Saturday, June 13, 1914.
No. 192.

Where Mexico Stands Today

An annual special edition should not, in our opinion, occupy itself with such mere details as that the Constitutionalists have pushed forward here and Zapata shown renewed activity there. These are but straws, and here we prefer to devote our space to general results and the causes of those results.

In all probability the Mexican Revolution still has a long course to run, but already one great fact jumps into view as virtually achieved:

From the President of the United States to men who themselves are large land monopolists and staunch upholders of existing institutions, all unite today in the admission that the land of Mexico must belong to the people of Mexico; to the men who actually do the work; to the peons. Such a paper as the "Los Angeles Times" is forced continually to acknowledge it, and even Huerta himself has outlined what this very "Times" denounces bitterly as the greatest plan of confiscation ever proposed by any government.

Staggering events are always followed by a pause, for the mind needs time in which to re-adjust itself. It will take the proletariat of the United States considerable time to assimilate the true import of what has been going on in Mexico, but the process of assimilation has begun. Naturally the most radical element—chiefly in the ranks of the I. W. W., Anarchists and Socialists—have taken the lead. Quite naturally also the leaders in those organizations turn their backs and refuse to face the music. All that explains itself. In the first place, new revolutionary developments discredit the set programs to which leaders have tied themselves. In the second place, such developments cause followers to doubt the foresight and omniscience of the leaders. This is regarded as fatal to party discipline, —personal pride is wounded and envy is aroused. These are among the most powerful of ruling passions, and the role they play in revolutionary movements has always been immense. At this very moment, therefore, the official spokesmen of the I. W. W. and of the Socialist Party are arguing laboriously that Zapata is an ally of capitalism. William English Walling and the editor of "Solidarity" are instances in point.

Clearing the Issues.

This will lead to prolonged discussion, from which all will benefit; if only because Socialism's compromises will be submitted to a criticism they have not hitherto received. By this the entire revolutionary movement will be strengthened incalculably, for Socialist political influences are still exceedingly strong in such bodies as the I. W. W., and are most debilitating.

It is to be hoped that from such discussion there will come a simplification of economics, which will be lifted out of the old rut of metaphysical debates—economic determinism and so forth—which might well last centuries, and set on the firm ground of the indisputable fact that the sustenance of the human race depends exclusively on the application of labor to land. It will then become self-apparent that Labor, to become triumphant, must be not only in control of itself—by organization or otherwise—but also in control of the other indispensable factor, the land. This the Mexican peon, who is still largely free from the thought-confusion into which the wage-system has plunged more advanced nations, understands. This lesson he is teaching.

John Kenneth Turner's article, "Why I am for Zapata," in the June number of "The New Review," sums up admirably the advance of thought begotton by less than four years of fighting by those who knew exactly what they want, and want it so badly that they are prepared to die for it. He says most truly that "unlettered as they are, the mass of Mexicans who are fighting with guns know better what they want than any equal number of "superior Americans going to the ballot-box know what THEY want—and they know better how to get it."

Incidentally we may remark that Walling has published a new book, "Progressivism and After," which is analyzed in the same number of "The New Review." The present writer expects to dissect it in the forth coming number of "Land and Liberty." Here it is sufficient to say that his contentions, if true, knock the present Socialist program into a cocked hat, and prove that Berger, Debs and the other political leaders have been fooling away our time for a generation past.

Anti-Militarist Propaganda.

Thus the Mexican Revolution, fought out beyond the Rio Grande, is begetting a profound revolution in our own attitude toward the social question. The wide-spread opposition to war with Mexico must surely have been an eye-opener to our Hearsts and Otis', and should be most gratifying. It should lay the foundations in this country of a persistent and effective anti-military movement. The almost universal ridicule heaped on the Mediators shows a healthy conviction that the disinherited are not to be freed by gentlemen in laced uniforms but by their own brains and strong right arms. That conviction is spreading and ultimately will have a deep effect on the revolutionary movement both here and abroad. It will give an impetus to what is called Direct Action, and will show that nineteen-twentieths of what our present labor movement albels as such is not worthy of the name, since it does not aim, even in the remotest degree, at the abolition of human slavery.

Expanding international capitalism, which seeks to bring Mexico under the yoke of wage slavery—as it has brought India, Africa and the greater part of the world—has received its first decided check, at the hands of a nation which knows what capitalism is, loathes it and is fully determined to have none of it. From the plutocratic dream of owning down to the Panama Canal, and thereby establishing United States suzerainty from the Canadian border to Cape Horn—as voiced by Taft, Roosevelt and other Presidents—there has been a rude awakening.

No Longer Helpless.

A nation of fifteen millions, most of whom, four years ago, could hardly recognize a rifle when they saw it, has become armed and highly-skilled in those guerrilla tactics which are the most advanced and efficacious style of modern warfare. Moreover, the peons have armed themselves chiefly at the expense of their own governments, which they have been engaged in attacking and overthrowing. In no other country have the disinherited, as yet, had the sence and courage to perform this necessary feat.

It will be no longer possible to impose in Mexico that hideous slavery with which the Congo, Peru and other localities too numerous to mention, have shocked mankind. There the natives have remained unarmed and, therefore, have stood helpless before their white exploiters. In Mexico the situation has been reversed, and it is well for the peon. This also is a lesson that will sink gradually into the consciousness of the international proletariat. One ounce of this experience is worth a ton of peace orations.

Prolonged warfare between contending factions has not only given the Mexican peon opportunity to arm himself, but also has forced the contenders to court his support with economic promises of the most substantial kind. The more desperate the needs of the contending factions the more substantial will be the emancipation promised, and the more determined that his leaders shall not cheat him will the peon grow. Our own United States history is one continuous record of politicians' promises broken with absolute impunity, and of a supposedly-intelligent nation humbugged by fakes. Consider, for example, the career of William Jennings Bryan, who deluded half the United States into the ridiculous conception that Free Silver would rescue it from poverty. Do you suppose that we would entrust the economic future of the peon to Bryan's theorizings?

Meanwhile, and in conclusion, the Mexican situation is, by all odds, the most universally-discussed topic of the day, and justly so. As said before, it is the first serious check Capitalism has received at the hands of Labor. It marks, therefore, the opening of a new era, and as such is one of the world's great historical events.

WM. C. OWEN.

Assassin's Work

"Solidarity," official organ of the I. W. W., in its issue of May 23, indulges in an editorial headed "Zapata as an ally to capitalism," in which it opines that "the aim of capitalists; in aiding the direct abolition of peonage, must be to follow the American method of making yeomen or freeholders of the peasantry." It adds oracularly that Zapata and his "Land and Liberty" peons "appear as aids to the supremacy of up-to-date capitalism," and that "no other conclusion is possible to one who views the Mexican situation from a revolutionary working class standpoint."

Is it possible, it is really possible, that there are workers who can swallow that sort of rubbish? Does any working man in his senses believe that the capitalists of this country have been helping Zapata and the others to drive out the landlords and burn their title deeds? Does any one of even the most rudimentary intelligence suppose that men are driven into wage slavery by possession of the natural resources of their country? Does not every one with a grain of sense know that it is only when man has been so foolish as to part with his heritage that he finds himself helpless, as no other living creature is helpless, and compelled to fight and scheme and crawl for the blessed job the monopolist sees fit to throw him?

One should be perhaps content to laugh such folly out of court, but it is impossible not to feel indignant. Such an article is a direct malevolent stab at our fellow-workers struggling in Mexico; is a direct invitation to members of the I. W. W. to throw cold water on and ignore their struggle; is a base desertion of them in their hour of greatest need, when they find themselves face to face with the army and navy of the United States.

It is also a most cowardly treason to members of the I. W. W., who look to their "official" organ for guidance. But that organ is not in the business of serving truth. It is owned by the ring, which hungers for dues and fancies it can work its ends by cutting the I. W. W. program down to one of trades union organiztaion. Hence all opposition to agitation on broader lines and sneers at Anarchists. Centralization is getting in its deadly work.

THE BRITISH GRIP.

Borax is a most important article and the supply on this Pacific Coast had been cornered by "Borax" Smith. His holdings have been taken over by a British syndicate, which has paid millions for them. The great oil deal by which a British syndicate was to have taken over the vast oil holdings in California of the General Petroleum Company is halted temporarily, owing to the failure, involving liabilities of from $3,000,000 to $4,000,000, of a London banking firm. It failed, as the despatches inform us, despite great efforts to hold it up made by the British nobility, with which it "has always been a favorite medium for stock exchange speculation." The firm's failure is attributed to heavy gambling in Grand Trunk stock. Meanwhile let all of us good Americans join in singing "My Country, 'tis of three!"

Oh, no! The land question is nothing to us, and the Mexicans must be crazy.

Mexican Manifesto

Workers of the world! Get up from your knees, sweep the cobwebs from your brains, think, and thereby put into your blood that iron which leads to victory. Face the facts; learn to recognize your riders and kick them off your backs. Understand that only by winning equality of economic power can you abolish that human slavery in which you rot. Master the great lesson written for you in letters of blood beyond the Rio Grande.

Chained to the System.

Freedom you yourselves must conquer; freedom from the landlord who levies on you for the use of that earth without which you cannot live; freedom from the usurious parasite who forbids you to lay a finger on what you have produced until you pay his toll. Can such men be your friends? Can the mouse make peace with the cat, or the lamb with the wolf that lives but to devour it?

You, Socialists! Do you not KNOW that the whole power of Government is devoted to but one thing—the legal protection of legalized plunder? Do you not KNOW that he who becomes an office-holder, be he President of the United States or dog-catcher of Sleepy Hollow, swears loyalty to and must work for the government machine which legalizes the robbery of Labor and restrains it from preventing or punishing that robbery? Do you not KNOW that, by the very fact of taking office, the elected becomes a mere cog in a colossal wheel from which he cannot tear himself apart; that he is bound thenceforth to serve it and move as it moves; that when the court cages the starveling who steals a loaf the officeholder becomes a partner in that judicial crime; that when the soldier shoots down a rebel worker the office-holder becomes a partner in that murder; that when Mexicans fall victims to the fire of our marines in Veracruz you, who uphold the representative system which clothes Woodrow Wilson with the power of a Czar, are personally responsible? How can you call yourselves revolutionists while upholding the machine that grinds out such results? How can you fail to see that the one great enemy the disinherited of Mexico face in their struggle for the land is the governing power, and those who seek to seize that power, that they in their turn may keep the robbed from ousting the robbers and taking back their own?

Scattering the Forces.

Look at it from another angle. Here we have, beyond the Rio Grande, a struggle for the vital principle that this earth, our one and only storehouse, is the joint property of the human race. Yet to that great struggle and to that great principle most even of those who call themselves Revolutionists still stand indifferent. Why? Is it not because we are still a nation of villagers, as Bernard Shaw has called us; because, instead of concentrating on the general struggle which raises, in the most dramatic and powerful form, those basic issues to which alone the masses respond, we waste ourselves upon a thousand local contests, growing wildly excited over the election of some councilman and forgetting those IMPERIOUS DEMANDS OF LIFE which the International Revolutionary Movement must voice? Do you not know that when a candidate is being run all else is subordinated to the one great question of getting out the vote? And what is that but to localize the movement, to split it into thousands of weak and isolated fragments, to rob it of the great human conscience that gives it strength and reduce it to the merest shadow of its natural self? You wish the masses to support you. Understand then that the masses are like the wind, which fans the conflagration into fury but blows out a petty flame Your little local conflicts never stir them. Only great revolutionary struggles, such as that now going on in Mexico, can rouse them into action. Such struggles give them courage; inspire them with the hope that they too may be able to shake off their riders, as the Mexican peon has shaken off Terrazas and other infamous monopolists.

Timidity Means Death.

If you would succeed, therefore; if you would get a real hold upon the masses and move deeply the currents of your time, step out of narrow localism; trust yourself boldly to big issues pregnant with coming life; shake off the timidity, the appeal to radical prejudices, the dread of really free discussion, all those weaknesses with which the cautious angling for votes has poisoned you. Join hands with your struggling brothers beyond the Rio Grande, acknowledging honestly that in fighting for the free and equal use of land they are fighting for what the disinherited of all the earth must win before they can rid themselves of riders. Do not let a Debs mislead you with twaddle about the necessity of long-continued education. Debs is tied to politics and cannot face the facts. Do not let a Berger lure you into the delusion that safety lies with the "respectables." What have you to do with respectability? You are flayed to the bone; excluded from the rich feast of a life which now, far more than at any previous period, should be well worth the living; fettered to useless, degrading and dangerous tasks, although plenty, dignified leisure and security should be now the lot of all. What have you to lose by being bold? Nothing. What can you expect to win by being timid? Nothing.

The Proletarian's Program.

You members of the I. W. W.! What are you? You are the great unskilled, the intermittent workers; the bums and hoboes created by a system which cannot even give the willing work. You pack your blankets hither and thither, hunting jobs; risk the breakbeam and sneak, at the danger of broken heads, into the side-door Pullman. You furnish the fees on which the country constable and justice of the peace grow fat. You crowd the jails when they drag you from the soap-box. You bear the burden of the social struggle in its grimmest form. And what do you get for it? ..othing. Nothing except the satisfaction, which we share with you, of knowing that you are shaking the pillars of this accursed slavery and laying the foundations of a society in which no government official shall club you for daring to assert your manhood; no industrial pirate dictate to you when and how you shall work, or exact tribute for giving you employment; no legal net catch you in meshes through which the big fish break with ease; no legalized murderers swoop down on you with machine guns when you rebel at being treated worse than dogs; no mealy-mouthed sky-pilots wheedle you into submission with the lie that a paradise awaits you beyond the clouds.

One Duty and One Crime.

This is your propaganda; your proper propaganda; the only propaganda that can better your condition and give you true satisfaction. You are at war with the entire mis-named system of justice. Get out of the habit of looking to lawyers for protection. It matters not one jot whether you are shot by a Burns detective, a militiaman or a regular. Keep up your anti-military agitation. The masses are kept quiet by their moral scruples and religious fears. Go for the religious fakirs and moralists. There is but one great crime today—the upholding human slavery. The one duty is its complete and final overthrow; that all may share equally in the conquests of the human mind; that all may have equal access to Life's rich banquet, and that involuntary poverty and the fear of want may be swept away for ever.

This is the mission of the men who swell your ranks; of that hardy proletariat which does the world's most strenuous and risky work, and fights for life at every step. Fight all along the line, for the whole thing hangs together. The robber corners the means of life and the government protects the robbery, with the long arm of the law and the soldier's bayonet. The priest and moralist bless the theft and sanctify the thief. They are all essential parts of one machine, and your business is to force it to the scrap-heap. You must turn the enemy's whole flank and overwhelm him. To confine yourself to the peppering of some isolated outposts is to court certain and ignominious defeat.

Cut Out the Red Tape.

Snap your fingers at your executive officials and the organs they tune so carefully. They are after dues and the influence their position gives. They don't want a battle all along the line, but petty outpost triumphs they can boom. They want centralized power such as Gompers and similar officials enjoy from generation to generation. They want the program cut down to the old trades union model, because that keeps you hanging on expectantly; because it means your absorbtion in routine work conducted by the local clique which they can boss; because it prevents that scattering of forces which, though imperatively needed, gets their men out of hand and beyond their individual control. It is the policy pursued for centuries by the priesthood of the Church of Rome, which knows its business and corrals its flocks. It is a policy absolutely fatal to revolutionary success. Another year of it and you will be as helpless for attack as is the American Federation of Labor, and that is today one of the strongest bulwarks of the existing system.

No! For you, above all others, there is nothing in this respectable, old-fashioned role; nothing in copying the tactics of the A. F. of L. There is nothing in this ifficial talk about construction and economic power, because you haven't got it, save as you move the mass and shake the whole social structure. You can's get it in any other way, for the simple reason that you have no monopoly of skill with which to combat the monopoly of natural resources and capital the employing class enjoys. As an instance; at this very moment and here in California, you are trying to corner the supply of labor for the hopfields, that you may force them to release Ford and Suhr. To do this you are seeking the co-operation of the Mexicans, Hindus and Japanese. But these people are absorbed in their own far-reaching revolutions, and it is only as you show interest in them that they feel interest in you. The large propaganda gives you alliances of value. A whittle-down agitation isolates you.

An Army of Parasites.

Look at all this talk about organization, tied up in red tape and stamped with the official label. The history of the A. F. of L. shows that there is nothing in it, except indeed the creation of an army of parasites. Your own history proves it, conclusively. All effective organization springs spontaneously from discontent, and never from the careful calculations of a central ring. Consider Lawrence, if you doubt it. There unorganized determination, flaming into action, brought about almost in a day what walking delegates had failed to produce in years of work, swelled instantaneously your membership and furnished for the months the reputation on which you throve, for it was believed that you represented fighters who got results. When the results gave out; when the suspicion crept abroad that fighting was done only by order of the official ring, the prestige withered. You cannot sit safely on two stools. You must trust the masses or they will not trust you. Forward or backward you must go, advancing along revolutionary lines with the advancing revolutionary tendencies of the times or slumping into trades unionism and becoming a mere appendix of the A. F. of L.

Between Two Stools Men Fall.

You, members of the Federation of Labor! How is it with you? Among your two million and more workers there are many who are on fire with the spirit of revolt and will stick at nothing in a fight they believe to be for the interest of Labor. That has been proved by the history of a thousand strikes. Yet, with all your number and individual heroism, the capitalist forces marshalled by Government are overwhelming you. Vainly you struggle against the Steel Trust, for example; vainly you plunge into politics and win a San Francisco. It profits you less than nothing, for place-hunting fastens its tentacles on you and multiplies the parasites your producers have to feed. Vainly you mass that technical skill which is your only capital; vainly you force the passage of exclusion laws and ordinances; vainly you rely on the assurances of your political leaders.

Facts More Powerful Than Words.

The facts defeat you. Against the Government-created and Government-supported monopolies of Capitalism your strength is that of little children, and the story of San Francisco is the story of Labor everywhere. By no such methods can you force the House of Have to give you work. You cannot keep your men out of the bread-line. In a thousand cases where you should protest and strike you dare not, for the unemployed hang threateningly on your flank. Even you are never secure, and even you must live as the proletariat lives and share its hazardous lot. You are not organized for the overthrow of slave slavery, and until you are you butt your heads against a granite wall.

Meanwhile, what do your numbers amount to when cancer is eating at your heart? We do not slander when we say you are almost hopelessly in the power of your labor politicians and official rings. Your Gompers' are Czars, and against them your rank and file is as impotent as is the Russian peasant faced by the forces of Imperialism. We do not calumniate when we say that in all your councils the Church of Rome is more and more dominant, and we do not calumniate that church when we say that she has been, always and everywhere, Privilege's great mainstay, Authority's great champion, the fortress which has sheltered the robbers from that popular indignation and summary chastisement they so richly merit. There is no escaping the verdict of history upon that head. There is no denying that the Church of Rome, herself organized for the acquisition of power, is always hand in glove with rulers. There is no question that her special part on the world-wide tragedy of exploitation is that of pouring oil upon the troubled waters and holding back that deluge which has yet to sweep human slavery out of existence, and is now long, far too long, overdue.

Has Mexico No Message?

Workers of America! Have we Mexicans no message for you? Workers of the World! Is there nothing we can teach you? Do you suppose that we, robbed of our lands and driven into slavery by the Spaniards, with the direct approval and blessing of the Roman Catholic Church, have done no thinking during the cruel centuries that have elapsed? Do you imagine that we have not made up our minds, fully and finally, about that church; or that, when we kill or expel her priests, and burn her churches, convents and monasteries, we do not know what we are about?

Do you suppose that we, who have toiled so long under the whip of the land monopolist, do not know what we are about when we drive a Terrazas from our borders, burn title deeds and blow up with dynamite those halls of records in which are stored the documents which give to the hand that does nothing and take from the hand that produces all?

Do you suppose that we, who have been ground for ages under the heel of armed tyranny, are blind to the curse of militarism and do not understand that a powerful Government will always keep an unarmed proletariat in pitiless subjection?

Do you suppose that we, over whose wealth of mine and field and forest the earth's money-lords have warred, do not comprehend the capitalist system, or that, until we have read Karl Marx, we can be robbed of surplus value without being aware of it?

We have learned in the hard school of suffering. Our studies have been in the great book of Life, and we have absorbed our lessons as book-readers seldom do. We have faced our facts, and we are so assured of them that we throw our lives by thousands into the fight for that economic freedam which we intend to conquer for ourselves and wish the disinherited of all the world to conquer. We fight for LAND AND LIBERTY. We are at war to death with HUMAN SLAVERY. With our brother Indians of the North who suffered extermination because they had no modern arms, we are convinced most firmly that a life of slavery is not worth living. The echo of that truth we hope to send around the world.

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Our Popular Hero, The Bluejacket

While Jack London (to the end of time I shall illustrate through him the insincerities of the buncombe revolutionists) is writing of the "equally splendid parts in shore fighting and shore work" our marines and sailors played at Veracruz, the real facts are beginning to crop out. As "The Public" well remarks, they are "giving the lie to the hypocritical cant about bringing civilization and order into Mexico." As far back as May 15 that paper, fully awakened to the education on the land question which Mexico is giving us, published certain information which should go into every American home and school, be used to the limit in that anti-military propaganda which is one of the hour's most pressing needs, be shoved under the nose of every flag-worshipping jingo fanatic, and distributed at those approaching Fourth of July celebrations wherein we shall wallow once more in the humbug that this country is run on the principles immortalized by the Declaration of Independence. Here I draw on "The Public" at considerable length, hoping that our readers may digest the extracts and give them circulation. To bottle them up for private luxury would be a crime.

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The first quotation is from the "Connecticut Evening Citizen," of Winsted, which has published a letter from Sergeant John F. F. Ryan, marine detachment U. S. S. Vermont. It runs, in part, as follows: "Some bluejackets just had a scrap about a half hour ago and killed six more Mexicans. All of the murders that are being committed on Mexicans are being done by bluejackets and not the marines; so if you read about them in the paper, do not think that I am implicated in any of them as we only shoot the Mexicans who try to kill us." Clearly Sergeant Ryan knew what the bluejackets—those gentlemen who played so interesting a part in Seattle last year—were about, and wished to clear his own skirts and those of his brother marines. But there follows a letter from one William A. Loehrl, described as first gunner aboard the battleship Utah. It was published in the "Chicago Tribune" of May 8, and throws light on the methods adopted toward the barbarous Mexicans who, resenting invasion, "try to kill us." The letter runs, in part:

"We more than got peppered by the Mexicans. All those beasts are good for is pot shooting. By pot shooting is meant climbing up high buildings and then firing on us out of windows. We no sooner had our battalion together than we started in. It did not take long when—bang—down goes one of our fellows with a bullet clear through his head. Death was instantaneous. That worked us fellows up to a savage mood. Kill? Right and left. We put the field guns in the middle of the streets and let fly. We had mercy on nobody, which was proper. Nobody showed a bit of cowardice. Murder and plunder was all we wanted, and we more than gave it to them. For every one of our fellows killed we shot down like dogs about ten Mexicans. It was rather hard for me to kill at the start, but when the fellow next to me was shot through the chest I became as savage as the rest. The fellow that was shot next to me let out a piercing cry and died in about sixty seconds. . . . Firing ceased at about 10:15 p. m. on Tuesday. We had about 150 prisoners, of which we court-martialed about eighty and shot them the same night. That's biz. Show no mercy is our policy now. We took the prisoners and made them dig trenches for us around the entire city. Made them clear the streets of the dead and pull around our three inchers, etc. But we never torture them We kill them just as fast as they show themselves, but never torture them. They would torture us if they were given the chance. We have plenty of grub, as we get a fresh supply from the ship every day. You have no idea how fast we kill them off. Perhaps you would like to know what we do with the dead ones. We take a horse and wagon and fill the wagon with bodies and drive to the outskirts of the city. There we go to an oil tank, sprinkle crude oil on them, and put a match to the pile. Up goes the whole works. What the flames do not consume the buzzards do."

Not mainly on behalf of the Mexicans do I reproduce these extracts. I am thinking chiefly of the future of the United States, and I raise a question on which the whole future of this country hangs. I raise the question of sexual gedeneracy, which already fills our madhouses, swells our suicide returns, and is sapping to the core our national vitality. Prudishness thrusts this question habitually into the background, but it MUST be dragged to light. The Mexican Revolution and the barbarities of our own soldiers and sailors there, as in the Philippines, force it to the fore. They force it, because our army and navy, and more particularly the latter, are the hotbeds of sexual degeneracy, the breeding-places of vice that is eating its way into the nation's heart and forming a malignant cancer which ere long no knife will have the power to cure.

* * *

The thoughtless cheer our sailors as they swagger down our strets, but I am sure the reflective think of the unnatural lives they lead, and of the decadent habits that swaggerer in all probability has brought ashore with him. Let them investigate the trade in degeneracy that runs rampant, as I have good reason to believe, up and down this Pacific Coast, as doubtless it does on the Atlantic. Let them look into the records of our so-called Reform Schools, whose inmates emerge ruined for life. Let them enquire what brought a large percentage of the victims there, and they will discover that these alleged defenders of America are also invaders of the American home, and that many a promising lad is done to death by his association with our deified bluejackets.

* * *

The subject is not a pleasant one, and perhaps few apply themselves to study of what scientific writers have to say. But those writers show that sexual degeneracy warps the whole being, robs it of moral sense and, in particular, fills it with that lust for cruelty which is notoriously characteristic of the Oriental eunuch. To such men—and the Hearsts, the Roosevelts and others seek to increase their numbers indefinitely—we entrust our nation's honor. To such men we propose to hand over the more peaceful and less "advanced" peoples whom we feel morally compelled to civilize. Such men we put on a pedestal, that our growing youth, with whom our future rests, may imitate them. As justification for a strong anti-military propaganda in this country the one question I have raised should in itself be all-sufficient. I give it as a lead to agitators, and say that if the Mexican Revolution results in that propaganda alone gathering the overwhelming force it should acquire, the blood spilled beyond the Rio Grande will not have ben in vain.

WM. C. OWEN.

To Anarchists.

P. O. Box 1236, Los Angeles, Cal.,
June 12th, 1914.

Secretary,
International Anarchist Congress,
c. o. "Freedom,"
127 Ossulston St., N. W.,
London, England.

Dear Comrade,

We wish, through you, to invite officially the forthcoming International Anarchist Congress to take a DEFINITE stand on the question of the Mexican Revolution. We wish the Congress to say bluntly that the Mexican peon, in taking back his natural inheritance, the land, and expelling the land monopolist—as in the case of Terrazas and others far too numerous to mention—has done what the disinherited of all countries MUST do, as the first step toward the conquest of bread and economic freedom. Other points, such as the innate hostility of Mexicans to centralized government, militarism, clerical rule and so forth, should make powerful appeal to an International Anarchist Congress. However, we do not care to emphasize them, because their consideration might lead to long and vain discussion. But on the land question, and on the action taken by the Mexican peon, we want a strong and most precisely-worded indorsement.

If your Congress feels that it cannot give such indorsement it should do the other thing, repudiating the Mexican Revolution in the most decided terms and denouncing it as a mere war of capitalists, politicians and bandits.

We feel that you must pursue one of these two courses, if you are to retain your own self-respect and have any standing in the court of intelligent public opinion. If the international Anarchist movement is to amount to anything it must be strong, and never can it be strong while sitting on two stools, unable to make up its mind about a struggle which no less a personage than the President of the United States has declared to be, in effect, a repetition of the great French Revolution.

Frankly, we call your hand. We do not take snap judgment against you, for this revolution has been going on for years and is now the most widely-discussed topic of the day. If any of your members are still ignorant of its main features we cannot but think them out of place in an International Anarchist Congress.

Loosely-worded, vague resolutions will be worse than useless to us and will reflect discredit on you. We want a clean-cut declaration that the Mexican peon is right in holding that economic liberty can be won only by retaking possession of the land; that he is right in expelling the land monopolist; that you urge the disinherited of all countries to imitate him.

We remind you that the President of the United States, Carranza, Villa, Zapata, ALL the Mexican revolutionists, and even Huerta himself, have now been forced to admit that there can be no permanent pacification of Mexico without a restoration of the land to the peons. Many of the great land monopolists of the United States have made similar admissions publicly, and we take it to be the proper business of an International Anarchist Congress to point out, sternly and clearly, that what applies to Mexico applies with equal force to every country in which the few have fenced off that joint inheritance without which the human race cannot exist.

That Anarchists generally may have a full understanding of our position, we publish this letter, ahead of time, in our own Los Angeles paper, "Regeneración," and in "Land and Liberty," issued monthly from the Bakunin Institute, Hayward, California.

Fraternally,

By the Organizing Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party.

RICARDO FLORES MAGON.—ENRIQUE FLORES MAGON.—LIBRADO RIVERA.—ANSELMO L. FIGUEROA.—ANTONIO DE P. ARAUJO.

Our last war with Mexico, in 1846, cost the lives of 2,703 United States soldiers, of whom 383 were officers. Mexico was then a practically unarmed country, and we found it necessary to send against her only 21,509 regulars and 22,027 volunteers. Today she is armed to the teeth with modern weapons of destruction. More than two years ago Gen. Wood told the government he would need 300,000 men. We note that Hearst raises the figure to 750,000.

Mexican Notes

Now that it is becoming generally noised abroad that the trouble in Mexico is economic and has its basis in land monopoly, it is becoming fashionable to pity the peon, as a relic of the middle ages and the victim of a feudalism from which we superior beings freed ourselves long ago. Nothing could be more erroneous.

In the first place, feudalism still flourishes with us, and will do so as long as land monopoly endures. Our Steel Trust and all the rest of the unsavory family rest on the cornering of the nation's natural resources. Our land laws are far more savage than any England ever dared enforce. Never did evictions in Ireland begin to equal, in proportion to population, those which take place yearly in New York City.

In the second place, Mexico is the victim of the most up-to-date capitalism, being milked scientifically by Wall Street syndicates.

In the third place, the Mexicans, instead of being ignorant on economic questions, were trying most valiantly to solve them at a date when the people of the United States were thinking only of digging gold in California and grabbing the huge area just beginning to be opened up by railroads. How many Americans were bothering their heads about the social question in 1856? But at that very date the Mexicans were not only putting through one of the most liberal constitutions ever adopted by a nation, but discussing the entire land and capitalist problem with a clearness not excelled today in the United States. Let any one read the discourses delivered in the Constituent Congress of that year and he will find out immediately the truth of this. Let him study, for example, the address delivered by Don Ignacio Ramirez, perhaps the most celebrated writer of the day, with its powerful attack on land monopoly and exposition of the manner in which the worker had escaped from plantation slavery only to fall into the clutches of capitalism. He phrased it thus: "Formerly the seri was a tree, cultivated for the abundant fruit it produced. Today he is a stick of sugar-cane, to be tossed aside after having been squeezed." Has any modern writer put it better?

Lack of space forbids a detailed following of the Mediators' meanderings. Carranza has expressed himself most vigorously to the effect that neither they nor any other outsiders have a right to meddle in Mexico's internal affairs. He scouts the idea of having to halt operations against Huerta. Huerta's representatives, on the other hand, are reported at this writing as about to withdraw unless the Constitutionalists consent to and observe the armistice. The situation is being cartooned remorselessly. Peace being represented as flying from the meetings at Niagara Falls with the exclamation, "This is no place for a lady," and in similar humorous guises. Villa has assured the Hearst papers that he will be the first to enter Mexico City, and that it is only a question of the shortest time. Meanwhile two German steamers have landed arms and ammunition for Huerta at Puerto Mexico.

President Wilson having discovered, at last, that the trouble in Mexico is chiefly agrarian, the "Los Angeles Times" publishes what it calls "an arranged interview" with Huerta, in which that gentleman elaborated a most ingenious plan for taxing the large landholders out of existence. The "Times" says of this editorially: "No more comprehensive system of government brigandage was ever devised, and it is entirely practicable." In short, it begins to look as if, with all sides admitting that he must have the land, the peon is likely to get it. People usually do get what they fight for, if only they can fight hard and long enough.

The Constitutionalists have succeeded at last in cutting off Mazatlan's water supply, and, under cover of the resulting darkness, they captured food supplies intended for the federal defenders, who are said to be starving. Obregon, the Constitutionalist commander in the West, has expressed himself as resenting most strongly the landing of American troops at Veracruz. He is awaiting orders to advance on Mexico City. Attempts to assassinate Huerta, followed by executions, have been reported. Rumors of Huerta's resignation, in favor of a commission, are current once more, but the latest despatch from Niagara Falls reports his representatives as saying that he will do so when Mexico is "politically pacified." This ought to carry comfort to Bryan's troubled breast.

ROCKEFELLER'S FRIENDS.

Victor Murdock, Progressive leader in the House of Representatives, has given the House his experiences on anti-trust legislation. His memory goes back to the first dissolution of Standard Oil, and over that, dear reader, your father probably roared with delight, twenty-two years ago. Murdock, in pessimistic vein, brought the futile record down to date and wound up thus: "What fantastic films the morning newspapers reveal before the eyes of the country! Rockefeller, over at Tarrytown, N. Y., installing a system of electric lights, that he may keep, by touching a button at his bedside, his eight guards who surround the house awake through the hours of the night. The testimony in Denver yesterday, where witnesses stated before the board of enquiry that in Troop A, which looted the tents of the striking miners at Ludlow, after they had shot the miners down and killed eleven women and children, there were only eight members who were not either mine guards or employees. Constitutional government in Colorado has broken down. The man who has been the beneficiary of our delay, of our careless, futile trust legislation, passed at random, sits in his palace upon the Hudson, insecure, fearful that the law will not protect him, and the men out in Colorado, who are his victims, know that it does not protect them."

The Socialist Party, which reports this record of futilities, is itself squandering the time and enthusiasm of its followers on just such foolishness.

MANIFESTO
OF THE
Mexican Liberal Party

MEXICANS:

The Organizing Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party views with sympathy your efforts to put in practice the lofty ideals of political, economic and social emancipation, the reign of which on earth will put an end to that strife between man and man which has lasted long enough and has its origin in that inequality of fortunes which springs from the principle of private property.

To abolish this principle means the *annihilation of all the political*, economic, social, religious and moral institutions composing the environment within which are smothered the free initiative and the free association of human beings, who, if they wish to save themselves from perishing, are obliged to set on foot a cruel competition from which there issue triumphant not the best, not the most self-sacrificing, not the most gifted, physically, morally or intellectually, but the most cunning, the most egoistic, the least scrupulous, the hardest-hearted, those who place their own personal well-being above every consideration of human solidarity and human justice.

But for the principle of private property Government would have no reason for its existence, since it is needed only to keep in check the complaints of the disinherited or their rebellions against those who have got into their grasp the social wealth. Neither would there be any reason for the existence of the Church, whose exclusive object is to strangle in the human being, by practicing patience, resignation and humility, his innate tendency to rebel against oppression and exploitation; silencing the cries of the most powerful and fruitful instincts with the practice of penances that are immoral, cruel and injurious to personal health. In order that the poor may not aspire to the enjoyment of this earth, and constitute themselves a danger to the privileges, of the rich, it promised the bumblest, the most resigned and patient, a heaven dandled in the infinite, away there beyond the stars which they can barely see.

Capital, Authority, the Clergy—here we have the sombre trinity which makes this beauteous earth a paradise for those who have succeeded, by cunning, violence and crime, in getting into their claws what the sweat, the blood, the tears and the sacrifice of thousands of generations of toilers have produced; and a hell for those who, with arm and brain, till the soil, set the machinery in motion, build the houses and transport the products; the result being that humanity is divided into two classes whose interests are diametrically opposed—the capitalist class and the working class; the class that owns the land, the machinery of production and the means of transportation, and the class that has only its arms and intelligence with which to support itself.

Between these two social classes there cannot be any bond of friendship or fraternity, because the possessing class is always bent on perpetuating the economic, political and social system that guarantees it the tranquil enjoyment of its robberies, while the working class endeavors to destroy this iniquitous system and put in its stead a method whereby the land, the houses, the machinery of production and the means of transportation may be for the common use.

MEXICANS: The Mexican Liberal Party recognizes that every human being, by the very fact of his having come into existence, has a right to enjoy each and all the advantages modern civilization offers, because those advantages are the product of the efforts and sacrifices of the working class throughout all time.

The Mexican Liberal Party recognizes labor as necessary to the sustenance of the individual and of society, and all, therefore, with the exception of the aged, the crippled, the deficient and children, must dedicate themselves to the production of something useful, that will satisfy our wants.

The Mexican Liberal Party recognizes that the so-called right of private property is an iniquitous right, because it compels the great majority of human beings to work and suffer for the satisfaction and ease of a small number of capitalists.

The Mexican Liberal Party recognizes that Authority and the Clergy are the mainstay of the iniquity of Capital, and therefore:—

The Organizing Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party has solemnly declared war against Authority, war against Capital, war against the Clergy.

Against Capital, Authority and the Clergy the Mexican Liberal Party has raised the Red Flag on Mexico's fields of action, where our brothers are fighting like lions, disputing the victory with the bourgeoisie's hosts, whether those hosts call themselves Maderistas, Reyistas, Vazquistas, Cientificos or what else, since their one purpose is to hoist some individual into the position of first magistrate of the country, in order that, under the shelter of his wing, they may do business without any consideration whatever for the mass of Mexico's population, since they all regard as sacred the right of individual property.

In these moments of confusion, so propitious for the attack on oppression and exploitation; in these moments when Authority, broken, thrown off its balance, vacillating, attacked on either flank by every unchained passion, by the storms of all the appetites that have been set on edge by the hope of being soon able to glut themselves; in these moments of despairing distraction, of agony, of terror on the part of Privilege, the compact masses of the disinherited are invading the lands, burning the title deeds, laying their creative hands on the fertile soil and menacing with their fists all that yesterday was respectable — Authority, Capital and Clergy. They are turning the furrow, scattering the seed and awaiting, full of emotion, the first fruits of a labor that is free.

These, Mexicans, are the first practical results of the propaganda and action of the soldiers of the proletariat; of the generous upholders of our equalitarian principles; of our brothers who are bidding defiance to all imposition and all exploitation, with this cry of death for those on top, but of life and hope for those below—"*Land and Liberty!*" The tempest renews itself from day to day. Maderistas, Vazquistas, Reyistas, Cientificos, De La Barristas—they are crying to you, Mexicans, to fly to the defense of the privileges of the capitalistic class. Do not listen to the sweet songs of these sirens, who wish to profit by your sacrifices that they may establish a new Government; that is to say a watchdog for the protection of the interests of the rich. Up! Every one of you, that you may bring to a head the expropriation of the wealth the rich are keping back from you.

During the progress of this great movement expropriation must be brought to a head at every cost, as have done and are still doing our brothers, the inhabitants of Morelos, of Southern Puebla, of Michoacan, Guerrero, Veracruz, Northern Tamaulipas, Durango, Sonora, Sinaloa, Jalisco, Chihuahua, Oaxaca, Yucatan, Quintana Roo and parts of other States. Mexico's bourgeois press itself has to confess that the proletariat has taken possession of the land without waiting for any paternal government to deign to make it happy, since that proletariat knows that it has nothing good to expect from governments, and that the emancipation of the workers must be the task of the workers themselves.

These first acts of expropriation have been crowned with the most smiling success; but we must not confine ourselves to taking possession of the land and implements of agriculture. The workers in all the various industries must resolutely take possession of them, so arranging things as that the land, the mines, the factories, the workshops, the foundries, the cars, the railroads, the shipping, the warehouses and the houses may remain in the possession of each and every one of the inhabitants of Mexico, without distinction of sex.

In each district where this act of supreme justice is brought to a head the inhabitants will have only to come to an understanding and take whatever may be found in the stores, warehouses, granaries, etc., to a place easily accessible to all, where honest men and women will make an exact inventory of all that has been collected, and make a calculation as to the length of time it will last, the number of those who must use it being taken into account, from the moment of expropriation until the first crops are raised and the various industries turn out their first products.

The inventory having been made, the workers in the various industries will come to a fraternal understanding as to the regulation of production, which should be so conducted as that none shall go in need during the progress of this movement, and those alone die of hunger who do not wish to work—the old, the crippled and the children, who shall be entitled to enjoyment of everything, alone excepted.

Everything produced will be sent to the general store, from which all will have the right to take ALL THEIR NEEDS REQUIRE, the only pre-requisite being a certificate to the effect that they are working in such or such an industry.

Humanity's aspiration is to obtain the greatest possible-amount of satisfaction with the least possible effort, and the method most adequate to that end is the working of the land and other industries in common. If the land is divided and each family takes a piece, there will be, in the first place, the grave danger of falling back into the capitalist system, for there will be no lack of the cunning or the miserly who will manage to get more than do others, and they may be able finally to exploit their equals. Apart from this grave danger it is the fact that if a single family works a single piece of land it will have to work as hard, or even harder than, it does today, under the system of individual property, to obtain the miserable result is now obtains; but, on the other hand, if the peasants unite their labor and work the land in common, they will toil less and produce more. Of course there is land enough to give every one a house and lot of his own, to use as pleases him. What has been said about the cultivation of the land in common applies to work in the factory, the shop, etc. Each, in accordance with his temperament, his tastes, his inclinations, will be able to choose the kind of work that suits him best, provided he produces sufficient for his own needs and does not make himself a charge on the community.

Working in the manner pointed out, expropriation being followed immediately by the organization of production, now freed from masters and based on the needs of the inhabitants of each region, nobody will be in want, despite the armed movement; and finally that movement, terminating with the disappearance of the last bourgeois and the last vestige of authority or its agents, the privilege-sustaining law, and with everything in the hands of those who labor, we all shall clasp one another in a fraternal embrace and celebrate with shouts of joy the installation of a system that shall guarantee to every human being Bread and Liberty.

MEXICANS! It is for this that the Mexican Liberal Party is struggling. It is for this that a band of heroes, battling beneath the Red Flag, is pouring out its generous blood to the glorious cry of "Land and Liberty!"

The Liberals have not laid down their arms, despite the treaties of peace made by the traitor Madero with the tyrant Diaz, and despite the urgings of the bourgeoisie that they should fill their pockets with gold. We have acted thus because we Liberals are men who are convinced that political liberty does not benefit the poor but only the place-hunters, and because our object is not to obtain places or honors, but to take everything out of the hands of the bourgeoisie, that it may remain in the power of the workers.

The activity of the different political hands now disputing among themselves for supremacy will result in the doing of exactly what the tyrant Porfirio Diaz did, inasmuch as no man, however well-meaning he may be, can do anything for the poor when he finds himself in power. That activity has produced a chaos which we, the disinherited, ought to turn to account, taking advantage of the country's special circumstances to put in practice, without loss of time and while on the march, the sublime ideals of the Mexican Liberal Party. We must not delay expropriation until peace shall have been made, for then the supplies in the stores, granaries, warehouses and other places of deposit will have become exhausted, and, owing to the prevalent state of war, production will have been suspended, which will lead to famine. On the other hand, if we carry out expropriation and the organization of free labor while the movement is afoot, neither then nor afterwards will any one go in need of the necessities of life.

MEXICANS! If you wish to be free, once and for all, battle for no other cause than that of the Mexican Liberal Party. All the others offer you political liberty after they shall have triumphed. We Liberals invite you to take immediate possession of the land, the machinery, the means of transportation and the houses, without expecting that anybody will give them to you or that the law will decree it, for the law are not made for the poor but for the frock-coated gentlemen who take good care that all is in favor of their caste.

It is the duty of us, the poor, to work and struggle to break the chains that make us slaves. To leave the solution of our problems to the educated and wealthy classes is to put ourselves voluntarily into their clutches. We the plebians, we the ragged, we the hungry, we who have no foot of land whereon to lay our heads, we who live tortured with anxiety as to the bread needed tomorrow by our wives and children, we who when we become old are discharged ignominiously because we cannot work; we have to make powerful efforts and a thousand sacrifices to destroy, to its very foundations, the edifice of the old society, which has been hitherto a tender mother to the rich and wicked, but a cruel step-mother to the poor and good.

All the evils which afflict humanity spring from the existing system, which compels the majority to toil and sacrifice itself that a privileged minority may satisfy all its needs and all its caprices while living in ease and vice. Things would not be so bad if all the poor were assured of work, and were it not that production is arranged not for the satisfaction of the toilers' needs but to produce what the bourgeoisie want, and they contrive that more than they can buy shall not be produced. Hence come periods when work shops or the number of workers is reduced; a condition furthered by the perfecting of machinery, which takes the place of the proletarian's muscles.

In order to do away with all this it is necessary that the workers take into their hands the machinery of production, and that they themselves regulate the production of wealth, attending to their own needs.

Robbery, prostitution, murder, incendiarism, swindling—these are the products of a system which places men and women in conditions under which, in order to escape dying of hunger, they have to take where they can or prostitute themselves; for, in the majority of cases, although they may be most anxious to work they cannot get it, or it is so ill paid that they cannot earn the wage necessary to meet the most imperious needs of themselves individually and of their families. Apart from this, the long hours and the conditions in the midst of which work is done under the present capitalist system quickly make an end of the worker's health and even of his life, in those industrial catastorphes the sole origin of which is the contempt with which the capitalist class views those who sacrifice themselves for it.

Irritated by the iniustice of which he is the subject; angered by the ostentatious luxury of those who do nothing; clubbed by the policeman for being poor; obliged to hire out his muscle to be employed in tasks which do not please him; badly paid; despised by all those who know more than he does or whom, having money, *think themselves superior to those* who own nothing; having before him the prospect of a miserable old age and the death of an animal discharged from the stable because no longer useful; rendered from day to day uneasy by the possibility of being without work; obliged to regard as enemies those of his own class, because he never knows which of them will be the one to hire himself out for less than he himself is receiving; this being the poor mans' position it is natural that anti-social instincts should develop, and that crime, prostitution, disloyalty, should be the natural fruits of the old and odious system which we are seeking to destroy to its lowest roots, that we may create a new one of love, of equality, of justice, of fraternity, of liberty.

Arise then, as one man! In the hands of all are tranquility, well-being, liberty, the satisfaction of all sane appetites. But let us not allow ourselves to be guided by directors. Let each be master of himself, that everything may be arranged by THE MUTUAL CONSENTING OF FREE INDIVIDUALITIES. Death to slavery! Death to hunger! Long live Land and Liberty!

MEXICANS! With our hands on our hearts and our consciences tranquil, we appeal, formally and solemnly to you all, men and women, to adopt the lofty ideals of the Mexican Liberal Party. While there are rich and poor, governors and governed, there will be no peace; and it is not to be desired that there should be peace, for that peace would be founded on the political, economic and social slavery of millions of human beings who suffer hunger, outrages, prison and death, while a small minority enjoys all kinds of pleasures and liberties, *for doing nothing.*

On to the struggle! On to expropriation, with the idea of benefiting not a few but all; for this is not a war of bandits but of honest men and women who desire that all shall be brothers and enjoy, as such, the good things that nature offers us so generously and that the muscle and intelligence of man have created, the sole condition being that each shall dedicate himself to truly useful work.

Liberty and well-being are within our grasp. With the same effort and sacrifice needed to elevate to power a governor, that is to say, a tyrant; we can expropriate the wealth the rich hold back. Choose, then! A new governor, that is, a new yok, or redeeming expropriation and the abolition of all imposition, be it religious, political or what it may.

LAND AND LIBERTY!

Los Angeles, California, U. S. A., Sept. 23, 1911.

(Signed) Ricardo Flores Magon, Librado Rivera, Anselmo L. Figueroa, Enrique Flores Magon, Antonio de P. Araujo.

SAVE THEM!

Comrades: Once again you are called upon to aid other members of the working class who are fighting the battle of Labor against great odds. This time the call comes from Texas, where fourteen of your comrades, American and Mexican workingmen, are on trial for their lives.

They are honorable, upright men, all of them. Men who love liberty. They are innocent of any crime except that of being true to the cause of human freedom. They are members of the great labor movement, which they have supported for many years, and now in return they ask your assistance.

On September 11, 1913, a small party of workingmen, of which the fourteen men on trial were members, made an attempt to cross the Mexican border from Texas in order that they might participate in the struggle of their brothers in Mexico for Land and Liberty. They were armed, of course. You would not expect men to join the revolution in Mexico without a gun. However, our comrades were proceeding quietly along the public highway, interfering with nobody, when they were attacked by men who claimed to be Texas deputy sheriffs. One of the deputies, named Ortiz, was killed in self defense by a comrade named Guerra, who himself lost his life, it seems.

Our comrades wanted only to get back to Mexico that they might take part in the great struggle against slavery raging thehe, so after disarming their attackers they released them after procuring a written promise from the leader of their assailants, one J. J. Campbell, that they would be allowed to peaceably proceed to Mexico. Then they resumed their journey to the frontier.

Early in the morning of September 13th they were attacked once more by a large force of Texas Rangers and deputies near Carrizo Springs on the border and without warning fired upon. Two of our comrades were murdered and four wounded. The rest of them, fourteen in number, were arrested and thrown into jail and, according to all accounts, treated with inexpressible barbarity on the way there. They were run some fifteen miles until they dropped exhausted. Then they were tied hand and foot and laid in the burning sun while the question of lynching them was debated. Juan Rincon, one of our comrades who was killed, was left for hours before he died in the burning sun, his piteous appeals for water disregarded. They were then railroaded to trial charged with the murder of the Deputy Sheriff Ortiz, which they did not commit but which was committed by the dead man Guerra in self defense.

Several were tried (?) and sentenced to long periods in prison from six years to 99 years, all within a few days after they were arrested.

An extract from letter by Judge R. W. Hudson, counsel for the defense, dated Pearsall, Texas, October 18, 1913, says: "BUT THE REAL FIGHT IS TO COME LATER WHEN THE STATE IS GOING TO TRY AND GIVE THE DEATH PENALTY TO RANGEL, CLINE AND FOUR OTHERS."

These men are poor. Race prejudice runs high in Texas and all the odds are against them, especially since the American invasion of Mexico. Therefore they must have skilled lawyers to defend them And it is the manifest duty of the rest of us who are in the Labor and Socialist Movement to come to the rescue of our brothers.

We in Los Angeles have taken the initiative and have engaged Judge R. W. Hudson, an able Texas attorney, to defend the men. A change of venue has been granted and the cases of those already sentenced have been appealed and the sentences will undoubtedly be reversed in the higher courts.

But to defend our fourteen comrades it requires a large amount of money, several thousand dollars for court and attorney's fees, and we are all workers and without money, so **the undersigned committee hereby asks your local to vote us the sum of one dollar** to aid in the work. We think that the lives of your fellow workers should be worth at least **one dollar.** If your organization is so small that one dollar cannot be spared send 50 cents, for it is only the pennies of the workers that we can rely on.

Some of the names, subscribed to this appeal may be known to you, for their owners have been active in the Socialist and revolutionary movement many years. We hope to move in this all-important matter most energetically; we shall handle honestly all money you may send us; we shall expend it with scrupulous economy. We have elected as treasurer Mr. R. Wirth, whose reliability is beyond question. Receipts and expenditures, after being passed on by the finance committee, will be printed weekly in "Regeneracion," the organ of the Mexican Liberal Party, which will be mailed to all contributors.

Believing that you will lend us your earnest co-operation and that, as the result of such support, we shall be able to strike an effective blow for justice and human liberty.

We remain most fraternally.

(Rangel-Cline Defense Committee.

Per R. Wirth, Victor Cravello, John Murray, Stanley M. Gue, P. Kahn, M. Lerner, Frank Roney, Jaime Vidal, Wm. C. Owen, M. Lissner, H. Stanley Calvert, M. Fasano, G. W. Stamm, Harry P. Alexander, B. Litoff, F. Baffa, W. B. Cook.

Address all communications:

VICTOR CRAVELLO,
Room 108, Labor Temple,
Los Angeles, Cal.

GRAND DANCE

arranged by the
MAY DAY FEDERATION
for the benefit of the defense
of our brothers
Rangel, Cline, Cisneros, Alzalde
and the other ten comrades now
laying in the Texas Bastilles.
Dancing will start at 8 p. m.
Saturday, June 13, 1914
In BURBANK HALL,
542 South Main St.
Come, everybody! Help to save fourteen gallant fighters of Labor's Battles while enjoying yourselves!
ADMISSION: 25c.

Pro Rangel, Cline Et Al

The Mexican mass meeting held Sunday, May 31st, under the auspices of the "Rangel-Cline Defense Committee," in the Y. P. S. L. Hall, in this city, was a success.

A big crowd of earnest men, women and children, some one thousand souls, were present. Fraternity and good will to help were the main characteristics of the gathering, composed largely of members of the Mexican Liberal Party residing in this city and nearby towns. Many American comrades and fellow-workers showed their solidarity by atending the meeting.

Comrade Victor Cravello, Financial Secretary of the "Rangel-Cline Defense Committee," acting as chairman, opened the meeting to explain why that meeting was held, the efforts that the Committee have done and what it expects to do in the future, closing his speech with a strong appeal to the solidarity of the proletariat.

Comrades Anselmo L. Figueroa, Luis Villegas, Jr., Teodoro Gaitán, Teresita Villalpando, Ricardo Flores Magón and the writer, addressed the agthering that showed its approval of the speakers' ideas.

A collection was taken, amounting to $33.75, and a strong protest was voted by unanimity to be sent to Oscar B. Colquitt, the Texas Governor. At the end of the meeting, the money was turned in to the Treasurer of the Committee, Comrade Robert Wirth.

Obliging men, women and children sung the Spanish revolutionary songs "The Anarchist Marseilles," "The People's Son" and "Land and Liberty." Songs and speeches were in Spanish.

The Y. P. S. L. helped, allowing the use of the hall free.

The well known comrade, Emma Goldman, besides speaking in behalf of our imprisoned comrades in several of her lectures held in this city the last two weeks, gave, too, a Social Reunion and Dance in their behalf, the evening of last Saturday, June 6, where speeches in English and Spanish were delivered by Emma Goldman, Fred H. Moore and the writer, explaining the case of Rangel, Cline et al. and urging the solidarity and help of the Working Class.

Comrade Arturo Giovannitti recited two of his beautiful poems.

Several nice musical numbers were rendered by comrades eager to help.

The Emma Goldman Social Reunion was the nicest one we ever saw. All nationalities were represented there: American, German, Jewish, English, Spaniard, Italian, Mexican, etc., all recognizing themselves as they really are, the members of just one big family: Humanity.

Emma has promised not to let go any opportunity to agitate in behalf of those uncompromising Labor's warriors now in chains in the filthy jails of the most barbarous spot on earth, Texas. The same has done our poet comrade Giovannitti. We are confident they will do their best to help.

The net proceeds of the Social Reunion, which is printed in some other place of this issue, were handed by Emma to Comrade Victor Cravello, *Financial Secretary of the "Rangel-*Cline Defense Committee."

The "Rangel-Cline Defense Committee' is doing its utmost to bring before the public in the shortest possible time, the case of the fourteen workers held in jail in Texas. There is very short time for the agitation in their behalf, for it has been set July 6th, to bring them to trial.

Therefore, it is imperative, Comrades, that we all do our very best to arouse public sentiment the quickest we can in behalf of these our brothers now facing death. It is the unavoidable duty not only of the members of the Committee but of all of us, to push forward the agitation.

Comrades: All shoulders to the wheel! Push!! That all our efforts combined in one big mighty effort will tumble down the heavy walls of Texas Bastilles!

And at the same time do not fail to help financially, for money is needed for their defense. Send all your contributions for the defense of these comrades to Victor Cravello, Fin. Sec. of the "Rangel-Cline Defense Committee," Room 108, Labor Temple, Los Angeles, Cal.

Comrades! From the bottom of my heart I appeal to you in behalf of these fighters for Land and Liberty. Do not let my plea be in vain.

ENRIQUE FLORES MAGON.

DO YOU BELIEVE IN LEARNING THINGS FOR YOURSELF?

Are you aware of the fact that many earnest people are trying to establish the Millenium on earth without the aid of the preacher, the lawyer or the politician?

EMMA GOLDMAN

the well known anarchist, will deliver *a series of lectures in SAN FRANCISCO, June 14th to 21st, 1914, at* **Mission Turn Hall, 18th St., near Valencia**

Sunday, June 14th, 3 p. m., "Revolution or Reform, Which?"

Sunday, June 14th, 8 p. m., "Our Moral Censors."

Monday, June 15th, 8 p. m., "The Superman in Relation to the Social Revolution."

Tuesday, June 16th, 8 p. m., "The Hypocricy of Charity."

Wednesday, June 17th, 8 p. m., "The Intellectual Proletarians."

Thursday, June 18th, 8 p. m., "The Conflict of the Sexes."

Friday, June 19th, 8 p. m., "Anarchism vs. Socialism."

Saturday, June 20th, 8 p. m., "The Mothers' Strike."

Admission, 15 and 25 cents.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENSES IN EMMA GOLDMAN SOCIAL PRO RANGEL-CLINE.

Receipts.

Tickets sold at the door	$ 75.25
Our own contribution in tickets given away free	1.25
At the Buffet	24.00
Collection	12.50
Sale of flowers	8.00
Raffle	10.00
Total	$131.00

Expenses.

Hall rent	$ 15.00
Printing, advertisement and help	10.00
Music	7.00
Buffet, Ice Cream, Coffee, Sugar, Soft Drinks, Supplies	8.75
Total	$ 40.75

Total receipts	$131.00
Total expenses	40.75
Balance turned over to Victor Cravello	90.25

EMMA GOLDMAN.
Los Angeles, June 9th, 1914.

RANGEL-CLINE DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

RECEIPTS BY THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY

The sums received until May 28th, 1914, are as follows: ONTARIO, CAL., Socialist Local by J. M. Dunn, $1.—FULLERTON, CAL., Socialist Local by Mrs. W. H. Tanner, $1.—BAKERSFIELD, CAL., Socialist Local by J. W. Huks, $1.—PORTERSVILLE, CAL., Socialist Local by Dorothy Stewart, $1.—RIVERSIDE, CAL., Socialist Local by L. H. Edmiston, $1.—PALO ALTO, CAL., Socialist Local by R. W. Vincent, $2.20.—SAN JOSE, CAL., Socialist Local by S. W. Keaton, $2.—WESTPORT, CAL., Socialist Local by F. Werner, $2.—MILL VALLEY, CAL., Socialist Local by C. W. Iredale, $1.—ST. THOMAS, ONT., Journeymen Tailors U. of A., Local No. 141, by Wm. Obenauthy, $1.—VANCOUVER, B. C., Tailors Industrial Union, Branch No. 170, by D. McDonald, $2.—FRANKLYN, KANS., Raccolti a mezzo Forti Giovanni, $8.50.—NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J., Cigarmakers Union, No. 146, by John J. Keller, $1.—SELLERSVILLE, PA., Cigarmakers Union, No. 232, by John H. Nase, $1.—OAKLAND, CAL.,—Cigarmakers Union, No. 225, by A. Anderson, $1.—ALLENTOWN, PA., Cigarmakers Union, No. 147, by Ludwig Koeffig, $1.—BOSTON, MASS., B. Preston Clark, by Arturo Giovannitti $100.00.—SHEFFIELD, ALA., Int. Association of Machinists, No. 65, by F. H. Smith, $1.—VESALIA, CAL., Socialist Local, by J. E. Kane, $1.—LOS ANGELES, CAL., Socialist Local German Branch, by Frank Kalte, $1; Finnish Socialist Branch, $1; Socialist Branch, No. 10, by H. C. Freeman, $2; Proceeds from Labor Temple Mass Meetings, May 17, $10.50.—DOUGLAS, ARIZ., Eugenio Soto, $5.—MIDDLETON, CAL., Socialist Local, by Robert Rodeger, $1.—GILFRID, Fresno Co., CAL., E. E. Tiffany, $1.—DALY CITY, CAL., Socialist Local, by W. Kahrens, $1.—DOS PALOS, CAL., Socialist Local, by Warren Angle, $2.—SANTA ANA, CAL., Socialist Local, by Chas B. Cushman, $1.—FURLOH, CAL., Socialist Local, by W. De Barro, $1.—STOCKTON, CAL., Socialist Local, by M. W. Beck, $1.—BUENA PARK, CAL., Socialist Local, by M. L. Loughboro, $1.—OAKLAND, CAL.,—Socialist Local, Elmhurst, Alameda Co., by Mrs. J. M. Warwick, $1.—POULUMNE, CAL., Socialist Local, by E. M. Sculano, $3.15.—RIVEH BRANCH, Stanislaus Co., Cal., Socialist Local, by Miss Bernardine Tondi, $1.—MODESTO, CAL., Socialist Local, $1.—CAIRO, ILL., E. Benavides, $50.—MEADVILLE, MONTANA, Raciotte a mezzo Rocco Marmorale pro mulet, $4.10.—GOWANDA, ONT., Western Federation of Miners, by A. D. Hardie, $5.—TOTAL, $209.75.

VICTOR CRAVELLO, Fin. Sec.

MONTHLY FINANCIAL REPORT OF RANGEL-CLINE DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

May Receipts.

May 1st, Balance brought forward, $3.25; From Victor Cravello, Sec., 2nd, $3; 4th, $6; 5th, $5.50; 9th, $2; 11th, $2; 13th, $16.50; 18th, $6; 19th, S. M. Gue, receipts of mass meeting, May 17th, $46.50; From Victor Cravello, Sec., 19th, $2; 20th, $5; 21st, $8.35; 23rd, $4; 25th, $103.64; 26th, $1; 27th, $7; 28th, $2. Total, $228.75.

May Expenses.

To Victor Cravello, Sec., 2nd, for telegram, 1.35; 5th, for telegram, $2.25; 8th, to S. M. Gue for F. H. Moore, atty. fee, $16; 14th, to S. M. Gue, for stamps, $5.50; 14th to T. M. Moore, for legal expenses, $10; 15th, to Victor Cravello, Sec., for stamps, $1; 18th, to J. R. Whyte, for wages, May 8 to 15, $18; 21st, to F. H. Moore, attny. and legal expenses, $10; 22nd, to Stanley M. Gue, for rent of office in Labor Temple, $20; 22nd, to F. H. Moore, atty. for legal expenses, $10; 25th, to Citizen Printing Shop, $15.50; 25th, to Stanley M. Gue for cash and warrant book, $1.95; 25th, to Citizen Print Shop, for tickets and dodgers, $9.75; 23th, to J. R. Whyte, for wages, May 17th to 25th, $18; 25th, to Victor Cravello, Sec., for message, 25c; 25th, to S. M. Gue, for keys to office in Labor Temple 198, 200, 27th, to S. M. Gue, for 500 stamped envelopes, $10.78; 27th, to S. M. Gue, for mail box, $1.25; 27th, to F. H. Moore, atty., for legal expenses, $15; 30th, to E. F. Vanderbilt, atty. $60; 30th, to F. H. Moore, legal expenses, $10. Total, $227.33.

Receipts	$228.75
Expenses	227.33
Balance	$ 1.42

R. WIRTH, Treasurer.

RANGEL-CLINE DEFENSE COMMITTEE.

Received by this Secretary till June 10th, 1914, from the following: REDDING, CAL., Socialist Local, by Matthew Kelly, $2.50.—OILFIELD, CAL., Mrs. G. A. Montgomery, $2.—SANTA MARIA, CAL., Socialist Local, by Mina Dominguez, $1.—FRESNO, CAL., Socialist Local, by Robert Habermann, $1.—SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., International Defense League, by David Milder, $20.—GALVERT, TEX., Emilio Lopez, $1.50.—REDLANDS, CAL., Socialist Local, by F. Hulton, $1.—WOODLAND, CAL., Miss Jennie Robinson, 25c; T. R. Gayet, 25c; I. W. Milkof, 25c, and H. Robsohn, 25c.—OAKLAND, CAL., Socialist Local, by J. L. Hennessey, $1, and North Oakland Branch, by W. F. Drury, $1c.—LOS ANGELES, CAL., Benefit of tickets sold at the Labor Temple, 65c; Proceeds from a Mexican Meeting at Y. P. S. L. Hall, May 31st, $33.70; May Day Federation, $1.25; Dr. John Randolph Haynes, $10; Proceeds from Arturo Giovannitti meeting at Burbank hall, June 6th, $6.95, and proceeds from Emma Goldman Social Reunion and Dance, at Y. P. S. L. hall, June 6th, $60.25.—TAFT, CAL., I. W. W. Local No. 430, by Joe Russell, $1.75.—OUTLOOK, CAL., Socialist Local, by D. F. Keiser, $1.—GREENWOOD, B. C., Greenwood Miners Union, by W. Lakeland, $1.—BANDSBURG, CAL., Bandsburg Miners Union, No. 44, W. F. M., $2.—ZANESVILLE, OHIO, Local Zanesville, by W. N. Patterson, $1.—PUBLOCK, CAL., Tonnes Local, by W. W. Maylee, $1, and Local Furlock, by H. D. Lonham, Sec. Treas., $2.—AMESBURG, MASS., Socialist Local, by L. F. Brough, $1.—NEW BEDFORD, MASS., A. Lopez Jose Amaya, $2.50.—KENNETT, CAL., Rescue Miners Union, No. 174, by F. M. Ley Tom Corra, $2.50.—LAYTONVILLE, CAL., G. Danevich, $1.—PORTLAND, ORE., F. W. Chase, $1.—CHICHELEY, CAL., Dr. S. S. Loch, $1.—FOLK, CAL., Folk Socialist Local, by Frank Humbert, $2.—SEATTLE, WASH., Local Socialist Party, 13th Ward, by R. H. Miller, $1.—LAKEPORT, CAL., Local Lakeport, by Katherine F. White, $1.50.—SEATTLE, WASH., Local Socialist Party, 4th Ward, by Geo. Holtzes, $1.—McSWAINVILLE, CAL., Two Comrades, by C. E. Allen, $2.—NEWBURGHPORT, MASS., Socialist Local by H. W. Bartlet, $1. Total, $208.75.

VICTOR CRAVELLO, Fin. Sec.