



## THE VOICE OF THE MILITANT WORKER

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WHOLE NO. 46.

### REAL POWER

#### Industrial Organization Effective Weapon

By CAROLINE NELSON.

Forty-one years ago the "reds" of Paris by the aid of the National Guard captured that city and held it for about five weeks. They made their last stand in the cemetery, where thirty thousand of them were left dead. Never in history had there been a more brutal slaughter. With it Socialism seemed to be utterly routed and killed out in Europe. But it only grew more vigorously after a little while. And our wisest enemy of today no longer attempts such childish nonsense as to go out gunning for Socialism. He knows the best he can do is to shape it and mold it, until it becomes harmless.

However, the "reds" have learned many things in forty-one years. One of these, all important lessons is that our real power is not in guns, houses, government buildings or palaces, but in our hides. The wealth of the world is not in money, but in our labor power, and all money are only checks on labor power. When we get in control, therefore, of our labor power, the world is ours. We needn't run anywhere to take possession. We have it. It can be done much easier by sitting still. Our inertia would make our civilization fall to pieces in twenty-four hours, a thousand times more effectually than all the cannons in the world could shoot it to pieces. And Morris Hilquit, who invited us not long ago to mount the barricades to fight like tigers to seat our politicians, if the capitalist should refuse to do so, will have to play the tiger himself. We are not going to shed any more of our blood to seat officials. We have done that only too often in the past. We are going to seat ourselves at the banquet board because we are the providers and the cooks.

But, you say the workers can't quit because they would starve. They are starving now. Many of us go without food for a couple of days. Starvation constantly stares us in the face. We will soon be so used to it in large masses that starvation will have no terror for us. But why should we starve? The world is groaning under the food, clothing and shelter that we have produced. But we can't take them, you say. We don't need to take them. They'll be pushed into our hands with prayers that we go back to our work at our own terms.

Now, look here, you politicians, who think you understand politics, and I'll show a political trick that we workers can turn on you, the moment we have had a few more object lessons. The papers came out a few days ago with big scare headlines which said: "Asquith may take over the British mines for the government." Was it because the politicians had been busy in the British Parliament? No, it was because the British miners had been busy threatening to quit, every mother's son of them. A mere threat of a small part of the workers to quit their jobs in a bunch, had more political effect in a day than all the spouting of the politicians for half a century. When the miners and transportation workers actually do quit in England, the ruling class will find it isn't like arguing with their representative in Parliament. And if meddling and ambitious politicians will keep their hands off, it'll be a complete victory for labor the world over. Supposing, the transportation workers and all the miners in the United States should do the same thing. How long do you think that such a strike could last? Don't you know that stocks in Wall street would come tumbling down like bricks in a rotten house under a storm? Millionaires would be paupers over night, and every member of the ruling class scared stiff. Do you think that under the circumstances they would refuse to set the "mill" going for the sake of less profit in higher wages and shorter hours? If you do, you are no politician even. You're a plain every day fool. Yes, we believe in political action, but not of that hot air kind that asks us to mount barricades to hoist officials into power, while we die, rot and starve with the world power in our own hands. Go to, you who have so much faith and hope in yourselves and not in us. The world is ours. It is in our gnarled fist and fast awakening brain. We musn't use direct action, bah! Shall we ask you soft-handed hot-air merchant what we must do?

### VIVE LA COMMUNE!

#### Working-Class of the World Will Not Forget

##### MARTYRDOM OF WORKERS IN SPRING OF 1871

By HUGO LENZ.

To tell the story of the Paris Commune will be to tell the story of the working-class; to tell of its hopes and its fears, its sufferings and its sacrifices, its victories and its defeats.

It would take the brush of a Titian, the pen of a Zola, and the tongue of an Ingersoll to mirror, with some semblance of reality, the pitiful struggle of the working people of Paris against the crushing power of French and Prussian capital.

We would need the mournful strains of the requiem to bring to our imagination the picture of Pere la Chaise Cemetery; how, on the evening of May 27, 1871, in the shadow of the tombs, the men, women and children were slaughtered with no quarter given.

Nor all the gifted artists in the world could give us a proper setting for the last scene of that historic drama; a tableau of the 30,000 surviving Communards rounded up like cattle in the squares of Paris, awaiting the vengeance of the infamous Gallifet and the French Bourgeoisie in its effort to drown the spirit of revolt forever.

But the story, being no fairy tale, would not end with "and they lived happy ever after" and while the murderers of the working people of Paris have escaped the wrath of the rising proletariat, their class shall answer for their crimes and when the hour of doom is struck the Workers of the World will not have forgotten the Paris Commune!

No, the working class of the world will not forget how the "jingoists" of France and Germany precipitated the Franco-Prussian War. How, after the defeat of Louis Napoleon at Sedan, the Republic of France was declared, and how Thiers ("that monstrous gnome," as Marx called him) and his political adventurers bartered it for a monarchy. How the Prussians, after defeating the French armies, marched to the walls of Paris. How the working people of the besieged city, incensed at the betrayal of their country, organized themselves into a National Guard to repel the invaders.

How for four long months they suffered the tortures of the besieged and battled bravely against bombs, fire and famine.

How Thiers and the "Government of National Defense," in order to make good their promises to Bismarck to force Paris to surrender, asked the National Guard to give up their arms, and how, when they refused to do so, precipitated on the 18th of March, 1871, the Civil War which gave birth to the Commune and its memorable date.

How the working people of Paris, impregnated with the spirit of the International Workingmen's Association and the economics of Karl Marx, organized the Commune which was to be the nucleus of a Socialist Commonwealth then slowly but surely projecting itself into the minds of the workers.

How they declared war against Thiers and his scoundrelly lawyers in session at Versailles, and set to work to put Paris upon a fighting basis.

No, the Working-Class of the World will not forget how the men and women of Paris formulated and fought for the revolutionary principles which seas of blood could not and cannot expunge.

How they abolished the conscription and the standing army and substituted an armed working-class for it. How they struck at the oppressive landlordism by remitting all rents from October, 1870, to April, 1871, and stopped the sale of pledges in the pawn shops. How they declared the internationalism of the Commune by electing foreigners to its central committee. How they announced the separation of Church and State, the cessation of payment for religious services and the conversion of ecclesiastical into national property. How they affirmed the democracy of the Commune by limiting the salaries of paid officers to \$1200 per year. How they burned the guillotine and pulled down the column constructed by Napoleon in honor of his conquests, to show their hatred of national prejudices. How they gathered statistics of factories not working and formulated plans to use them co-operatively; all to be under one great co-operative system. How they abolished the night work of bakers and closed the national employment offices which were prolific sources of graft by state officials at the expense of the workers, and functioned that duty through the Commune.

No, the Working-Class will not forget the

class character of this early attempt to abolish the wage system.

And though it was prematurely and improperly organized, though Socialist ideas had not sufficiently reached the provinces to bring forth their co-operation, it took all the ex-soldiers of the Empire "Corsican bravos, slaughterers and garrotes of the people for twenty years, Pontifical zouaves, rough and fanatical Bretons, half-savage Turcos and a few regiments of the line under the command of the ferocious and blood-thirsty Gallifet," to crush it.

As Engels says: "These very people (the bourgeoisie) went on their knees to the Prussian government to implore the speedy return of the French military prisoners taken at Sedan and Metz, who were to re-conquer Paris for them."

And it was this conglomeration of "patriots," this force of "law and order" which by treachery and deceit and the assistance of the Prussian troops, forced its way into Paris!

And thus does Engels draw the curtain: "The breechloader no longer killed fast enough; the conquered were slaughtered in hundreds by the mitrailleuses; 'the wall of the Federals' in Pere la Chaise Cemetery, where the last massacre took place, remains a dumb but eloquent witness of what frenzy of crime the governing classes are capable as soon as the proletariat ventures to stand up for its rights."

So would end a story of the Commune—no, not end, but to be continued by the revolutionists of the future.

And how has this memorable struggle been treated by the bourgeois historians—the mouth-pieces of re-action? "A foolish and causeless rebellion," "a rule of the mob," and "dastardly reds" are phrases common to every account and, while the vilest names are applied to the Communards, the names of Thiers, Favre and McMahon are entered in the hall of fame as "distinguished."

Thus does "history" voice the deeds and aspirations of the Master Class but the records of "the great unwashed" will forever associate the names of Blanqui, Duval and Dombrowski with "the mighty martyrdom of the working class in the spring of 1871."

And when the Proletariat has awakened to the fullest knowledge of its destiny as a class; when it has torn aside the cobwebs of history and exposed the parasitic class in all its brutality, hypocrisy and robbery; when it has developed from within itself the factors necessary to its emancipation; then will its ancient enemy be reminded of the Paris Commune and the dream of the Communards will come true.

#### THE BASIS OF IT ALL.

It is unpaid labor that towers in the steeples of our churches, that sits in our Legislatures, that builds palaces on our avenues, that blossoms in our shameless fashions, that drones in our academies and rituals, that produces our war novels and our insipid poetry, that raises our shameless ideal of "strenuous life," or sings in Mr. Kipling's brute heroics. Our poisoned thoughts, our petty and servile motives of life, the very air we breathe, are but the color and movement of this unpaid labor. Our civilization and all the civilizations that have been are but institutionalized unpaid labor, organized and glorified for the purpose of keeping labor unpaid and submissive!—G. D. Heron.

#### HAS EARNED SUPPORT.

REVOLT:—Enclosed find my mite to help keep REVOLT going. Hope there will be no weakening of policy. Don't believe there will be. The paper has already earned the support of every revolutionary Socialist in the State, whether it gets it or not. Yours for Socialism,  
GEORGIA KOTSCH.

#### WAR IN SAN DIEGO.

San Diego, Cal., Mar. 12, '12.

REVOLT Pub. Co.,

1314 Sutter St., San Francisco.

Fight in San Diego is assuming aspect civil war. Men, women and children being clubbed and shipped out of the city. Fire department being used to disperse crowds. No arrests made to-night. Boys clubbed and manhandled. Need publicity and funds. Make the welkin ring.  
STANLEY M. GUE.

### CIVIL WAR

#### Paris Commune No Longer Regarded With Horror

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

The editor demands an article on the lessons to be learned by the working class from the events of the Paris Commune, no easy task, for the working class does not learn lessons and the Commune of Paris affords but slight ground for any deductions applicable to the working class of today.

The conditions which gave rise to the Commune were very peculiar. Paris had undergone a severe siege, the people had suffered agonies of humiliation, they had tasted the bitterness of absolute defeat, and the legions of an invading force had marched through their streets. In addition, a popular uprising had abolished the imperial dynasty under whose rule the national disasters had occurred. The financial interests, fearful of the disturbing effect upon the political and consequently the financial situation, endeavored to remove the seat of government. Thereupon the population of Paris rose on behalf of a free city, that is, a city governed as an independent municipality, a "commune" as the French call it. It had really nothing to do with communism. It is true that the flag adopted was the red flag, the same flag that the revolutionary predecessors of 1848 had taken as their own. But it is equally certain that that emblem covered many distinct sects and that the unity of conception and definiteness of aim which mark the modern socialist army, in spite of the diversity of views of its members, were entirely lacking.

Born of war and the exponent of a political idea it fell a victim to its own lack of organization and coordination as well as to the superiority of an established economic and political system against which it could make no effective defense. Such political views as it declared as its inception have since been justified and, generally speaking, the Commune is no longer regarded with the horror which its very name once invoked.

Its value lies in the fact that it assumed the aspect of a proletarian revolt. Herein it justified the prediction of Marx that such political and revolutionary movements as should occur subsequent to the 1848 Revolution would of necessity be proletarian. The eighteenth and early nineteenth century risings had established the bourgeois, there was no more revolution in them. Henceforward the banner of progress was in the hands of the proletariat. This prediction, then vehemently denied and indeed scorned by the scholars and philosophers of the dominant class, has now become universally accepted. Even the most stupid business men and industrialists of today recognize that the proletarian movement is the next order of the day and that the red flag is destined to try issues with the bourgeois national emblems. That is why it is so hated. It is for this reason that it should always be carried whenever possible as it is in itself an advertisement of the solidarity of the working class and its effectiveness may be judged by the execrations with which the ruling class greets it.

Its inevitable working class character determined Marx and the International to support the Commune although opposed to its proclamation and seeing nothing but defeat ahead. The rising itself, blind and indeterminate, the incoherent philosophy behind the rising, the stupidity, the lack of cooperation and the almost maddening absence of sagacity certainly did not induce Marx and his associates to link themselves to so desperate an enterprise. The fact that the working class was actually in the field and right or wrong, wise or foolish had to be supported was the reason for their action.

Here is a lesson to many even in the ranks of the Socialist movement. We notice a distinct disinclination to give the Industrial Workers credit for the splendid fight which they are conducting in Lawrence. I have read an article in the "Coming Nation" which, while giving a very fair account of the strike and also an interesting and sympathetic sketch of its leaders, never once mentioned that the Industrial Workers was taking the responsibility for the conduct of affairs. This seems to me unworthy of any magazine calling itself socialist and professing to forward the general cause of the proletariat. We of REVOLT and the INDUSTRIAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE are with the working class wherever it goes into the fight, no matter how much we may disapprove of its leadership, and however clearly we may see defeat staring it in the face. Whenever the proletariat advances we are with it in sympathy, in actuality if possible, we never scab on the working class even by inference. The next lesson is broader and more signifi-

A Series of 4 Lectures by Austin Lewis at Germania Hall, 15th and Mission Sts.

## INDUSTRIALISM PUTS SYSTEM ON TRIAL

By AUSTIN LEWIS.

cant, it is that unless the proletariat first makes itself master of the industries it has no hope of success. To politically oppose itself to the present system alone is to place itself in the unfortunate position of the Commune. We cannot successfully play the game, as Russell says, in a political system which was made by bourgeois for bourgeois and is peculiar to the bourgeois. As a supplement to industrial action political action no doubt serves many useful purposes and carries with it advantages which it would be foolish to ignore. As a substitute for industrial action, and, indeed, as a weapon of first class importance in the hands of the proletariat it is not to be trusted.

Industrial organization brings with it actual power; it implies not only the coordination and discipline inseparable from an industrial organization but carries with it the substitution of a new order for the old. In the hands of an industrial organization the people of Paris would have been able to continue their industrial life and not even war itself could have completely disorganized them.

But the Paris of the Commune days could not have been industrially organized. Small business and small manufacture were the dominant means of production and exchange. Paris today is different and we have recently seen French workmen coping with the government and winning advantages which in the time of the Commune would have been actually impossible. In the United States we have gone even farther than in Europe. The very differences in language and race which would be fatal to a craft movement present no very embarrassing difficulties here as the Lawrence strike has plainly shown. The development of industry is itself amalgamating the proletariat. It is our duty to recognize this and to forward it by all means. The necessity of industrial organization should be continually preached and industrial organizations should be formed. The question of dual organizations should be left to take care of itself; in fact it has not yet arisen, and never may arise.

To organize the forces of the proletariat in the most effective industrial fashion and to express the aims of such industrial organization on the political field are the lessons which we may learn. To shun a sham idealism, to avoid abstractions like the plague, to stand for the industrial organization at the point of contact in the shop and to strive for the ownership of the tool, this is the philosophy of labor.

### SOFT-SOAPING THE MEMBERSHIP.

Chico, Calif., Feb. 27, 1912.

Dear Comrades in Revolt:

At our local meeting Sunday evening last we were much edified and highly interested while listening to the reading of a circular letter purporting to emanate from a committee but really inspired by the mighty Meriam in which a high tribute was paid to the intelligence of the rank and file of the dues-paying members of the party in that it conveyed a warning and contained advice that comes at an opportune time.

We are presented with two classified lists of delegates, one branded constructives (opportunists) the other impossibilists (militant proletarians). The first contains the names of professionals, including real estate agents, ex-sky pilots, ex-shyster lawyers, ex-pedagogues, and ex-everything else, allowing to creep in at rare intervals the names of some poor misguided workmen, some of whom may sympathize for the working class but cannot sympathize with them. The other list is composed almost wholly of the names of comrades who are of the working class or they are comrades who have espoused the cause of the working class and fought its battles in and out of season.

We, a goodly number of the members of Local Chico, are minded to take the advice so generously given by this steering committee of our esteemed secretary.

BELLE MARTIN,  
Ex-Secretary Local Chico.

### WARNING THEIR PRESIDENT.

William H. Taft, President,  
Washington, D. C.

"The Socialist Party of America, as the political expression of the working class, by action of its National Executive Committee, demands that you use the power vested in you as the chief executive of the United States to protect the working men, women and children of Lawrence, Massachusetts, from the brutal violence of the lawless officials. It is monstrous to wreak vengeance upon helpless children. We protest against it. We demand that the constitutional rights of the strikers be respected. And in your capacity as official representative of the capitalist class of the United States we call your attention to the fact that such barbarous methods tend to impede the progress of a peaceful and intelligent political and industrial solution of the struggle between the capitalist class and the working class. An imperative message from you to the mayor of Lawrence and to the governor of Massachusetts would go far to cause these atrocities to cease.

JOHN M. WORK,  
National Secretary Socialist Party."

### DIRECT ACTION.

Up to date (March 2nd) the National Headquarters of the Socialist party has sent \$2,112.38 to Lawrence, Massachusetts, for the strike fund. The Lyceum lecturers have also taken collections and sent the money direct to the strike committee. The Woman's Day meeting in Chicago collected \$116.60. Other Woman's Day meetings did equally well in accordance with the size of audiences. Party locals and branches have in many instances sent their contributions direct to Lawrence.

"Can you weave cloth with bayonets?" asked Haywood in his usual direct fashion of the law and order people at Lawrence. That is the question which we put to all the governments and all the military forces. It is a question which they must answer in the negative. They may kill, imprison, starve. They may go beyond all limits even for the preservation of bourgeois order and tear little children from the arms of their parents that they may be kept in an American city to starve, as they did in Lawrence. They may go crazy and make wholesale arrests in defiance of their own constitutional guarantees, as they are doing at San Diego. But they cannot make a piece of cloth, they cannot sow and reap a crop, they cannot add one particle to the wealth of man by all the bayonets, bludgeons and guns at their command.

Neither can they make the weavers of cloth weave. Hunger and absolute necessity may compel the resumption of work but the guns of the troops cannot make one single wheel revolve, nor can they drive one little child to his part in the process, whose resultant is the shoddy cloth which covers the skin of most of us. Government is ludicrously powerless when confronted by man insurgent.

And suppose hunger drives back the women and children of Lawrence to work in the mills at the starvation wages with which they are to be content. Suppose the strike is lost. Do you think that under the circumstances the output of the mills will be such as to guarantee steady dividends? Would you care to be a shareholder in the mills of Lawrence when they are worked by a batch of wage slaves who have been taught the lessons which this strike has taught them? No, they cannot weave cloth by bayonets, but those under whose hands the cloth grows in the mill can make or mar the cloth, those whose trained hands guide the machinery, the drudges, even of the lowest degree, upon whose behavior the whole process of manufacture entirely depends, can make that machinery perform the task for which it was intended or can cause palpitations and gyrations in its movements, which will make the dividends of the Lawrence mill owners pale and shake. The capitalists entrust their dearest treasure, their invested capital, to the tender mercies of those whom they treat worse than dogs and from whom they expect eternal fidelity. The burden is too heavy. The demand is ridiculous. To imprison the leaders, to bludgeon the rank and file, to forcibly abduct their children, and then to expect that when the slaves who have been thus abused return to work under compulsion the industrial equipment will be safe in their hands!

As I write there is a report that in the event of the failure of the coal miners and the owners in England to come to terms, the government will work the mines. But how will the government work them except in accordance with the demands of the men? It might herd the miners into the shafts at the point of the bayonet and that would mean the abrogation of the constitution and the frank establishment of an industrial tyranny which would produce a physical force revolution in face of which the present British system would vanish. Or it might work the mines in accordance with the demands of the men which would also mean the social revolution, as the government would thus have quarreled irretrievably with its capitalist supporters. Such action at the hands of a bourgeois government is absolutely unthinkable. But suppose military force were employed to compel the resumption of work and that the men were driven to their tasks. They would still have to be entrusted with the machinery of production. To be frank I fancy that it would go rather hard with the machinery of production. Some such occurrences as marked the French railway strike would be pretty certain to take place, for men have a most damnable persistence in remaining human, the Talmud notwithstanding.

Organizations like those of the strikers at Lawrence and like that of the English and Welsh miners, since the spread of industrial unionism in their midst, put the whole system on trial. They challenge capitalism at its very base, open the whole matter of the relations of capital and labor and cause governments to tremble and the mass of the citizens to enquire.

The Lawrence strike is a notable example of just this. These strikers are such as would have been despised by the ordinary trade union agitator. They might have been organized for the sake of the dues, but they would never have been effectually organized, so as to form a unit. They would have been split into crafts and subdivisions and the craft union organizer would have found his excuse for failure in their poverty, in the class of labor, and in the diversity of race and language, which he would have exploited to their detriment. The industrial unionist, poor, without the resources of a great and rich organization does unite them. He is met by the treachery of the trade union leader who actually offers to make a pact with the police to destroy this organization. In spite of all difficulties, however, the industrial organizer persists. He gets his response, and the whole world wonders at the power of those bands of helpless, starving foreigners in the bitter cold of a Massachusetts February. Heroism, devotion, mutual sacrifice, and eternal faith, these

are the results of the propaganda of industrialism, these and the battle song of the International wakening strange echoes in the hearts of a priggish New England Puritan aristocracy.

In face of such results only poor little politicians who want something can prate about dual organizations. The fact is that the Industrial Workers in the Lawrence strike has conducted a colossal piece of work admirably, has brought about a better proletarian spirit than has ever yet been produced in this country, even in the garment workers' strikes, has developed proletarian solidarity to a point not hitherto reached, and has shown such a daring and revolutionary spirit as no strike in this country has come anywhere near approaching. If the poor little politicians do not know this the capitalists themselves have the sense to know it. The Boston papers for weeks have been calling upon the employers to recognize the workers if they will join the A. F. of L. Could more destructive criticism be passed upon any organization than is implied in that advice of the Boston newspapers? In fact so marked has the effect been that A. F. of L. organizations in many cases have sent funds not to their own relief headquarters but to the headquarters of the Industrial Workers.

"Can you weave cloth with bayonets?" asks the intrepid miner against whom the poor little politicians have directed their Lilliputian shafts. The answer comes back in the derisive laughter of that portion of the working class which has accepted the doctrine of industrialism and is prepared to challenge the system. A historic phrase has been made twin to that which will immortalize Gary. "Can you unscramble eggs?" asks the greater capitalism; "Can you weave cloth with bayonets?" asks the proletarian, and the middle class, bewildered, takes refuge in the Los Angeles plan. So history is made.

### "PROGRESSIVE" CHARITY.

By EDWARD HUNT.

With faltering steps the ragged, untidy man timidly approached the Peerless Progressive, begging for work.

"Never having done any work myself," answered the pampered and pompadoured politician, "and knowing nothing of the life of a working man, I naturally know exactly what you need. You are mistaken in supposing you want work. What you need is the initiative. I shall give it to you."

"But I am starving," objected the cringing creature, gazing with fitting shame at the floor. "I have been out of work for over a month and I want something to eat."

An amused smile played for a moment upon the intelligent face of the great statesman. "Ah," he exclaimed, "that's different! But you don't really want something to eat. That wouldn't be good for you. You common people are not to trust yourselves in such matters. You don't know enough to know what you do want. For a man who thinks he is starving, I have the referendum as well as the initiative. You shall have them both."

"I have no money," persisted the cowardly beggar, brazen to the last, "and do not know where I'm going to sleep to-night."

The Fearless Leader sighed at so disgusting an exhibition of covetousness. "Take the recall, too," he said. "You are very ungrateful. Why don't you study Arabic? You must now go home to your wife."

"Alas," whined the vile worker, "my wife is dead. She caught a cold over a wash-tub and then got pneumonia and died."

"That reminds me of something else I have to give you," replied the man who could easily save the country if only given a chance. "If I had stood for suffrage when your wife lived, and if she hadn't died from lack of medical attention, I could have helped her to get the vote. Think of that! Fully to appreciate the grave questions that menace my election, you should study Egyptian."

And so, seeing that he could take no advantage of a man so shrewd in all things, the contemptible pauper went on his way.

"If that man ever comes here again," mused the Progressive, "I'll simply overwhelm him with direct nominations and government ownership of the express company—which, last of course, I am only pretending to favor. Without a knowledge of Sanscrit and Chinese, no one can have any adequate knowledge of the grave problems that we statesmen are called upon to solve."

### ON THE FIRING LINE.

Lawrence, Mass.

Comrades in Revolt:—

Got copies of REVOLT. Just got time to write you a line. As you see I am in the fight and on the firing line.

Am addressing six meetings per day. Wonderful display of solidarity among 20,000 Textile Workers of 18 different races, religions, nationalities; and of every branch in the industry all standing as one man, united in the I. W. W. in the face of police, militia, mill-owned judges, detectives, police spies, state cavalry and the infamous and unspeakable John Golden.

Yours in the revolution,

J. J. BALAM.

### REVOLT IS NEEDED.

Chicago, March 6, 1912.

Dear Comrades in Revolt:

Will try to get off something for you for your May Day number. Thank heaven we have REVOLT in the West. I tell you it is needed.

Fraternally yours,

MARY E. MARCY.

### JAILS FILLED WITH JOBLESS.

San Francisco, Cal., March 4, 1912.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:—

During the past few months, San Francisco and California have been advertised in the various sections of the country as an ideal place for men who desire employment at high wages. This sort of falsehood has been continued by designing men and institutions until California has been flooded with idle men, who have been lured to the land of sunshine and flowers by the agents of grinding greed, who hoped by this means to reap handsome profits.

These falsehoods have been believed by many persons because of the fact that the Panama-Pacific Exposition is to be held in San Francisco in 1915, and another exposition in San Diego at the same time. Otherwise, the viciousness of the mammon-loving gentry might not have yielded such returns.

The truth is, that there is at the present time an army of idle men in California, larger than at any time since the great panic of 1893-1895, seventeen years ago, and there is no prospect of relief from this condition of affairs. In San Francisco alone, there are 30,000 idle men among its resident citizens, to say nothing of those who have been inveigled into coming to this coast by the greedy railroads, real estate sharks and other plunderers who profit by such a condition of affairs. The jails and charity institutions are nightly filled with homeless men, who have fallen victims to the deceit of the profit mongers, who are without conscience or feeling, as they reach out their filthy hands to grasp the pennies of the poor.

There is not enough work in California at the present time to engage 50 per cent. of the labor now here, yet the Chamber of Commerce of San Francisco is circulating hundreds of thousands of post-card falsehoods throughout the world, in an effort to induce other workers to come to a land of idleness, hunger and misery.

This warning is sent out in the hope that those who see it may spread the truth far and wide, and thus balk the minions of greed on this coast in their efforts to profit by the misery of those unfortunate enough to be searching for employment.

Gold is the only God these greedy mortals know, and so long as there is a chance to grasp a dime, they crave it, and would take it out of the palsied hand of advanced age or from the helpless fingers of puny infancy, without a pang of conscience, or the slightest regret: Such is the character of the men responsible for the false pictures of California conditions now being spread throughout the world.

There is no demand for labor here—nothing but idleness on every hand. Our streets are lined with idle men in search of employment, many of them without means to sustain themselves, and compelled to depend upon the charity of strangers.

Stay away from California until such time as you receive information from trustworthy sources that there is work for you here.

Fraternally,

(Signed) Paul Scharrenberg, Secretary,  
CALIFORNIA STATE FEDERATION OF  
LABOR,

(Signed) John I. Nolan, Secretary,  
LEAGUE FOR THE PROTECTION OF  
THE UNEMPLOYED.

### INJURY TO BRITISH MINERS IS CONCERN OF ALL.

Bisbee, Arizona, February 25, 1912.

We, the members of Bisbee Miners' Union No. 106 W. F. M., in regular meeting assembled unanimously resolve that,

Whereas, The coal miners of Great Britain are about to be engaged in a gigantic struggle with the master class and realizing the necessity for concerted action along industrial lines,

Therefore, We ask that the executive officers of the Western Federation of Miners communicate with the United Mine Workers of America to the end that no coal be mined for or shipped to Great Britain during the impending strife. Be it further

Resolved, That a copy of the above resolutions be sent to the labor press throughout the country for publication.

R. A. CAMPBELL, President.  
E. J. MACCOSHAN, Secretary.  
B. P. COUGHLAN,  
GEORGE POWELL,  
J. CARROLL,  
Resolution Committee.

### INDUSTRIAL SOCIALIST LEAGUE MEETINGS.

Mrs. Fremont Older spoke under the auspices of the Industrial Socialist League to a crowd that packed the Building Trades Council Hall on Sunday, March 10th, in behalf of the striking textile workers of Lawrence. Comrade Jos. J. Mooney presided, and due to his and Mrs. Older's strenuous appeal nearly \$300.00 was collected to be sent to the strikers. As the Building Trades Council donated the use of the hall, very little expense was incurred in getting up the meeting. Comrades Geo. Speed, Caroline Nelson and Selig Schulberg were among the speakers.

The Industrial Socialist League is to have Austin Lewis deliver a series of four lectures at Germania Hall, 15th and Mission Streets, on Sunday nights. The first one is slated for Sunday, March 17th. This will be a memorable series of lectures and it is the duty of every reader of REVOLT in San Francisco to be there.

**REVOLT**

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THOMAS J. MOONEY - - - - - Publisher

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Phones: Kearny 2557 and C 4478

**THE BALANCE-SHEET OF BOURGEOIS VENGEANCE.**

Twenty-five thousand men, women and children killed during the battle or after; three thousand at least dead in the prisons, the penitentiaries, the forts, or in consequence of maladies contracted during their captivity; thirteen thousand seven hundred condemned, most of them for life, seventy thousand women, children, and old men deprived of their natural supporters or thrown out of France; one hundred and eleven thousand victims at least. That is the balance-sheet of the Bourgeois vengeance for the solitary insurrection of the 18th of March.

What a lesson of revolutionary vigor given to the workingmen! The governing classes shoot in a lump without taking the trouble to select hostages. Their vengeance lasts not an hour; neither years nor victims avenge it; they make of it an administrative function, methodical and continuous.—Lassagaray's "History of the Paris Commune of 1871."

**METHOD OF HANDLING THE BRUTES.**

For the first time in the history of the United States the "Recall" will be used as a weapon by the workers. The city officials of Oakland have merited the rebuke that they are about to receive at the hands of an aroused working class. The city fathers of Oakland utilized the police powers in the same way as the police powers are used by the municipal governments of the master class in all other cities.

The Oakland Comrades do not mean to invite the turning on the fire hose on defenseless workers, they will not encourage the "beating up" of defenseless men, women and children, as has been and is being done in many cities of "our" free country. This time the RECALL will be invoked and that means it will cost the guilty scoundrels money to maintain, if possible, their lucrative jobs at the public crib.

The lesson that our Oakland Comrades are about to teach their officials will go far to putting an end to the ruthless invasion on the privilege of public expression. Do not let the issue be clouded. Free speech by tongue and pen is the weapon we must at all cost maintain. The recent battles for free speech by the Industrial Workers of the World have been well fought and won. These battles must and will continue. But though one pack of hounds after the other have been driven back to their kennels, another, more brazen pack came to the fore.

Now let us double up on them, use the Oakland and I. W. W. method combined and a summary end will come to the attacks on the workers assembling either in hall or street to discuss their grievances.

**THE WORKERS NEED REVOLT.**

We have made arrangements with The James H. Barry Co. to continue the printing of REVOLT. We have agreed that a new balance sheet be started. But each week we will pay for REVOLT as it is issued and also a small amount on the debt that we have accumulated. This is our second wind, and gladly we record that our enemies crowd to soon. Many are the Revolters who have pledged a stated sum to be paid monthly to continue the little paper that has in its short life stirred up something.

Because some of our active comrades are involved in the REVOLT CONTEST is no reason that the others should not swamp us with subscriptions. Every reader should send in at least one subscription during the week, even though it is only a three months sub. for a quarter.

**DONATIONS.**

Mrs. Herman	.....	\$2.00
D. Wilder	.....	1.50
E. Besselmann, San Diego	.....	1.00
J. Schnittman	.....	1.00
G. Poss	.....	1.00
C. Johnson	.....	.50
Schweizer	.....	.50
Bennie Arnott	.....	2.50

Of course we want yearly subscriptions but we can assure you that the six months are also welcome and we will accept without sneering the three months subs.

The REVOLT force is doing its share; are you doing yours?

Clean up the debt with donations. Maintain the current issues by working for subscriptions.

**CAUSES OF FAILURE OF THE PARIS COMMUNE.**

Nothing could surpass the splendor of the Paris Commune, in its conception and in the terrible and magnificent finale. In the last days, after the Versailles troops had fought their way back into Paris and were shooting the communards against every convenient blank wall in groups of a score or more, hundreds of the revolutionists, men and women, who had been scattered through the streets and might have remained unsuspected, went to where they heard the firing and placed their backs against the walls beside their comrades doomed to die. For them life, for all purposes, ended in the fall of the Commune, and they preferred to join their comrades in death rather than live with the memory of their lost hopes drowned in the blood of the workers of Paris.

Nothing could be more splendid!

Nothing could be more pitiful than the Paris Commune in its conduct. A system of working class government which would have been entirely adequate and satisfactory had there been none but workers to take into consideration was formed, and worked smoothly. The Central Committee, however, cherished the illusion that the bourgeois must be conciliated. The "property rights" of "all classes" were "respected." Money was left untouched in bank, when it might have been utilized in connection with a campaign against the disorganized and almost helpless soldiery of capitalism in Versailles, and in every way all confiscation of "legal property" of individuals was guarded against.

The triumphant proletarians of Paris, perhaps with their heads slightly turned at having established almost in a day a more orderly system of government than ever had existed before, busied themselves with the futile but perhaps amusing occupation of destroying certain symbols of past oppression and tyranny, such as the Vendome Column. They had better have left that, as an object of historic value, and destroyed the Versailles troops.

CLOUDSLEY JOHNS.

**COMRADES!**

Note the word "Indianapolis" in the following article, clipped from the Humboldt (Cal.) Standard. Pay attention to some other things, too. It means something! The same article, and others similar, have been received (NOT FROM INDIANAPOLIS, BUT FROM LOS ANGELES) by country papers all over the United States, and many of them have published this press agent stuff.

It is not yet decided that the national convention is to be held in Indianapolis, nor anywhere but in Oklahoma City, which was selected by the national committee, but Candidate Job Harriman and his press agent seem to think they know that Indianapolis is to be the place—and a lot of other things.

The press agent clearly is a man of wide newspaper experience, who serves his boss effectively. His pay must be high, and the incidental expense considerable. And here, before presenting the press agent stuff of the campaign for Fusionist Harriman as presidential candidate, REVOLT wishes to announce its hope and belief that the Socialist party candidate for President of the United States this year will be—

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL.

Here's the press agent dope, from the Humboldt Standard and other capitalistic country papers:

**"Harriman May Lead Socialists.**

"A telegram from Indianapolis, dated February 20, says that Job Harriman, the defeated Socialist candidate for Mayor of Los Angeles, appears to have the nomination of his party for the Presidency cinched when the National Convention gathers in Indianapolis on May 12. This statement is made on the authority of men high in the councils of the party who have been watching the trend of sentiment among the party members.

"Eugene V. Debs, the man who has headed the ticket for several elections, and who would probably be given the opportunity again, does not want the nomination. In fact he has virtually begged off and another man must be named.

"Harriman, because of the bitter fight against him in Los Angeles, has been considered as the man most widely known and whose fighting qualities have received the severest test.

"The 'boom' for Harriman, according to those at Socialist headquarters, is being backed by a general movement in the party."

**HELPING WIN OUR BATTLE.**

San Diego, Feb. 29, 1912.

Enclosed please find an American eagle (\$). Kindly let it help to win our battle, "The battle of the Workers!" But as I read in the last issue about the "Commune" of 1871 would be published in your little fighter, if you wish you might send me same. I assure you that they will be placed in good hands.

About 196 men now in jail—for what? Talking on the street.

"Free Speech, Fight on!"  
Yours for the Revolution and for great success of REVOLT. ERNST BESSELMANN.

**GERMANIA HALL LECTURES.**

Fifteenth and Mission Streets.

Under Auspices of Industrial Socialist League.

EVERY SUNDAY NIGHT.

**HELP MADERO'S VICTIMS.**

County Jail,  
El Paso, Texas, Feb. 10.

This is for general information. We, the undersigned workingmen, active members of the Industrial Workers of the World, have been arrested and charged with conspiracy to violate the neutrality law.

We pleaded not guilty, and our trial was set for April 8.

After we had been doing peaceful and legitimate propaganda work in the industrial field, up come the dirty tools of the employing class, the detectives, and tangled us up in their cowardly put up job. For the present they have stopped our progressive and active propaganda work for the working class.

It was the dirty coward Don Abraham Molina (who is Madero's man Friday on U. S. soil, according to the El Paso Herald) that started our persecution and led in our arrest. Pointing at Palomarez, he screamed: "Look out for that fellow! He is the principal leader, and a very dangerous man."

Palomarez was handcuffed and treated worse than a low-down hardened criminal.

We have decided to call for help from the working class in general and from our fellow workers of the Industrial Workers of the World in particular, to save us from the sharp clutches of our common enemy, the employing class.

Attorney Tom Lea, whom we want as our lawyer to defend us in our coming trial, has told us to try and get him \$30 for necessary court expenses before our trial comes off.

Attorney E. E. Kirk, of San Diego, is willing to give us his service, but for lack of funds to just pay his necessary personal expenses, we are up against it, unless you fellow workers come to our rescue—an injury to one is an injury to all.

Fellow Worker R. A. Dorame, of Phoenix, Ariz., was an active I. W. W. as editor of "La Union Industrial" and secretary of Spanish speaking Local Branch.

Silvestre Lomas is also an active I. W. W. member of said Branch of our grand labor organization.

I, F. Martinez Palomarez, did my duty to the best of my ability while joint secretary of Locals 13 and 174, I. W. W. of San Diego, Cal. I also edited "Libertad y Trabajo," a workers' weekly in Spanish at Los Angeles, in 1908, with the knowledge and instructions of Fellow Worker Joseph J. Ettor. Only a few copies were issued, because my activities somewhere else called me away.

The said workers' paper that I edited at Los Angeles was backed by active members of Local 12, I. W. W., of which I was a member.

I hate to seek notoriety, and I never like to impose on my fellow workers—only such aid that is given me voluntarily do I appreciate. It gives me satisfaction to pay you back with successful results, and not with empty words or hot air.

Yours for Industrial Freedom,  
F. MARTINEZ PALOMAREZ,  
R. A. DORAME,  
SILVESTRE LOMAS.

P. S.—As we have no defense committee on the outside, address me direct to the county jail thus:

F. MARTINEZ PALOMAREZ,  
County Jail,  
El Paso, Texas.

The jailers pay strict attention to our mail and deliver same o. k.

Publish for us the following contributions received by me for our personal expense and for the general fund of our defense. The three of us are in the same cell and we treat each others like brothers:

Fellow Worker St. John, Chicago, \$2; several friends, through St. John, \$10; Ernst Besselmann, San Diego, Cal., \$4; Local 173, I. W. W., through Sec. J. Lebon, Frisco, Cal., \$3.80; Local 13, I. W. W., through E. Besselmann, San Diego, Cal., \$2. Total, \$21.80.

F. MARTINEZ PALOMAREZ,  
Sec.-Treas. Jail Local 1, I. W. W.

**COACHELLA TIES CAN TO WM. D. HAYWOOD.**

Revolt Pub. Co.,  
San Francisco, Cal.

Dear Comrades:

At the last regular meeting of our Local the referendum to the National Socialist Party membership that had been prepared by a committee appointed at a previous meeting for that purpose was adopted by a vote of 8 to 4. This referendum asks for the recall of Wm. D. Haywood from his position on the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Party. This action is the direct result of a too exclusive use of the "Social Democrat" as an article of mental diet. The symptoms produced by a restricted diet of this kind on a certain class of individuals are closely discerned and permit of a simple and absolutely correct diagnosis. We all remember how well the "Puritans" loved

religious liberty, (for the Puritans). They believed in religious liberty so earnestly and zealously that they were even willing that everybody should be free (to also be Puritans). The initiators of this recall referendum believe in free speech (for themselves and the "Social Democrat") and also for everybody else who manifests a willingness to have his thought inspired by and his language harmonize with the aims and plans of the "Social Democrat." It is immense to have something to do your thinking for you, especially if you are not excessively nimble along that line yourself, saves a lot of brain fag and then it makes for solidarity.

If people all think alike why of course they will be solid for their thinker and can be depended upon to follow this thinker anywhere. All that is necessary, is that this thinker let it be known where it wants to go, and even though it beckons its followers into the realms of imbecility, lo and behold they put on their trotting gait and hike along. Yea, verily, great is the "Social Democrat."

To show how smoothly and efficiently it works just ponder on its accomplishment in this particular case. A few comrades read in its columns that some other paper said, that Wm. D. Haywood, in a speech, said so and so, and that if he had said so and so before he was elected to the national executive committee he probably never would have been elected thereto. Enough said—Wm. D. Haywood must be recalled. We move that this Local initiate a referendum to recall him, motion seconded and carried, over the protest of your correspondent who was in the chair. Say! I had been foolish enough, all this time, to think that when Socialists had their say we would have free speech and a lot of other good things, but I now see that I was mistaken somewhat and also see how impractical I was to believe in such silly nonsense.

Well, anyway, the Local arrested Comrade Haywood on the spot, tried him, convicted and then sentenced him; for you see it wasn't necessary to let him speak for himself. The "Social Democrat" had already indicated what his punishment should be and of course he was guilty. Say, if this is a glimpse into the fairy land of Socialism guess after all that Capitalism is good enough for me.

Not one of the majority who were responsible for the action taken by this Local even suggested that anything bearing on the case be read or discussed in the Local; not even the speech itself, all discussion of the question was discouraged and frowned upon. Now Comrades I am torn by conflicting emotions, if I did not live at Coachella I could wish that when this referendum (if it ever sees the light of day) is printed in the National Bulletin, that it be printed just as it was originally written. It somehow seems to me that it would have great weight with the membership in arriving at a fair and tremendously convincing decision. In conclusion let me say—here's to Wm. D. Haywood the splendid, courageous, lion-hearted champion of the working class. He may not always be right when measured by Capitalist Ethics, but how about HIS ethics?

Fraternally,  
F. E. HOLLOWAY.

**FROM CONTESTANT WILDER.**

Palo Alto, Cal.

REVOLT Pub. Co.

Dear Comrades:—Enclosed find \$1.50 as a starter in your subscription contest.

When REVOLT first appeared many, including myself, were of the opinion that one paper (The World) was sufficient for this State.

However, the exceedingly clear and sound articles which teach the Industrial Socialist philosophy better than any weekly in America soon convinced me of the necessity for REVOLT.

During the period that the Socialists (so-called) of Los Angeles had entered their fusion campaign and the State Secretary was lavishly spending the party's funds to print and circulate literature telling the membership how he alone had built the party from 2000 to 6000 members and therefore should not be recalled, Branch Oakland called a mass meeting to consider the proper course to pursue under such tyrannical circumstances. It was upon my return from this meeting that the writer called upon the editor of REVOLT and learned that in order to hold his job and "edit" REVOLT beside, required his labor from 5 a. m. till 1 o'clock at night, and thus learning that others worked equally as hard and all without pay, I felt that all true revolutionists should help REVOLT to the extent of their ability, even though meager.

And that is what the writer intends doing during this contest.

Yours for the only Socialism that stands for the abolition of exploitation of man by man, Industrial Socialism!  
E. E. WILDER.

All this chorus of calumny, which the party of order never fail, in their orgies of blood, to raise against their victims, only proves that the bourgeois of our days considers himself the legitimate successor to the baron of old, who thought every weapon in his own hand fair against the plebeian, while in the hands of the plebeian a weapon of any kind constituted a crime.

KARL MARX.

THEY KILLED THEM.

By J. O. Bentall.  
It was on Friday when they did it. Ghastly headlines and horrible details in the hideous capitalist newspapers shrieked forth that five men were being hung. One was a negro, four were white.

Had these four men committed a crime? Had they been brutal? Had they wantonly murdered an innocent farmer? Had they chopped his body and crushed his bones? Had they been deaf to his pleadings and dead to his cries for his wife and baby?

Certainly. All that. Can no excuse be offered for their unspeakable inhumanity? Was there no circumstance that might bear witness in their favor?

None. Agreed then that the crime committed by the four slayers can in no way be excused, what further can be said?

Simply this: These young men and boys had been brought up in an environment that made them brutes. They had seen and heard all that is vile and vulgar.

Society, organized, civilized, christianized society, had thrust among them the Robber who holds up the worker at the pay window and loots his pay envelope. Who drives the victim with the lash of necessity till his body is bent, his bones broken, his life crushed out. The Robber who pounces upon the little girl and the little boy and hurls them into the mill that grinds them into dollars. The Robber who has no scruples, no fears, no conscience. The Robber that is protected by law, by government, by society.

This Robber, the greatest of all Robbers, who steals the sweat and blood of the toilers, who brutalizes and dehumanizes every soul upon whom his breath falls was thrust by society, organized, civilized, christianized society, among four little babies whose mothers loved them because of their sweet soft bodies, their bright sparkling eyes and their gentle baby cooings.

And this great Robber began to breathe upon these babies. He breathed the breath of the dram shop, and the breath of the brothel, and the breath of the gambling den, and the breath of the corrupt politician, and the breath of religious hypocrisy, and the breath of poisonous ignorance, and the breath of the yellow press.

The babies grew and became young men. They had breathed the atmosphere that Society, environment had supplied them with. They took on the forms of the Robber that Society had thrust among them. The Robber that organized, civilized, christianized society had hurried upon them. The Robber that city government, that State government, that national government supports, protects, encourages.

So these babies when they became men became brutalized, dehumanized, criminalized, just like the big Robber that robs the toiler at the pay window and picks his pocket with fingers of the dram shop, the brothel, the gambling den, the yellow press.

Then they killed a man. They killed a good, honest farmer. They did it in a brutal way, the same brutal way that the big Robber kills the man in the mines, the women in the shops, the boys in the mills, the girls in the factory, with the permission and protection of the mayor, the governor, the president.

Then the State, the protector of the big Robber who robs the toiler at the pay window, took the four men and hanged them by the neck till they were dead.

One of them, a mere boy, was not heavy enough to break his neck by the fall, so one of the State's servants put his arm around the dangling boy and pulled down so as to help in the process of strangling.

It's a merry stage. The State first criminalized these men and then killed them. That is the noble deed of the State. The State expects to expiate its crime by killing its own product. It expects to warn others and make them take heed.

But the next morning in Chicago more crime had been committed than before the hanging.

No. No. You can't make criminals by a bad environment and then make them good by hanging them.

Socialism proposes a system in which there shall be no big Robber who robs the toilers at the pay window and who teaches the people how to be bad by the use of the dram shop, the brothel, the gambling den, the yellow press.

Socialism proposes a clean, just, decent environment in which it will be easy to do right and hard to do wrong.

Socialists do not believe that society can rid itself of crime by killing the criminals, but rather by doing away with the conditions that produce criminals.

UNITING THE WORLD'S WORKERS.

The Lawrence strike is one of the most inspiring struggles the American workers have ever known. Separated by many different languages, customs and religions, the men and women, the boys and girls of Lawrence have joined hands as one man against the common enemy—the woolen companies. There are more languages spoken in the confines of Lawrence than in any other district of its size in the world. But in spite of these barriers, the strike was an almost spontaneous one and 17 races, differing widely in speech and custom, rose in concerted protest.—International Socialist Review for March.

INSTRUMENTS ONLY.

What are majorities and elections, seats in Congress or men in office? Nothing but instruments with which to accomplish certain results. Need anyone that believes in any high and true ideal care by what name are known the instruments that realize

this ideal? Not in the least, if they be honest and decent and if they involve on his part no particle of contamination, compromise, surrender, bargaining, nor yielding from his protest. Unless he be carried away with mere lust for office and personal glory he will be as well satisfied to see practical or essential progress towards his ideals come from one source as another.—Charles Edward Russell in the March International Socialist Review.

The Jewish Progressive Club gives lectures in Yiddish every Friday evening at 8 p. m. at Jefferson Square Building. Admission Free.

Yours comradely,  
D. RAPOPORT.

Phone Douglas 3565

H. SLIKERMAN  
Attorney-at-Law

Pacific Bldg. San Francisco  
Room 631

**William D. Haywood and Frank Bohn**  
have written THE propaganda book of the year—  
**INDUSTRIAL SOCIALISM**  
It contains the heart and meat of the whole revolutionary movement in a nutshell. It will put the worker on the right road. He won't have to travel all through the Middle Ages to find out what we want. The shortest, straightest cut to an understanding of Socialism. 40c a copy. \$1 a dozen. \$5 a hundred. Express prepaid. **Chas. H. Kerr & Co., 118 W. Kinzie St., Chicago**

**The Rose Door**  
The Story of a  
**House of Prostitution**  
by Estelle Baker. Half a million American women live from the sale of their bodies. This book is a living, gripping story of the actual lives of four of these women. **It shows the one way out.** Randomly priced and illustrated, extra cloth, \$1.00 postpaid. For \$1.50 we send The Rose Door and a year's subscription to the International Socialist Review, the biggest, best illustrated and most vital working class magazine in the world today. **CHAS. H. KERR & CO., 118 W. KINZIE ST., CHICAGO**

THE MEN AND RELIGION FORWARD MOVEMENT.

By HUGO LENZ.

San Francisco is about to recover from a severe attack of revivalism. The "Paris of America," it seems, had fallen so far from grace that it required not only a severe pummeling at the hands of "Gypsy" Smith, but a good all around beating from the Men and Religion Forward Movement.

While Smith's exhortations at Dreamland Rink were aimed largely at the general sinfulness of the race, the perorations of one Raymond Robbins and his disciples were of a more practical nature. They were labeled "social service" and pertained mainly to the connection, as they see it, between Labor and the Church.

Raymond Robbins, ally of Samuel Gompers, and a paid lecturer in the employ of the A. F. of L., is no doubt sincere in his contention that his interest in the labor movement is due to past experience as a coal miner and the sympathy aroused thereby for the toiling masses. This we do not question but in so far that he decries the spread of Socialism on every occasion possible; in so far that he denies the class-struggle; in so far that he is aiding the A. F. of L. in its effort to crush the rising sentiment for industrial unionism; in so far that he is now preaching religion to its members; we have a right to analyze the causes therein suggested.

Mr. Robbins is economically independent—honestly, in so far as it goes; having made his money in gold mining. Being so, it seems apparent that while he may have been a coal miner; while he may have suffered the struggles of a youth handicapped by environment and lack of opportunities, he is to-day removed from the sphere of working-class action and the psychology of the machine-proletariat. All of which would tend to make one believe that Mr. Robbins' interest in the labor movement is purely emotional and not inspired by working-class economic determinism. He is a sentimentalist, with sympathy functioning in the place of revolutionary class-consciousness.

He does not believe in the class-struggle and considers the propaganda of Socialism a menace to American institutions including the A. F. of L. He does not believe in the abolition of wage-slavery but in the perpetuation of the capitalist system. He does not believe the working-class can emancipate itself but that it must be "led" by men from without its ranks. He does not believe in the necessity of a materialist philosophy—a proletarian science for the working class but in the efficacy of religious enthusiasm.

Therefore, Mr. Robbins in promoting a religious movement bearing upon the working class, cannot be analyzed as a personality. Only by looking upon him as a class expression can we arrive at a logical cause for his present activities.

The working-class the world over is seething with discontent. It is on the eve of revolt—pre-mature, possibly, but determined, unquestionably. The Master-Class is getting worried. The slaves are no longer listening with their accustomed wont to the men whose duty it is to make them believe they are happy. Something must be done to stop the spread of materialism and free-thinking and lo! and behold, the Men and Religion Forward Movement is with us.

It is backed by Wall Street, fathered by preachers and led by "labor-leaders." Surely a fine Trinity—the God-head of Capitalism! And rushing to the standard of the latest Savior, Mr. Robbins like Peter the Hermit is leading this newest Crusade to the land of the Infidels—to save the working-class from itself. He and his co-workers are of course fired with the desire to help the poor benighted workers that springs

ATTENTION COMRADES!  
Revolt Subscription Contest.

The object of this contest is to increase the usefulness of REVOLT. To put REVOLT on a safe basis we must have more readers. Those that are interested in the necessary work that "The Voice of the Militant Worker" is accomplishing are determined, and they have resolved that REVOLT will not suspend. The burden of publishing a paper by wage slaves, that toil for a master every day, is a heavy one and we want you to share the joy of bearing it. Some of our kind friends have enabled us to give suitable prizes to those who send in the most subscribers between now and May the 1st.

In future issues of REVOLT the prizes will be described and those entering the contest should enroll now.

FIRST PRIZE—Nine beautiful volumes of Library of Original Sources, valued at \$54.00.

SECOND PRIZE—"Capital," by Karl Marx—3 volumes.

THIRD PRIZE—"History of Great American Fortunes," by Gustavus Meyers—3 volumes.

Enter this contest now. Win a good Socialist Library.

Subscriptions in the Contest will be governed by the following points:

1 3-mos. subscription cost.....	.25— 2 points
1 6-mos. subscription cost.....	.50— 5 points
1 yearly subscription cost.....	1.00— 15 points
1 2-year subscription cost.....	2.00— 35 points
1 3-year subscription cost.....	3.00— 55 points
1 4-year subscription cost.....	4.00— 75 points
1 5-year subscription cost.....	5.00—100 points
1 10-year subscription cost.....	10.00—250 points

All subscriptions already received in this contest and those to come will be rated according to the above schedule.

Subscriptions are coming in from each contestant each day.

from "sympathy," "justice," "right," "inspiration" and other metaphysical abstractions. They believe they are impelled, it would seem, by motives very much like those which brought on the Crusades of the middle ages. But it does not take much deduction to prove that economic causes are at the bottom of the Men and Religion Forward Movement just as they were back of the Crusades.

In the study of history we find that the slaveholding aristocracy of Rome supported an unproductive class of workers—the clients whose duty it was to preach a code of morals to the slaves in accord with the interests of their masters.

The priests of the middle ages performed a like service to the feudal nobility, by perverting the self-interest of the serfs with the doctrines of "obedience" and "servility."

The writers, clergy and the judiciary of to-day derive their support from the capitalist class in exchange for the power they exert in creating public opinion which will perpetuate the present social order.

And we find also, thanks to the researches of Achille Loria, that as the two previous economic systems crumbled to pieces they liberated the unproductive workers from the functions they performed for the dominant classes and caused them to join hands with the new social forces to overthrow the old. The bankruptcy of the Roman economy drove the clients to the slave standard. The decline of feudal revenues forced the mediæval clergy to enroll under the banner of the rising bourgeoisie.

It would seem then that the inability of the unproductive workers of to-day to pervert the self-interest of the wage-earning class much longer, tends to draw the support of the capitalists away from them. This makes it necessary for them to either come directly over to the working-class and take up its battle-cry or else make strenuous efforts to distort the workers' ideas and thereby retain the capitalists' support.

Of the two alternatives, the former is taken by those preachers who are coming over in bunches to the Socialist movement. In so far as their past environment will permit they have divorced themselves from the existing social order and are using their energies in the establishment of a new one. While we may differ with their tactics, we cannot doubt their sincerity.

But the latter—the Robbins type of preachers, are enemies, not friends of the working-class. They are doing their utmost to revive in the workers a dying respect for religion and its concomitant subservience to the Master-Class. They may not understand the full significance of the function they are performing for the Capitalists but that is not our fault. Their bread and butter is endangered by the unwillingness of the workers to listen to their prattle about the "sacredness of contract" and their ranting about the "menace of the class-struggle." Unless they can keep the workers content with what they have or "getting it a little bit at a time," they will lose their jobs.

We have no sympathy with their parasitic existence and cannot tolerate their meddling. As working-class revolutionists, firm in our knowledge that we alone can emancipate ourselves, we have no room in our philosophy for the superstition and priest-craft of the bourgeois school. We know that upon our ability to enlighten ourselves depends our progress as a class.

Mr. Robbins and his kind are anachronisms. They are reversions to the type of mediæval priests who drew their pay upon condition that the mentality of the serfs he stiffened with the doctrines of humanity and future reward. When the working-class has a full understanding of the evolution, laws and workings of the universe and human society, which Science is presenting it, it will have no need of "inspired" explanations.

Mr. Robbins' "movement" is backward, not "forward," and while Samuel Gompers and The Militia of Christ department of the A. F. of L. may aid it in its campaign against Socialism, the rising tide of resentment against them may not only shake Robbins out of the Plum Tree but certain officials of the A. F. of L. as well.

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