

Past And Present:
More's The Pity.

We were disappointed most bitterly when, having raised the standard of "Land and Liberty," and having thrown ourselves heart and soul into the Mexican people's struggle against their master, the modern followers of Henry George met us with icy indifference. Those followers profess and propagate diligently the belief that private property in land is the cause of all misery and crime, and for a time we could not understand their coldness. However, they have their patent remedy, which does not happen to be ours, and we sojourned ourselves with the reflection that owners of such medicines generally reach the point at which they think far more of their remedy than of the disease it seeks to cure.

Much of the same reasoning had to be applied to the case of the Socialist Party, which, though at one time sympathetic and helpful, turned against us bitterly, following the mandates of its leaders. We were not seeking salvation through the ballot, and by that very fact to the priests of the temple we became nucleus.

To the Anarchists, and especially to men of the Kropotkin and Jean Grave type, we looked with supreme confidence. As a party we were endeavoring to live up to much of the philosophy they had preached, so assiduously, winning for themselves thereby a world-wide reputation. For years we had made our propaganda largely by the circulation of their works. Kropotkin's "Conquest of Bread" being one of our favorite text-books. That long-continued propaganda had cost us many a hard-earned dollar, to say nothing of the death and prison sentences beneath which a by no means insignificant army of our comrades fell.

We have been, and are, in the bitterest of fights. We were plunged in it despite ourselves, and, in our judgment, it will become radical to use our plight as an opportunity to philosophize on violence. We were, and are, in a position where we have to win, or to accomplish, at least some of the ends for which so many have laid down their lives. To men so circumstanced he who is not with them is necessarily against them, and the indifference of a Kropotkin was almost as unendurable as the open hostility of a Jean Grave, who ignored the proofs we patiently submitted, but opened his columns eagerly to the outpourings of a notorious enemy.

These facts, for facts they are, have roused our indignation, many a time, not only against Kropotkin and Jean Grave but against the lesser luminaries who light their little candles at the center of the sun. However, men who they are, Kropotkin, who has been a far greater propagandist of violence than ever John Most began to be, has grown old and apparently conservative, despite himself. It is now the author of "Mutual Aid," in which the mild gospel of collectivism is set against the fierce individual struggle which, as Darwin maintained, lies at the basis of all life. In other words, he has passed from adulation of the tiger to deification of the hare, which runs but multiplies. Doubtless an honest change of thought, although we cannot see it. However, the universal understanding that Kropotkin has undergone that change of thought forms the basis of his present popularity, and that gives said proof of our unpreparedness for the stern, the unspeakably stern, struggle which lies immediately ahead of us.

As for Jean Grave, he is now a man of mark, and we ourselves can only deplore the change wrought by time and illustrate it by citation from his former writings. We have not picked passages here and there, for that is a most unfair method of criticism by which gross injustice may be done. We have taken consecutive pages from his "Anarchy, its Aim and Methods," as published in "El Revista Blanca," thirteen years ago. The passages translated are indicated by quotation marks, and we have thought it advisable to add a running commentary.

We are not slanderers. We are not attacking private characters. We are recorders of historical facts, and, as such, we consider the changed attitude of old revolutionary leaders a fact of great importance. It teaches the power of environment and throws a flood of light on the potency of economic and social circumstances. It should warn the proletariat once more against idolatry. The translation follows, being from pages 422 and 425, volume 3, of the above-named review.

"However the revolution may come about, those who may be so happy as to take an active part in it must not forget that its triumph will not be a large number of the peasantry. If they have not been initiated into the new ideas it will be necessary to initiate them into the war against property (Grave is a Communist) and to organize them for free production."

Note. In this country, at any rate, the Socialists have neglected the agricultural workers almost entirely, and the Anarchist propaganda has been non-existent, except so far as the rank and file of the I. W. W., following the harvests, have spread it. As for Jean Grave himself, note his conception that they must be organized for free production. It never enters his head that the first thing to do is to conquer freedom of production by driving off the monopolists, and AFTER which the producers will organize themselves. A similar criticism may be passed on Kropotkin, Pouget, and all those of the Syndicalist-Collectivist-Socialist school. Emphasizing the power of union they invariably place organization first and liberty second. What ever may be their natural and inherited tendencies toward Communism, it seems to us that, in practice, the Mexicans have shown themselves followers of more purely Anarchistic thought, for they have said: "Let us take back the land and THEN we shall be well able to organize our industries."

"History shows us the confusion in the governmental machine which the uprising of the peasants brings about. We ought, therefore, to work for the continual diffusion of the idea, that they may be induced to struggle against authority."

Note. If the government machine has not been thrown out of gear in Mexico during the last three years, thanks solely to the uprising of the peasants, one would like Mr. Grave to explain precisely what has been happening. Did he, a professed Anarchist, applaud? He did not. On the contrary, he belittled, doubted and opposed, in the face of overwhelming evidence; the evidence of Diaz and Madero, successfully hurled from power, and revolution admittedly rampant throughout the length and breadth of Mexico.

"The army and the police are strong only when the revolution is concentrated in a few towns. This allows them to work in mass and assures their triumph; but when they are compelled to split up and extend their activities to the remotest and smallest villages, their cause is lost."

Note. The Mexican revolutionists have understood that thoroughly. Hence their almost universal resort to guerrilla warfare, in which Zapata, and the numerous leaders who have grouped themselves around him, have shown themselves hitherto almost invincible. It is only with such semi-political movements as that headed by Carranza that the Federals have had pitched battles. In our judgment, Mexican experience confirms the theoretical conclusions reached by military students, viz.: that the tendency of warfare is to become more and more individualized, since the destructive capacity of modern weapons renders fighting in close formation suicidal, while it converts the individual soldier, armed with a modern rifle, into a commanding force. Especially does this apply to revolutions. It is comparatively easy nowadays for the rank and file to procure rifles, and impossible for them to purchase heavy artillery. Their strength lies, therefore, in the country districts, which it is difficult for heavy artillery to penetrate. Their utter weakness is in the cities, wherein the masses are at the mercy of the heavy cannon.

"Rebels can generally operate in the country districts to great advantage and with probability of success, for the governmental forces are accustomed to being concentrated in the big cities. Ordinarily the rural police can preserve order in the country under their charge; but in times of revolution what can five or six poor wretches do as against the whole country in insurrection? Moreover, it may be, as we know has been the case in certain countries, that the municipality and its mayor have been contaminated by the modern ideas of emancipation, and, by intervening, have been able to hamper the government's agents and ferment the development of the revolution."

Note. The columns of "Regeneracion" have recorded countless instances of this very kind in Mexico, the history of the great French Revolution repeating itself in this respect most faithfully.

"The insurgent peasantry will have plenty of time, before the arrival of the army forces, for the destruction of walls, enclosures and other property metes and bounds, and for the making a bonfire of the municipal records, legal papers and registers, wherein the present social injustice finds its legal sanctification. Then, come what may, that which has been done cannot be undone."

Note. The French peasantry did all that more than a century ago, and Kropotkin dug up and chronicled the evidence in his celebrated history. The Mexican Revolutionists acted in exactly the same way, and we recorded the fact over and again, with true journalistic fidelity, in "Regeneracion." Voltaire de Cleyre emphasized the point in her well-known pamphlet and so did the editor of this section in his brochure, "The Mexican Revolution." Apparently, however, these facts only drove Jean Grave to more bitter hostility. As for Kropotkin, he seems to have forgotten that he wrote "The Great French Revolution."

"The peasants who, from 1789 to 1793, burned the feudal castles, can see an example for the future."

Note. A dangerous sentiment, but we must remember that Jean Grave wrote it thirteen years ago, when he was not the long established head of an influential paper. On the other hand, many of the Mexican Revolutionists read it thirteen years ago, and it sank into their memories.

"In such a movement one sees Authority forced to divide its forces and to attempt to repress the beginnings of insurrection, started simultaneously at various points. In the greater part of these cases it is impossible to bring back order, because the population as a mass is an accomplice in them, and the agents charged with the duty of repression can only look on at the consummated fact and resign themselves to impotence. This, without taking topographical considerations into account, allows the inhabitants to continue indefinitely their resistance against greatly superior forces."

Note. In military discussions on the present situation in Mexico you will find repeated constantly the observation that the country is specially adapted for guerrilla warfare. Undoubtedly in that very fact, coupled with their instinctive imitation of the tactics used by the French revolutionists, lies the secret of the long and successful fight the Mexican people hitherto has made. In this connection it must never be forgotten that the Mexican people was one of the poorest, and was supposed to be one of the most submissive, creatures in the world. When he began this fight he faced a military dictatorship, headed by a noted warrior whom President Roosevelt and Taft, say nothing of the numerous lesser lights, have only belatedly and less than gloriously proclaimed one of the great men of the age.

"Let us imagine that these local up-

risings break out within a week throughout the nation, and we see the government incapable of sustaining the struggle under such conditions. It will be found compelled to make immediately all kinds of concessions, and though the ideal of emancipation may not have been developed in its completeness nevertheless some advance along the road of progress will have been made."

Note. Week after week "Regeneracion" has called attention to the unanimity with which all sections of the privileged class have come forward with propositions to help the proletariat, because, if one hopes to continue riding, the steed must be kept from bucking eternally. These propositions have all centered round the agrarian question, and have ranged from co-operation purchase schemes to far-reaching confiscation. The facts are well known, and in our booklet, "Land and Liberty," Mr. Araujo has summarized them faithfully. Thus we see once more the Mexican Revolution following the self-same path pursued by all great popular upheavals. History repeats itself and of necessity, for similar causes beget similar effects.

In the great struggle, to the edge of which we are now drawing near, we shall need all the information we can gather. But that information must be reliable. It must not be the fleeting opinions of men, which change with circumstances and time and passion. It must be the infallible directory of facts, and for that we must go to the biologists, who show us life's great struggle and the methods by which alone that struggle can be waged successfully. An ounce of those facts is worth a ton of what Kropotkin and Jean Grave, or Pouget or Debs would like them to be; for the likings vary with the likes and with the circumstances. I believe our readers will support me when I say that from this standpoint alone we have presented the Mexican Revolution as worthy of support.

We have not asked support because it was the Mexican Liberal Party's cause. We have not urged it because it would bring Syndicalism or Anarchism to triumph. We have posed it solely as a nation's frenzied writing for existence; as being, in the words of Freiligrath, "the breath of life." As such those who believe in life's divine struggle will support it. While Pharisees and Levites of doctrinarianism will pass coldly by on the other side.

WM. C. OWEN.

DIVIDING THE LANDS.

Whether the Constitutionists are or are not truly representative of the Mexican revolutionary movement—and for our part we feel assured that they are not—it is certain that they are anxious to introduce far-reaching economic reforms, of a character much more radical than any advocated hitherto in the United States or Europe by any party with a numerous following. To that extent they are, of course, infinitely preferable to the Huerta regime, which has seized the government reins by force, is warring to impose its military regime on a people that detests militarism, and will restore in their most virulent form all the hideous tyrannies and injustices that brought about the fall of Diaz.

Moreover, the Constitutionists are, today in hard straits, and parties that start with timid compromises, endeavoring to sit on two stools at once, learn a valuable lesson when they tumble between them. They find themselves forced to come closer to the masses and study with deeper attention what those masses actually want.

It is a proof of this we reproduce extracts from an article published in "El Pais" of Sept. 23, for the purpose of showing that the Constitutionists are advocating "the brutal despoilment of the patrimony of the rich, which should be as inviolable as that of the poor." In the head which this Roman Catholic daily places over its article it is stated that these ultra-Socialist proceedings will come to a by no means amusing end when the loyal troops arrive. The communication reproduced is dated Matamoros, Tamaulipas, Sept. 3, and runs, in part:

"It being indispensable not only to reconquer our political rights but also to provide, at all costs, for the future well-being of the people, Gen. Lucio Blanco, chief of the Constitutionists forces operating in the States of Tamaulipas and Nuevo Leon, decided to take in hand the rural properties belonging to the 'cientificos,' by virtue of Porfirio Diaz' criminal concessions. The haciendas in question were those which formed part of the immense properties of Inigo Noriega, Romulo Cuellar and Felix Diaz, and it has been decided to distribute them immediately in an equitable manner among the proletariat. For that purpose, Gen. Blanco and Jose Mugica, chief of the constitutionist forces, engineer Manuel Urquidí, former Secretary of Communications and Public Works, who had carried out the necessary partition of the land at Piedras Negras, to make a study of the situation, that he might be able to put in practice one of the most important phases of the agrarian problem."

Then follows a somewhat lengthy declaration to the effect that the arable lands will be given only to those who can cultivate them and that the pasture lands shall not be alienated. The letter is accompanied by a copy of what is entitled "Act for the repatriation of the land," which recites that the Commission in charge of the work has "proposed the practical, sure and immediate distribution of the lands, alike among the disinherited and among the Constitutional soldiers who have known how to defend, at the risk of their lives, the legality and justice of the People's cause."

Twist it which way you will one feels that these people are anxious somehow or other, to restore the land to the actual cultivator. On the other hand, he must be indeed a fool who does not recognize that Felix Diaz will work for the everlasting perpetuation of the huge Felix Diaz property, and the maintenance intact of that monstrous system of monopoly, which is hurrying us to universal ruin.

Mexican Notes

There are hundreds of thousands of men in this world today, outside of Mexico, who consider that the overthrow of land monopoly would be cheap at ANY price. These men are absolutely unmoved by any picture of war horrors which Peace societies can draw, for they consider that to shut men out from nature and place our common mother, Earth, beyond the reach of millions, involves more slaughter and unhappiness than those meted by all the battles and history records. These men, throughout the world, are watching events in Mexico, and more particularly are they watching the United States. Upon the action of our Government; upon its decision to side with Man, on the one hand, or with Money, on the other, will depend their attitude toward that world-wide revolutionary movement which is today a very actual fact.

As to Huerta's Government, they have no doubt. They know that it is straining every nerve to drown the life-struggle of Mexico's disinherited in a sea of blood. They recognize that all the blame for the fighting now going on in Mexico must be laid at the door of Huerta, and of that Government which is defending Privilege. This they understand, but as to the Government of the United States they are in doubt.

These things are happening at what is probably one of the most critical moments in human history; and, most unfortunately, things are arranged so stupidly that the decision, which may affect most vitally the future of every one of us, rests with a handful of men no wiser than ourselves. Probably President Wilson today is shouldering a greater responsibility than has fallen to the burden of any single human being for many generations. He empathizes with the disinherited. He may yield to the enormous pressure which the disinherited can bring to bear. In such case he may let loose the dogs of international civil war. Not tomorrow or the next day, perhaps, but speedily; for men still hoping for a peaceful solution of grave and universally admitted evils will give up hope and armed evolution will become a stern reality.

This seems to us the real issue now at stake; an issue with a moral basis which the oppressed, the wide world over, begin to understand; an issue, therefore, of an importance beyond the power of language to express. It happens to have become crystallized in the case of Mexico, and not unnaturally, since Mexico has been one of the foulest centers of the general disease. Those who think intervention in Mexico means merely a recreation trip for so many thousand well-drilled soldiers seem to us the shallowest of fools. Where the observant sit in council it is felt that an avalanche may be about to start.

The taking of Torreón obviously brings that danger closer, regardless of the attendant loss of life. It was supposed, that Huerta, having been able to borrow money and accumulate arms, was in a position to take the situation well in hand. It is now clear that the revolution has intense, if not unconquerable vitality. That is the position we ourselves have taken from the first, being convinced that the Mexican people, as a whole, understand that they are fighting for rights which are tantamount to life itself. The fate of movements of that character does not hang on single campaigns.

The capture of Torreón is a most serious blow to Huerta, and at this writing—Oct 10—it is said that he is emptying Mexico City of troops in the effort to recapture it. According to the latest despatches, foreigners in the capital are more alarmed than at any previous date. It is rumored that the Constitutionists are about to retake Piedras Negras, that Gen. Aubert and 1000 federals have deserted to them, that the entire State of Sinaloa is in rebel hands. The air is full of rumors and for days past no papers have come through from Mexico City, which is always a sign of serious disturbance. For this reason, and because we are overset, we postpone details until next week, and give our space by preference to discussion of principles underlying this struggle.

The Zapatistas have been singularly quiet. We doubt their having lost heavily in men when driven from Morelos by a series of concerted attacks, but it is understood that they were forced to abandon an arsenal of inestimable value to them. As with all the rebels, their one difficulty is lack of ammunition.

The situation on the border grows more and more dangerous, with racial animosities becoming continually more bitter and the air is charged with electricity.

The New Review (Socialist) for October, in an opening article, a most excellent study of the American situation, and Mexico. It shows admirably and conclusively, the impossibility of restoring peace in Mexico until the lands, stolen by corrupt officials and sold for a song to favorites and foreign speculators, have been returned to the original and rightful proprietors—the men and women who lived on them and cultivated them for their own sustenance. The crux of the present situation is given in the following paragraph:

"A plutocratic administration in Washington would know definitely the line of action prescribed for it, and it would be able to furnish military force or not, it would lend every possible assistance to the ruling classes of Mexico to restore order and stifle in blood the aspiration of the Mexican masses. Peace might thus be established, even though the peace of the desert. A proletarian administration in Washington would pursue the very opposite course and would lend every possible assistance to the peasant rebels, for revolutionary governments are just as propagandistic as conservative or reactionary ones. But what will be the final decision of the present Democratic Administration? That it cannot actively do the peasant rebels is certain. Even if it could overcome its ingrained middle class scruples; its respect for the 'sacred rights' of property acquired according to the forms of law, the Southern

leaders of the Democratic party, who are now playing first fiddle to Washington, would interpose their weighty veto. To the Southern leaders the Mexican question is one of race as well as of property relations."

Think that passage over.

A WORKERS' PICNIC

"Camp on Durst Hop Field. For these hovel Durst Brothers charged a rental of more than \$480 per week." We quote the caption to the cut which heads Mortimer Downing's article, "The Case of the Hop Pickers," in this month's "International Socialist Review." Apart from the sheriff's raid and subsequent man hunt, it is impossible to read this article without indignation, and the facts given are typical of conditions with which all observers are painfully familiar. First, the Durst Brothers advertise for men, women and children, to work on their gigantic hop ranch. They want twenty-three hundred, for they are engaged in that production on a big scale which the Socialists admit to be such and which, under any management, is slavery incarnate. They advertise after the fashion set by the United States government in its ginning for food for powder; everything will be lovely; not work, a picnic.

So the workers come, twenty-three hundred of them, and the disillusion is not long in following. For wretched shacks—in such matters the camera cannot be made to lie—rents are charged that bring in a rental of more than \$480 a week. There is a "monopoly privilege," sold to a member of the employing family. To render it more lucrative, since hop-picking is thirsty work, no water is allowed to be hauled into the field. There is the most rigid discipline. The camera shows us the men being paid off, with armed guards standing over them. Talk about American freedom! If we had a spark of such an inspiration still left in us the very sight of such a picture would make our blood boil. The men, the ones who do the work, are drawn up in ranks, humbly waiting for their pay. The photograph does not show it, but one feels certain that they are numbered and ticketed like so many sides of beef. All this is necessarily incident to "big business," to conditions begotten by landlordism and fed by those labor-saving devices to which the human brain has given birth.

Then there is a picture of "Strikers Under Arrest." To one familiar with the types that picture is most eloquent. The men under arrest look workers, every inch of them. The City Marshal and his deputies look as such men almost invariably look; big-bellied, city dressed, with loud watch chains and huge seals appended, dangling over the bulging stomach.

With similar scenes, on the big ranches of the San Joaquin, we have been familiar for the last twenty-five years. They still endure. They will continue to endure until the workers wake up. Furthermore, and still more important, they will endure until the workers have waked up sufficiently to understand that these big ranches, all this system of land monopoly, with the peonage that necessarily accompanies it, must go.

It won't go by mere abuse. It won't go by I. W. W. men braying that they are "shop" men whom the land question does not interest. There has got to be something more than loud agitation, with an occasional fight, in which the workers always get the worst of it, and the officials and lawyers retained for the defense feed fat. What all this agitation needs is brains; brains and the energy to use them; painstaking discrimination that takes the trouble to study causes and how to go for them.

A word about Mr. Downing and his article. The latter is valuable because Downing happens to be a trained newspaper man, well known in Washington, D. C., and Los Angeles. Therefore he gives us facts and accurate descriptions, instead of bluster and weak adjectives. We wish the I. W. W. now bent on concentrating power in the hands of its official organ "Solidarity," would put Downing in its editorial chair.

"The Labor Leader" is the title of a long article by Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, in "Solidarity" of Oct. 4. It was greatly needed and it is fine. She gives specific instances—always so valuable—and says rightly that "for callous exploitation of labor's noblest aspirations and generous efforts, and for Janus-faced, double dealing with the toilers and their exploiters, the American labor leader stands alone." She concludes by reminding us that "labor leaders could not lead if there were no sheep-like men to follow."

No getting away from that everlasting truth. It forms the unanswerable argument in favor of the Anarchist position—that the labor movement must be decentralized, individualized, and individual rebels developed at all and every cost.

CONVINCING LIARS WANTED.

Wanted—Immediately—Conscienceless and convincing liars to write advertisements and draw pictures for the army and navy. These advertisements and pictures must be shrewdly calculated to reach the susceptibilities of romantic youth. Life in the army and navy must be pictured as one continuous round of pleasure, chiefly beneath the sunny skies and amid the luxuriant verdure of some far-off tropical clime, where the happy enlisted man, unburdened by sordid mentalities, may loll on the tapering sword, while voluptuous dusky maidens bring him cooling drinks and disport for his delight. This is but a hint. See posters in any postoffice. There is no limit to the lies we are willing to tell in order to get hold of impressionable youngsters. Address "Army and Navy," Washington, D. C. ("Life.")

"The Book of the Fourth American Peace Congress" is out. There are 640 pages of address by Andrew Carnegie late Vice-President Fairbanks, Archbishop Glennon, etc., etc. Again we say: "Peace! What for? To insure their loot?"

Twenty-five Years!

Twenty-five years! Twenty-five years imprisonment is the sentence inflicted on one of our comrades by a Texas court! So quietly and suddenly has this been done that, as yet, we have not even been able to learn his name. All we know is that he is one of the group mentioned in our issue of Sept. 20 as having been caught in an attempt to cross the line and return to their native land. There are fourteen more to be tried, and a Mr. Hudson, of Pearsall, who was appointed by the court to defend the comrade sentenced as above, writes us that they are in danger of their lives.

Directly we received news of the arrest we wired funds to a legal firm at Carrizo Springs, to whom also other friends, as they report, sent money. We wrote and wrote, but received no reply. All we heard was that local feeling ran high and that race prejudice was being worked up industriously.

We received by the same mail, the evening of Oct. 9, a letter from one of the prisoners; an American and I. W. W. He writes that they are being "railroaded." Indeed we think so. We immediately got into connection with local I. W. W. headquarters, and we hope most devoutly that, laying aside all personalities and differences of opinion, which should never be allowed to count where men's lives are at stake, a concerted effort may be made.

It must be. These men, according to all accounts were attacked, and they defended themselves against greatly superior odds. In the struggle two of our Mexican comrades were killed and seven were wounded. Also an American official, Deputy-Sheriff Ortiz, was killed, and for this fifteen men have been imprisoned on a murder charge.

Texas has a most unenviable reputation in connection with the lynching of negroes, and when news of the conflict came along there was even talk of lynching our comrades. Unquestionably there is intense local prejudice, and men who know Texas tell us that prejudice is capable of going to any lengths.

Somewhat we must get money, which seems to be the indispensable prerequisite to obtaining justice. Somewhat these men, whose real crime was that they were eager to fight for their country's economic freedom, must be given a chance of getting a square deal.

We trust our friends will respond to this appeal. We trust they will send us financial help, which we will disburse most economically and account for publicly, as we do invariably. We trust the I. W. W. will cooperate cordially and actively. Valuable lives, and invaluable principles are at stake.

"LAND AND LIBERTY."

"We have had to keep a few comrades waiting, because demands for copies of 'Land and Liberty' have come in faster than we could supply them. The delay worries us and must be attributed solely to the insufficient means with which we are compelled to work.

In this connection we are requested to state that, in San Francisco, Mr. Wm. Gerke sells the booklet at Grant Ave. meetings every night, save Sunday, on which evenings he sells them at the Radical Club meeting. Sunday mornings he sells "Regeneracion" on Broadway and Kearny streets. Mr. Gerke always opens to engagements for lecturing, within the Bay Cities district, on Land and Liberty and the Mexican Revolution. The editor of this section hopes to begin a lecturing and book-selling tour shortly in company with Mr. Gerke, but has to admit that the apparent impossibility of cleaning up piles of work which have accumulated on his hands makes the prospect of a quick start look dubious.

"Land and Liberty" should find ready sale at outdoor meetings; a suggestion we throw out specially for the benefit of I. W. W. agitators. We do so because we anticipate that the soap-box propaganda pursued so valiantly by the I. W. W. will grow in liveliness and intensity from now on. The men who conduct that propaganda are almost invariably in dead earnest, and in "Land and Liberty" they have a most revolutionary book which also has been written and published in dead earnest. They can get rid of hundreds without difficulty, and make five dollars profit on every hundred.

The girl wishes, with all her heart, that she was back in Siberia. That is about the pith of a circular, addressed to women, issued by the striking clockmakers of San Francisco. It gives horrible details, especially as to sanitary conditions. Yet, we have most elaborate inspection ordinances, and inspection galore, all feeling that the country is in a bad way. When it amounts to all these labor-protective measures? Nothing. And when will Labor learn that the one and only remedy is to overthrow monopoly and TAKE that economic equality of opportunity which will toss the rider off its back and make it capable of protecting itself?

WHY MISREPRESENT?

"The Wooden Shoe," of September 27, has a criticism of an article by the editor of this section which recently appeared in "Social War." The criticism ends with the statement that the writer likes the article, but it begins—it actually begins—thus: "Economic Revolution and the I. W. W. Under the above caption, W. C. Owen, editor of 'Regeneracion,' in the September issue of 'Social War,' labels the I. W. W. a 'meal ticket' organization." Any one who cares to consult the article in question will discover that no such charge was made and that the word "meal ticket" does not even occur.

No such charge could have been made, because our opinion of the I. W. W. happens to be exactly the contrary. The editor of this section thinks the I. W. W. has had, and has, more revolutionary enthusiasts in it than any other organization he has known; the old International Workingmen's Association alone excepted. For that reason one hates to see it

fall under the influence of office holders, who gradually gather all power into their own hands, and side step the revolutionary propaganda for the sake of getting the conservative support of those who cling closely to old trade-union concepts and wish to put an end to general propaganda. On that rock all our labor movements hitherto have come to grief, and one hopes that the I. W. W. may avoid it. In reality the question of whether it will do so is now in the balance, and, fearless, honest discussion is needed. The entire revolutionary movement is interested.

The author of the criticism may delude some people into the belief that "Regeneracion" waters down its revolutionary principles for the sake of getting subscribers, but such people will be those who do not read "Regeneracion."

The criticism misrepresents the history of "La Casa de los Obreros," in which "Regeneracion" was merely a tenant. It would have been a grand thing to have used so large and commodious a building for the revolutionary propaganda in this city, especially among the Mexican and kindred races, and it is a pity that the opportunity has been neglected. Unfortunately Mr. Moncaliano and Mr. Cammona were the legal owners, and from the first there was discontent as to the former's methods. Finding it could not change them "Regeneracion" got out and returned to its former quarters. It is true that it had been partly instrumental in importing Mr. Moncaliano, but within a very short time it came to the conclusion that it had made a huge mistake. The action of the Spanish members of the I. W. W. to which reference was made in last week's issue had nothing whatever to do with the course "Regeneracion" pursued.

FORCE! FORCE! FORCE!!!

Two details conveyed in a report of the coal miners' strike in Colorado give some idea of the utterly foolish way in which governments and individuals still try to deal with labor disputes. One of these details was that Governor Elias M. Ammons had given orders, before the strike was even under way, that the National Guard be held in readiness for service in the affected district. So far as could be gathered from the dispatches, there had been no violence on either side. But Governor Ammons was so sure there would be violence, or so thoroughly wedded to the cause of the mine operators, that he had his troops ready. He had them ready, knowing very well what "armed intervention" of that sort has meant in Colorado, and what inexcusable deeds it has exacted and cost.

Meanwhile the employers were announcing "their determination neither to arbitrate nor recognize the union." That is to say, both Governor Ammons and the employing operators were falling back on force, the militia in one instance, economic pressure—which is, as real a kind of brutality and which in Colorado has usually been accompanied by armed conflict—in the other.

This was in the year 1913 of the Christian era—"San Francisco Bulletin."

IT MAKES US SICK.

You bet it does when we read such an item as the following: "The Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor called on President Wilson on September 25 and formally thanked him for his appointment of William B. Wilson as Secretary of Labor."

These are the official representatives of the workers; the friends of all the wealth the politicians spend; the men who would have every cent they create if the politicians hadn't passed laws that "keep them where they belong," always in the shabby quarter of the city, always themselves shabby; always in or out of work as their politically-protected—masters—please; lemons to be squeezed and tossed into the gutter; food for powder and for the pourhouse and potter's field.

Yes; they are kept where they belong when they tolerate such slavish croaking of the knee. These alleged champions of the disinherited, who profess to talk of revolution and who stand for a class that only revolution can save! They revolutionists! You couldn't pump the necessary red blood into their veins. They would die under the operation. No wonder men of the Otis type despise them.

What must the entirely-reliable "Public," from which we culled this nauseating item, have thought when recording it?

THE FATAL DIFFERENCE.

C. K. Chesterton is generally regarded as England's most distinguished journalist and essayist. Some little time ago, in the "Illustrated London News," he discussed Latin-American revolutions, and drew a broad historical and ethnological distinction. The peoples of the South, he said, are quick to change and when they want a revolution can make one. The peoples of the North want revolution badly enough, but are simply incapable of making them.

To us the reason seems clear enough. The slow-moving, philosophizing nations of the North have allowed governments gradually to accumulate a colossal power before which the proletariat stands helpless. The quick-moving, ready-to-fight nations of the South have been saved by their very impulsiveness from that fatal error.

Chesterton's article, from which we shall quote next week, proves irrefutably that the Anarchist position is right, and that Government—official authority, licensed to rule by force—is fatal to the people's liberties.

FERRER MEETINGS.

The anniversary of the murder of Francisco Ferrer will be commemorated by a mass-meeting at Mammoth Hall, 517 S. Broadway, Monday evening, Oct. 13. In San Francisco there will be a meeting at Jefferson Square Hall, at which W. McDevitt and Har Dayal will be the speakers. There will be songs and recitations by the pupils of the local Modern