



THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

VOL. 2.

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No. 12.

OAKLAND AROUSED!

Tremendous Demonstration of Protest

If the imprisonment of Comrade H. C. Tuck for daring to publish some of the truth about the detinue system and its sponsors was intended to terrify the Socialists and radicals of Oakland into keeping quiet about the damnable actions of depraved police detectives, its purpose has failed. Even the police must realize this since the tremendous demonstration of last Saturday night at Eleventh street and Broadway, Oakland.

If the police detectives, judges and other personages (once human beings but now warped and shaped into machines of infamy to sustain by force a shattered and crumbling system of wage exploitation and horrible cruelty) conducted the course of persecution of our blind comrade through sheer degenerate joy in the gratification of vengeful hate, their failure is none the less signal.

It is a well known though preposterous fact that policemen in general and police detectives and (most preposterous!) captains of detectives above all, are not content with mere submission to their law of the club and the torture chambers of the city jails. In their ugly and distorted minds dwells a queer and almost pathetic desire for RESPECT. Hangmen may have the same feeling, but as a rule they have not the monstrous insolence of police detectives to demand the respect of reputable human beings under penalty of torture or death.

It is harsh punishment, to be sure, for Comrade Tuck to be confined in the reeking and hideous city jail of Oakland, but he is sustained by the knowledge that all true comrades in the Socialist movement know that in this, his exposure of the detinue system and his courageous attack on those responsible for some of its outrages, he has played a splendid part. The police, on the other hand, with the other brute wielders of authority, know that they have earned and gained the contempt of every decent resident of Oakland, whether Socialist or not.

The gathering at Broadway and Eleventh street was notable, not only for its magnitude, but for the electric spirit of revolt which animated it. The assemblage was the largest that Oakland has seen, jamming the streets for half a block from sidewalk to sidewalk. McDevitt, Morgan and Jordan addressed the meeting, and every telling thrust at police brutality, the law of the club and reeking prison cell, was greeted with ringing cheers.

Comrade Tuck, in prison, when told what the meeting had been, smiled far more joyfully than Captain Petersen can smile in these days of his bitter humiliation.

LOCAL SELMA VOTES AGAINST RECALL.

The following resolution was adopted by Local Selma, Sept. 10, 1911:

Resolved, That Local Selma, while voting to sustain our State Secretary, F. B. Meriam, and so oppose his recall at this time, we wish it to be distinctly understood that we are not satisfied that error of judgment has not marked many of the acts of our State officials, and that the intention of this resolution is not only for the purpose of censuring our State officers for the commission of acts which we are firmly convinced are not in the best interest of party harmony, but also, to serve as a warning that Local Selma is always on the alert for any encroachments upon the liberties of the dues-paying membership to manage the affairs of the Socialist party of this State and nation, at all times, as a majority of them shall see fit; and further, we believe the proper place for the head of an autocrat is in the basket, and upon the conviction of any such, the ax of Local Selma will descend as relentlessly, and as swiftly, as it is keen; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be sent to "The California Social Democrat" for publication therein, and should said paper refuse for any reason to publish the same, then, we do hereby revoke our vote to sustain State Secretary F. B. Meriam, and our vote shall be counted against him.

Resolved, further, That a copy be sent to the "World," Oakland, Cal., and a copy to REVOLT, published in San Francisco.

C. H. VENTER, Chairman.
W. I. GIBBS, Secretary.
Local Selma, Socialist Party of California.

INDUSTRIALLY ORGANIZED

WHAT USE IS FURTHER EFFORT?

For Better Understanding, Interesting Questions Answered

Comrade Editor:—As an embryo "rough neck," a member of the California proletariat underworld society, I believe the Socialist party to be the political and economic expression of the interest of the propertyless workers. The reason I believe so is because of this cogent fact—that capitalism has the workers already organized on the industrial, economic field (thirty-six million in the U. S. A.). Now understand, comrade, I'm not considering at that point the ownership. The question is, are the workers organized on the industrial field? If so, what's the use of organization on a field where they are already organized?

They show industrial intelligence. There is no question about that. It is true that they do not manifest, as a whole, intelligent recognition of the industrial ownership, which is of a political nature; but that does not alter the fact that the workers are organized industrially.

Now then, Comrade Editor, getting back to the most essential points in our understanding of capitalism (which is the modern Socialism): the point that will help to give our organization an unadulterated line of action.

The Socialist party, in its attempt to seize control of the powers of government, State and National, to prevent their instrumental use by the slave-owning class, is the economic and political weapon of the slave class. With the instrument of government in the hands of the slaves, capitalist ownership is rendered helpless. The transformation of ownership when the wage mules are ready will be that much more facilitated. The wages system of exploitation in the industrial institutions of today would be impossible without powers of government to protect and defend them. In other words: with political intelligence (power) the workers could seize control of the only economic industrial organization on the face of the earth—the mills, mines, sweatshops, factories and all means of transportation.

Yours for better understanding of the economics (for instance, economic history of a simple sardine sandwich) of capitalist industry.

W. WELLING.

San Diego, Cal.

REPLY BY THE EDITOR.

In brief, the situation is this: the workers ARE organized industrially, through the development of the capitalist mode of production, but ONLY for the purpose of production. The advocates of Socialism, industrial and political, seek to bring about a working class movement to establish new conditions of society in which the workers, instead of yielding up the greater part of the wealth which their increasing skill and the development of modern machinery make possible, shall retain the entire product for themselves. That the working class is not at present organized industrially, in this or any other country, for such a purpose is too obvious to require any extended consideration.

In a somewhat singular manner Comrade Welling misuses the much-misused word "political," when he says that "industrial ownership is of a political nature." Therein he swerves as far from the real meaning of the term as does the man who conceives of "political action" as meaning nothing more than voting. Let us devote a moment or two to consideration of the real meaning of the term. To begin with, it is derived from the Greek root, *polis*, meaning "city," and originally referred to the affairs of social aggregations at a time when each walled city existed under a separate government. "Policy," a term much better understood in general, is from the same root and is closely similar in meaning. Anything which has to do with social policy, with governmental forms or the altering thereof, whether conducted by means of balloting (sometimes serving as an indication of power sufficient to discourage political opposition of any kind), or armed revolt or show of military force, is political action. The ownership of the tools of industry, however, is not a matter of social policy

(politics), but of economics—the thing which really determines political forms and the character of political movements. This may help us to that "better understanding" which the Editor, quite as devoutly as Comrade Welling, desires.

The "use of organization of the workers on a field where they are already organized" is to enable them to reap the benefit of their organized ability to produce the means of life and happiness, which they do not now receive.

Comrade Weller, though he does not state it definitely, appears to believe that for the workers (a majority, supposedly) simply to declare themselves in favor of working class ownership of the sources of wealth and all machinery of production and distribution, would suffice to establish such a condition in human society. To the Editor of REVOLT, this seems improbable. He would be vastly pleased if the revolution could be effected so simply.

The fact of the matter is, however, that the casting of ballots simply shows the numbers more or less definitely favoring certain policies or economic principles. Numbers, as is well known, represent power—*sometimes!* (Don't forget that *sometimes!* It is important.)

In Colorado numbers—overwhelming numbers!—declared by ballot for State-wide eight-hour day for all mine workers employed underground. The vote for the measure was nearly four to one. Also, the workers were effectively organized, in the manner noted by Comrade Welling, for production. *They were not organized in the manner which would have made their votes mean force to the master class that wanted them to work nine or more hours, law or no law!*

Similarly, in California the eight-hour law for women (credit for which is claimed by the San Francisco Union Labor "pollies" to the exclusion of all others: by the Insurgent Republicans, by "our" Socialist lobby at Sacramento and by the Women's Union Label League, besides a few other concerns, each of which did it all by itself), a law passed by a comfortable majority in the Legislature and approved by an overwhelming majority of citizens of California, has proved utterly ineffective even where enforced. That is not a paradox. In factories and other establishments where, heretofore, women were working ten hours a day for \$6 a week, cheap male labor now is employed for the same long hours, because it is illegal for women to work so long; or, as is the case in many instances, the \$6 a week has been cut to conform to the legal hours.

There were votes enough in either case, BUT THEY DID NOT REPRESENT ORGANIZED FORCE SUFFICIENT TO COMPEL THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE POLICIES AND PRINCIPLES FOR WHICH THEY WERE CAST. IT IS PROPER AND WISE, THE EDITOR OF REVOLT BELIEVES, FOR THE WORKERS TO TELL THE MASTERS TO GET DOWN OFF THEIR BACKS, BUT IT IS EVEN MORE TO THE POINT TO BE READY TO CONVINCING THE MASTERS THAT THEY HAD BEST OBEY THE COMMAND.

We've got industrial organization in the masters' interest, and to turn it to account for the working class we must organize industrially for the strengthening of the workers at the expense of the master class.

MEETING OF REVOLT SUBSCRIBERS.

The first semi-annual meeting of REVOLT subscribers, the general purposes of which were outlined in last week's issue of the paper, will be opened at 2 o'clock Sunday afternoon, October 1, in the large hall in Jefferson Square building, 925 Golden Gate avenue.

The arrangement of the entertainment to follow the business of the meeting is now in the hands of a committee, and the full program will be announced in the next issue of REVOLT.

FROM BELOW!

Strength of the Socialist Movement

By CAROLINE NELSON.

A man is said to have once got into the workshop of nature; there he found God at work, His whole attention riveted on something in hand. The intruder dared not disturb the Almighty. At last God looked up.

"Art thou shaping the wings of an angel?" asked the man.

"I am working on a flea's leg," was the answer.

We estimate men and things according to the standard of value that exists for the time being. We Socialists are part and parcel of the society we live in. Our whole philosophy shows us that it is the man in overalls that carries the social structure on his back. Nevertheless, we cannot practically understand that therefore it is of vastly more importance for us to get the overall brigade in our ranks than it is to get the whole professional and middle class. Why? Don't we want trained brains? Yes, but not trained in the capitalist philosophy and tactics, which is based upon deception all along the line. But suppose we should get the whole middle class into our movement, and every one of them unload their mental poison before entering our ranks, and become revolutionary Socialists, what good would it do? As long as the man in overalls sticks to his task and obeys his master, the world remains as it is.

I was attending a meeting of a Local the other night. The secretary was reading a long line of new members; suddenly there was applause. This was caused by the reading of a minister's name. What can such exhibitions mean? The ministers in our day are simply wage slaves who must speak to suit minds which hold the purse string in their churches. So let us rejoice when they step down from the pulpit, where they have used the name of Christ in vain. But why should we rejoice over them, any more than over the man in overalls? Because our minds are of the mongrel type, half capitalist and half proletarian.

The overall brigade is stupid, we say. Very well, comrade, suppose that is true, remember our civilization is resting on those stupid backs just the same. A few years ago when Mr. Middle Class had a much better seat on the very stupid back, he said: "The world is good enough as it is," and became red in his face at hearing the word "Socialism." He was then interested in keeping the man in overalls stupid. Now he becomes red in his face the moment the overalls man refuses to listen to his Socialism, and he says: "This is a terrible world; but the workers can never understand Socialism. So we must make it respectable to appeal to the better class of people."

In the workshop of Socialism to-day we want to make angels' wings, instead of bracing up the legs in overalls. So much nicer, you know. Only remember that the man in overalls doesn't care a pin-head about our angelic orators. For thousands of years he has heard about a new spiritual age where the lamb and the lion lie down together peacefully. But he is just finding out that it is the nature of the lion to eat the lamb, so he begins to wonder why he should play lamb. Every day he is being driven by the lion into a corner where he must take his last stand to fight for his life, while our sentimental comrades speak about dreams and ideals of the co-operative commonwealth. It is not their fault. It is the legacy left to us from a previous social environment. *But shall it be permitted to stifle our movement?*

The man in overalls is the man of all men to-day. HE ALONE HAS HIS HANDS UPON THE THROAT OF THE SYSTEM. The supreme question of the moment is—what will he do? He is not clear upon this question yet. *It is our supreme privilege as Socialists to clear his mind upon this subject.* It is our mission. A man in our movement of the overalls brigade is therefore worth a whole dozen of ministers, lawyers and petty merchants put together, *because he is in the bottom from whence this structure of capitalism alone can be overthrown.* The new social power grows from the bottom up, not from the top down.

In our day we know of no power except financial or authoritative power. Many of our comrades

write and speak as though there were no other power. Political power is purely authoritative. It is a delegated affair. The dominant economic power uses this delegated power of the people because it controls the means of life. The workers can use no delegated power before they have any power to so delegate. The worker's only power is his labor power. Until this labor power is organized, it can have no political power. Unorganized labor is a helpless slave product. It is politically nothing upon the industrial and economic field. From nothing something cannot come, except phantoms. A political candidate running with no economic power back of him, if elected, becomes a ghostly god we may pray to but never compel. Indeed, all he can do is to be a nice business man, and transact business according to the laws made by the dominant class. These laws are all made to skin the worker, to job him of his product. Does it satisfy the workers to have their own candidate in power? Very well. They can have that, provided he will put his revolutionary ideas aside for the time being. That is all right for the future. The slaves always could have anything they wanted in the sweet by and by.

But political candidates come and go. The man in overalls remains. Upon his back he carries the world. Should he count in the Socialist movement? The answer is—the Socialist movement doesn't count without him. Marx spoke to the man in overalls, but we are too high-minded for him. We can't make ourselves understood.

"TOWN TALK" ALSO HOWLS.

"The Socialist Campaign Book."

"The Campaign Book of the Socialist party of San Francisco has been sent me by a kind friend who wishes me to be informed as to the high principles and noble purposes of the gentlemen who are running for office on the ticket headed by William McDevitt. It is an interesting contribution to current political literature, shedding much light on the state of mind peculiar to the Socialists of this community. Being in sympathy with some of the principles of Socialism, but somewhat ignorant of the philosophy of the local cult, I read the Campaign Book from cover to cover, and found much that took me by surprise. I found, for example, what purported to be citations from many decisions of Federal and State courts, which were manifestly garbled and designed to mislead and inflame class hatred, all of which seems to me unnecessary. The Socialists claim to appeal to the highest intelligence, and as a matter of fact many eminent philosophers uphold the salient doctrine of Socialism, and what progress Socialism is making is due not so much to the enthusiasm of the multitude as to the zeal of an enlightened few. The editors of the Campaign Book appear to be rabble-rousers and nothing more. Consider by way of illustration what they say in advocacy of their candidate for sheriff: 'The office of sheriff can be of great aid to the workers. In case of a strike the strikers could be sworn in as deputies to protect themselves against the scabs and the criminal employers. If a class conscious wage worker is elected then the office would be of great aid to the workers.' This is not Socialism; it is civil war. Among other things in the Campaign Book is President Taft's answer to the question, 'What is a man to do in a financial panic who is out of work and who is starving?' His answer was, 'God knows, I don't.' I wonder what answer the Socialists would have preferred. What answer would a Socialist give? There are not many things for a starving man to do at any time. He might beg, or steal, or starve, but why assume to know what is the best thing to be done in all cases? When President Taft was asked the question he might have made a noise like a demagogue and insulted the intelligence of all Socialists. Perhaps if he had done so the San Francisco Socialists would have been better pleased."

The above is from "Town Talk," a nasty, well written publication put forth once every week to tickle the vanity of San Francisco's most successful scoundrels. One would imagine that the editor of "Town Talk" has something akin to "feeling" for the wage workers, from reading the above. The next time the Socialist party gets out a campaign book it may consult the royal editorial nibs who edits the best literary scavenger on the coast. If "Town Talk" endorsed and approved of our booklet we would have cause to feel ashamed of it.

The capitalist class always has used the sheriff and his power for its own advantage. Thugs have always been sworn in as deputies, to make trouble, and so give a text to "Town Talk."

The history of all strikes is the same. Los Angeles is a shining example. "Town Talk" and other nasty weeklies, the "Argonaut" and "News Letter," have yearned for a General Otis "brave enough" to start something in San Francisco. We should be thankful to the capitalists and their word peddlers for the privilege of living so that we can work to increase their wealth. It is indeed impudent for the "Socialist Party" to get out a campaign book teaching "class hatred."

The capitalist system has made classes and class hatred a fact, and all that the Socialist does is to point out the existence of this class struggle. If the capitalists insist on a "civil war" to force them to disgorge their stolen wealth, it may come. In the meantime we will use our industrial and political power to accomplish the social revolution by peaceable means.

"RED."

MISSION SOCIALIST CLUB MEETING.

William McDevitt, Socialist party candidate for Mayor of San Francisco; W. H. Sigourney, candidate for city attorney; A. K. Gifford, candidate for auditor; J. M. Reynolds, candidate for supervisor, and Louis I. Fortin, candidate for supervisor, will address a meeting held under the auspices of the Mission Socialist Club at Columbus Hall, Twenty-ninth and Mission streets, Friday evening, September 22.

SOCIALIST CANDIDATES

Working Class Champions

NOMINEES OF THE TRUE PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS

WM. McDEVITT



For MAYOR



THOS. J. MOONEY
Socialist Party Candidate for
SHERIFF



W. A. PFEFFER
Socialist Party Candidate for
PUBLIC ADMINISTRATOR



A. K. GIFFORD
Socialist Party Candidate for
AUDITOR



W. E. DILLON
Socialist Party Candidate for
POLICE JUDGE



DAVID HENDERSON
Socialist Party Candidate for
POLICE JUDGE



HENRY WARNECKE
Socialist Party Candidate for
RECORDER



OLIVER EVERETT
Socialist Party Candidate for
TREASURER



M. H. MORRIS
Socialist Party Candidate for
COUNTY CLERK



EMIL LIESS
Socialist Party Candidate for
DISTRICT ATTORNEY



H. F. SAHLENDER
Socialist Party Candidate for
ASSESSOR



W. H. SIGOURNEY
Socialist Party Candidate for
CITY ATTORNEY



DR. M. B. RYER
Socialist Party Candidate for
CORONER



DAVID MILDER
Socialist Party Candidate for
TAX COLLECTOR

Cast a Vote That Will Count!

Strengthen the Hand of Labor!

Nothing could so strengthen organized labor in its coming struggle to save itself from destruction as the rolling up of a mighty vote for a revolutionary Socialist candidate on a radical Socialist platform; nothing else could do so much to inspire our enemies with fear which would weaken their iron hands ere they come to strike the blow at labor.

IN THE COMING ELECTIONS, PRIMARY AND REGULAR, EVERY VOTE CAST BY A WORKINGMAN FOR P. H. MCCARTHY IS A VOTE THROWN AWAY. EVERY VOTE CAST FOR JAMES ROLPH IS A BLOW AT THE VITALS OF ORGANIZED LABOR. EVERY VOTE CAST FOR WILLIAM McDEVITT AND THE WORKING CLASS REVOLUTION IS A VOTE WHICH WILL TEND TO WEAKEN THE HAND OF THE MASTERS AND STRENGTHEN THE HAND OF LABOR IN THE IMPENDING BATTLE.—From REVOLT of June 10.

POLITICAL PRETENDERS.

Rolph Pretends Not to be—McCarthy Pretends to be—The Difference Is a "Knot" Easily Unraveled.

By WILLIAM McDEVITT.

Now that the record for the city campaign of 1911 is about all in, it is more than ever apparent that the great and only difference of any vast importance between the unavowed champion of Capital (with a big C), and the disavowed champion of labor (with a small l), is "merely this and nothing more":

McCarthy pretends to be the representative of ALL classes—and is not; Rolph pretends NOT to be the champion of plutocracy—and he IS. In other words, Rolph is what he pretends not to be, while "P. H." is not what he pretends to be. Here is a precious pair of political pretenders—one shown up by his private records as a consistent supporter of plutocracy; the other shown up by his public career as a consistent failure in the role of labor champion.

Either Rolph or McCarthy will do capital's behest; both will be loyal to the bidding of Business; Capital, however, prefers Rolph, apparently. Why? Well, for no other reason than that the Business Interests (which, by the way, supported McCarthy in 1909) realize that foreign capital will invest more readily and more heavily in the Exposition if a man who has a peculiarly appropriate record as banker and shipper appears at the helm of the city government as a sort of guarantee to outside capital that capital will get its full and usual measure of protection and encouragement.

It is charged that an Open Shop Ethiopian is lurking in the woodpile behind Rolph's campaign. Such a charge may be "good enough for Sweeney." Tell it to the marines. The "marines," however, don't seem inclined to believe it, as the sailors and coastwise workers under the lead of the Reverend Walter Macarthur and the "Metaphysical" Furuseth have been lined up for Navigator Rolph.

It is surely absurd to suppose that the capitalist class in this city has grown so weak or so "constitutional" that its rulers have to wait until any certain individual is inducted into the job of giving the city's political pap to a hungry horde of tax-eaters, before they can fire away in the industrial fight for the open shop. All nonsense—driving, blithering rot! Why, this same gang of plutocrats take the police department out of McCarthy's hand every time they want to use the police. They stole Chief Seymour from "P. H.," right from under his nose; they abducted Chief Gus White last week; they refused to let the "Mayor" act as official starter for Fowler on his aviation stunt across the continent; and they seem to have decided to cut McCarthy out of his job as the welcomer of the honorary member of the Steam Shovelers' Union when he comes here in October to bust the dirt for the formal opening of the construction work of the Panama Panjandrum, etc. Only the petty pupils in the rear rows of the primary grade of the school in economics don't know that Big Business dominates the affairs of this city without regard to what label the Mayor wears or whose name is on his collar. Why, the license on good dog Fido McCarthy's official collar is signed by the very men who have selected Rolph to do the municipal barking in the mayor's kennel during the coming four years.

When the Mayor of San Francisco is elected on a working class platform by a solid working class vote, without dependence upon or fusion with the powers of Big Business or Petty Lool or the Gambling Gods or the Saloon Lords or the Redlight Regents, that Mayor will represent the industrial power of the workers in so far as that industrial power is made concrete in the unions of the workers. When the workers are so powerfully organized industrially that they can beat the Business Barons in the fight for the Open Shop, that fight will be won more peacefully and more powerfully if the working class controls the undivided loyalty of the officials of the city.

Let the workers look to their organizations on the industrial field with more interest. Let them realize that, after all, the "juice" is industrial; the political (in the ballot box sense) is merely oil and order; very useful, indeed, and probably very essential. But the supreme word is POWER, and the supreme weapon of power for the working class is the industrial union of all the workers for all the workers. The political victories of labor, when won on the class-conscious basis, will make it easier and surer for the working class to consolidate its triumphs, to assimilate its conquests, to sanction in public sentiment and popular acquiescence its political and industrial conduct of the affairs of society.

No one believes more firmly than I do in the real utility of the Socialist party in the political field. And no one can feel any more contempt than mine for the notion that the working class of this city is any better off materially because McCarthy's official collar, affixed to his neck by a nondescript alliance of plutes, polities, salooners, impressarios of prostitution, petty purloiners of profits in ten thousand useless merchandise joints, happens to bear the misleading label of "UNION LABOR." Whether the allied vampires of profits and traffics put the collar on "Jim" or "P. H." and whether the collar bears the device of Union Labor or Repubo-Demo-Goo-Goo, matters as little in the real welfare of the working class as it does to the Man on Mars or the Simp on Sirius.

REVOLT

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"INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISM."

The following excerpt from a work which everybody should read (Industrial Socialism, by William D. Haywood and Frank Bohn, published by Charles H. Kerr & Company, Chicago, at 10 cents) will give the readers of REVOLT a fair idea of the thoroughness with which the authors have gone into their subject and the care they have taken to give clear and interesting expression to their views.

The Two Kinds of Labor Unions.—From the beginning of the labor movement in America, about 1825, there have always been two views as regards the methods and purposes of unions. Some unionists always wished to organize only the skilled workers in small groups and thus advance the price of their labor. Such unions are craft unions or trade unions. These do not care much for the interests of the working class as a whole. They merely wish to help themselves to better conditions. If only the capitalists give in to their demands, they may continue to oppress members of other crafts or unorganized workers as much as they please. Of course so long as the members of a craft may better their condition in this way there is no argument against craft unionism. Craft unions will exist as long as they are successful.

Early Class Unionism.—But another kind of unionism in some form or other has always, from the beginning, been advocated. This is class unionism. A class union is one which attempts to unite all workers against all the capitalists. It recognizes the fact that all the workers are suffering from the same cause. It sees the capitalists, whenever driven to it by their interests, unite solidly against the workers. And usually the advocates of class unionism have been wise enough to foresee that if the workers wish permanent relief from wage-slavery they must secure complete control of the industries. But when this doctrine was first advocated in America, eighty years ago, the time was not ripe for it. The machines were too small, the markets were too limited, and therefore capitalism was not highly enough organized. It was at that time a beautiful and inspiring vision of what the future was to bring, rather than a practical policy for the working class.

The Growth of the Craft Unions.—The great error of the craft unionists has been in thinking that they can permanently better the condition of all members of their craft. The skilled worker can generally sell himself in the open market for only a little more than the unskilled worker, at most from ten to twenty per cent more. Let us take, for example, a machinist. A man of average intelligence can learn the machinist trade in three years. If the machinists receive very much more than the average of the unskilled workers, large numbers of the unskilled will set themselves to becoming machinists. By and by the number of machinists will outrun the number of jobs to be had. Then the wages of the machinists will fall until it is but little more than that of unskilled labor.

To meet this difficulty the craft unionists do not attempt to keep up wages chiefly by fighting the employers. They seek to make of their union a job trust. This is done, first, by restricting the number of apprentices. Some unions permit only the sons and brothers of the members to learn their trade. But this method cannot be entirely successful. The employers will always find ways of securing more skilled workers. Some come from other countries. But most of the newcomers in the trade are those who have been helpers. Thus blacksmiths' helpers soon become blacksmiths and machinists' helpers become machinists. Time and again have these trades gone on strike only to find that their helpers have taken their places and done their work. There remains but one thing for the union to do. It may keep out new members by high initiation fees and closed books. This is very commonly done and the union scale of wages for a time maintained. But it cannot be permanent. Sooner or later, in every trade, comes the machine. The machine is the great leveler. It has broken the ranks of union after union by making an end of the trade. In the few remaining crafts where high wages are paid and the eight-hour day is maintained, as in the building trades, there are so many workers that unemployment brings down the average yearly wage to far below the union scale. Also, while the cost of living goes up fifty per cent, the craft union may raise wages twenty per cent. There appears to have been a rise in fact there has been a fall in wages. In the face of all this, craft unions cannot maintain the standard of living of their members.

But the greatest weakness of craft unions flows from the very nature of their organization and purpose. The American Federation of Labor,

which includes nearly all of the craft unions of the nation, has never at any time claimed to have had more than seven per cent of the American working class within its ranks. It does not exist for the purpose of organizing the working class. It is a loose association of craft unions, each of which merely desires to keep up the standard of wages and hours in its own trade. The American Federation of Labor has no message for the working class. It does not seek to make an end of unemployment, of child labor, and of all the other frightful conditions of labor. To accomplish this it would have to make an end of the wages system. It would have to fight the capitalists as a matter of principle. But instead of fighting the capitalists, craft unionism whenever possible, makes peace with them and supports the wages system. Out of this attitude grows one of the greatest errors of craft unionism, the signing of agreements with employers. These agreements tie the hands of the workers and prevent them from striking for better conditions. But they do not prevent the capitalist from shutting up his shop and turning the workers into the street whenever he pleases. There should be no agreements between capitalists and wage workers which bind the workers to their work. Like the blind, the craft unions hobble along a step at a time, seeing not where they go. Every new invention of machinery makes the journeyman of today the apprentice of tomorrow. While industrial progress is destroying union after union, those that remain hug the delusion that they are going to last forever. It was of these unions that Karl Marx said forty-six years ago, that they generally failed "from limiting themselves to a guerilla war against the effects of the existing system instead of trying to change it, instead of using their organized forces for the abolition of the wages system."

The Growth of the Class Unions.—In all of the particulars above enumerated, class unionism is the opposite of craft unionism. The early form of the class union movement in the United States was the Knights of Labor. It was organized in 1869. It rose to its period of greatest strength from 1880 to 1890 and practically went out of existence in 1895. Its position was fundamentally correct. It sought to bring together all workers in one big union. It kept steadily before it a great general principle—the universal eight-hour day. But the Knights of Labor, as regards two matters, was in error. First, while it provided for one big union for all the workers, it permitted no industrial departments, nor craft locals within the union. It gathered into one local the butcher, the baker and the candlestick maker. There are often separate problems of industrial departments, and sometimes of craft locals, which the whole union cannot solve so well as the members of the particular industry or craft affected. In failing to provide for industrial shop organizations, the Knights of Labor paved the way for its own destruction. Secondly, the Knights of Labor admitted to its ranks small capitalists, members of professions and other non wage-workers. This was a very great error. A union should contain only members of the working class.

Instead of making peace with the capitalist whenever it can, class unionism fights the capitalist whenever it can. Instead of being satisfied with the present enslaved condition of the working class, class unionism has always for a goal a permanently better condition for all the workers. Today industrial unionism, which is the form class unionism has taken, must agitate ceaselessly for the emancipation of the working class.

Industrial Unionism.—The motto of industrial unionism is—**One union of all workers in an industry; all industries in one union.** The question is, not what tool do you use, but what kind of product do you help turn out? Industrial unionism has been developed to meet the conditions confronting the workers since the coming of the latest machines and the organization of the trusts.

The revolutionary industrial union is ever active, always fighting. The prosperity of a modern labor organization is measured by its activity. Activity for improved conditions or against the lowering of existing standards of living means that the membership is in arms against the exploiters.

Action against exploitation requires agitation, publicity, strikes, boycotts, political force—all the elements and expressions of discontent. Discontent is life. It impels to action. Contentment means stagnation and death.

CLASS WAR IN ENGLAND.

The following is a portion of an article by John Finigan in "Justice," London, giving glimpses of the great industrial struggle which was so splendidly won through class solidarity:

Liverpool, August 14.
Since the strike of the railwaymen opened some ten days ago, Liverpool has witnessed amazing and unforgettable scenes. The police and the military have been turned loose among the people by the panic-stricken capitalists, and by the Lord Mayor and his crazed and terror-ridden Watch Committee. The workers will remember these days for many years to come. The merits of the dispute have been overshadowed and almost obscured by these extraordinary happenings.

Last Saturday week the goods porters employed by one of the most wretched of railway companies in the country, the Lancashire and Yorkshire, went on strike for an increase of wages and a reduction of hours. Most of these men were receiving but 17s. per week, and working anything from 12 to 16 hours a day without extra pay. They were merely asking that the minimum rate should be a pound per week.

By the following Tuesday the goods men at all the various stations had ceased work. Foodstuffs and perishable goods were locked up, and the position looked ominous. Through the activity of the strikers, the merchants were unable to send or receive goods at any of the company's warehouses or stations. Milk and fish coming or going by passenger trains were successfully blocked, and the pickets had full control.

On Wednesday traffic at all the great goods

depots was at a standstill, and the gates of the principal passenger stations in the city had to be closed. Entry to or egress from was only possible through the presence and direction of the police. But for the turning back of carts and wagons, there was not the slightest trace of disorder or violence on the part of the men on strike. Consternation prevailed with the business men of the city.

On his own authority in the first instance, but afterwards sanctioned by the Watch Committee and the magistrates, the Lord Mayor appealed to the Government for advice. Without even being asked, Mr. Winston Churchill dispatched 400 of the Warwickshire Regiment to Liverpool, and was, therefore, responsible for the threat contained in the presence of the soldiers.

The first sign of hostility showed itself when the Birmingham police arrived in Lime Street Station. The crowds hooted and jeered them, but nothing worse happened. But for the tragedy, it would be amusing to reflect that Tory Birmingham should send its police to brutally maltreat the more Tory Liverpool.

The railwaymen still held the situation. Tons of fruit and other perishable stuffs had accumulated at the various centers. Lime Street Station, the most important passenger station in the city, was besieged by strikers, and only those conveyances having the strike committee's permits were allowed to enter or leave. The trading and capitalist community demanded that the authorities should take steps to preserve "law and order," and afford adequate protection to blackleg labor, and so enable them to carry on their businesses with the railways. Up till then peace and good order had prevailed. This notwithstanding, on the forenoon of the Thursday the Lord Mayor, in manifest and stupid terror, issued his proclamation and warning.

Barely was the ink dry on the paper than began one of the most brutal and barbarous assaults ever made by the police upon innocent and defenseless people. Recognizing the seriousness and gravity of the statement, I am compelled to say that the riots and bloodshed of Thursday night, Friday morning and evening were entirely caused by the action of the police. The authorities were alone responsible, and their object was to invite excuses for the presence of the military, so that the "mob," as the workers are now being called, could be successfully beaten and overawed.

NOT FOR THE SOCIAL DEMOCRAT.

The following letters were sent to the Social-Democrat two weeks ago, but did not appear: To the Editor:

In my opinion it is high time the management of this paper consult the membership of the party before printing such an article as we had last week entitled, "Shall Party Wreckers Succeed in California?"

If the recall of State Secretary F. B. Meriam will wreck the party, then by all means let it be wrecked; the sooner the better, and out of the wreck will emerge the tried and true and they it will be who will carry the banner of Socialism unswayed to victory.

That the party membership has increased under the administration of Meriam is no proof whatever that he is doing his duty or is capable of attending to the state office.

Socialism is growing everywhere and our increase in membership in California is due first, to the persecution of the unions and second, to the hard work of the comrades. Let us give credit where it is deserved.

I have grave doubts in regard to the success of the recall unless we have a special committee to attend to the counting of the votes as Mr. Meriam told me that he used his own judgment in regard to the counting of ballots and that there is no State Constitution for him to work by. So evidently he does as he likes.

Hoping that right will come out victorious, I am yours for Socialism.

MRS. B. E. EASTHAM,

Sawtelle, California, August 26, 1911.

THE RECALL (NO. 3.)

We have noticed in a previous article that the political game being so successfully played in the old political parties in order to keep the common herd in their place, has been transferred, with little or no change of tactics, to the Socialist party.

The common herd must get into this game if they would save themselves from the same exploitation that is practiced in the old parties.

Capitalism, which means exploitation, dies hard. It seems to adapt itself to any kind of soil. Neither reform Republicanism nor reform Democracy can kill it. As proof we simply call attention to the kidnapping of the McNamara's with a reformed Republican Governor at one end of the line and a reformed Democratic Governor at the other.

Socialism in name only would be no better than democracy in name only. But there is one thing about Socialism which is altogether different from any other political ism that the world has ever known; and that one thing is the recall measure.

The idea of a government of, for, and by the people, was not original with Abraham Lincoln. The old Roman proverb: "Vox Populi: Vox Dei" (The voice of the people the voice of God), embodied the same idea. Neither any Roman political writer nor Abraham Lincoln nor any other political writer, until we come down to the time of Carl Marx ever advanced any theory of government that would make a democracy a possibility or a practicality. It remained for the Socialist philosophy to solve this problem, and that part of the Socialist philosophy which is destined to solve the problem is the Initiative, Referendum and Recall—especially the Recall. Without this measure vigorously applied whenever it becomes necessary Socialism will go the way of the old political machines.

ALEXANDER PROTSMAN,

Sawtelle, Calif.

Chicago, Ill.

To the Socialist Papers on the Lyceum List:

Dear Comrades:—We enclose a sample ticket such as will be used by Socialist Lyceum Courses in about six hundred towns this season. Look it over. We expect that nearly half a million people will pay money for these tickets. They'll take their choice of the periodicals and books listed, and they'll hear the lectures.

We Socialists are always talking concert of action and harmony of purpose. Honestly, do you remember any occasion or enterprise better calculated to test our own abilities in the co-operation we talk about so much?

In view of the great educational campaign which must underlie successful Socialist growth, isn't this work important? Isn't it important enough for you to sit down, right now, and write what you feel and think about it, and publish the result in your paper?

We think so. We're working for you and we think you'll see a reason to work for us and with us.

Fraternally yours,
JOHN M. WORK,
Acting National Secretary.

EDITORIAL NOTE.—REVOLT approves the general plan of the national Socialist Lyceum, and will do everything that can and should be done to develop its effectiveness. We urge all locals to apply for dates and signify their preferences regarding speakers and methods of conducting the service.

ARRANGEMENT OF LECTURE COURSE
CIRCUITS OF NATIONAL SOCIALIST
LYCEUM BUREAU.

Subject Outline.

In each circuit the lecturers, in the order named, will speak on the following subjects:

1. How We are Gouged.
2. Why Things Happen to Happen.
3. The War of the Classes.
4. The Trust Busters.
5. Socialists at Work.

Personnel of Circuits.

EASTERN CIRCUIT.

1. Charles Edward Russell.
2. Walter J. Millard.
3. Ben Wilson.
4. John Slayton.
5. Lena Morrow Lewis.

CENTRAL CIRCUIT.

1. Oscar Ameringer.
2. Rose Pastor Stokes.
3. Frank Bohn.
4. R. A. Maynard.
5. A. W. Ricker.

WESTERN CIRCUIT.

1. W. T. Ries.
2. Ernest Untermyer.
3. George R. Kirkpatrick.
4. Carrie Allen.
5. Ralph Korngold.

PACIFIC CIRCUIT.

1. Eugene Wood.
2. N. A. Richardson.
3. C. B. Hoffman.
4. Anna Maley or May Wood Simons.
5. Winfield R. Gaylord.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Program.

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

1. A universal maximum work day of not more than eight hours.

2. Immediate relief for the unemployed by giving them employment on useful public work at union wages for union hours.

3. The most improved sanitary shop and housing conditions.

4. The strict enforcement of adequate child labor legislation.

5. Adequate provisions for free public employment agencies and the abolition of private employment agencies and kindred forms of grafting on the workers.

6. Adequate provisions for the education of all children. This to include free text books and free mid-day meals.

7. The abolition of the "third degree" and similar forms of police outrages.

8. The collective municipal ownership of all public utilities as an inevitable part of the general Socialist program to transfer the ownership of the means of production to the working class.

SOCIALIST PARTY TICKET.

Primary Municipal Election, September 26, 1911.

Mayor—William McDevitt. Police Judges—W. E. Dillon, David Henderson.

District Attorney—Emil Liess. City Attorney—W. H. Sigourney. Assessor—H. F. Sahlender. Auditor—A. K. Gifford.

Treasurer—Oliver Everett. Tax Collector—David Milder. Recorder—Henry Warnecke. Public Administrator—W. A. Pfeiffer.

County Clerk—M. H. Morris. Sheriff—Thos. J. Mooney. Coroner—Dr. M. B. Ryer.

Supervisors—Rollar Allen, Edward W. Bender, George Bostel, Dave Campbell, K. J. Doyle, Louis Fortin, C. W. Hogue, Robert Larkins, Chas. Lehman, Olaf Mork, Chas. Preston, Ernest L. Reguin, John M. Reynolds, Martin Eagan, S. Schulberg, George Steyche, Lynus Vanastine, Walter E. Walker.

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WEDGES AND WALLOPS.

"Depositing paper in a ballot box" is not the revolution, but it is a method of taking a poll as to how many of the enfranchised workers are ready for the revolution.

Under a "Union Labor" administration, they are building a classy jail. Along with the regular uninviting appearance of the cages in which humans are to be confined like so many wild beasts, they are, under a "Union Labor" administration, at work building inquisitorial chambers of horrors away down in the bowels of a dreadful building where police and detectives can apply the "third degree" so that men will "confess" crimes that capitalists, police and detectives themselves are responsible for.

It is plain that the Rolph crowd is going to force a struggle. The incumbent president of the Merchants' Association, M. H. Robbins, who, by the way, stepped into the position made vacant by "Dummy Rolph's" necessary activity to become the puppet of the brutal James McNab, expressed himself as follows at a luncheon of the California Club of September 12:

"The first thing noticeable in the street cleaning and repairing department here is," said Robbins, "the abnormally high rate paid the employees. Three dollars is the wage here, in New York it is \$2.19, which is considered high, and elsewhere in the east the average is \$1.50. As the cost of labor is 66 per cent of the total cost of street sweeping here, a fair wage per day of \$2.25, would mean a vast saving of money."

"Saving of money!" Get wise! Take charge of the wealth and government, you toilers, by organizing as a class, industrially and politically. Join the Socialist Party and aid in the work.

When Pat Calhoun successfully used P. H. McCarthy and other toots to escape from the clutches of Goo-Gools, who had the illustrious Pat legally cornered, by having the "big boob" Charlie Fickett elected District Attorney with the aid of many "Union Labor" political adventurers, then Pat Calhoun hid himself to the Cliff House; there arranged a feast fit for the educated palate of prominent Labor Leaders. At this feast Mayor McCarthy was the guest of honor.

Resolved, That we demand that the mayor of the city of Los Angeles take some active steps toward forcing the police department to do its duty in taking up and diligently conducting a search for our comrade. And be it further Resolved, That we call upon the Grand Jury now in session, and which has so servilely served the oppressors of the workers, to redeem themselves, if they can, by taking up and investigating the facts surrounding the disappearance of G. H. Shoaf and the negligence of the police authorities of Los Angeles.

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the street cars, many of them sporting McCarthy buttons in their caps. Considering that quite recently a number of men were discharged by the United Railroads' officials for being suspected of belonging to a union, it is indeed a sign of progress when the street car employees are allowed to sport buttons of the "Union Labor" candidate.

On the 17th of September of last year the notorious gambler and exploiter, Charlie Schwab, came to San Francisco. It was then he protested against the high wages of the workers employed in this district. A real Union Labor leader would have spurned and scorned the scoundrel that had just used the Pennsylvania Cossacks in defeating the half-starved workers of South Bethlehem.

To vote against capitalism one must vote for the straight Socialist Party ticket. SELIG SCHULBERG.

LOS ANGELES GERMAN SOCIALISTS PROTEST.

At a regular meeting of the German-American Branch, Socialist party, the following resolutions were adopted and are presented herewith as follows:

Whereas, Our Comrade, George H. Shoaf, for years a writer and worker in the cause of the working class, a man who has devoted his life to the betterment of economic and industrial conditions of humanity, has disappeared under circumstances that indicate that he has been foully murdered or kidnaped; and

Whereas, The police authorities have, by a rare and singular coincidence assigned the case to a detective who is under indictment and fleeing from justice on a charge of kidnaping a brother worker and personal friend of George H. Shoaf; and

Whereas, The city council of Los Angeles, under direction of the mayor of this city, has appropriated and paid \$20,400 of the people's money to a certain detective who is himself under a felony indictment, charged with kidnaping a friend and fellow worker of the missing Shoaf; and

Whereas, The working class has ever been discriminated against in this high-handed, illegal and unjust manner; therefore, be it Resolved, That we demand that the mayor of the city of Los Angeles take some active steps toward forcing the police department to do its duty in taking up and diligently conducting a search for our comrade. And be it further

Resolved, That we call upon the Grand Jury now in session, and which has so servilely served the oppressors of the workers, to redeem themselves, if they can, by taking up and investigating the facts surrounding the disappearance of G. H. Shoaf and the negligence of the police authorities of Los Angeles.

GERMAN BRANCH, SOCIALIST PARTY, Fritz Steiger, Organizer.

FUSION QUESTION UP.

National Committee Referendum Submitted.

"On behalf of the Missouri State party, I, Clyde Berry, duly accredited

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representative of the State Quorum of Missouri, do hereby appeal the decision of the National Executive Committee which recognizes the petition of 512 signatures of supposed party members of Missouri, to the National Committee, and as National Committeeman, move that the National Executive Committee be restrained from conducting said election."

Comment by Jas. H. Brower, National Committee Member of Illinois.

"When officials of the party take it upon themselves to sit as judges upon a case in which they are involved, it's high time to call a halt."

Comment by J. N. Morrison, National Committee Member of Arizona.

"There can be no question that the greater part of the signers of the petition on which the National Executive Committee acted were not, at the time of the election of the officers whose title they deny, members of the Socialist Party. This election took place in December and they were expelled, for fusing with other political parties, in August preceding. This question of Socialist fusing and compromising with other parties is becoming one of VITAL interest to our party, and if instead of upholding the comrades in disciplining members who are untrue to their party pledges, we let the comrades understand that to be loyal is dangerous, you may be sure that we are driving home the entering wedge of disruption, and the day is past when we can be considered a militant menace to the shrewd capitalist politician.

Comment by Algernon Lee, National Committee Member of New York.

"I find myself unable to support National Committeeman Berry's motion. As a matter of technical constitutionality, the action of the National Executive Committee seems to me justifiable. As a matter of common sense, fair play and party policy, it seems desirable. That a local membership was thrown out by a referendum in which its members had no vote, and that the Local Quorum assumed power to overthrow acts of the State Committee (stated by Brandt and Garver and not denied by Berry)—these facts seem to me to warrant the proposed referendum under national supervision."

Vote will close September 22nd. Fraternaly submitted, JOHN M. WORK, Acting National Secretary.

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

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

Socialist dance every Saturday evening, Puckett's Maple Hall, Polk and California streets.

Open Forum meets in Jefferson Square Hall every Thursday night. Street meetings of the Socialist Party every Saturday night at Grant Avenue and Market Street.

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

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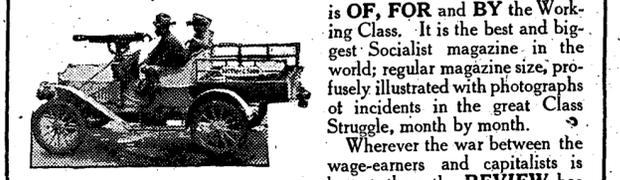
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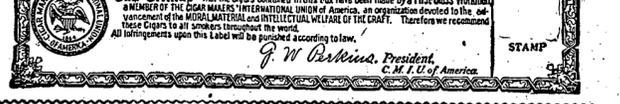
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