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No. 6

I SIT AND LOOK OUT

BY WALT WHITMAN

I SIT and look upon all the sorrows of the world, and
upon all oppression and shame,
I hear secret convulsive sobs from young men at
anguish with themselves, remorseful after deeds
done,
I see in low life the mother misused by her children, dy-
ing, neglected, gaunt, desperate,
I see the wife misused by her husband, I see the treacher-
ous seducer of young women,
I mark the ranklings of jealousy and unrequited love
attempted to be hid, I see these sights on the earth,
I see the workings of battle, pestilence, tyranny, I see
martyrs and prisoners,
I observe a famine at sea, I observe the sailors casting
lots who shall be kill'd to preserve the lives of the
rest,
I observe the slights and degradations cast by arrogant
persons upon labourers, the poor, and upon negroes,
and the like;
All these—all the meanness and agony without end I
sitting look out upon,
See, hear, and am silent.

OBSERVATIONS AND COMMENTS

IF THE Puritans, witch burners, heretic hunters of old could come back to Boston, they would be pleased to find the city still infested with their own mouldy spirit, that tries to keep mental stagnation inside and new invigorating ideas outside of the municipal boundary lines.

On July 20th, Judge Murray of Boston, sentenced Van Kleek Allison, 22 years old, and editor of "The Flame" to serve three years in a House of Correction for propagating Birth Control.

Two charges were made against Allison. He had given a leaflet on Birth Control to a detective who came to his office in the disguise of a poor married man, who was afraid of too many children. Also, he had committed the crime of publishing an article by Dr. William J. Robinson on Birth Control, a reprint from the "Medical Guide and Critic."

Judge Murray took great pains to show off in splendid display his stern virtues, his lamentable ignorance and intolerance. Assisted by District Attorney Pelletier, he denounced the defendant as a man who dares to publish a paper—"The Flame"—"every syllable of which is not only in conflict with the Divine law, but in utter defiance of legislative enactment of the commonwealth of Massachusetts."

Very commendable that the judge is able to define the Divine law, but as far as the Massachusetts laws in this case are concerned, they were certainly already out of date when they were conceived in the paralyzed brains of the legislators. Since then the world has made some progress and by now these "blue laws" of New England should be deemed by sensible people only fit for the waste basket.

We hope that the denunciation of "The Flame" by the judge will gain a good many subscribers for the paper.

District Attorney Pelletier made a specialty of insulting the women in the audience. From the report of a Boston newspaper we quote the following:

During the course of the trial there were many tilts between Attorney George Roewer, counsel for Allison, and District Attorney Pelletier.

Several times during his cross-examination of Allison, the district attorney faced the benches where scores of women

were seated and addressed remarks intended for them when Attorney Roewer had interposed objections.

The tilts reached their climax when Allison, under cross-examination, testified that he had discussed birth control with married women. He was asked to name them. He hesitated for a moment and then replied that his hesitation was due to the fact that he believed that many of the persons in the courtroom misunderstood the birth control movement, and for that reason he refused to answer.

District Attorney Pelletier kept saying in a loud tone of voice, "Who are the married women that you talked with? Who? Who? Who?"

Allison then named Mrs. E. Chapin Parrot as a married woman who would not be afraid to allow him to use her name. He then referred to Mrs. Jack, wife of the Harvard professor of forestry, who had secured his release on bail when arrested by furnishing bonds.

At this moment there were several women among the spectators who half rose from their seats as if to stand up and support Allison in his statement that he had discussed birth control with them.

District Attorney Pelletier then asked Allison to identify the women, but Allison could not do so.

"Every woman who had the nerve to come here should be willing to stand up and call out her name."

A murmur ran through the crowd of women, and it was several moments before the court officers could suppress the excited women from resenting the remarks of the prosecutor.

Just about this time a five-minute recess was ordered by Judge Murray. The women spectators went out into the corridor, followed by Attorney Roewer. An indignation meeting was held. At the reopening of the court Attorney Roewer addressed Judge Murray, and said:

"I have here the names of 16 women, 13 of them married and the other three single women. They want me to tell you that they most strenuously resent the insinuations of the district attorney. Many of them wanted to go on the stand and tell you that they are not afraid to give their names as supporters of birth control."

Allison is out on \$2,000 bail, the case will be appealed. Many women and men in Boston are aroused and will help to fight the courts' antiquity and tyranny, so that free press and free speech may not be entirely suppressed in Boston.

* * *

ARBITRATION and representation have failed in the big garment workers and cloakmakers strike. After more than three months of the severest suffering and privation, started by the lockout, the strikers have given

the "representatives of both sides" to understand that they want none of these diplomatic agreements on paper by which they have been fooled time and again before.

The representatives of both sides had reached such a doubtful agreement, and the New York papers were discussing its merits. The capitalistic press maintained that the manufacturers had scored a victory, while the "labor papers" served up a mixture containing more fiction than truth, for the purpose of showing what a fine job the spokesmen of the strikers had done by the agreement.

But finally the strikers, tired out by the everlasting futile quibbling and parleying of "the leaders," lost their patience. Two thousand men and women marched to strike headquarters under a banner that bore the inscription: "long live the General Strike!" The union officials were bitterly attacked and accused of having sold the workers to the capitalists. Many of the strikers refused to vote at all on the referendum whether the agreement should be accepted or not. They expressed utter contempt for it.

Whatever the outcome may be, these many thousands of men and women have at least proved by their own energy and criticism that they are not a herd of blind subjects unable to think and decide for themselves. May they do more of their own thinking along these lines and about the General Strike, they may reach conclusions which will finally relieve them altogether of that futile and wasteful representation and arbitration nuisance. Strikes can only be won, and the results of the victory secured, by the own fighting spirit, strength and solidarity of the workers.

* * *

IN AN article, published in the "New York Times Magazine" of July 16th, Frederic Mathews discusses the question whether the war will bring about a new social order. He begins with the following strong sentences:

If one thing may be regarded as demonstrated by the present horror in Europe it is that there is something radically rotten in the existing theory of the State and its application to human society. A system which for generations entails a progressively increasing burden of taxes and armaments upon its adherents, which breeds pauperism, unemployment and revolution within, hatred without, and then bursts into a universal holocaust of murder and destruction

is, to say the least, of questionable practical value. This, however, is exactly that in which European political leadership with the boasted enlightenment of the nineteenth century has culminated. Is there no escape from such conditions? Is it beyond the range of human intelligence to conceive of a society independent of the progressive militarist ideal with its ever-augmenting armaments and its periodic bloody and disastrous explosions?

The writer is of the opinion that a way out of these murderous conditions could be found if the people, the working men and women, would take more interest in the management of the government, in taxation, etc., and make the State the expression of the people's real own will.

That is an old song. It is just on account of the political demagogical lie that the interests of State and people are identical, that the people in monarchies and republics have sacrificed through centuries their work, happiness, and blood to State and militarism. Nothing less than the emancipation from this lie will make possible a society that is not based on exploitation and militarism.

* * *

WE RECEIVED notice from the New York Post Office that MOTHER EARTH would not be accepted by the mails anymore to be delivered to subscribers in Canada. No reason was given. One can only surmise that perhaps some remarks in our magazine about the recent development of liberty and humanity in England may have aroused the wrath of a loyal subject of King George. That is possible, but why the postal authorities of the Republic should play the part of messenger or representative of loyal monarchical Canada, that is harder to understand. Or is solidarity between censors of all countries an established fact?

* * *

WHEN on July 22nd a preparedness parade show was enacted in San Francisco, a bomb exploded, killing nine persons and wounding others. It is said that warning letters were sent to newspapers, informing them that something serious would happen. One man, a sailor, was arrested but afterwards released for lack of evidence. Later the police took Edward Nolan into custody; he has been active in the California trade union movement for years. The police maintain that explosives were found

in his room. Thirteen thousand dollars reward have been offered for the apprehension of the perpetrator and a special police squad was organized for discovering bomb plots.

That's about all that could be learned here in the East from the reports about the occurrence.

Of course, in connection with this the typical story of the typical "world-wide Anarchist conspiracy to overthrow all organized government" was told.

This story is an outworn and obvious excuse for newspaper ignorance. It has been told a hundred times and again, and it will be repeated in the future to give sufficient proof that the dense ignorance about Anarchism among the manufacturers of public opinion is still not replaced by intelligence.

* * *

IN NORTHERN Minnesota, all along the Mesaba Range, about 30,000 iron-ore miners are on strike. The Steel Trust controls the most important parts of the region, and it is against this plutocratic monster concern that the miners declared war. Their fight is one "out of the depths." They have suffered to the point of desperation under the new industrial and commercial feudalism, which has assumed monarchical power, trampling everything under foot that dares to oppose its system of brutal coercion, corruption, espionage, starvation wages.

From the statement of the strikers these passages were taken:

We are the diggers of the ore that is converted into iron and steel to make the machinery of the world. Without us civilization would be impossible. We daily risk our lives in caves and pits. Hundreds of lives maimed and crushed is the yearly toll. We are ruined in health and driven at our work by hard task masters who impose upon us insufferable and unbelievable conditions to maintain our jobs. Securing and keeping employment is based not only on paying graft to mine captains who distribute working places to their favorites but many are the cases where miners have sacrificed the honor and virtue of their wives and daughters to insure to themselves the good graces of these human vultures known as mine captains.

We make these statements in full consciousness of our responsibilities. We make them and stand ready to prove

them to the satisfaction of any responsible body of workers or others who care to inquire into the lives and working conditions of these thousands of miners of Northern Minnesota.

Not only are our lives made one long torture at our work but we are compelled to live in feudal baronies of the Steel Trust and its subsidiaries. Villages dominated and always under the watch of brutal guards, employed and paid by the mine barons. These sluggers and gangsters make our lives, that of our children and wives one of bitter slavery and oppression. We live under the rule of thugs and gunmen whose every whim and notion is law that we must submit to on pain of our heads being caved in by ever ready clubs and our hearts pierced from bullets of guns always in the hands of the "defenders of property."

An average wage of \$2.75, the eight-hour day, and abolition of contract labor are the demands of the miners.

The declaration of the strike conducted by the I. W. W. was met by the money power with a reign of terror, the pattern of which may have been taken from the activities of the "Black Hundreds" in Russia. Those damned foreigners, we will fix them! Strikers have been deliberately insulted, attacked, and beaten. Several were killed, meetings broken up—families evicted from the miserable huts which are the property of the barons.

During one of the attacks, followed by a general scuffle, a gunman, Myron by name, was killed. The details of his death are not known. It is by no means sure that the strikers finished him; but the event was made the pretext for arresting the spokesmen and organizers of the miners, charging them with murder in the first degree. They are held without bail in the county jail of Duluth.

The number of the arrested on this charge is fifteen. Among them are Carlo Tresca, well known to the workers of New York, Joseph Schmidt, Frank H. Little, Sam Scarlet, J. Gilday. None of them was near the scene of the shooting. Nobody believes that they had anything to do with it. They were simply sent behind bars for the purpose of stopping their efforts to help the miners gain a humane existence.

This is a fight, a strike, that should be helped along to a victorious end by all the workers of the country and by all justice loving men and women.

Contributions should be mailed to Wm. D. Haywood, Room 307, 164 W. Washington St., Chicago, Ill.

IN CONNECTION with these events in the strike region of Minnesota, a young comrade, George Andreytchine, who has been very active in behalf of the strikers, was also arrested. In his case the Steel Trust tools hatched out a nice little scheme in order to get him out of the region. They declared him an "undesirable," packed him on a train to New York with an officer who had orders to deliver him straightway to Ellis Island from where he could easily be deported and shipped across the ocean. Andreytchine is a Bulgarian. If he was to be deported, he might get a chance to die at the front for the glory and honor of King Ferdinand. So much the better the Steel Trust tools thought. But the scheme did not work. George Andreytchine, who is a surveyor, well read and educated, has meanwhile been released from Ellis Island.



GOOD PROSPECTS FOR ANTI-MILITARISM

THE outlook in these here United States for a stirring anti-military propaganda has brightened considerably during the last months—thanks to the failure of the national mobilization scheme in numbers and spirit. Whatever the real motives of the promoters of this scheme were—the results of their patriotic bluff campaign are all around dissatisfaction and disgust. If they wanted to ascertain whether the people are patriotic and foolish enough to sacrifice health and life for the benefit of the American speculators in Mexico's resources and values, they must have discovered by this time how little reason they have to rejoice on this account. The national mobilization has met with a frost. After a few weeks' actual experience with militarism at work, with "national honor and dignity of the country," there seems little doubt that the militia regiments, stationed at the border, would be glad and ready to march back any minute without the least feeling of regret. There are many who perceive that they have been tricked out of their homes and jobs by a cheap phraseology, the emptiness and deception of which they now feel keenly enough.

They were supposed to endure all the hardships, to expose themselves to the dangers of being fed on embalmed beef by the meat trust, and finally to shed their blood for the country; but meanwhile the legislators of the country did not even provide to protect their wives and children

from starvation. The idea of the Senate apparently was, that to lose health and life in the bloody service of the American robber barons who want to swallow up Mexico, was honor and reward enough in itself.

It was always the policy of the possessing class to throw the burden of its defense entirely upon its slaves. Of course this class will never say to its slaves, "protect me in my wealth and privileges," but instead it substitutes "the nation" and "the country," trying by this to prevent the workers from considering that they could use their weapons for a better purpose than wounding and killing other workers in the interest of universal exploitation.

However, such policy of patriotic deception requires a little more caution and hypocritical delicacy than was shown recently by the representatives of the nation.

The hint to go to the devil, addressed to the militia men and their families, was so blunt and provoking, that even the plutocratic, militaristic press objected. The editors had lauded the glory of the nation and the army every day to the very skies and now felt a little indignant that the cat had been let out of the bag.

The *Evening Sun* wrote:

Not only has the Senate refused to pass the bill already passed by the House of Representatives, providing reasonable relief for needy families of National Guardsmen, but it is stated on reliable authority at Washington that this humane measure is to be killed in committee by its opponents in the Senate Committee on Military Affairs. Meanwhile wives and children of guardsmen can beg for bread if they have not the means to buy it or if charity is not extended without their seeking.

This is a most amazing and disgraceful situation. If Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, chairman of the Military Committee, were not above suspicion it might be charged with some show of reason that he is submitting silently to the killing of the relief bill in order to undermine the militia system which he fought so hard. Not even an ultra-pacifist could think of a step more likely to keep citizens out of any voluntary service than the Government's refusal to shield their dependents from want during their absence an active duty.

Another hard blow against patriotism and military enthusiasm was struck by those manufacturers and trades people who had promised to continue to pay wages and salaries to those of their employees who had joined the militia. It turned out to be rather a bluff, calculated to advertise their business. They did not pay. From New

York, Pittsburg, Chicago, Detroit, Milwaukee, and many other places came reports to the effect that the families of the militia men waited in vain for the fulfillment of the promise of the patriotic braggarts. What good was it to the destitute families of the defenders of the country under such circumstances that the militia battalions had marched away with the blessings of the Catholic priests and bishops!

Widespread discontent in camp and barrack has been reported. Much of the food that the Government had provided for the soldiers has been declared rotten. Equipment in many cases was insufficient, and transportation inefficient. Perhaps a graft and bribery investigation will be the net result of the freaky mobilization.

The militarists try to console themselves with the experience that the whole army organization is imperfect and ridiculously inadequate. The nation will have to learn and to draw conclusions from this fact, they say, but on the other hand the many thousands of men all over the country who have actually experienced the bitter foretaste and deception of patriotism, militarism, and war will go home disillusioned, critical towards patriotic twaddle and military braggadocio.

That the sentiment grows in this direction, the reports about many cases of disobeying commands, protests against shabby treatment, and mutiny in the militia ranks leave hardly any doubt.



**ADDRESS OF ENRIQUE FLORES MAGON IN
THE FEDERAL COURT, LOS ANGELES,
JUNE 22, 1916**

ON account of my brother's sickness, which prevents his addressing this Court, I shall speak in his behalf as well as my own.

I am taking the opportunity given me of addressing the Court because I want to make clear the causes behind our prosecution, for it appears that Court procedure was designed to conceal the facts underlying such cases as this.

The records of this trial show that the Magon brothers were tried and convicted, but the records do not show that the case at bar here is the age-long fight of the down-

trodden and the disinherited against the tyranny, the superstition and the oppression which overburdens mankind.

It is not merely the Magons who are convicted in this Court, but all liberty and justice loving people; for we, the Magon brothers, have been convicted by the technicalities of man-made laws, for our activities in behalf of the emancipation of the downtrodden, particularly of the Mexican proletarians, and of the disinherited all over the world in general, as shown by our writings, which are a part of the record in this case.

With the Magons you have convicted the world's red-blooded men and women who are striving to halt the piracy and the oppression of the rapacious plutocracy and its natural allies, Authority and the Church. With us you have condemned all of the men and women who think and who feel the anguish and the sorrows of the dispossessed, the tortures of the oppressed, the wailing and the tears of the millions of human beings who have the misfortune of being born at a time when all of the means of life have been appropriated by the land-sharks and the money-grabbers; of the millions of proletarians who are condemned at birth to a life of incessant toil and actual chattel slavery, without hope of any reward other than slow death from starvation and exposure.

After studying these conditions many men and women have come to the conclusion that the only way out of this slavery is the way we pointed out in our Manifesto of September 23rd, 1911. As we set forth in that document, we aim to establish the common ownership of the land, of the machinery and the means of production and distribution, for the common use and benefit of all human beings, so as to enable them to work and earn their own living and to enjoy the honest pleasures which nature intended for them.

These ideals are destructive to the present institutions, as properly remarked here by the prosecution and this Court, and are, therefore, antagonistic to man-made laws that uphold Capitalism, but this does not mean that they are not founded on sound principles of Justice and Freedom.

We are asked what we have to say why sentence should not be passed on us. This Court should not pass sen-

tence on us, for it would mean to deny to us Mexican people the perfect right we have to revolt against the unbearable conditions that have kept us in slavery through long, long years; conditions under which we found ourselves stripped of all our belongings, our lands, our forests, our rivers, our mines and everything else that we once owned in common or individually since time immemorial. We saw all our belongings being taken from us by Porfirio Diaz by means of violence through his soldiery and legal machinery. Diaz robbed the Mexican people in order that he might grant concessions to the Otises, Hearsts, Rockefellers, Morgans, Guggenheims, Pearsons and other foreign interests. And these concessions were granted for a mere song in order to perpetuate the Diaz regime.

After we were dispossessed of our natural heritage, we found ourselves held in bondage, in real chattel-slavery, forced to work our own lands, lands that were now no longer ours; we were forced to work 16 and 18 hours a day for from 18 to 37 cents Mexican money, that is equal to from 9 to 18 cents American money. We were compelled to trade with the "tiende de raya," which is the same as the commissaries of your mining and lumber camps, where everything was sold to us at exorbitant prices. Under such conditions we gradually found ourselves in perpetual debt to our masters and without the liberty of moving from their domain. In case we succeeded in evading the vigilance of the hacienda bosses and escaped from our bondage, we were caught by the authorities and once more returned to slavery.

Whenever we went on strike for better conditions and wages, as in Rio Blanco and Cananea, we were shot down en masse by the trained murderers of Diaz, his soldiers, his policemen and rangers. If we still held a small piece of land that excited the greed of the authorities, the rich or the clergy, it was taken from us by hook or crook. They even resorted to cold blooded murder.

Our freedom was trampled upon. Our speakers were arrested and shot in the dark of the night. Our papers were suppressed and the writers imprisoned, often vanishing from the face of the earth. Many of our brothers who still believed in the ballot met their death in front of the polls at the hands of the Diaz soldiers. Many of our

brothers were sold for \$200 per head to the slave-drivers of Yucatan and the Valle Nacional. They were sold into actual slavery and there forced to work under such horrible conditions that their health was soon broken, and when they no longer could stand on their feet they were often buried alive in order to save bother and medical expenses. It was a common sight to see our brothers beaten to death for the slightest provocation.

We endured those conditions for thirty-six years, which proves that we are a peace-loving people. But we found ourselves so cornered and driven against the wall, that we finally had to revolt against damnable conditions in order to save ourselves and to gain Bread, Land and Liberty for All.

This was the cause and the source of the Social and Economic Revolution which has for over five years shaken Mexico; the revolution of the down-trodden masses against their oppressors and exploiters; the revolution that chiefly aims to get control in common of the land and, thereby, aims to free the Mexican people. These purposes and aspirations are set forth in condensed form in our battle cry of "Land and Liberty!"

We Mexicans are striving to get back the land, because we know that the land is the source of all social wealth and, therefore, that he who owns the land owns all and, hence, becomes economically free. A people who enjoy economic freedom are free socially and politically as well; that is to say, economic freedom is the mother of all freedom.

Against the outrageous conditions that I have here roughly outlined, we Mexicans revolted; and now two of us, Ricardo and myself, are facing sentence here for our activity in that rebellion and for striking to gain our political, social and economic emancipation.

We therefore think that, as a principle of Justice, this Court should not impose a sentence on us, for such a sentence would mean a flat denial that the Mexican people have a right to fight their own battles and to fight them in their own way. Our revolutionary methods may not meet with the approval of the "peace-at-any-price" gentlemen, but they have the sanction of Thomas Jefferson, who said: "We cannot expect to pass from Despotism to Liberty on a feather bed."

The institutions springing from Private Property are the source and cause of all slavery, vice and crime. It is on account of Private Property that a large majority of human beings are slaves; producing all the wealth, they go destitute. It is on account of Private Property, which deprives men and women of the just reward of their labor, that our women prostitute themselves, our children grow weak and consumptive in the mills of Capitalism, our men become drunkards, dope-fiends, thieves, suicides, insane and murderers.

That is why we hate Private Property and fight for its abolition, and strive to implant Communist Anarchism wherein the land, the machinery and all the means of production and transportation shall be owned in common, so that all may have an equal chance for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; so that all being supplied in their needs and on an equal social, political and economic standing, ignorance, vice and crime shall vanish, naturally and automatically, for their source, Private Property, will have been abolished forever.

We are opposed to the Church for the reason heretofore given; for it upholds the evil called Private Property and keeps submerged in ignorance and superstition the human mind.

We are opposed to Government because it is the staunch upholder of Private Property and because Government means imposition, tyranny, oppression and violence. We agree with Thomas Jefferson when he says: "History in general informs us how bad Government is." While quoting Jefferson, I should like to remark that he was twice President of the United States, and, therefore, he knew what he was talking about. And on the 12th of this month, this Court agreed with us when it said, "It is the duty of Government to preserve itself." That means that Government is not "of the people, by the people and for the people," but that it is in fact an institution alien to the people, and against whose interests it shall preserve itself. And we are duly grateful to this Court for that acknowledgment.

Striving as we are through our revolutionary activities to gain Justice, Freedom, Plenty and Happiness for all Human Beings, we believe that, as a matter of Justice, this Court has no right to impose a sentence on us. You

may have the power, but you have not the right to do so.

The prosecution charged us with inciting to revolution in this country. The charge is baseless as well as illogical. Revolutions cannot be incited.

I have often compared the present conditions in this country with the conditions which confronted the Mexican people under the Diaz regime, and I have found them very similar in many instances. The American workingmen, as a whole, are often forced to work at wages on which no man can decently live, just as the Mexican peons were forced to do.

The lumber camps of Louisiana, the mines of Colorado and West Virginia and other places are practically the same as the hell-holes of Yucatan and the Valle Nacional. Here also you have the "commissary" which is the counterpart of our "tienda de raya." Our massacres of Rio Blanco and Cananea have their parallel in Ludlow, Coeur D'Alene and West Virginia. The suppression of our papers by Diaz is similar to the suppression here of "The Woman Rebel," "Revolt," "The Alarm," "Voluntad," "The Blast," and finally, our "Regeneracion." Free speech, free assemblage and free press, as well as freedom of thought, are dealt with in this country *a la* Porfirio Diaz.

On the other hand, you have here, as reported by the Commission on Industrial Relations, 5 per cent. of the population owning 65 per cent. of the wealth, just as we had in Mexico. And as in Mexico, the multitude of producers are living either in pauperism or very close to actual want.

Here, too, you have your large land owners, and the number of your tenant farmers is ever increasing. American people, as the Mexican, are learning that the very earth under their feet has been taken away by the land-sharks and by huge land grants to special interests. Your mines and your forests are going the same way into the same hands that the mines and forests of Mexico went. The liberties of the American people have gradually been encroached upon just as they were in Mexico.

As like causes produce like results, it does not require a great deal of wisdom to see the trend of events of this country. Revolution is breeding, but it is coming from "above" and not from the workers, for it is only when

the conditions of the proletariat become unbearable that they rise in revolt.

Unless present conditions change, you American people of the present generations will have to face the bloodiest revolution in the annals of history.

Jefferson, who was the Anarchist of his time, and who is acknowledged a great patriot and thinker, saw the necessity of revolution and justified its drastic measures. He said, "I hold that a little rebellion now and then is a good thing, and as necessary in the political world as storms in the physical." At another time he said, "The spirit of resistance is so valuable on certain occasions that I wish it always to be kept alive." And once more hear what Jefferson said: "Let these (the people) take arms. What signify a few lives in a century or two? The tree of liberty must be refreshed from time to time with the blood of patriots and tyrants. It is its natural manure."

In answer to the able argument for a new trial, made on the 12th of this month by our honest and courageous counsel, Mr. Ryckman, the Court said: "These men have no right to seek refuge in this country." We hold that we do have such right, not only as a principle of justice and civilization, but your Constitution specifically grants us the right of asylum as political refugees.

Jefferson, Paine and Franklin, during the American Revolution, not only acted as agents of the American rebels in France, but they actually secured the assistance of France in their revolt against England. From this we can see that one hundred and fifty years ago the French people recognized a principle of humanity which this Court now denies us.

The Court has spoken of us as aliens to this country and its people. The Court is in error. We are aliens to no country, nor are we aliens to any people on earth. The world is our country and all men are our countrymen. It is true that, by birth, we are Mexicans, but our minds are not so narrow, our vision not so pitifully small as to regard as aliens or enemies those who have been born under other skies.

The Court suggested that it would be more becoming for us to go to Mexico to shoulder a musket and fight for our rights. If the Mexican revolution were an attempt of

one set of politicians to oust or overthrow another set of office-holders, then the Court's suggestion would be very apt. The revolution in Mexico is, however, not a political but a Social and Economic Revolution and it is necessary to educate the people, to teach them the real causes of their misery and slavery, and to point out to them the way to Freedom, Fraternity and Equality.

That is why our hands, instead of being armed with muskets are armed with pens; a weapon more formidable and far more feared by tyrants and exploiters.

I believe that it was Emerson who said that "Whenever a thinker is turned loose, tyrants tremble." And it is because it is acknowledged that we are thinkers as well as fighters, that we have spent over seven years out of the twelve that we have been here in the jails and prisons of this land of the "free."

We are not asking this Court for Mercy; we are demanding Justice. If, however, this Court is to be actuated by man-made laws instead of fundamental Justice and, therefore, insists on sending us to the penitentiary, you may do so without hesitation.

A penitentiary sentence to us will likely mean our graves, for we are both sick men. We alone know how our health has been undermined. We know that another penitentiary sentence, no matter how light it may be, will be a death sentence. We feel that we shall not come out of the penitentiary alive.

However, it does not matter to us personally; from the beginning of our struggle, twenty-four years ago, we dedicated our lives to the cause of Freedom. Since that time we have suffered a long chain of persecution and conspiracy, of which this case is but another link, but we still hold to our original purpose of doing our duty to our fellow-men, no matter what the result to us personally.

History is watching us from her throne, and she is registering in her annals the Social Drama that is now being enacted in this court. We appeal to her with a clean conscience, and with our hearts normally beating and with our brains dreaming of a Future Society, wherein there will be Happiness, Freedom and Justice for all Mankind.

The Court may choose between Law and Justice. If you send us to our graves and brand us once more with

the stigma of felons, we are sure that History will reverse the sentence. She will mark indelibly the forehead of the Cain.

Let the Court speak! History watches!



WOMAN AND PROPERTY*

By MARY WOLLSTONECRAFT

FROM the respect paid to property flow, as from a poisoned fountain, most of the evils and vices which render this world such a dreary scene to the contemplative mind. For it is in the most polished society that noisome reptiles and venomous serpents lurk under the rank herbage; and there is voluptuousness pampered by the still sultry air, which relaxes every good disposition before it ripens into virtue.

One class presses on another, for all are aiming to procure respect on account of their property; and property once gained will procure the respect due only to talents and virtue. Men neglect the duties incumbent on man, yet are treated like demi-gods. The world is almost, literally speaking, a den of sharpers or oppressors.

There is a homely proverb, which speaks a shrewd truth, that whoever the devil finds idle he will employ. And what but habitual idleness can hereditary wealth and titles produce? For man is so constituted that he can only attain a proper use of his faculties by exercising them, and will not exercise them unless necessity of some kind first set the wheels in motion. Virtue likewise can only be acquired by the discharge of relative duties; but the importance of these sacred duties will scarcely be felt by the being who is cajoled out of his humanity by the flattery of sycophants. There must be more equality established in society, or morality will never gain ground, and this virtuous equality will not rest firmly even when founded on a rock, if one-half of mankind be chained to its bottom by fate, for they will be continually undermining it through ignorance or pride.

It is vain to expect virtue from women till they are in

*Written more than a hundred years ago but still of vital truth.

some degree independent of men; nay, it is vain to expect that strength of natural affection which would make them good wives and mothers. Whilst they are absolutely dependent on their husbands they will be cunning, mean, and selfish; and the men who can be gratified by the fawning fondness of spaniel-like affection have not much delicacy, for love is not to be bought; in any sense of the words, its silken wings are instantly shrivelled up when anything beside a return in kind is sought. Yet whilst wealth enervates men, and women alike, as it were, by their personal charms, how can we expect them to discharge those ennobling duties which equally require exertion and self-denial? Hereditary property sophisticates the mind, and the unfortunate victims to it—if I may so express myself—swathed from their birth, seldom exert the locomotive faculty of body or mind, and thus viewing everything through one medium, and that a false one, they are unable to discern in what true merit and happiness consist.

I mean therefore to infer that the society is not properly organized which does not compel men and women to discharge their respective duties by making it the only way to acquire that countenance from their fellow-creatures which every human being wishes some way to attain. The respect consequently which is paid to wealth and mere personal charms is a true northeast blast that blights the tender blossoms of affection and comradeship.

Destructive, however, as riches and inherited honors are to the human character, women are more debased and cramped, if possible, by them than men.

The preposterous distinctions of rank which render civilization a curse, by dividing the world between voluptuous tyrants and cunning envious dependents, corrupt, almost equally, every class of people, because respectability is not attached to the discharge of the relative duties of life, but to the station. Still there are some loop-holes out of which a man may creep, and dare to think and act for himself; but for a woman it is an herculean task, because she has difficulties peculiar to her sex to overcome, which require almost superhuman powers.

Women are, in common with men, rendered weak and luxurious by the relaxing pleasures which wealth procures; but added to this they are made slaves to their per-

sons, and must render them alluring that man may lend them his reason to guide their tottering steps aright. Or should they be ambitious, they must govern their tyrants by sinister tricks, for without rights there cannot be any incumbent duties. The laws respecting woman make an absurd unit of a man and his wife; and then, by the easy transition of only considering him as responsible, she is reduced to a mere cypher.

In the superior ranks of life, every duty is done by deputies, as if duties could ever be waived, and the vain pleasures which consequent idleness forces the rich to pursue, appear so enticing to the next rank, that the numerous scramblers for wealth sacrifice everything to tread on their heels. The most sacred trusts are then considered as sinecures, because they were procured by interest, and only sought to enable a man to keep *good company*. Women, in particular, all want to be ladies. Which is simply to have nothing to do, but listlessly to go they scarcely care where, for they cannot tell what.

It is a melancholy fact; yet such is the blessed effect of civilization! the most respectable women are the most oppressed; and, unless they have understandings far superior to the common run of understandings, taking in both sexes, they must, from being treated like contemptible beings, become contemptible. How many women thus waste life away the prey of discontent!

Proud of their weakness, however, they must always be protected, guarded from care, and all the rough toils that dignify the mind. If this be the fiat of fate, if they will make themselves insignificant and contemptible, sweetly to waste "life away," let them not expect to be valued when their beauty fades, for it is the fate of the fairest flowers to be admired and pulled to pieces by the careless hand that plucked them. In how many ways do I wish, from the purest benevolence, to impress this truth on my sex; yet I fear that they will not listen to a truth that dear bought experience has brought home to many an agitated bosom, nor willingly resign the privileges of rank and sex for the privileges of humanity, to which those have no claim who do not discharge its duties.

Would men but generously snap our chains, and be content with rational fellowship instead of slavish obedience,

they would find us more observant daughters, more affectionate sisters, more faithful wives, more reasonable mothers—in a word, better comrades. We should then love them with true affection, because we should learn to them with true affection, because we should learn to respect ourselves; and the peace of mind of a worthy man would not be interrupted by the idle vanity of his wife, nor the babes sent to nestle in a strange bosom, having never found a home in their mother's.



SPEECH DELIVERED AT LENOX HALL AFTER HIS RELEASE FROM PRISON

By DR. BEN REITMAN

FRIENDS:

I am very glad to be here to-night, to be among my friends again. I have been in jail for sixty days. It was an unusual vacation, a delightful rest; and God knows I did more hard work than I ever did in my life. For years I have been talking about the dignity of labor and the necessity of each man contributing his share of manual work. But until the hand of the law was laid upon me, I was successful in understanding labor only theoretically. Now when I say "Fellow Workers," it will mean something real to me.

For nearly nine weeks they kept me away from the propaganda, from my sweethearts and from my better self. I served my time. "I did my bit." I satisfied the law. I don't need to waste time telling you that being in jail did not reform me. Jail never reforms anybody. Jail, Judges, Governments are all miserable failures. They are the greatest forces for evil and they succeed in maintaining themselves only by ignorance and force. In a decent society we will need neither jails nor judges any more than we will need wars.

I shall never be a jail reformer. The worse jails are the harder the criminals who come out of them, the more our system must suffer. The tendency of modern penology is a great step to humanitarianism. Policies in modern jails are: Feed the prisoner properly; give him nourishing food that contains sufficient calories of fats, proteids and carbo-hydrate; make his cell sanitary; give

him plenty of fresh air, toilet and bathing facilities; cloth him sanely and warmly, have a doctor look after his health, have the keepers treat him humanely and then exploit him, rob him of his labor; break his spirit, take away his manhood, subdue him, crush out his individuality and make an ex-convict of him.

Do you know what it means to make an ex-convict of a man or woman? We call them second offenders now. You have heard about the difficulty of ex-convicts getting jobs and how they are hounded and bullied by the police. But that's the least of their trouble. Under our present law, thanks to Katherine Davis and a lot of other reformers, a second offender who is arrested on the charge of drunkenness can be sent up to Blackwell's Island on the indefinite sentence from six months to three years. A prostitute who is a second offender can get the indefinite sentence from one day to three years, and a street speaker or a birth control advocate can also get the indefinite sentence. The pathos of it all is that these laws were passed by well meaning people to help the poor prisoners.

Let me show you how that works in felony cases. A young Italian was arrested three years ago on a charge of stealing a bicycle. He said he didn't steal it, but that didn't make any difference. He was convicted and did a year at Elmira Reform School, which is the most successful breeder of polished criminals in the State of New York. He did his bit, one year. When he came out he got a job as a laborer. He was working over in Brooklyn for \$1.25 a day. For some reason or other he was fired and was paid off with a six dollar check. He raised the check to sixty-six dollars. He did a very poor job of it, wrote in a different color ink that anyone could detect, went to the bank himself to cash it and Judge Humfreys of Queen's County Court sent him to Sing Sing for eleven years because he was a second offender. Now I want you to see the joke in the plot. The detective who arrested him said to the boy: "You plead guilty and I'll see that you get a light sentence."

Let me tell you about two more cases. There is a man over there, in my former home, who was arrested on a charge of larceny. He stole some furniture or jewelry

from his sweetheart. He was a second offender. A few days before his case came up he got a little iron saw smuggled in, and he attempted to cut one of the bars. There was very little chance of his making an escape. I saw the bars and I don't believe he could have possibly made his escape even though he had gotten through the bars. When his case came up for larceny, his sweetheart refused to prosecute him and the case was dismissed, but he was not discharged. He is held on the charge of jail-breaking and will probably be one of Warden Osborne's wards for the next seven years.

I must take time to tell you about one more case to show you how little modern scientific data is influencing judges. There was a young fellow over at the Queen's County jail, a second offender, arrested on the charge of pederasty, a common form of homosexuality. The Judge sentenced him to the penitentiary for fourteen years. As far as the Judges and the police are concerned, all of the literature on that subject might never have been written. The Judges and the police and everybody else merely said that that boy was a degenerate and a dangerous criminal, and now for fourteen years he must languish in a hell all because God made him that way.

I was sent to jail because I believe in happy, welcome babies and because I believe that motherhood should be voluntary, and also because Judges McInerny, Moss and Russell decided that I had broken the law and must pay the penalty. The judges were very nice to me. They told me that they didn't make the law and that if I didn't like the law, I should go down to the legislature and change it. That wasn't a bad argument at all. But it isn't a simple thing to change a law, nor pass a law that would be a weapon in the hands of the working class for their economic and spiritual emancipation. The only bill that you can get through the legislature these days is a law making a large appropriation for the National Guards or compelling school children to learn how to use murderous weapons. I am rather inclined to agree that if we had all the laws which the master class are trying to pass through the various legislatures favoring militarism and conscription, and if we had all the wars that Roosevelt, Hearst and the newspapers want, there wouldn't be any need for Birth Control propaganda.

Now friends, this disposes of me and jail. The last time I made a public speech, I said the Birth Control fight was won and here are our brave comrades, Ida Rauh, Jessie Ashley, Bolton Hall, Stephen Kerr, Percy Marmed and others in New York, Margaret Sanger in Portland, Oregon, about to go on trial for distributing birth control leaflets. Does that mean I am mistaken? No, it does not. It isn't any more of a crime to pass Birth Control literature than it is for the cloakmakers to try and better their conditions. For every birth control agitator who is arrested, there are a hundred working men or women arrested for picketing, vagrancy or inciting to riot or some such charge, and yet, no one is foolish enough to say that workmen haven't a right to go on strike, to picket and try and better their conditions.

Any ideal which we promulgate, whether it be anti-military propaganda, the shorter day, more wages or birth control is won, just as soon as men and women attempt to live up to their ideals and to persuade their friends to do likewise. Surely birth control is won. As I pointed out in Carnegie Hall, birth control is won because workmen and women realize that it will help better their conditions and they are determined to get this information. No sensible or honest man pays any attention to the law. Laws are not here to help people or to satisfy their needs. Law is simply one of the chief instruments in the hands of the master class to enslave and hinder people from bettering their conditions, and all honest people who believe in self expression and in a world without poverty and wars disregard the law as much as possible.

I don't need to tell you that locking people up or hanging them doesn't stop any propaganda. Even the police and judges know that. It was proven a thousand years ago that the way to make any philosophy a vital force in the world was to persecute and murder its adherents. The only trouble with Christianity to-day is that nobody believes in it enough to go to jail or to suffer for it. But it's a wonderful inspiration to all of us that there are thousands of people who believe in labor, in anti-militarism, in Socialism, in Anarchism and in Birth Control enough to go to jail for their faith. Oh, yes, we won. We won beautifully. The authorities demanded but a small "pound of flesh." While I was in jail—only two months

—sixty-five thousand pamphlets were distributed in New York and five people arrested. It's a small price to pay. Birth Control pamphlets are going out and will go out by the hundreds of thousands until everybody gets the information. Those of you who haven't had a pamphlet yet, just be patient, somebody is liable to help you to one before you are very much older.

For myself, I am not particularly anxious to change the law on the subject. Birth Control propaganda hasn't had enough martyrs to sufficiently spiritualize it. Overworked mothers and underpaid fathers have not yet been taught the value of birth control and our friends who are going to jail can have the consolation that they are helping to put the birth control movement on a higher plane. It is strange that a man like Bolton Hall, who has been associated with every cause for liberty and human betterment in America for the last twenty-five years, should be arrested. I really didn't think that the judges and police would make such fools of themselves. But power and arrogance will turn the head of anybody.

I think it's very wonderful and beautiful for Jessie Ashley and Ida Rauh to be arrested for Birth Control. These women have been devoting their time and their energy and their money to help the radical and revolutionary movement. Nobody ever thanked them and very few people realize how much they were doing for the cause that lay heavy upon their hearts. Now their trial will give some of you a chance to realize what big hearts and brave spirits are in the frail bodies of two of the most modest, unassuming and useful women in the State of New York.

Friends, we musn't let the authorities of New York city send Bolton Hall, Ida Rauh and Jessie Ashley to jail. It's allright to be a martyr, and I am sure that our friends who go to trial soon have no objections to going to jail. But Capitalism has had enough victims already. We have enough brave men and women in jail. The cries of Pat Quinlan, the McNamaras, Caplan and Schmidt, the Magons, Merrick, and thousands of others ought to be enough to rouse you to action to save our brave comrades from going to jail. The police and the judges are susceptible to public opinion and to the strong arm of the working class. You must do everything in your power to

impress the District Attorney and the judges that you believe in Birth Control and that you think that our friends who are on trial are not guilty of distributing obscene literature, but they gave birth control methods to the people because they believed that it would help the human race. Send your protest in to the Judge and the District Attorney. Don't be overly courteous to them. Tell them that you are one of the working class that creates the wealth of the world, that pays them their salary and that you are going to have a voice in the matter. If we can get ten thousand indignant letters going to the District Attorney and to the Judges, Hall, Rauh, Ashley, Marmed and Kerr will be dismissed without a trial.

Now don't depend upon the other fellow to do it. This is your fight. Nobody else is going to do it for you and don't waste your time coming to MOTHER EARTH office asking for a pamphlet. You go down and see the District Attorney and tell him that you believe in Birth Control and ask him what business has he got locking up people that want to help you. If you've got any brains or influence or power, use it to protest against the persecution of the birth control propagandists.

Don't waste your time bothering about the Society for the Prevention of Vice or that little bed-bug Sumner. They are dying a slow but natural death. Twenty-five years ago it was a simple matter for Comstock to achieve a reputation by hounding honest men and women. But Sumner will never be able to do that.

Now, friends, I am glad I went to jail. I won't cry if you get there, but remember Birth Control is only a part of the fight. We live in a wonderful age and so let's get rid of the birth control problem; we can then go ahead and devote our time to doing anti-military propaganda and to building a world without jails, ignorance, poverty and laws.



ANARCHISM—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestrained by man made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

STRAY THOUGHTS

CALIFORNIA, golden, glorious California! How partial Mother Nature is to endow one of her little spots with so much life, beauty and splendor while leaving other spots so barren and dead. The contrast between Nevada and California, for instance. Two stretches of Nature's land, so close to each other, yet so different, so removed, so strange. Nature has dealt with the soil as she does with her human children. She often gives all to one, nothing to the other. How lavish, how stingy Nature is!

My yearly pilgrimage across the country has become a real necessity in my life. Each city holds its own charm because of the dear comrades and friends who help to give color to my work. Without them, the cities I have visited would have no meaning to me.

But California, like a great passion, is its own justification. It has its own irresistible charm. I am sure that if I knew not a single soul in California, I should still be drawn to it, should still want to go back, as one goes back to a great work of Art, for the sheer wonder of it.

I have been to California ten times in the last eight years, and several times prior to that. I thought I knew the Southern part well. As a matter of fact, I had never seen it before—not as I saw it this time, when our beautiful comrades Dr. and Mrs. Gerson and their children took me in their auto to the mountains and the canyons. It was a wondrous, awe-inspiring experience.

And again, when our whirlwind Comrade Pece drove us 90 miles to Sulphur Springs, to Charlie Sprading's unique summer resort and then back again 37 miles along the coast. The open sea on the one side, the range of mountains on the other—how insignificant the human family seemed, with its petty strife, its dull pleasures, its meaningless pursuits, in view of the mighty panorama stretched out before us.

Nature is so lavish and abundant. Why then do her children remain forever accursed? No less in California than elsewhere. Nature herself is a captive everywhere, possessed by those who have placed their blood-stained seal of private property on her brow. She may not give

herself to all her children alike. She may not minister to their needs, soothe them in their pain. She may only stretch her arms longingly to her poor disinherited children.

And they? In the great human ant-hills, in the congested cities, in the mines and shops they have been torn from the bosom of the earth for so long, they no longer see her beauty, feel her bountifulness or hearken to her call.

Yes, California is a miracle, but her people are exploited and robbed none the less, by the land sharks, especially. The mercenaries of greed are nowhere as active as in Southern California. There they are fastened like leeches, drawing the blood and life out of the soil and the people. There are the mighty thrones of the Otises, of the Hearsts, of the Southern Pacific, that rule the State with an iron rod. There is the M & M with its bloody warfare on Labor. There are the conspirators against Mexico, incessantly at work spreading the national gangrene. There is the worm-eaten economic and political heart of the radiant, bewitching beauty of California. And there is work to do for those who can feel and think. Hence my yearly pilgrimages to California.

My good friend, Nellie Craig, is reporting the meetings in Los Angeles. I shall therefore not take up space, except to say a word about the most important meeting which she neglected to mention—the one on “Preparedness.” By a strange coincidence, my Preparedness lecture fell on the 14th of June, the day of the Preparedness Parade. A better psychologic moment could not have been chosen. The hall was packed with an audience indignant over the afternoon’s circus, and in just the right frame of mind for the lecture. It was a great evening. O for the means to travel through the length and breadth of the country, to have large halls, and *free* meetings on Preparedness! So much could be accomplished. Poor people in Europe always hope for the rich American Uncle to make his appearance. Being in America, I haven’t even the Uncle to look forward to for a substantial “Preparedness” fund. So we must do what we can, though it is ever so little.

What is that peculiar trait in man that makes him overestimate the simplest, the most obvious human act?

Truly, I was embarrassed, hard sinner that I am, when so much was made of Comrade Alexander Berkman's and my efforts to secure bail for Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magon. Is solidarity merely a dream that people are amazed when it asserts itself? To me, solidarity is the one *raison d'être* of life, the one great hope for the social reconstruction. Besides, the joy that was ours in rescuing our comrades from jail while their appeal is pending, far surpassed all the difficulties we had in procuring their bond.

Those who really deserve our gratitude are our good friends Mr. and Mrs. Chauncey Clarke and Mr. and Mrs. Bruns. They cheerfully gave the security, though neither of them knew the Magons, and the Bruns knew me only through MOTHER EARTH. Without them, our efforts would have failed. And then, Tom and May Forrester, our seasoned old comrades, who made it possible for the Brothers Magon to enjoy a respite on that glorious spot near Silver Lake, Ivanhoe. It was there under the stately trees, with the luminous moon lighting up the range of mountains, that Enrique and Ricardo with their wives and children, and a score of other Mexican comrades gave a banquet for me on the 6th of July. That memorable occasion should have more properly been for Ben Reitman, for on that day he was released from Queen's County Jail. But he was far away, in New York. Yet, he was with us just the same, as were all the other comrades who in and out of jail keep up the good fight. Not the least among them, comrades Mathew A. Schmidt and Dave Caplan.

Of course, I visited them both. They are full of hope and spirit, and have asked me to convey their greeting to all the comrades. My joy of getting the Magons out of the County Jail was marred only by my inability to do the same for Dave and Mat. Dave is to have a new trial, which is to take place October 16th. With renewed energy in his and Mat's behalf, who knows but that they may yet be with us. Nor must we be content with having Enrique and Ricardo free only while their appeal is pending. We must work hard to prevent their going back to prison.

Three weeks in Los Angeles, so rich of work, of com-

radeship, of fine co-operation. No wonder we had such splendid meetings. My old-time Comrade, Alexander Berkman, had prepared the ground three weeks in advance. Nellie and Helen Craig, Kitty Caples, Conrad Garcia, Sam Stone, the Lerner, the McCulloughs and Joe Wright, the new champion literature seller, Lucy and Bob, who came at neck-breaking speed in their auto house, and other comrades, all worked faithfully, helped gladly and still had time for the lighter things of life.

And now in San Francisco, the invigorating, with one week of splendid meetings already behind me, and two weeks still ahead, and Big Ben to put his zest into the work. It is all so wonderful. I do not know just when I will be through with San Francisco, but I mean to stay as long as I possibly can. By the middle of August I will be in Portland. Those interested in my coming can communicate with Pauline Cantor Somers, 1103 East 23d St., N. After that, in Seattle. Our friends there can communicate with Minnie Rimer, 118 St. John St. Then to Butte, Mont., and to Denver for several weeks.

EMMA GOLDMAN.



EMMA GOLDMAN HAS BEEN TO LOS ANGELES!

WHAT more shall I write? Such a flood of memories rushes past, my poor pen cannot record them!

We had been rather on the anxious seat for several weeks, for fear the Birth Control battle being waged in New York, would prevent this cheerful and indomitable ex-convict from coming to us this year.

But here she was, more strong, more courageous, certainly more honored and beloved than before her principles had been put to the test, and she had been found ready to endure physical imprisonment for mental freedom and fidelity to an ideal.

As she mounted the platform with the same firm resolute step, the audience that filled Burbank Hall, applauded to the echo, and I thought how the stupidity of Society was exemplified by Courts and Judges that feel that a prison sentence could crush out an ideal, once that ideal becomes a part of the minor self, particularly if that self be an Emma Goldman.

The opening lecture was given Sunday, June 11th, the subject being "Anarchism and Human Nature—Do They Harmonize?" and she spoke with great force and freedom of expression.

The conspiracy of silence exercised by the local newspapers, prevented any adequate announcement of her coming through that medium, but Berkman, and his assistants had carried on a systematic plan of advertising by other means for two weeks previous to her arrival, so much had been accomplished along those lines and the lectures drew good audiences of most intent and eager listeners.

The four lectures on literature were remarkable intellectual treats and very broadening in their influence, but alas, for the cultural spirit of Los Angeles, they were the most poorly attended of all.

However, these audiences, though smaller, were very responsive and appreciative, and were attended by the "regulars" and the rather small, but fine new element, that developed during the earlier lectures upon the more popular subjects, and remained unflagging to the end.

The interest and inspiration is now so fine and clear, I ask myself, will we *do* anything for the betterment of the children of the Earth, or will we continue to talk, and then talk some more, as we have done in the long past.

The futility of talk and the power of action was never more impressed upon me than during the recent visit of Emma Goldman. The brothers Magon had been in jail in Los Angeles for months, because of their activity in behalf of the oppressed in Mexico. We had organized a Defense League and talked a lot about getting them out of the tragedy—these two sick men lying in prison because the necessary bail had not been or could not be raised.

Along comes Emma Goldman and says: "Why are the Magons in jail?" "Because we could not raise the money to liberate them," we reply, and Emma said, "but we *must* raise it. If I don't get the Magons out of jail before I leave, I'll feel my visit to Los Angeles has been an utter failure." Needless to say, she accomplished her purpose and on the evening of July 1st at the Social and dance given for the benefit of the defense of Caplan and the Magons, the two brave brothers were the guests of honor.

On that occasion there was a wonderful spirit of freedom and joy, and the large attendance was most international in character—all coming together upon the common platform of social emancipation and betterment. There were speeches by various speakers and our liberated comrade Enrique Magon made a wonderful address. A large chorus of little Mexican girls sang a number of songs in Spanish and we had a most wonderful treat in the dancing of little Bessie McCollom, who though only five years old is a remarkable dancer and gave a beautiful ballet solo. She has the making of a very great artist within her, and dances because she loves it and even now craves self expression through the joy of rhythmic motion.

The following night, Sunday, July 2nd, was the lecture upon "Free or Enforced Motherhood—The Necessity for Birth Control," and the people simply poured in and filled every inch of standing room, and still there were crowds clamoring to get in and ready to pay any price for admission to the hall, many even trying to force their way into the hall after it was announced there was no more room inside.

Miss Goldman handled this popular subject like an inspired prophetess of a new future for a new race, and the interest shown was so great that she decided to repeat the lecture the following Sunday night, when the hall was once more packed to the utmost.

The two immense throngs that crowded the hall and the intense interest shown in the subject was a tremendous vindication of the Birth Control movement, and evidence that so far as the people are concerned, Birth Control has arrived, in spite of the laggard courts of stupidity and injustice.

At all the meetings one strong familiar figure was missing—the big personality of Ben Reitman, who was prevented from coming by having to pay the toll demanded by the authorities in New York for exercising his belief in the right of free speech. Looking back, one feels more should have been done if possible to make the meeting an even greater success, but it was a period of much joy, inspiration and profit, and I am sure many feel as one comrade who recently expressed himself to me as having really lived for one month—the month of Emma Goldman's lectures in Los Angeles. N. T. C.

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