



## THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

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WHOLE NO. 34

### PHYSICAL VIOLENCE

#### "Proletarian and Petit-Bourgeois"

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

Apropos the McNamara Confession.

"The formation of the great concerns has broken down the dividing lines of the crafts and has transcended the old form of organization of industry in accordance with which the craft organization was formed. The small competing capitalist engaged in a specific and narrow part of the process of industry has been displaced by the combination of crafts which go to make up an industry.

"The result upon unionism is not difficult to see. The striking craftsman finds himself confronted, not by competing craft employers, but by an entire industrial capitalist organization in which the enormous resources of the combined industry are pitted against the feeble efforts of the craft. It is impossible except in very unusual circumstances for the craft to be able to meet the situation. It opposes to the united strength of the employers only such resources as it can bring to its aid under the circumstances of the particular case, and the result has been, in a majority of recent cases, crushing defeat. Then the craft organization, seeing that its property is gone and desperate at the loss of that which it has relied upon as the only means of saving it from the pit becomes angry and violence which is inseparable from strikes of this character supervenes.

"It is obvious that the craft union is an individualistic manifestation. Now, physical violence is, as it always has been, the last resource of individualism. To the absolutism of the trust the craftsman replies as does the thwarted Russian revolutionist to the absolutism of the Czar, and the results are very much the same. Now and again the world is shocked by happenings in the trade union world, but the absolutism persists, just as in Russia, because there is no effectual social attack upon it, and because ineffectual acts of violence have precisely the same effect in trade disputes as in Russian politics of alienating public sympathy from the rebel, and strengthening the public belief that after all absolutism is the only protection from anarchy.

"The craft unions are thereupon compelled to look in another direction and to turn their eyes towards industrial unionism as a remedy. Louder and louder the demand arises that the only way in which the working class can expect to achieve progress in the face of the odds which confront it is by organization in terms of the capitalist industry, and that means the practical elimination of the crafts, as protectors of special property interests."—Proletarian and Petit-Bourgeois, page 18.

#### DOROTHY JOHNS AT TRACY.

Tracy, Dec. 11, 1911.

Comrades of REVOLT:

Mrs. Dorothy Johns spoke here under the auspices of Local Tracy last Friday night in the Presbyterian church. Mrs. Johns' subject was, "The Significance of the Ballot to the Working Class Mother," which she handled in a manner interesting to all.

Local Tracy takes pleasure in recommending Mrs. Johns to other Locals, as her talk was very instructive as well as interesting.

We think if more of the Socialists were of Mrs. Johns' type the real Socialist movement would progress quite a bit faster.

Yours for the Revolution.  
GEO. L. KNIVETON,  
Secretary, Local Tracy.

#### THE WORK THAT KILLS.

"You may work, and work, and work, till you are only a body, not a soul. Now, when I see one of those evil looking men that come from Europe—navvies, with the beast-like sunken face, different from any Kaffir—I know what has brought that look into their eyes. It is work, grinding, mechanical work that has made them into beasts. Work is good. I have worked at the old farm from the sun's rising till its setting, but I have had time to think and time to feel. You may work a man so that all but the animal in him is gone; and that grows stronger with physical labor.

OLIVE SCHREINER.

OFFICE OF REVOLT NOW AT 1384 SUTTER STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

### WALL STREET AND THE ELECTION

#### Capitalists Need Not Fear a Reactionary Socialist Party

BUSINESS IS GOOD IN WALL STREET

By JOHN D.

J. P. Morgan is very much pleased with the victories of the Socialist party at the recent election. His organ, the New York Sun, said editorially re the result, in its issue of Nov. 10:

"The Sole Conservative Party.

"The Socialist who was elected Mayor of Schenectady Tuesday promises to do nothing to injure the business enterprises of that industrial city, promises to help them as much as he can and to invite new capital and concerns to establish themselves there. He would enlarge business and its prosperities.

"If this is the spirit of the Socialist candidates, so many of whom were successful at the polls this year, the numerous and varied solemn explanations of Socialist success that are dripping from so many pens need revision. Our own modest surmise is that people are going over to the Socialists as the only conservative and business cherishing party now on view."

The financial editor of the same paper in his weekly résumé said:

"It is doubtful if Tuesday's elections caused any buying or selling of stocks to speak of either before or after the event. But the results of these contests can only be interpreted in a broad way as favorable to business and as making for constructive rather than destructive ends. A feature of the elections was, of course, the large increase in the Socialist vote, but there can be few people so foolish as to think that this really means any increase in the adherents of out and out Socialist principles."

Not a word has been heard from No. 26 Broadway re the election, but it is generally believed in Wall street that the Rockefeller interests are of the same opinion re the outcome as is the House of Morgan. All the leading New York papers join in the view that the growth of the Socialist vote is the forerunner of a great conservative party in the near future in the United States.

The New York World said in part editorially in its issue of Nov. 10, under the caption: "The Socialist Victory in Wall Street":

"Nowhere save among the Socialists themselves should the news be so welcome as in Wall street. The street believes in 'big business'—so do the Socialists. Both are agreed that competition has outlived its usefulness. Both denounce the trust-dissolving prosecutions of the Government.

"They are one in heart on this subject—why should they not act as one in politics? If the Socialists want to extend combination to a comprehensive Government ownership of industry, Wall street is headed that way and is less kind to itself in admitting private ownership of capital with all the risks under a control by politicians of its profits.

"Over so unessential a difference compromise is easy. It can be settled at a conference between J. P. Morgan and Morris Hilquit."

The World is a middle-class newspaper, and so its views are important from the standpoint of that class.

James J. Hill said re last week's election: "Politics never did and never can hurt what's in the ground. That's all I have to say about the result."

Banking journals chime in with the views expressed by J. P. Morgan's paper and the other leading organs and assure the capitalists of this country and abroad that as at present organized there is no need to fear the SOCIALIST PARTY.

The Financial World, a high class journal, says re the election:

"The Socialist Victories.

"The very important victories obtained in many cities throughout the country by the Socialists, who have captured many important cities, cannot be passed over lightly. The Socialist party exaggerates, as usual, the extent of their gains, but the overturning in many municipalities is a display of public resentment which must be taken to heart by the old parties. Many voters cast their ballots for the Socialist candidates merely out of protest against the graft and corruption that had ruled. They know little and care less about the Socialist doctrines, and will be ready to return to the party of their former allegiance if they find the new order of things up to their expectations, but the fact that they wanted a change is plain notice that old methods of municipal rule have not given satisfaction. We believe, too, that capi-

tal will not take fright and that the true proportions assumed by this new movement will be properly measured as a cure not so formidable as it looks."

The Wall Street Journal is of the opinion that "if there have been Socialistic successes in some places they are generally to be explained by local circumstances, the extravagance in municipal office of members of the older parties having driven the voters to adopt the only change that gave them an opportunity to obtain relief, or administer a rebuke to those formerly chosen as their representatives."

Bankers like Henry Clews, when asked if they would buy the bonds of the cities that have come under the control of the Socialists, state without hesitation, "Yes."

These men point to Milwaukee, and say that notwithstanding the stories that taxes have gone up, the city is pretty well clear of graft and cite with pride the fact that some months ago Parkinson and Burr, members of the Stock Exchange, bought a batch of the city's bonds and paid a good figure for them. As a matter of fact, there are, Wall street bankers assert, many cities in America whose credit is not so high as is Milwaukee's, despite its Socialist "taint." Only the Saturday after the election, the Milwaukee Electric Railway and Light Company formulated plans for the execution of a new mortgage with an issue of \$90,000,000 bonds. This concern owns practically all of the railway and electric franchises of Milwaukee, and its officials state that Wall street bankers would gladly subscribe to this big bond issue.

The victory at Schenectady greatly pleased General Manager Emmons, of the General Electric Company with a capital stock of \$122,757,000, and Mr. Emmons says that Dr. Linn is a conservative man. The General Electric and the American Locomotive Company shops are the biggest concerns in the city and the officials of the latter corporation, with a capital of \$53,000,000, hold Dr. Linn in high esteem. Both the shares of the General Electric and American Locomotive companies have advanced on the floor of the Stock Exchange since the victory of the Socialist ticket. That is Wall street's answer to the voters of that city for choosing the "Radical" party in preference to either of the old hacks.

Wall street bankers realize that the mayors of the various cities throughout the nation, are hemmed in by charters, etc., and that in the event of labor troubles, they cannot do anything of great damage to the vested interests of America's money power. Every function worth while in such times is controlled by the Federal authorities, when we speak in a political way, and Wall street is in control of the economic resources of this country. Quite a formidable pair of twins—to fight the working class, bankers state.

Wall street wants to know what our mayors and city officials can do in a case like that of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company at its plant in Martin's Ferry, Ohio, when the concern fired the bulk of the clerks employed there because the SOCIALISTS FLECTED THEIR CITY TICKET. Bankers want your correspondent to tell them what Dr. Linn can do in such a case? They figure absolutely nothing and add that the lockout is a weapon, entirely controlled as yet by the capitalist class.

Business is good as far as Wall street is concerned. Roads like the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western report earnings of about 45 per cent. in excess of 1910. The steel trade has begun to look up, railway earnings generally are tending upward; the United States Circuit Court has given Wall street's combinations an epoch making impetus, when it recently accepted the reorganization plan of the American Tobacco, on lines laid down in the Sherman Act.

Wall street is not worried in the least re the recent election results and as a matter of fact quite a few bankers and brokers will vote the SOCIALIST PARTY ticket next year, provided it holds to its conservative attitude, which the New York Sun believes it is now to be the leading exponent in this country.

Wall street in closing is afraid of only one thing in America to-day, and that is an organization having for its end the taking over the means of life from the men that control them. The Socialist party, in Wall street's opinion, has not as yet arrived at that necessary STATION in our economic LIFE, hence the tame way in which it views the recent political "upheaval."

### EXIT GOMPERS!

#### Some Hope Now for Organized Labor

Evidences are not wanting that the days of Samuel Gompers as a power in the labor movement are numbered. The causes are not far to seek. He goes down from the same causes that are making for the elimination of one P. H. McCarthy and other personages which the "Carry-California-for-Socialism" fusionists have been so anxious to have the Socialist party tie to.

Essentially, Gompers (like P. H. McCarthy and J. Stitt Wilson) is a job-holder. There are many of this type who never have held jobs of the desired kind, in which the energy expended is confined to political manipulation to "cinch" the job and fatten its emoluments, and never will. Gompers, McCarthy and Wilson have succeeded in their time, but their time is about up. It is becoming harder and harder to hold such jobs in the "labor movement," and though the Socialist political movement seems to offer many possibilities of soft berths at the present time, there are strong indications that the "golden age" for the political adventurer in the party is destined to be brief. Wilson already is seeking a soft place to fall, making tentative efforts to become a "woman's candidate" for something worthy of his abilities and ambitions, and at the same time allying himself with the ragged remnant of the despairing petit bourgeois forces that still grasps at the straw of single tax. Wilson is willing to sip political nectar through that straw.

Poor "P. H." never saw the possibility of his downfall until after it happened, and even now does not realize its completeness.

Gompers knows that something is coming, very like a brick, but scarcely knows why. He knows he has done everything possible, according to his lights, to avert or dodge the political doom whose trump even now is sounding for him in the American Federation of Labor. He has made himself safe, sane and conservative in the eyes of the masters, while promising the workers all sorts of relief to be gained through his influence with the employing class. At the same time, as is amply revealed by recent events, he has winked at the senseless acts of desperation to which the craft unions were driven by the sense of helplessness in any other direction, resulting inevitably from the emasculating effects of all that Samuel Gompers has stood for and sought to maintain in the organization which has been paying him \$6000 a year and "expenses" to ruin it.

Straws which the desperate "Sammy" will not grasp at, but which show plainly the set of the wind, are the demands of local unions in all parts of the country, some for the resignation of President Gompers and others for withdrawal from the A. F. of L. without more ado.

Weakness, helplessness, brings desperation. Samuel Gompers and his tribe knew this well enough (little as they truly know of working class nature and needs) to brand them now as the responsible criminals in all that the McNamaras and their agents have done to "put a club in the hands of the employers."

Knowing he was weakening the organization in everything except the central funds out of which his salary and "expenses" were paid, Gompers has gone on. Knowing that the desperate craft unions, which he and his policies have rendered powerless to defy and nullify the laws which threaten to deprive them even of the petty business privilege of "collective bargaining," were being driven to secret and futile attacks on law and life, Gompers has closed his eyes and let the organization drive on to destruction.

Thousands of workers, in the A. F. of L. craft unions, do not realize distinctly just how their sneaking president has carried water on both shoulders, bidding for support in any way and any direction which promised to assure him his position in his cowardly old age, but instinctively they are becoming aware that Samuel Gom-

pers, president of the American Federation of Labor, has played false to his trust in every way. His terrified wail that "union labor is law-abiding and opposed to violence" was a revelation to all men.

Gompers has done little, in his long career as a salaried official of the American Federation of Labor, to earn any of the money taken from the duped workmen, there is one thing he has earned and will receive in fullest measure—the honest contempt of organized labor in this country.

The sooner this end shall be realized, and the union men cut loose from the hampering craft traditions which have held the A. F. of L. in bondage, the sooner will there be a labor movement in America worthy of the name.

**KERR REPLIES TO N. E. C. MEMBERS**

To the Editor:

Several charges, false on their face to any one in the least familiar with the facts, have been repeated so often in the party press that a denial becomes necessary.

These charges are directed against Charles H. Kerr & Company and the International Socialist Review in general, and against William D. Haywood and Frank Bohn in particular.

The attacks have come in three forms. First, an official motion with comment by Robert Hunter of the N. E. C. Second, various letters by Hunter, Hillquit and Spargo, supplemented by editorial paragraphs in the Social Democratic Herald. Third, written and verbal communications to the various party locals from these men and their supporters. These last are, perhaps the most dangerous because of their vague and indefinite character, which makes any complete answer difficult.

John Spargo, apparently less clever at insinuations than his associates, resorts to a direct and absurd falsehood over his own signature. He charges our publishing house with using the funds of its stockholders to circularize the party locals as well as individuals to bring about the election of Comrades Haywood and Bohn to the N. E. C. This is simply a lie. We challenge John Spargo to produce a single circular sent from this office to any local or individual to make votes for Haywood and Bohn. Neither has the Review published a line in its pages which can truthfully be described as "electioneering." Read our December issue from beginning to end, and not even a reference to the party election will be found, apart from the letters of acceptance by Comrades Haywood and Bohn, which were also published in both Socialist dailies.

As for Robert Hunter's motion that the National Committee be instructed to investigate our publishing house, it need only be said that such an investigation would be welcomed by us, since it would bring forcibly to the attention of party members the importance of the work we are doing in furnishing at the lowest possible figures the standard books and pamphlets explaining the principles of Socialism. His comment, however, contains a guarded insinuation directed against Comrade Haywood, which if not exposed might injure Haywood in the minds of comrades unacquainted with the facts.

Hunter intimates that a Local holding a Haywood meeting is required to pay Charles H. Kerr & Company \$250 for Review subscriptions, out of which it is alleged that Haywood gets \$50. Now the fact is, as all comrades who have managed Haywood meetings know, that we ask the Local to guarantee, not \$250, but \$100; in other words, the Local takes 500 three-months' subscriptions at 25c each and we allow the comrades to keep \$25 for hall rent. Out of the \$100 paid us we pay the cost of filling the 500 subscriptions, we give the Local 200 copies of the Review to be sold at 10c each for the Local's benefit, we furnish the necessary printed matter for advertising the meeting, and we pay for Haywood's railroad fare and hotel bills as well as his services. A little figuring will enable any comrade to judge for himself how much of a margin is left for graft, either for Haywood's benefit or for any of the comrades who are said to hold "fat jobs" in the office of Charles H. Kerr & Company. The whole charge would be too ridiculous to mention but for the fact that our silence might cause certain comrades to misjudge William D. Haywood.

The motive behind these attacks is all plain enough. The reactionary majority of the present N. E. C. find their power and influence slipping away. They are many sizes too small for the position they happen to occupy. They have attempted to run a great revolutionary movement by methods of petty intrigue and egotistic usurpation of power which have long since disgusted a majority of the membership. Behind them they have a minority, only a small fraction of which is composed of place-seekers like themselves, while most of their support comes from loyal comrades whom they have deceived and hope to continue deceiving as before.

They control many channels of communication between party members and are scheming to control more. The International Socialist Review they cannot control and therefore they aim to kill it or discredit it.

They will not succeed. If the Review stood for the personal ambitions and interests of any one man or any little group of men, it would not be formidable enough to arouse these bitter attacks from our tottering dictators. If the Review has any strength, and our enemies think it has, that strength comes from the fact that our aim and our constant endeavor is to voice the thoughts and the will of the workers who make up the essential and vital part of the Socialist movement. And sooner or later, they will find a way to make their will prevail, and the petty politicians will have to make way for men who will carry out the wishes of the workers.

CHARLES H. KERR.

OFFICE OF REVOLT NOW AT 1384 SUTTER STREET, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.

**PATROL OF RESPECTABLE SOCIALISM.**

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

In the Chicago "Daily Socialist" of Nov. 18th, Morris Hillquit has an article on "Socialism and Law," which is intended as a public rebuke to Haywood and Bohn for certain remarks in their joint pamphlet, "Industrial Socialism." The passage which provokes Hillquit's criticism is under the heading, "Economic Determinism," and reads as follows:

"When the worker, either through experience or a study of Socialism, comes to know this truth (the economic foundation of modern ethics and jurisprudence) he acts accordingly. He retains absolutely no respect for the property 'rights' of the profit-takers. He will use any weapon which will win his fight. He knows that the present laws of property are made by and for the capitalists. Therefore he does not hesitate to break them. He knows that whatever action advances the interests of the working class is right, because it will save the workers from destruction and death. A knowledge of economic determinism places the worker squarely on his intellectual feet and makes him bold and independent of mind."

The learned comrade finds in this statement an incitement to illegality and violence. It is to be feared that a timorousness, born perhaps of city life, causes him to see an enemy in every bush. Comrade Hillquit is the patrol of respectable socialism, which has as its aim the bourgeoisie of the coarse workingman. There is none so respectable as the respectable Socialist. The minister is more clerical than the priest, and, unquestionably, a Methodist Bishop might be reasonably proud of Hillquit's article.

But pussy-footed criticism has the defects of its feline qualities, therefore, a certain not very subtle deception pervades the whole article. It is made to appear, presumably for tactical reasons not unconnected with political party campaigning, that Haywood and Bohn advocate violence. The article, however, does not substantiate any such inferences, for what does it say? It declares that knowledge of the economic basis of modern society destroys respect for property rights, and that the worker who gets the economic basis idea is not too particular about the weapons he uses to enforce his idea. Violence is no further advocated than in this, that is not at all.

Is not this true? Let recent history answer. An examination of working class activity proves the truth of the statement that loss of respect for capitalistic institutions renders those institutions more liable to attack, to illegal attack moreover. To dilate upon this would expose us to a wail of horror such as Simons recently set up, nevertheless the history of modern trade unionism even in this country is replete with instances supporting this position. Moreover Hillquit, who has political ambitions, would be perhaps surprised to hear that not infrequently these abominable ebullitions of illegality are provocative of social reform. On the Coast for example we speak on the public streets simply because we compelled the right, and compelled it illegally. We were not in the least respectable about it, on the contrary, we were quite rough and ready and went to jail. And those who went to jail, were not the I. W. W. at whom of course Hillquit would turn up a respectable nose, but actual members of the Socialist party, in the days before the I. W. W. was born. Some of us indeed in that remote past actually admired Hillquit.

Of course all the historic information about Marx and the International is so much flap doodle, a sort of slopping over of the special pleader. It is professional; Hillquit and I understand that very well. When Haywood and Bohn recommend the assassination of rulers or advocate street rioting, we can look up the proper section of the Marxian code and proceed to condemnation accordingly, but in the meantime no threats appear to have been uttered, not even threats of "law breaking." In fact, the only threats are those made by Hillquit, who talks, probably, in reminiscent mood, of barricades, an anachronism of which I am sure Haywood would never be guilty.

To render the Methodist Bishop parallel more complete Hillquit strikes the moral pose, and declares for a fight "with clean weapons." Fine! But Hillquit forgets that he is an opportunist politician, and as such must use weapons the cleanliness of which is not their chief desideratum. Here, however, we draw a veil, for the epithets of the moralists always cover us with blushes and confusion.

The real note, the shrinking respectability declares itself in the last paragraph in which we meet the words, "Any indiscreet remark of expression is sure to be quoted against us forever and ever." Herein is the gist of the matter; herein is the attitude of the critic made manifest. The chief trouble with Hillquit after all, is the very ordinary trouble, what will people say, or rather what will respectable people say? Vox populi is not even Vox Dei to Hillquit, it is Deus himself. Respectability is so much the deity of our unwilling critic, that one might almost mistake him for an English grocer.

**INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISTS ATTENTION!**

MEETING WILL BE HELD SUNDAY, DECEMBER 17TH, 8 P. M., IN GERMANIA HALL, 15TH AND MISSION STREETS. TO DEVISE WAYS AND MEANS OF MAINTAINING HEADQUARTERS AND EDUCATIONAL MEETINGS. EVERY READER OF REVOLT IN SAN FRANCISCO IS IN DUTY BOUND TO ATTEND THIS MEETING.

**OUR OPPORTUNISTIC POLITICIANS GETTING HURT.**

By CAROLINE NELSON.

The question at this hour for the workers is not: how can we best show capital how utterly we despise the McNamaras and outdo one another in clamoring for revenge on them? The question is, what can we learn from it? What shall be our future course in order to avoid such a catastrophe again. Everyone of us believed that the McNamaras were innocent. We may incidentally remark here that we have never in REVOLT kowtowed to craft labor leaders. On the contrary, we have hammered them for their idiotic tactics and hypocritical proclamations, about the "identity of interest of labor and capital." We have severally criticized our opportunistic politicians for making love to craft labor leaders for any purpose whatsoever. As a reward for our farsightedness we were boycotted in the party and Local, and literally kicked out by a petition of the woman's committee.

REVOLT'S crime was that it was staunch and true to non-compromising tactics in the Socialist Party, which any economic student worthy of the name knows is our only safe course to final victory. And until craft labor leaders see fit to unite labor instead of keeping them separate, we can officially have nothing to do with them. We cannot say, "Workers of the world, unite," and "Workers of the world, keep separate," in the same breath.

Down in Los Angeles the Socialist leaders won the admiration of Gompers and the whole outfit of conservative craft labor leaders who in every other place do all in their power to work against Socialism. This was a miracle that the Harriman-Wilson-Meriam Co. performed in this State. This miracle business was peddled about with great glee among our opportunists here in San Francisco. They were preparing to perform the same kind of a miracle here and never lost an opportunity to make love to the defunct labor politicians who are also the craft labor leaders here. Meeting after meeting was gotten up where they were invited to speak, and called "brother" and boosted to the sky by our politicians. McCarthy was their special favorite. In fact if the truth was known we should find that REVOLT was suppressed and labeled a dirty "gutter sheet" for no other reason than to please a bunch of middle-headed labor leaders (?) and dirty politicians in our party, who are making use of the inexperienced emotional woman in our party to further their own end. Anyone who has read the REVOLT from the first issue to the last knows that nothing has ever been printed that could by a stretch of imagination be called dirty. But we women will learn. We have been slaves for so many centuries that it is hard for us to find our way in the world. We are still intoxicated by masculine grand-stand plays. We still think that a noble masculine pleading for our uplift is the thing.

We find now that the craft labor leaders are under suspicion, our politicians are the first to turn them down, and look innocent. In the meantime it is not time just now for all Socialists to rally to the party to once more make it a working-class party? Is it not time to take possession of OUR house and reduce to the rank and file those leaders who have been working to perform the miracle of turning it over to conservative craft Gompersites? That this miracle failed for the present at least is due to the confessions of the McNamaras. It is an evil wind that blows no one any good. And if these middle-headed terrorists never did any other good in their lives, they did that much for us, if we are not too middle-headed ourselves to be benefited by it.

It is deplorable to think that at this state of the game labor leaders think that dynamite can scare capital. It is inconceivable to understand how labor leaders can fight industrial unionism openly and secretly chase around with dynamite bombs to blow up the masters' buildings in the midst of a strike, hoping to bring him to terms, such as the McNamaras confessed to have done. That the rank and file of labor are burdened with such idiots, for they are undoubtedly more idiotic than criminal, is due to the capitalistic education and environment, where tacitly it is understood that a crime is not a crime until it is discovered. Such means is very different from striking on the job, which means that if I am a cook, for instance, and want better terms which my masters refuse to give me, the meals will be as far below the standard as I can make them, and all my fellow cooks will do the same thing until the masters get wise to the game and fire us one by one and hire us again one by one, with the same result. It is very different from blowing up his house or poisoning his food. The first is direct action, the last is a round-about stupid crime. No one can compel a set of people to do their best for the least pay, or in unsatisfactory conditions. ANY DIRTY POLITICIAN THAT WANTS TO WIPE OFF HIS SOILED HANDS ON THE DIRECT ACTIONIST HAD BETTER LOOK OUT LEST HE GET HIMSELF INTO STILL MORE DISGRACE.

In the meantime it is well to remember that where befuddled-minded McNamaras have killed their dozens, capitalists have killed their tens of thousands, and are still at it while they breed themselves as virtuous, Christian citizens. But our murderous ruling class kill in a nice way, a professional way. They just compel men, women and children to work themselves to death for their benefit. They let them do their own killing, if you please, or poison them wholesale with rotten food. In the view of such facts we refuse to go into spasms and demands to the effect that the McNamaras should be strung to the highest telegraph pole.

**AS TO GOVERNMENT.**

By DONALD D. HORNE.

The French Revolution has been pointed to as the example which should deter any intelligent people from rebellion against unjust government. Yet a study of that revolution from the standpoint of the later historians places the revolutionary philosopher in a position to use it to support his view. It was, despite the Reign of Terror, despite the ignorance of the people and the early age in which it occurred, productive of great good, according to the later historians, and practically no harm. It was distinctly a social movement, and the seemingly ill effects of it were, in reality, effects of other causes than the revolution.

A definition of government given by Austin Lewis in REVOLT for November 11, 1911, will help to understand the reason for all revolutions, including the French Revolution. A dominant economic class gives way to a rising economic class. Thus the government is completely changed, and the revolution is accomplished. For the government, says Austin Lewis, is the machinery by which the dominant economic class is enabled to control the resources of the community over which it presides. Government implies power of taxation and control of armed forces. The one supplants the other, and both are exercised by the class in possession of the government.

In France, just before 1789, the Tiers Etat, or Third Estate, the bourgeoisie, was growing restless and was beginning to realize that it was the rising class. It included the proletariat at that time, because the development of machinery had not yet created a large proletariat distinct from the bourgeoisie. The struggle was between feudalism and republicanism, that is, between the nobility and the commons. And as a monarch cannot exist without a nobility, it was between the monarchy and the people. The quarrel was that the feudal nobility incident to the monarchical system abused their taxing privileges, and made too great a burden upon bourgeoisie and proletariat alike. The people as a mass will put up with considerable abuse of power, but it sometimes becomes necessary for them to make a readjustment in the dominant class, or to replace the dominant economic class by a new economic class.

The French Revolution was of course accompanied by much sentimentalism, but with some keen statesmanship. Mirabeau, Barnave, Danton, Robespierre, and men of that type, knew the situation in France, knew the probable outcome of the policies of the leaders of the time, who disregarded their advice. Mirabeau's main policy was to prevent the French from undertaking a foreign war. Robespierre, Danton and Marat, men whose very names are synonymous with the Terror, to the average reader, opposed this war, and opposed making it a sentimental war. But they were defeated, and they later were forced to bear the burden of the war which they had opposed. And the significant thing to be noticed here is, that it was the foreign war, not the French Revolution, which, in the opinion of the modern historian, caused the Reign of Terror.

The later historians divide the French Revolution into two periods—the peace period and the war period. The peace period resulted in nothing but good. The rising bourgeoisie established a republican form of government and abolished political classes. But the period of foreign war resulted in the Reign of Terror. It fulfilled the prophecy of Mirabeau, in one of his notes to the court, that a foreign war would create despotism, because during a foreign war the people would submit to a dictator, as they did in the days of the old Romans, and the natural result would be a military leader.

The great enemy of the French Revolution was Edmund Burke—a politician of England who represented the propertied classes of England, and who woke the propertied classes of Europe to the real meaning of the French Revolution, and the danger to these classes. Burke was the first to see that the foreign war in which France was engaged just before the Reign of Terror could be converted into a sentimental, or religious war. This he desired to do, in order to still further awake his own class. He succeeded. Burke's writings are chiefly the cause of the war between France and Austria becoming a sentimental war between republican France and all kings—that is, all monarchies. Practically, France undertook to defeat all Europe, and make it republican instead of monarchical. The revolutionary propaganda was spread. It did not take among the ignorant masses of Europe. Mass action in France has always been superior to that of other European nations. The other nations seemed unable to comprehend the propaganda of liberty. France had undertaken too big a contract for the age, and as a result was forced to raise larger numbers of troops than the nation was well able to afford. That was the keynote of the Reign of Terror—the raising of troops.

Thus the historian vindicates the position of the Socialist philosopher. Foreign war is not justifiable; but revolution is healthy and desirable at the right time. Revolution does not result in reigns of terror, but war does. And revolutions will occur in the future, we think, as in the past, when a class rising in economic strength is able to throw off its oppressors and put an end to the abuse of their powers.

**LOOKS GOOD TO HIM.**

Dec. 9th, 1911.  
Dear Comrades:—Accept the enclosed \$1.00 as a donation to the support of the REVOLT. The articles that I read in it from week to week look good to me, and express the opinions that I have held for the last ten years.  
Yours for the Revolution.  
CHAS. NICHOLSON,  
Berlin, Ontario, Canada.

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**MERITS OUR SUPPORT.**

THE VORWAERTS OF THE PACIFIC COAST, THE GERMAN SOCIALIST WEEKLY PAPER, PUBLISHED IN SAN FRANCISCO, WILL RECEIVE THE PROCEEDS OF A BALL THAT IS TO BE HELD CHRISTMAS, DEC. 25TH, AT THE NEW SAN FRANCISCO TURN HALL.

THE "VORWAERTS" IS THE MOST EFFECTIVE WEAPON IN THE HANDS OF OUR GERMAN COMRADES AND IT MERITS THE UNITED SUPPORT OF EVERY READER OF REVOLT.

**MEMBERSHIP REBUKES FUSIONISTS.**

National Referendum "D"—"That the action of the National Committee in restraining the National Executive Committee from ordering and conducting the election of State officials in Missouri be set aside, and that the National Executive Committee is hereby instructed to proceed with the election asked for in the petition from Missouri"—closed December 8. The unofficial figures on the same—unofficial because they can not be thoroughly proofed in time for this Bulletin—are as follows: Voting Yes, 7,426. Voting No, 11,793. The proposition is therefore defeated. A tabulated statement of the vote will be published later.—Weekly Bulletin.

**LOCAL SAN FRANCISCO VOTES FOR NEW N. E. C.**

Victor Berger (1), 259 votes; Louis J. Duncan (2), 217 votes; Job Harriman (3), 210 votes; Wm. McDevitt (4), 200 votes; Wm. D. Haywood (5), 176 votes; Frank Bohn (6), 137 votes, and Alexander Irvine (7), 126 votes. 358 votes were cast.

**WALLING STARTS INTERESTING DISCUSSION.**

Cedarhurst, L. I., Dec. 2, 1911.  
 Comrades in REVOLT:  
 The enclosed clipping from the New York Evening Post of December 1st, has every indication of being reliable. Whether the word fusion is the correct one may be questioned, but the facts, if correct, are just as damaging. Taken in connection with the Stitt Wilson episode and other recent events in California, the action of the candidate for Mayor of Bristol, Conn., in putting himself before the people as an "independent candidate" (an action condemned by the State Executive Committee), the action of candidates in Paterson, N. J., in presenting themselves to the public as candidates without any statement of their membership in the Socialist Party (also condemned by that Local), to say nothing of the threatening Missouri situation, it would seem that, in many States there is little, if any, respect for the constitution of the party.

Surely self-respecting Socialists have got to draw the line somewhere.

Surely the time has come when this question ought to be discussed in every Socialist publication and every Socialist meeting, just as it is in other countries.

If the hypocritical talk of party harmony is going to end the frank and free discussion of such occurrences as these the party will not last over another election.

Fraternally yours,  
 WM. ENGLISH WALLING.

**SOCIALIST FUSION.**

To the Editor of the Evening Post.  
 Sir: Allow me to supplement Dr. G. W. Ensign's letter in the Evening Post of to-day, also in the interest of the truth to which Mr. J. G. Phelps Stokes made appeal in your issue of November 21.

M. Stokes denied in his letter of November 21 that the Socialist party had fused in Schenectady, Ohio or Pennsylvania. Dr. Ensign completely proves fusion between the Socialist party and Mr. Hearst's party in his neighboring town of Schenectady. It was similar in Pennsylvania and Ohio. Let me prove it. Mr. Stokes cites the constitution of the Socialist party forbidding fusion in evidence that there was none in Pennsylvania or Ohio.

I have before me evidence concerning Pennsylvania and Ohio that is conclusive.

Before me is an official sample ballot of Ashabula, Ohio. On that ballot the name of D. F. Dunlavy appears both in

**SOCIAL CONTRASTS**

**"TEXAS TOMMY" DANCED AT SOCIETY AFFAIR.**

**Seductive Whirl Strikes Fancy of Anniversary Party.**

Following a dinner in honor of the wedding anniversary of Judge Frank H. Kerrigan and Mrs. Kerrigan, formerly Jessie McNab, some of the members of the younger smart set awakened the echoes of late Saturday night and early Sunday morning at the Cliff House with echoes of "Oh, That Beautiful Rag," "Alexander's Ragtime Band," etc.

The dinner was given by Joseph Humphreys, attorney, and after the tables had been cleared the party whiled away the hours until 4 o'clock on the Sabbath morn.

Charlie de Young (son of Mike) and Miss Enid Gregg showed sprightly grace in terpsichorean art by tripping the "Texas Tommy." Emulating their example, other dancers took the floor and soon the whirl was nearly universal.—Call.

**HUNDREDS MEET DEATH IN MINE PIT.**

**Nineteen Bodies Recovered From Fatal Pit by Rescuers.**

BRICEVILLE, Tenn., Dec. 11.—Discovery of the first body this morning came at 10 o'clock when a dead miner was found in a sitting posture in one of the inner chambers. He was Andrew Johnson. Indications were that he had been a victim of black-damp. It is believed that any men who might have escaped the fury of the explosion were suffocated by the gases.

It is estimated the explosion rendered fifty-six women widows and made 184 children orphans. That there are a hundred or more dead men remaining in the mine there is no doubt. Weeping wives made widows by the disaster in the Knoxville Coal Company's mine came to the shaft entrance in scores. In a warehouse but a short step from the mine entrance are great numbers of coffins waiting for their occupants.

Of the eight bodies discovered last night three were sitting bolt upright in a mine car, while the bodies of five others were lying on the ground.—Bulletin.

**STATE CONVENTION AN IMPERATIVE NECESSITY.**

In a recent issue we pointed out a number of good reasons why the proposed new constitution should not be adopted and why a state convention of the Socialist Party should be held. In that issue we showed plainly that the adoption of the new constitution would place the Socialist Party under the absolute control of the state secretary and the state executive board and would create a machine which the membership would find almost impossible to break.

In addition to reasons already cited there are other facts which should cause the membership to vote down the new constitution and take the necessary steps to secure a state convention.

Article 1, section 2, of the proposed new constitution reads as follows:

"The Socialist Party of California is the political organization of labor. Its mission is to execute the will of labor on the political field of the great class struggle, and to that end is affiliated with and forms an integral part of the Socialist Party of the United States."

This paragraph taken by itself sounds very good, but when read in connection with the declared policy and purpose of its authors, it can be made the basis of a policy that the Socialist Party cannot stand for, under present conditions.

To understand what is really meant by this statement, however, we must know how it is interpreted by those who drafted this constitution and will interpret the same in case it is adopted.

At the state convention which was held at San San Jose in September, 1910, one of the members of the committee of five which drafted this proposed new constitution was a member of the platform committee.

At that time he argued that "it is the mission of the Socialist Party to execute the will of labor" and that the policy and programme of the Trades Unions as expressed by the labor leaders and officials must be accepted by the Socialist Party as the "will of labor."

We hold that the Socialist Party is the political organization of the working class and its mission is to represent the interests of the working class, organized and unorganized, on the po-

**litical field of the great class struggle.**

We further hold that it is the mission of the Socialist Party to educate the working class to an understanding of its own class interests, not to "execute the will" of trades union leaders and officials who are members of the Civic Federation and who have their legs under the banquet table with J. Pierpont Morgan and the rest of the trust-magnates and their political lackies. In short, labor officials and misleaders who support capitalist parties and politicians on election day are not the men to determine what the immediate demands or labor programme of the Socialist Party shall be.

The opening statement in this proposed new constitution deliberately commits the Socialist Party to the policy of playing the part of tail to the kite of these "labor leaders" instead of standing as the conscious expression of the interests of the entire working class on the political field of the great class struggle.

A state convention composed of delegates elected by the rank and file from every local and branch in the state should be called. That convention should draft a constitution which will represent the ideas of the membership of the Socialist Party instead of the ambitions of a few would-be bosses in the state office. Steps have already been taken to initiate a referendum to hold such a convention early in March and this referendum will soon be submitted to the locals and branches for their indorsement. In the meantime the comrades should vote down the proposed new constitution and thus clear the way for the preparation of a constitution by the membership.—The "World," Oakland.

**TO ALL FRIENDS OF LABOR!**

Greeting:  
 The time has come when we must join together in one unbreakable bond of solidarity; differences must be forgotten, prejudice must be cast aside, labor must present a solid front. In the month of May, 1911, the Industrial Workers of the World began speaking and agitating on the streets of Aberdeen, Washington. In a short time a local of Lumber Workers was organized and proceeded to make an active campaign for members; persecution and discrimination by the city officials was at once invoked, denying us the privilege of the streets only in isolated places.

After juggling with city ordinances and a display of unrest on the part of the Socialist Party and the I. W. W., the council decided to permit us to hold our meetings on dark side streets provided we remained 100 feet from the corners of said main street; this arrangement proved to be far more obnoxious than any heretofore mentioned, as the various religious organizations were permitted to use any part of said streets and no restrictions were imposed upon them.

On the eve of Nov. 21st the Organizer and Secretary of Aberdeen Local were arrested for speaking outside of the 100 foot limit; they demanded a jury trial when the case was called; the prosecutor and judge took advantage of this opportunity to continue the case. From the events that occurred later these methods were employed by them to defeat the end of justice and gain time. On the evening of Nov. 24th we had planned to hold a monster protest meeting in the Empire Theater, the plans were all completed and speakers secured, and a literature committee chosen. When the committee in charged arrived at the theater they were met by a large body of the Citizens' Alliance, armed with hickory clubs.

Our committee was arrested, literature con-

fiscated and our hall was raided. Any and all known members or sympathizers were arrested and at 11:30 p. m. 30 workmen were lined up in the street and marched out of town. About two miles from the city limits we were offered a loaf of bread each, which we accordingly refused. We were solemnly admonished to "Never return; God bless you if you go, and God help you, if you ever return!" was the parting warning.

Can you picture the class struggle any plainer? A mere handful of unarmed men driven from their homes by an armed mob of thugs and gunmen. Some of the workmen have families to support, having made Aberdeen their home for many years. Come, workers! arise in your might! As time is precious, each worker must do his part, and do it now! Organize Free Speech Leagues, call meetings, collect funds and spread the news broadcast.

We need funds to win this fight. The right to speak on the street unrestricted, and the right to organize these poor serfs of the tyrant lumber barons.

We must win this fight—and we must have the support of all, or the workers' hope for working class solidarity will perish. Get busy to-day—to-morrow is too late. DO IT NOW! ABERDEEN FREE SPEECH COMMITTEE,  
 A. J. Amolsch, Sec'y.

P. S. Send all communications and contributions to Headquarters, 110 South 14th Street, Tacoma, Wash.

**REVOLT FOR CHRISTMAS PRESENT.**

A good way to help and please a friend is to send us his name and address, with one dollar and we will send him REVOLT for one year.

We did get a few new subscriptions in the past week, but we must have more, we need 4,000 readers to put REVOLT on a solid foundation. Will you get them? A few can't do it, all our readers can. If each reader will send one subscription the trick will be turned. Are you on?

Owing to the fact that many are holding back, intending to rush in donations for Christmas presents; the list of this week is small.

Donations.

- Thos. J. Mooney . . . . . \$4.00
- W. A. Pfeffer . . . . . 1.00
- South San Francisco Comrade . . . . . .25
- From a Friend . . . . . 1.00
- A Subscriber . . . . . 2.00

**GRAND ANNUAL BALL**

Given by the  
**Polish Socialists of San Francisco**  
 Branch Socialist Party  
 AT BREWERY WORKERS' HALL  
 177 Capp St., Bet. 16th and 17th,  
 Mission and Howard  
**Saturday Evening, Dec. 30th, 1911**  
 ADMISSION, 25 CENTS  
 INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISTS ATTENTION!  
 MEETING WILL BE HELD SUNDAY, DECEMBER 17TH, 8 P. M., IN GERMANIA HALL, 15TH AND MISSION STREETS, TO DEVISE WAYS AND MEANS OF MAINTAINING HEADQUARTERS AND EDUCATIONAL MEETINGS. EVERY READER OF REVOLT IN SAN FRANCISCO IS IN DUTY BOUND TO ATTEND THIS MEETING.

**Grand Christmas Ball**

Given by the  
**VORWAERTS**  
**Of the Pacific Coast**  
 German Socialist Weekly  
 MONDAY, DECEMBER 25th, 1911, 7:00 P. M.  
 —at—  
 THE NEW SAN FRANCISCO TURN HALL,  
 Sutter Street, near Devisadero  
 Presents for the Children  
 Raffle for Valuable Prizes  
 ADMISSION 25 CENTS UNION MUSIC





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