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THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

VOL. 2, NO. 26

SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., DECEMBER 30, 1911.

WHOLE NO. 38

EX CATHEDRA

Machinists' Union Votes to Retire Professionals

By HUGO LENZ.

The pure and simple labor leaders (?) of San Francisco are howling lustily because the Machinists' Union has passed an amendment to its by-laws which aims to have the organization run from the bottom and not from the top.

The amendment will prohibit any one from acting officially for the union who is not working at the trade. Officers on salary giving their full time to the organization are of course exempted.

What is there about it that should make "Organized Labor," the official journal of the State and Local Building Trades Council, describe such action as "illogical and unjust, but which, in time, will result in much harm to the union itself."

What is it that P. H. McCarthy or O. A. Tveitmoe fears? Are they worried lest other old "and most militant unions" become as blasphemous as the Machinists Union and decide to throw out the politicians and put workmen in office? If that would "result in harm to the unions" themselves how much harm would it do to the politicians is the next question.

The defense of "Organized Labor" lies in its comparison of a union to a business combination. Now if that is a logical basis of understanding, pray would the Contractors' Association or the Building and Loan Association (which it mentions) consider an actor who, "by burning the midnight oil," had been enabled to leave their ranks, as their business representative? Not very likely. They would say he was interested now in theatrical work and that he no longer knew the best methods of putting up buildings or making loans and that his ECONOMIC INTERESTS were different now.

And that is the position the labor unions must soon take. If they are to retain their fundamental principles and become militant, they must choose as their representatives men whose economic interest centers in the shop. Only those who have other interests will object to such a proposal.

There should be no room in the labor movement for the office-seeking politicians. Labor will and must capture political power, but only for the collective benefit not the aggrandizement or personal enrichment of individuals.

Though perhaps inspired by sorrow at the political demise of certain "true unionists," "Organized Labor's" greatest fear is that the movement may spread and that we will have less "Industrial Peace" and more militant unionism.

IRRESPONSIBLE FREE LANCE.

By SELIG SCHULBERG.

A letter addressed to Wilson brought forth an answer that is rich. The person who received this letter was, and is, a victim held in the clutches of the spiritist dope Wilson peddles on Sundays of each week to the ladies of the species of both sexes that delight in the gushing nonsense that is a cross between an old-fashioned Methodist revival and the modern mystified new thoughtlessness that the exhorter disposes of.

Perhaps an Ellis or a Krafft-Ebbing, investigators of psychopathia sexualis could explain why it is that an exhorter loves to picture his blood being transmitted to the male and female "ladies," that sit with eyes half shut and mouths wide open, drinking in the rot that is taught in the name of "religious economics" and "spiritual redemption."

This "grateful free-lance," speaking under his own auspices and pocketing the proceeds, is the "Socialist" Mayor who conveniently absents himself from council meeting for a few minutes when a scab is armed by councilmen he helped to elect.

"Free-lance Wilson" uses a Japanese Christian preacher as an ornament on his platform, but candidate-for-Governor Wilson does his damndest to encourage race hatreds at Socialist conventions by insisting on exclusion planks in Socialist Party platforms. You members of the Socialist Party read this letter, and if you are what you pretend to be, you will act.

SOCIALIST PARTY OLYMPIANS!

Godlets Seek to Seize Socialist Publishing Concern

MEETING OF THE EXTREMES IS SHOWN

By CLOUDESLEY JOHNS.

Queer are the ways of "Opportunists!" Poor little Bobby Hunter (once a man of splendid promise and truly great ability, as a statistician of capitalist failure and infamy, and something more than that), having fallen under the baneful influence of Morris Hillquit and John Spargo, has been selected to advocate the adoption by the Socialist party of the essential fallacy of De Leonism and the S. L. P.!

So, most weirdly, do extremes meet—Robert Hunter and Daniel De Leon, but with De Leon playing his own destructive game, while Hunter dances to the pulling of strings in the hands of the two New York bosses who aspire to rule the Socialist party from a sort of Intellectual Olympus. The writer knows that precious pair of autotheists, and admires them in a way for their unquestionable ability, and could like them personally if their monomania for making playthings of the social dynamics would manifest itself otherwise than in an effort to swing the Socialist party out of the Socialist movement.

Foxy was the Hillquit in choosing Hunter. So often has Hillquit (for once correct in principle if not in the reasoning that led him to his conclusions) slammed the "centralized party ownership of the press and publishing plants" of the Socialist Labor Party, that it would have ill become him to take a leading part, openly, in the proposed attempt to bamboozle the stockholders of the Charles H. Kerr publishing house into turning the concern over to the tender mercies of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party.

Hillquit knows well, and knows that many of the rest of us know, that the control of the party press and publishing house by the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party did more than anything else to wreck that organization. Theoretically, any member of the party was privileged to make what protest he pleased against the methods and policy of publishers and editors, and to make their protests effective if they could through referendum vote of the party; and he knows, too, what became of the protesters. Each and all of them, in one way or another, through the use of the party press in the hands of the executive committee, were forced out of the party. To all of this Hillquit has pointed as a horrible example for the Socialist party to avoid. No wonder, then, that he left to Hunter the job of advocating such a system for the Socialist party when he found that the splendid work of the Charles H. Kerr Company in developing industrial organization as the only sound basis for political action was tending to the discrediting of the whole damned politico-intellectual Olympus.

That is the animus, and every one who knows how those modern political Olympians reason as well as operate knows it is.

For instance: Spargo, the lesser god (the modern Baldur, let us say), recently has been inveighing against Kerr for giving and Haywood for receiving \$50 a lecture on his recent

tour. Spargo seems to have "\$50 a lecture" on the brain. Years ago he made a virulent attack on Father McGrady, charging him with the same monstrous crime of receiving \$50 a lecture, and so helped break Comrade McGrady's heart and hasten his death. I do not know that McGrady ever received \$50 a week. I do know that he went deeply into debt, while hated and hounded by Catholics for his apostasy and distrusted by Socialists for his former position in the Catholic church, and that he may have felt the need of \$50 if ever it was offered to him. Maybe it was, and he accepted it. If so, it was not a crime.

However, in regard to Haywood, having had something to do with his meetings in California, I know he did not receive more than a fifth part of \$50 a week. Spargo knows it, too, but he also knows that there are thousands of new members of the party who cannot know it very well.

And there's another thing that I know—that John Spargo sent an agent out to California a year ago to see if the locals in this state would be willing to pay the said John Spargo \$250 a lecture to come out and talk to them. The proposition was presented to the campaign committee of Local San Francisco, Socialist party of California, and the agent was requested to see if Spargo could not be prevailed upon to accept the comparatively insignificant sum of \$50 a lecture.

So you see (I am addressing those who can see things) that while Spargo doubtless did disbelieve in Father McGrady (a man who in his time drew larger audiences than Spargo), and doubtless disbelieves in Haywood or anybody else who will not worship and serve the political Olympians, it must be apparent that he does not disbelieve in \$50 a week or better from the Socialist party when it is to go to some Olympian or devoted acolyte in the service of the godlets in the Socialist party. More than one, besides the Olympian representative who ran for mayor, in the Los Angeles campaign for the glorification of the gods by means of an election, received that tabooed \$50 a week, even at the cost of a \$10,000 debt which "union labor" is being asked to pay with the understanding that the Socialist party in California will be made "right" according to the notions of P. H. McCarthy, Supervisor Gallagher and the rest of the political gang.

It is disgusting as it is true, and everybody who has taken a genuine and active interest in party affairs for as much as two years knows that it is true.

And now this gang of political godlets seeks, through the obedient service of poor little Bobby Hunter, to stop the only source from which the literature of Socialism still is issued in large quantities to those who believe in the Socialist movement rather than a revival of a host of "great man" superstitions for the establishment of a political Olympus for the glorification of Hillquit, Spargo, Wilson, Harriman and the rest in the name of Socialism.

NOTES ANENT SOCIALISTS IN CURRENT LITERATURE.

DEAR Comrade:

I regret that one who has been so interested an attendant should be so distressed over last Sunday's address. However, I am not under any auspices but my own at these meetings. Fortunately I do not speak to please anybody. I am a free lance. And I am grateful that tho you may be displeased with my present addresses you are faithful to our common Cause as you see it. I AM THEREFORE SATISFIED WITH YOU—even tho you are temporarily dissatisfied with me. And each of us is doing his best.

Yours faithfully,

J. STITT WILSON.

Berkeley, Dec. 20, '11.

(Yours "faithfully" is better than yours for the Revolution.)

Perhaps the best of the periodicals that are both radical and literary to-day is the International of New York. This journal is keeping lejeunes among the Socialist literary folk to the fore. The January number contains an impressive discussion of the McNamara affair by Walter Lippman, and a noticeable poem by James Oppenheim, called "Pittsburgh."

The January Green Book runs a remarkably effective story by Cloudesley Johns. It is entitled "The White Flame." It affected me doubly the day I read it, as on that day I had read of the suicide of a dancing girl in this city, and of the dramatic star, Wright Lorimer, in New York. "The White Flame" is a poignant story of a near-tragedy—with the stage and white-slavery as elements in the plot.

Comrade Abe Hershin has a railroad story in the January number of The Railroad Man's Magazine. As Abe knows the "road," the "jungle" and the "main stems," he can present life with all its proletarian actuality. W. 1500.

ONE TENTH WAR

McNamaras and the American Labor Movement

By FRANK BOHN.
(In the International Socialist Review for January.)

"Hang 'em!" "Hang 'em!" "Give 'em the limit!" "Kill 'em!" were the murderous cries of the mob of all classes when on December 2d black headlines declared that the McNamaras had confessed their guilt. The popular thirst for their blood was shared by most labor union leaders and by some Socialists.

To the average American citizen, to whom the old barbarian custom of "An eye for an eye" is still good law, this uncontrolled rage was the natural result of their sense of "justice." The McNamaras have killed others, why not kill them? Scores of labor unions are said to have sent in urgent demands that they be punished "to the extreme extent of the law." The rumor that admonitions were received urging the killing of all their relatives, including their old mother, has not been substantiated.

What about the theory of our inquiring into the causes of human conduct before taking action? The blood cry raised against the McNamaras was simply a result of the old-fashioned and ignorant method of looking no further than the individual for causes and effects which are entirely social in their nature.

What does the McNamara case signify? Why did these men do as they did? If any may be held accountable, who are they? And, by far the most important of all, What do these facts signify in the development of the American labor movement?

The history of the American labor movement for the past twenty years is a record of the murder of innocents. The newly developed plutocracy, flushed by revolutionary confidence and courage and an assured victory has moved rapidly and steadily forward in its work of reorganizing the industrial and political life of America. As Wall street swung its sharp ax on the lean hands with which the middle class clung desperately to its little all, that middle class whined and whimpered about "law and order," "Justice" and "The Golden Rule." The trusts were "crimes against society." As the middle class let go of its wealth, political power, by that very act, slipped away from it. On December 5th, Attorney-General Wickersham stated that "John H. Patterson and his associates by wrongful and illegal acts have destroyed more than 150 cash register companies and now control more than 95 per cent. of the trade."

"By wrongful and illegal acts," says the Attorney-General of the United States, a great trust has destroyed more than one hundred and fifty competing companies. This statement means that hundreds of middle-class families have been, by a single trust, crushed down into the wage-earning class or thrown ruthlessly upon the wayside to perish. And all these "wrongful and illegal acts" were simply according to that old and ever-valid higher law—"Might Makes Right."

The Trusts and the Labor Unions.

The one trust we shall describe in this connection bears directly upon the subject now under discussion. Many of the trusts during the period when they were killing and eating the middle class compromised with the old-fashioned craft unions. In fact, these antiquated craft organizations could thrive only where they did compromise with the trust. Sam Parks was a structural iron worker. He was a "brother" of the McNamaras. Sam Parks was a power of the Structural Iron Workers' Union during that period when the great contractors and allied interests were crushing out their smaller rivals. Sam Parks was paid by the big interests to call strikes on the jobs of the little interests and put them out of business. When the group of great construction companies which used Sam Parks did not need his dirty work in their business any longer they sent Sam to jail. And thus ended the first chapter. By 1903, the year Sam Parks was sent to prison, the Steel Trust was well on its way toward the control of the structural iron work of the nation. And the Steel Trust never needed men like Sam Parks. The professional labor faker belongs to the period of transition merely and is discarded when the trust is completed. But labor "leaders" like Sam Parks got salaries from the big interests such as would never be paid to labor fakers who represent men who work in shops. The reason for this lies in the fact that in building construction both the middle-class capitalist and the organized craft unionist can live longer than any manufacturing industry. If men go on strike in Pittsburgh, the Steel Trust can close down the Pittsburgh shops and have the work done in Pueblo, Colorado, or Windsor, Canada. But a building which is to

be put up at 100 Tenth street, New York, cannot be constructed in St. Louis or San Francisco and then imported. It must be built right there on the spot. Under these conditions the middle class has a much better chance to secure contracts, to profit by local political influence and otherwise to compete with the trust. Also, for this reason, the building trades of their own strength and volition can maintain a stronger hold on the situation than the workers in any other modernized industry.

The International Association of Bridge and Structural Iron Workers has been the last craft union to look the Steel Trust in the face.

Even before the trust was organized the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers had been broken and driven. Its real power was lost in the great Homestead strike of 1892. At that time Carnegie and his hirelings shot and starved its members into submission. Open shop conditions at Homestead and vicinity meant that closed shop conditions elsewhere helped drive the little capitalist who compromised with the union to the wall. When the Steel Trust came upon the scene what was left of the Amalgamated Association was quickly snuffed out. The next great union for the Steel Trust to crush completely was that of the Lake Seamen. Iron ore is first and foremost of the products shipped on the lakes. The Steel Trust owned its own fleet of ore vessels. It forced every other shipper on the lakes to join it in blacklisting the Lake Seamen's Union. All that is now left of that union are a few old starved workers who for 50 cents a day carry signs about the lake cities stating that the strike is still on.

In its war upon organized labor the Steel Trust committed murders without number. Innocent men whom it imprisoned are still languishing in jails and penitentiaries. It reduced the standard of living and drove to disease and premature death scores of thousands of workingmen and their families.

The roadway of the triumph of progress of the Steel Trust is smeared with blood and lined with the graves of its victims. All industrial and social life in Pittsburgh, in Homestead, in McKees Rocks, in Gary, is simply organized pillage, organized starvation and organized murder.

In the blackness of the night which pressed upon this broken and disheartened army of wage slaves, one single craft union for a time has been able to maintain a semblance of organization. It is the last to leave the field of battle. Its end has now most surely come. Against the steel armor and the high-power steel rifles of the greatest of trusts it remained to test the bow and arrow and the war club of craft unionism. These poor weapons have now fallen from its nerveless hands.

The McNamara brothers saw union after union collapse. They saw their class spit upon and then starved and murdered. They saw all the powers of a mighty government over which their class had not the slightest degree of control turned ruthlessly against the working class.

Other labor "leaders" became liars, traitors to their class and grafters upon the enemy. The McNamaras in their blundering and ignorant way resolved to be true to their class. The Steel Trust used every force within reach to crush the working class. They would repel force by force. For men who had been receiving five dollars a day for eight hours to be forced down to two dollars a day for ten or twelve hours meant death to the working class. The McNamaras chose to die fighting.

With every convention of morality known to their minds despised and every law made for their protection broken by the enemy, how could any one, they argued, expect them to obey the law or accuse them of wrong-doing when they ignored the constraints of customary morality?

Had the McNamaras been wiser in their day they would have said to the workers in every branch of the iron and steel industry, "Organize one union. Join the Socialist party. Organize that union of workers as the trust has organized its union of capitalists. Protect that union from the police powers of the State and from the injunction as the capitalists now protect their property from you—by gaining control of the political government. Do not organize to make peace. Organize to fight. The fight must go on until we completely possess and control the trusts. That we can do only through one union and one party and by means wholly different from those used in the old craft-organized pure and simple union. Throw away your old weapons and take for yourself weapons out of the armory of modern science and scientific methods. Let us organize as a class against a class. Let us use every weapon we need for victory, discarding none. For the old-fashioned union to fight the trust is suicide. To attempt at present to use force against force would be worse than suicide. Let us peacefully educate ourselves and organize ourselves unto that day when we have developed the power necessary for an assured victory."

But in the labor union world of the McNamaras there was no such message. With Gompers they were good Democrats in 1908. In ignorance and despair they turned to the only means which seemed available to them.

In blowing up the Times building the McNamaras killed nineteen non-union men. This is suggestive of the methods of the antiquated unions. Their war had been one-tenth a war against the enemy and nine-tenths against unorganized workers. An average craft union makes scabs through high initiation fees, high dues, closed books and discrimination. Then when those whom its methods cannot or will not organize get the jobs it is at their peril. Most of the craft unions have among their membership a large proportion who got in by taking the jobs of strikers and later, when they kept the jobs, being organized by the union. In view of these facts the outcry against the scab is, nine times out of ten, a hollow mockery.

So the miserable end of the McNamaras is a natural result of the decay of craft unionism among a working class which has, until now, lacked the insight and courage to build up a union which the times demand.

But responsibility does not end with this conclusion. When the McNamaras went to an aver-

age Socialist political meeting what did they usually hear? Something like this: "The labor unions are dead. They have served their purpose. You have failed by striking. Now you must vote. Don't waste time fighting on the job. Wait until election day. Vote for what you want and you will get it." From such lop-sided piffle as this the McNamaras turned away in disgust and filled their suit cases with dynamite. Socialists who are too cowardly to teach the class war on the industrial field cannot now escape the censure of all right-thinking workers. And in 1911 ignorance of the situation on the part of Socialist speakers and writers is as inexcusable as cowardice.

Yet the McNamara case cannot hurt the Socialist party in any way. They were Democrats and members of the Knights of Columbus. Had they been Socialists we would have been kept busy for years to come protesting that we do not favor their methods. As it is we shall refrain from placing the responsibility upon Woodrow Wilson and W. J. Bryan or upon Cardinal Gibbons and the Roman Pontiff.

Furthermore, the confession cannot in reality hurt our cause in California. The non-Socialist labor union vote in Los Angeles we had far better do without. When the workers of Los Angeles are ready to vote for Socialism, we shall carry the city with or without the consent of the union officials.

Gompers and Mitchell or the average craft union leaders in the place of the McNamaras would have played the part of weaklings and grafters or slunk out of the fight altogether. Thousands of such have quit in despair or gone over to the enemy when the trusts proceeded to smash the unions. The McNamaras, strong but ignorant, woefully misguided but true to their class, threw themselves like fanatics into a hopeless and losing fight. Why could they not, in the hour when each in his inmost self was put to the crucial test, act like men and die as they had lived? From such a going out the revolutionary workers might have drawn that measure of comfort which comes from the reflection that members of the working class may be depended upon to suffer death for their cause. But their vision was too limited to inspire calm courage. Their confession is a dying groan from the lips of an expiring craft unionism.

The McNamaras were just as misguided but no more so than was John Brown. With twenty-one untrained fanatics John Brown started a war upon the South and upon the Government of the United States. Could Brown have been successful in freeing the slaves, he would have been "right." Failure made him wrong. Were the McNamaras' old-fashioned union methods successful in bringing freedom to the working class they would be "right." But such methods cannot win. Hence for that reason, and for that reason alone, they are to be condemned. The hearts of the McNamaras were right. It was their heads which were in error. A pity that they might not have gone to their doom like their elder brother, who, when he marched down between the ranks of soldiers with loaded muskets, bowed his head and bent his back but once, and then to kiss the black child of a slave. A few days later, at the grave of old John Brown, Wendell Phillips, rising in the face of the bitter opposition of every cowardly, slavery-defending wage-worker, of every cringing, sniveling parson, of every dough-faced politician and every swindling, prostituted lawyer and shopkeeper who hastened to assure the South that they were "law-abiding" and that they gloried in the death of John Brown, said to the whole dirty rabble what revolutionists may well repeat today:

"John Brown had more right to hang the Governor of Virginia than the Governor of Virginia had to hang John Brown. Virginia stands at the bar of the civilized world on trial."

DISTRICT BOUNDARIES.

Worth Saving for Future Reference.

Following is a sketch of the plan in which San Francisco is reapportioned into thirteen Assembly districts:

Twenty-first—Market and Eleventh to Bryant, to Twentieth street, to the bay.

Twenty-second—Twentieth and Bryant avenue, to Army, to San Bruno avenue, to the county line and the bay.

Twenty-third—Dolores and Twenty-ninth, to Mission, to Army, to San Bruno avenue, to the county line.

Twenty-fourth—Twenty-second to Dolores, to San Jose avenue, to the county line, to the ocean and along the Sloat boulevard to Corbett avenue.

Twenty-fifth—Eighteenth and Dolores, Dolores to Twenty-ninth, to Mission, to Army, to Bryant avenue, to Eighteenth and Harrison.

Twenty-sixth—McAllister and Fillmore, to DuBois avenue, to Church, to Eighteenth, to Dolores, to Twenty-second and round by Ashbury Heights to the starting point.

Twenty-seventh—Fulton and Masonic avenue, to Oak, to Central avenue, to Buena Vista, to Ashbury and out by Corbett avenue and the Sloat boulevard.

Twenty-eighth—Fulton street and Parker avenue, to California, to Maple avenue, to the Presidio, Lobos creek and along Ocean Shore line to Fulton.

Twenty-ninth—McAllister and Van Ness avenue, to Market, to Eleventh and Bryant avenue to Eighteenth, to Harrison, to Church, to Fillmore.

Thirtieth—Pine and Van Ness, to McAllister, to Masonic avenue, to Fulton, to Parker avenue, to California, to Pine.

Thirty-first—Pine and Van Ness, to the bay, along the shore line to ocean, to Lobos creek, to the Presidio and back by Maple, California street and Van Ness.

Thirty-second—Van Ness and Market, to the bay, along the bay to Jones, to Green, to Mason, to Ellis, to Jones, to Market.

Thirty-third—Market and East, up to Market, to Jones, Jones to Ellis, to Mason, to Green, to Jones, to the bay.

THE EVOLUTION OF DEMOCRACY

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED BEFORE THE INTERCOLLEGIATE SOCIALIST SOCIETY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

By A. F. WELIN, '11, U. C.

In dealing with so large a subject as the evolution of democracy it is necessary first of all to define terms. There are a great many mistaken notions about democracy at present—some people think it is one thing; some another. As a matter of fact, democracy is a very simple thing to define but it is often very difficult to conceive the full significance of the definition.

Democracy is a state of society in which all the powers of that state are directly exercised by all the people; or democracy is that state of society in which all the institutions of that state are equally participated in (i. e., quantitatively as opposed to qualitatively) by all the people.

Now, I can bring out the significance of this definition more clearly:

First, by pointing out our mistaken notions about democracy at present.

Second, by elucidation.

Third, by contrasting the present with the past.

Concerning our false notions of democracy, they are principally three in number.

The first, is that most people think democracy is merely a matter of government, that is to say, a matter of the ballot. Even university students are of this notion. The reason for this is that the ballot has been one of our latest democratic acquisitions. We are still so excited about it that we cannot see anything else. As a matter of fact, the one who has the ballot notion of democracy is a very naive thinker. No one who has at any time read ancient history would ever call Athens a democracy, yet at one time Athens extended the right to suffrage to the greater part of her population. We at the present time are no democracy—even though some of us vote.

Mistaken Notions of Democracy.

The second very mistaken notion that we have of democracy is in our conception of the relation of each individual to each other individual in a democracy. Most of us still have the Sir Henry Maine notion, i. e., the mathematical notion. We think that each man counts for mathematically one and that a democracy is an aggregate of separate ones. Well, this is a very foolish notion. Each one is as intimately related with his neighbor as he can possibly be. This is shown by the general strikes or even the partial strikes. Everybody loses during a general strike. That is why general strikes are effective. No, a mere bit of observation will show that the mathematical conception of democracy is extremely fallacious; it displays one's ignorance in a most brilliant style. The true conception of the relation of one man to another in a democracy is a biological one. Possibly not all of you have looked through a microscope to witness the wonderful co-operation that the biological world displays. Take, for example, the tiny hydra; the union of ciliary action. Each cell does not count as an independent one—it counts as a part of a unified whole. But in daily life we do not even recognize that a democracy is the analogue of a biological unit made up of dependent parts. That is why there is so much social confusion, so much crime, so much legal corruption and social evil. For example, crime is a social mistake due to lack of co-operation.

The third very mistaken notion that men have concerning democracy is that a democracy is a piece of machinery which, when all its parts are complete and running smoothly, will turn out a set of absolutely identical individuals. Many men seriously look upon complete democracy as a means whereby all will be reduced to a common level. Now that is because men do not think logically or deeply enough. Take the analogy of the orchestra. Each musician has a distinct and characteristic part to add in order to make up the symphony. In like manner, if in a true democracy you are a painter, you will preserve your rank as a painter; if in a true democracy you are a bricklayer, you will preserve your rank as a bricklayer; if in a true democracy you are a musician, you will preserve your rank as a musician. If there is any fame coming you will get your fame, and more than that—you will get what you produce, no more, no less.

Distinguishing Social Factor.

The latter is really the great reason why men believe that a true democracy is a leveling proposition. They are fearful lest they be not able to acquire a few million dollars more than their neighbor. They think that money is or ought to be a distinguishing social factor. It is not that they are afraid they will lose their personality or their natural gifts, traits and talents. It is that they are not satisfied to take what they can produce by their own physical powers with the aid of modern invention and discovery. In other words, they are diabolically selfish—these financiers of Wall and La Salle streets, and their educational equals.

These are seemingly quite a serious set of false notions; and the next question is, Have we made any progress toward democracy at all in present times? Is it not all a delusion? The answer, of course, is that we have advanced, and before this paper is concluded you will see that we are advancing toward democracy by geometrical proportion. Now in order to see how far we have advanced, since ancient times, let us place our false notions of democracy in relief against the notions of democracy that Sparta had, and see if even our false notions are not far in advance. Sparta was a nation of people who were physical marvels. Sparta was altogether given up to physical culture and physical development. At one time she surpassed the Greeks in physical superiority. She was a nation given up entirely to the physical well-being and training of her citizens. The reason why she went in for athletics so ardently was that on her fighting strength in the way of

a militia depended her existence entirely; absolutely. As long as Sparta could turn out a great army, so long was she safe. It therefore became almost a religion with Sparta to turn out physical marvels—for what? For the state. There's the point. The state was not for the people, but the people were for the state. When a youth of Sparta was old enough to understand a thing or two, he was taught to believe that the sole reason why he was on this planet was to serve Sparta. In other words, the conception of the relation of the state to the individual which Sparta held was the very antithesis of what we conceive to be the relation of the state to the individual. We hold that the state is for the service of the individual, not the individual for the service of the state. By thus contrasting the present with the past we see that even the most naive of our notions about democracy, namely, that democracy is merely a matter of universal suffrage, is not so bad as it might be.

The Modern State.

Now this brings us at once to an exposition of the modern state and its evolution. The ancient state was distinctly territorial, highly military and tyrannically political. Things have changed greatly nowadays, however, for although we have territorial boundaries they are largely superficial and do not exist in reality. Any man can travel from one country in Europe to another. In ancient times, however, a man could not travel into a foreign country without being in danger of being made a slave. An army could travel from one territory to another in ancient times, but an individual could not. The pages of history are filled with descriptions of the proud Romans—proud, because when Rome was at its height, a Roman could travel anywhere unmolested. Paul the disciple was a Roman and could travel wherever he pleased, but he could not have done so had he not been a Roman. In other words, all of the ancient states were distinct entities by themselves, opposed to one another and always sending armies across the others' territorial boundary lines. The ancient states were separate groups and always strove to remain separate and distinct. This is very well shown by the so-called "group" morality which the ancient states displayed and which I shall mention in passing.

Group morality is always characterized by four very pronounced activities:

First—Murder of the conquered by the conquerors.

Second—Handing down of customs and traditions by the conquerors to the conquered, with consequent abolition of the customs of the conquered.

Third—Making slaves of the conquered.

Fourth—Establishing class spirit and ultimately caste spirit.

Class Distinctions.

Murder of the conquered by the conquerors was characteristic of most all the ancient states, the great majority of their wars being merely for the sake of vengeance.

The Pre-Babylonians had 900 gods, but through the elimination of the gods of the conquered, Babylonia ended up as a single state with but six gods.

Rome was the greatest of the slave-making states and the quickest to establish a fierce and steel-edged caste spirit. Rome was the most characteristic of the ancient groups.

She was the Group of "groups." She became the most barbarous of all the nations that ever became civilized under the "group" traditions.

The whole strength of the ancient and medieval "group" states was in their armies. In order to preserve territorial boundaries and group traditions, customs and moralities, they had to have great fighting strength. And armies still exist to-day—they are our chief inheritance from the "group" states of the past. They are not the only inheritance, because we still have international prejudices or the establishment of caste toward foreigners—the Irish don't like the Dutch, etc. But the industrial "classes" are not an inheritance from the ancient "group" states, for the establishment of classes in industry is due entirely to modern economic evolution.

Political Clockwork.

Behind all effective military organization is a despotic political organization. The political organization is the clockwork of the military. Such a political organization has been characteristic of all the nations of the past right down to modern times.

Such is the history of the political state with its despotism, military backing, territorial boundaries and "group" morality down to the beginning of the eighteenth century. Then the great drama of modern democracy begins and the ancient "group" state falls. Her political organization is the first to give way in many instances—and the ballot becomes the first step in the formation of the modern democratic state. Through the invention of the railroad and steamship and the establishment of international commerce and the consequent interchange of traditions and customs instead of the "elimination of the customs of the conquered and the propagation of the customs of the conquerors," falls the old territorial boundaries and the old group morality which had an existence in the world ever since history began. It is only a matter of time when territorial boundaries in Europe, for instance, will mean as little as our State boundaries in the United States.

And the latest, final and most significant move against the ancient political or "group" state is the antimilitaristic movement of the working class of all of the civilized nations. One of the most striking examples of this is the work of Henderson in England, who has toured the length of the British Isles and practically con-

(Continued on page 3.)

REVOLT

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Comrade Berger speaks very highly of the Library of Original Sources as an educational work when he says:

"Socialists are coming to understand that there is no subject which is not necessary in the Socialist movement. As our work becomes more constructive, as our opportunities widen and new responsibilities are laid upon us, it is becoming daily clearer to the conscientious and thoughtful Socialist that no department of human activity is foreign to him. It is at the same time imperative to learn how everything developed and is still developing and changing into a better system.

"In this sense, 'The Library of Original Sources' will prove a treasure indeed and a mine of invaluable information."

A. M. Simonds wrote a careful review of the Library, in which he said:

"Now a good many of us would prefer to get our information at first hand, but this has always been impossible because some of these 'original documents' are found only in a few libraries; some are in manuscript form, and a few are still only monuments and tablets in the great museums.

"The first attempt to gather all these sources into one compilation has been made by the University Research Extension in their compilation which they call 'The Library of Original Sources.' There are ten large volumes in the set, but even then the first thought is that much must have been omitted. Yet when the specialist is asked to examine his particular field he finds that all is there that is essential to a connected adequate history of the subject.

"Any attempt to summarize the contents of such a work could not but fall short. The documents printed are in themselves the very cream of the thought of the world and cannot be condensed."

GERMANIA HALL LECTURES.

Fifteenth and Mission Streets.

Under Auspices of Industrial Socialist League.

Sunday, Jan. 7th—P. F. Brissenden, University of California; subject, Direct Action and Direct Organization.

Sunday, Jan. 14th—Austin Lewis, Socialist Author and Lecturer; subject, Militant Proletariat.

Sunday, Jan. 21st—Wm. McDevitt, Socialist Teacher and Scholar; subject, Industrial Socialist Manifesto.

Sunday, Jan. 28th—A. F. Welin, University of California; subject, The Evolution of Democracy.

Books on economic subjects will be on sale at these lectures. Admission is free.

The headquarters of the Industrial Socialists at 1876 Mission street are open. Free reading room; Socialist and Labor papers are on file.

Evolution of Democracy

(Continued from Page 2.)

verted the working class against war, while in Germany and France the antiwar demonstrations of the Socialists are now world famous.

It is thus very evident that all traces of the ancient "group" state to which the world has held tenaciously for thousands of years are doomed to entirely disappear. They are half gone already. The democratic state that is at present evolving will be one without a trace of political tyranny, militarism, or territorial boundaries. It will be a society in which the individuals of that society and what they co-operatively wish to do will be all that there will be to the state. The true democratic state is not expressed in terms of lives, politics or war, but in terms of national co-operative activities and accomplishments.

Industrial Supplants Political.

In other words, as the political state falls the individual rises; not to have liberty to do what he independently pleases, but what he co-operatively will have to do. So much with regard to that modern institution which we call the modern political state—it is shortly destined to become the modern democratic state.

Now just a word concerning our all-important modern institution of "health." This has been another very glorious accomplishment in the drama of democracy that was staged but two centuries ago. It was accomplished through the overthrow of medieval superstition. From all kinds of medieval superstition and barbaric practices, medicine, through the advance of science, has now become a scientific and social institution. We usually speak of it in this light as public hygiene. Two centuries ago men did not know that there were such things as germs which cause disease. They just believed in a general way that disease was a visitation upon them of the wrath of the Almighty. If they had been told that disease was caused by germs they most likely would have answered in a manner similar to the semicivilized Arabians of the present day that if disease is caused by germs, then the germs attack us because the Almighty wants them to. The advance of medicine and the subsequent advance of public hygiene can not be attributed, however, to medicine as medicine. Medicine advanced because of the advance of chemistry, physics, biology and kindred sciences, and those sciences upon which the modern scientific way of thinking as opposed to the medieval, superstitious way depends, first started about the time when this country began to be a nation. The first chemistry laboratory in this country was built underground at Yale University. We can thus see how rapid has been the advance of modern medicine and public hygiene, both striving to conserve the most fundamental thing upon this planet—health.

As to Justice.

The evolution of our modern institution of justice is a long, long story, and I shall not be able to treat of it except in the most brief fashion. Our modern institution of justice begins like everything else immediately after the Dark Ages, when a deluge of light just seemed to swallow up the earth. Before the Dark Ages justice was merely of the "group" or "clan" standard. There was a taboo upon this, that, or the other thing, and if any individual did the contrary, he was forced to make his exit from the planet at once. In other words, the right of free thought, much less free speech, did not exist. Any person who thought differently from the customary ways was put in prison. In other words, the encouragement of genius and personality was prohibited. Those who were in power in the old "group" state held their power by upholding ignorance.

Not long after the Dark Ages a series of events occurred which suddenly led to some very radical changes in men's estimation of justice. The Church at this time became plagued by what it was pleased to term heretics. It at once led a war of extermination upon all heretics. This war culminated in Spanish inquisition and a great number of other absolutely unrelatable atrocities of the end of the Middle Ages. Finally, at the beginning of the nineteenth century there appeared upon the scene a certain Grotzcius who struck a revolution in human thought. He declared that every man has certain individual rights which are above the rights of the state or any other power. It was one of the most severe blows to the group morality of the past. What Gallileo is to science Grotzcius is to sociology. Since his time trial by jury has steadily advanced until now it is in full swing. Along with trial by jury came free speech and freedom of the press. In other words, just about two hundred years ago the individual—the individual man with human rights, human power and human personality—stepped forth as such for the first time in the history of the world. Before that time the individual as an individual had no rights, no powers, no personality, either in his own state or in any other group state. The "group" state, as a group state, with the powers which it could summon to itself, counted—nothing else.

The ethical advance of the world has therefore been:

First—By the breaking down of intergroup relations, from isolation or provincialism to internationalism;

Second—By the breaking down of intragroup relations, from subjection to individual freedom.

The only obstacle that now looms up to the further ethical advance of the world is that men are liable to ascribe to themselves excessive individual freedom; they are liable to ascribe to themselves a freedom which does not forbid their encroaching upon the rights of fellow equals; they are liable to be reluctant about co-operating, which is an absolutely essential thing for the further ethical advance of the world.

The Economic Institution.

And now I shall deal briefly of the final and most important of our modern institutions: the economic institution. Modern economic evolution goes hand in hand with the development of

modern science and invention. With the invention of machinery begins modern economics. Great industries were impossible before the days of machinery, for without machinery nothing could be manufactured on a large scale. Consequently every man was himself the maker of very nearly everything he needed. Big business was impossible before the days of machinery because there was not a great abundance of commodities to trade. Furthermore, big business was impossible in the pre-machinery age because the pre-machinery age was an age of deficit: it was not an age of surplus. It thus became each man's lot to make the bulk of what he needed himself. Another very important point is this—that no man could earn enough in the ages of deficit to live comfortably and leisurely for at least a part of each day by just working for himself. This became possible only when he had other individuals working with him. In other words, the age of deficit is the age of slavery and that age lasted since the beginning of history down to the first part of the nineteenth century. Slavery down to this time was not justifiable, but was excusable because without slaves a man could not do all that was required of him and live comfortably with a part of each day to do as he pleased. Aristotle justified slavery, and Aristotle, considering the age he lived in, was possibly right in most of what he said.

Capitalists Take, Workers Produce.

Slavery in modern times, however, in this the age of machinery, is absolutely ridiculous. Slavery nowadays is nonsense because we are living in an age of surplus. The life of the average slave in the building of the hanging gardens of Babylon was four years, after he started work. And I venture to say that if General Harrison Gray Otis were engaged in building some hanging gardens of the United States and noticed the average life of his wage-slaves to be only four years—that even he would admit that he was working the workers rather excessively. We are living in the age of surplus, when eight hours' work a day with the help of modern machinery means a surplus to each man who works that long. That is, he produces in that time more than he needs for himself. This fact, and this fact alone, is the explanation of the evolution of modern business which has culminated in the trusts—the centralization of profits by those who knew how to centralize, whenever opportunity arose. The centralization of the profits by a few individuals in the United States (less than 1 per cent. of the individuals) is not in itself so very criminal a thing. It simply means that some of the people are awake and the rest are asleep. The criminality of the modern financial world arises from the fact that employers are not satisfied with taking what the worker produces over and above that which he needs. They also wish to include in their profit-taking schemes some of what the worker does need for himself. The main reason why this sort of thing has happened is that there are more individuals in the profit-taking class than can be satisfied by just taking the surplus which the worker produces and does not of necessity need for himself. This condition of the worker in modern times has been called wage-slavery. It is real slavery. It is a worse kind of slavery than the old chattel slavery, because the owner of a chattel slave had to give the slave what he needed in order to live, or lose the slave or the slave's efficiency. The loss of a wage-slave, however, is nothing, because the employer does not have to buy another. He does not invest money in a wage-slave. Wage slavery is therefore more cruel than chattel slavery, as anyone who has ever gone through the slums of New York or any other large city is well convinced.

Organized Workers Should Maintain Standard.

Realizing the social position that they were being forced into, the workers organized in order to insure themselves that they would get at least what was necessary for them in order to live. This movement, as you all know, is the labor union movement. The labor union men sought to maintain a living wage. As a result of the labor union movement many have been prohibited from taking their rank in the profit-taking class who would not have been prohibited had the workers not organized. On the other hand those men who were in the business world when the labor movement started, and who are still there, have been raising the prices of their commodities in order to maintain the original ratio of profit, even though the workers do get more money than they did before. As a result of this, the cost of living increased, and the unions strike for a higher living wage—that thing being necessary. As a consequence of this the prices go up, and so the game has been going on.

The Socialist Movement.

Now there has arisen another very important movement—the socialist movement. The socialist workingman is one who has followed the labor argument to its logical conclusion: i. e. "If I, a bricklayer, carpenter, bookkeeper, musician or anybody else, produce a certain amount of wealth per day why not keep it all myself without giving the surplus or any part of the surplus to anybody?" The Socialists are making progress so rapidly at present that in sociological evolution socialism seems to be the inevitable next step. Just how it will come about is a matter of speculation, but the sentiment to limit profit-taking is becoming world wide and world strong and it seems to be the next step in the industrial evolution.

Thus the invention of machinery, the establishment of factories, the consequent development and the centralization of profits and the formation of the trusts with the establishment of the finances of Wall Street, then the excessive grabbing of profits with resultant loss to the producer, then the reaction of the producers for a living wage; then price struggle between labor and capital, and finally the formation of the socialist movement to abolish profit taking entirely.

These, in the order named, are the steps in the evolution of state to the industrial democracy.

SOCIALISM AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY
—A PARALLEL.

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

A very remarkable book, which, it is pleasant to see, has received some notice in the Socialist press, has been written by Bouck White, Head Resident of Trinity House, New York, and published by Doubleday, Page & Co. There is much which seems to be far-fetched in it, as is always the case where one has a theory to expound; there is much, on the other hand, which is illuminative and of real value. The "Coming Nation" reviewer puts it very fairly when he says: "It is by far the nearest approach to something that might be called epoch-making in this field that has recently been published. It is entitled to this name because it does not attempt to reconcile or explain, but boldly accepts the new foundation of historic materialism and on it builds an exposition of the life and work of the 'Carpenter of Nazareth.'"

He describes the progress of the proletarian revolt which threatened the existence of the Roman Empire and denied proprietary rights as based upon the institution of slavery, the foundation of that empire.

He shows that the early Christians were by no means meek and inoffensive lambs, but most desperate fighters and "direct-actionists," who, as a matter of fact, actually burned Rome in Nero's time. Then he takes up the compromising and clever philosophical interpolations of Paul, and gives an account of the effect of this Pauline watering upon the proletarian revolt. He says:

"Nothing could have impeded Christianity from the outside—obstacles did but bring increase of momentum, the blood-baths soaked new strength into their sinews. Christianity was betrayed from the inside. Rome insinuated herself within the Christian ranks, and there did her work. By a reinterpretation of The Carpenter—under the pretense of adding to his glory—she exorcised from that magic name its power of evoking democracy; she turned it into a reinforcer of despotism. It was a masterpiece of strategy. The goad which had been pricking the people into unrest was now a flail beating them down into submission. Religion with its powerful leverage on the human heart no longer urged the liberty and self-respect. It lent its ghostly counsels now to quietism—obedience, at any cost of personal values. If the light that is in the world be darkness, how great is that darkness!"

The parallel with the Socialist movement of to-day is almost deadly. The same sort of forces are at work to render respectable and innocuous those revolutionary tendencies with which the Socialist movement originated and which are in reality its very essence, if it is to have any life at all.

We recommend it to our State Secretary, our Sancho Panza, who poses as a follower of Paul.

But why do we speak of Sancho Panza when we should deal with Don Quixote, for Sancho, though a merry fellow withal is but a knave and ignorant? He knows naught of the purposes of Quixote's traveling. It is his business to ride his ass in the footsteps of his master's Rosinante, and to carry the bag; by all means to carry the bag. He is ignorant of all save tricks and small devices; ignorant except of the cunning of the peasant and the small shopkeeper; foxy if you like; "smart" in the language of the cross-roads; but ignorant, and negligible withal, except that he carries the bag.

We should do no injustice to the immortal knight, however. If he fought fictions and figments and made himself ridiculous; he at least did it out of a full heart and like an honest gentleman. The men whom we are called to face, however, display no such characteristics. They are the small change of a perishing system and they show it.

What is the Pauline policy in the Socialist movement? To appeal to the middle class in terms of middle-class morality, to ignore the class struggle as such, but to gild it so that the pretender may become a political factor, in short to de-proletarianize Socialism—that is the aim of our State Secretary and others like him.

They may succeed. If so, good bye to that Socialism which has inspired so much sacrifice and from which so much has been hoped. We shall have again converted our leaders into bishops who will very soon lord it over us by virtue of the office which we have allowed them to usurp.

As a matter of fact, nothing has been more contemptible than the conduct of the party at the hands of the element which brags of its increased vote.—The World, Oakland.

GRAND ANNUAL BALL

Given by the

Polish Socialists of San Francisco

Branch Socialist Party

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Mission and Howard

Saturday Evening, Dec. 30th, 1911

ADMISSION, 25 CENTS

SOCIALIST PARTY DOINGS.

The Bohemian Socialists have affiliated with the national organization under the terms of the national constitution relating to foreign speaking organizations.

For the benefit of foreign-born comrades who wish to become naturalized, the National Office sells a booklet entitled "The Law of Naturalization Made Easy to Understand."

The weekly propaganda articles sent out by the National Headquarters now reach about three hundred and seventy-five Socialist, union labor, and other papers.

RESULT OF VOTE ON REFERENDUM "D," 1911.

Vote Closed December 8, 1911. "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."

Table with 3 columns: States, Yes, No. Lists results for various states like Arizona, Arkansas, California, etc.

The following, which would not have affected the result of the vote, were received too late to be counted:

Table with 3 columns: States, Yes, No. Lists results for Alabama, Georgia, Nebraska, etc.

HOEHN LAMENTS AND DECEIVES.

National Secretary Works reports that Referendum D, providing for an election of State officers by the N. E. C., has been defeated by about 400 votes.

The usual election for State officers is now in progress and closes the last week of December. There are four or five candidates for State secretary, and it is quite probable that the officials elected for 1912 will be an improvement on the present ones.

AGAINST DEPORTING OF REFUGEE.

At the request of Congressman Berger, Secretary Nagel, of the Department of Commerce and Labor, has granted a stay in the deportation order against Zoloz Marcus, a Russian political refugee.

Nagel assured Berger that the Russian refugee would be given a square deal. The Russian Government charges that Marcus is "an ordinary criminal."

THE WAY YOU LOOK AT IT.

Side Lights on the Lyceum-Course Work of the National Socialist Party.

By ARTHUR BROOKS BAKER. Ever see a million people holding hands? Perhaps not? It usually happens two at a time, when you are not looking.

Another View of It. Don't believe it? Well, try this on your bump on credulity. The National Socialist Lyceum Bureau has already had printed enough tickets to make a stack as high as Washington monument.

Four Horses of Post Cards. Have you any idea how many post-cards four of the heavy draft horses used in Chicago could haul on our paved streets?

"Take 'Em Away!" Says the Printer. The other day a printer who has four job presses and one big cylinder asked the National Office to send him some work.

Sixty Teams of Mules. But if you're not a printer, that last may fail to impress you, so try this: If all the advertising matter which the National Socialist Lyceum Bureau is having printed to help the locals succeed with the lecture course—if all this matter were loaded on farm wagons, hauled by good Missouri mules, a ton to the wagon, it would mean sixty wagon loads, making a procession half a mile long.

The Purpose of It All. Comrade, there is a man in your town who wants to read Socialist papers and books, but he doesn't know it. This Lyceum advertising matter exists for the sole purpose of making that man realize that he'll be better off without his dollar and with some Socialist reading matter. It enables you to pry open his pocket and say: "Here, now; you pony up a dollar for some Socialist literature and five lectures. Quit your knocking Socialist until you've studied it some more."

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N. E. C. MEETS.

[By National Socialist Press.] WASHINGTON, D. C.—To perfect the plans of the National Socialist Lyceum Bureau and to further Socialist propaganda in this country, the National Executive Committee of the Socialist party met in this city for two days and transacted business of vital importance to the 100,000 dues-paying members it represents.

National Secretary Works reported that 300 locals have accepted the Lyceum Bureau proposition and that that number may be doubled within three months. Should 600 locals subscribe to this Lyceum plan 3000 Socialist lectures would be delivered and over \$200,000 worth of Socialist books and pamphlets and subscriptions to Socialist papers would be sold throughout the United States this winter.

A committee of seven to prepare a campaign book for 1912 to be ready for the coming national convention was elected by the National Executive Committee. The members elected to this committee are Morris Hillquit, chairman; W. J. Ghent, Seymour Stedman, John Spargo, A. M. Simons, Caroline A. Lowe, and George H. Geobel.

It was decided by the National Executive Committee to employ four organizers to aid the movement in the weaker States. Mississippi was given an organizer for two months and Louisiana an appropriation of \$25. One of the organizers is to devote his entire time to the South. John C. Chase was engaged to do organizing work in Alaska.

An appeal for financial assistance from the German Agitation Committee of New York was received. The National Executive Committee appropriated \$150 to aid this committee in its work of spreading Socialism among the Germans in the Empire State.

THIRTY-SECOND DISTRICT.

December 12, 1911. REVOLT: Dear Comrades:—Complying with the new Local constitution calling for assembly District Branches, the 32nd has established headquarters at the southeast corner of 15th avenue South and Railroad avenue.

Yours for the Revolution, ROLLAP ALLEN, Organizer Branch 32.

YOUNG SOCIALISTS

Invite the children to join their study and singing school. Mrs. Rena Mooney - - - Music Instructor Miss Cora Reed, Alice Joy, Caroline Nelson - - - Socialist Teachers

Eilers Bldg., 973 Market St. Sundays, 10:30 A. M.

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Jeder dießseits des Felsengebirges wohnende Deutsche und Deutsch lesende Genosse sollte es sich zur Pflicht machen, auf diese den Interessen des arbeitenden Volkes gewidmete Zeitung zu abonnieren. Der Abonnementpreis ist \$2.00 pro Jahr oder \$1.00 für 6 Monate, zahlbar im Voraus (nach dem Auslande mit entsprechendem Portozufuß).

Alle Geld- und Postsendungen adressiere man an Vorwärts der Pacific-Küste 3037 16. Str., San Francisco, Cal.

Advertisement for 'The Prophet and the Ass' by Jack London, featuring an illustration of a man on a horse.

LYCEUM LECTURERS.

Eastern Circuit. Charles Edward Russell—Dec. 27, Springfield, Mass.; Dec. 28, Quincy; Dec. 28, Worcester; Dec. 30, Brockton.

Central Circuit. Arthur Brooks Baker—Dec. 23-27, Holidays; Dec. 28, Ashtabula, O.; Dec. 29, Youngstown; Dec. 30, Warren.

Western Circuit. W. F. Ries—Dec. 23-26, Holidays; Dec. 27, Vevy, N. D.; Dec. 28, Plaza; Dec. 29, Bismarck; Dec. 30, Mandan.

Pacific Circuit. Eugene Wood—Dec. 23-27, Holidays; Dec. 28, Lewiston, Ida.; Dec. 29, En route; Dec. 30, Moscow.

National Organizers and Lecturers. L. R. Carter—Dec. 23-30, North Carolina, under the direction of the Provincial State Committee.

JOHN M. WORK, Acting National Secretary.

THE WORLD

The oldest Socialist paper on the Pacific Coast. Owned and Published by Branch Oakland of the Socialist Party

H. C. TUCK, EDITOR Official organ of the Socialist locals and branches in Alameda County.

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Table with 3 columns: Title, Publisher's Price, Our Price. Lists books like 'The Pilgrimage', 'The Rose Door', etc.

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