman and because he did not obey or understand, whichever the case might be, the militiaman as he passed him by struck him across the face and broke his cheek bone. The killing of the young Syrian boy who was told to move, by running a bayonet through him, murdering him, all these injustices, created in the hearts of the people a distrust for those seeming to oppose them.

(Continued next week.)

AN ANSWER TO PHILIPPS RUSSEL.

In your article under the heading "The Schank Idea," you assert that "all schemes to reduce the cost of living work injury to the working class as a whole," and you quote Karl Marx in support of your statement.

To me it seems that you have misconstrued Marx's statement and consequently have drawn an altogether erroneous conclusion.

If you will study this quotation in its context you will find that the cheapening of all commodities of which Karl Marx speaks can come about in one way only, and that is by a general decrease in their value caused by increased productivity of labor-power through means of labor-saving devices, scientific management, economic organization, intensified agriculture, etc., etc., a process which is going on apace. As a consequence, wages—that is the real wage as expressed in means of subsistence—are and must stay on the downward grade, so long as capitalism continues, notwithstanding all organized activity.

But neither the Schank idea nor any other similar scheme can have any such effect for the simple reason that they have the value of commodities as determined by labor-time altogether unaffected.

But inasmuch as these schemes provide some much-needed relief, we may approve of them without in the least compromising our position. What we must object to is, that the mouthpieces of capitalism exploit them in their own interest by instilling exaggerated notions of their importance in the minds of the workers. This we must counteract by explaining their limitations, that they can only be temporary and partial and that they can never solve any of the real problems of the working class.

Let us not waste our energies fighting these innocent and harmless little schemes; you can never persuade anybody anyhow that his hunger is due to the fact that he is fed by charity and that is what such arguments practically amount to. Our fight is not against the philanthropists who vainly try to palliate the evils, but against capitalism which causes them; against it we must concentrate all our energies.

J. ROSENSTEIN,
Honolulu, Hawaii.

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