

advocate in the death at Cincinnati on August 30 of Wallace Burch. For many years he performed valuable service in the long struggle which finally ended the control exercised by John R. McLean over the Democratic party of the State. In the work of Herbert S. Bigelow he was an active assistant, doing much to spread the influence of his institution.

S. D.



## FREE TRADE WITH MEXICO.

To argue with a man who has renounced his reason is as useless as giving medicine to the dead.

This was a very wise observation made by a very wise man, one Thomas Paine, more than a hundred years ago, and it applies with peculiar force to that quality of mind that is absolutely impervious to the advancing scientific knowledge of the age.

The man who today thinks that the present business depression is due to the recent reduction of some of the extravagantly vicious features of the "Payne-Aldrich" tariff and who talks about the "Free Trade Wilson Bill," lacks information.

This is not a "free trade" country in our foreign relations, and it never has been; because we have not a public opinion sufficiently schooled in the viril art of free-thinking.

Freedom, real freedom, has tremendous reach, its boundaries are much wider than the confines of our own country. Its objects, its effects and its benefits are co-ordinate with the widest economic interests of the human race. It is not provincial.

It is not little. It has none of the characteristics of the Lilliputian. It is as wide reaching as the economic needs of man.



To that vast aggregation of men who think that the depression of 93 was due to the "first free trade Wilson bill" of Cleveland's day, I would gently suggest that it was only one and one-quarter per cent lower in its horizontal schedules than the McKinley bill which it supplanted. Just fancy, what a narrow margin between national prosperity and adversity!

It was such a high tariff that Cleveland refused to sign it, and he charged the Congress that passed it with "perfidy and dishonor," and Wilson, who fathered the original measure, repudiated it.

The facts are that the "original" Wilson bill *did not pass*.

The measure that did pass was the "Gorman, Brice, Hill substitute," and those men were all

plutocrats and protectionists, masquerading as Democrats, as many do today.

The greatest and grandest demonstration of the essential soundness of the doctrine of free trade is the magnificent sweep of its practical application to the economic affairs of this country. Think of it!

A hundred millions of people trading freely without let or hindrance.

What a magnificent vindication of its soundness, virtues and benefits.

History holds no parallel that can compare with it. England and her colonies are the "next of kin" in this splendid demonstration of its external excellence. Even the colonies have preferential tariffs.

Trade is the real cement that holds in unbreakable affiliation this splendid and inspiring galaxy of States.

Trade is the virile thing that gives real vitality to the union of States. It is the great discoverer and conservator of mutual interests.



Free trade with Mexico will give us everything we need in that country, everything we can use to advantage, everything we have any right to. It will give us "everything but monopoly."

Free trade will do more to break down the barriers of distrust and suspicion that today pervade the whole of Mexico than all other agencies combined.

Tariffs are the great incubators of international hostility.

Reprisal, ill feeling, misunderstanding, war and waste are just a few of the precious brood of economic vampires that are hatched from the egg "protection."

Of all the gaudy liveries of heaven, purloined to serve the Mephistophelian purposes of craft, greed and selfishness, that word "protection" is one of the most scintillating examples.

What short shrift would be made of it if the people once glimpsed its true character?

This whole rotten system has woven into its texture paternalism, avarice, scarce opportunity, the sweat shop, low wages, child labor in highly protected industries, and the ten million unchronicled meannesses that are inseparably connected with this unprincipled national policy, which is now, thank a beneficent heaven, tending to rapid disintegration through the operation of more powerful economic laws, which "protectionist statesmen" seem unable to grasp, but are compelled to obey.

The "logic of events" has very striking illustration in the affairs of both the U. S. and Mexico.

Just as our agricultural exports dwindle, and our manufactural exports expand, so will our tariffs diminish to the point of ultimate disappearance.

The "needs of commerce" are as implacable and insistent as the needs of the human body, and the latter is the impelling force behind the former. They are related as are cause and effect. Commerce is irresistibly expansive.

How can tariffs permanently obstruct the effects of such splendid economic adventures as the Panama Canal and our unified railroads, which will, in a very few years, be owned and operated as a great public function, because public utilities and functions are synonymous.

Any man who is in touch with the great social and economic currents of the world can come to but one conclusion as to the ultimate destiny of public utilities, or, better yet, public functions. There is but one prophecy that will hold that is consistent with the great onward sweep of triumphant Democracy, of which Andrew Carnegie writes so volubly and has such a feeble grasp. Trade is going to be free everywhere. Mexico's territorial integrity need not be disturbed; nor is it to the interest of any honest, self-respecting American to disturb it.

Mexican politics will never have a stable foundation until it is underpinned, as is our own political structure, by a flock of "little" red schoolhouses at the base and pyramiding to a splendid apex of industrial universities at the very top.

On no other foundation can you rear a political structure that will endure, because we carry all of our institutions around in our heads. The human head is the real temple of liberty.

The educated brains of the multitude is the real citadel of true republican government.

The monopolist is the historic enemy of democratic government everywhere.

Mexico will never achieve a real republic until we get one. We must "arrive" together, for it is clear that if we, after more than a hundred years of alleged republican government are still lame, halt, and in many ways blind, as to the real genius of republican institutions, their tremendous reach, and vast beneficence, what can we expect of Mexico?

We, with our splendid educational facilities, have not yet outgrown a system which has millionaires and tramps as its two most striking and sinister social products. Economically we are

still in a raw state; we are in no position to set an example to the rest of the nations as to the finished product of democracy.

Is it reasonable to suppose that Mexico, with the colossal handicap of an untrained public opinion, will, without outside aid, counsel and example, establish a condition which can endure?

It is simply unthinkable.

We are only in the beginning of our own political solvency. We cannot teach Mexico more than we know ourselves, and we have yet to learn the crowning glories of the science of civil government.

We have yet to learn the latitude and longitude of liberty and its countless connotations. We can only show Mexico how to start, just as we have started ourselves, and then we must travel together.

We have yet to learn that no nation can be free whose external commerce is shackled as is ours today.

Free trade with Mexico and Canada will do for us and for them what nothing else can do. It will give us every advantage which political annexation will give without any of its manifest disadvantages.

Political fusion at this time with either of these countries is neither wise, necessary, practicable or useful; we do not need it, nor do they.

Commercial fusion is entirely practicable.

In political annexation are involved racial, religious, political and provincial prejudices of an insurmountable character.

Commerce has but one characteristic and one quality: its infinite usefulness.

Commerce has neither race, creed, color, age nor sex to complicate its ministrations. It has just one great outstanding virtue: next to sunlight it is the most beautiful, useful and indispensable thing in the world. We need more economic sunlight.

When the people of these three countries once see the incomparable utility of free trade, free production, free raw materials and free industry, they will glimpse the unalterable fact that these things are inseparably connected with *free human beings* and that men *can never be free* in any large and wholesale way until this concise, logical and wholesome interpretation is taught in our public schools.



Liberty is not only a term to conjure with: it is the most wide-reaching and ultimately influential word in human language. Its rippling undulations will yet reach into the deepest recesses in the far-off corners of the world, and its count-

less civilizing benefactions will color the life of the last man in the line.

"Freedom to trade" is the most promising legend than can be written upon the flaming, waving banners of the progressive hosts of democracy in all parts of this big round world, which are now gathering for a final onslaught upon the breast-works of institutionalized privilege.

All over the earth are its evidences, and nowhere is the preparation for the "final assault" more plainly seen than right here in our own beloved country.

HENRY H. HARDINGE.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### EVILS OF MEXICO'S OLD REGIME.

Los Angeles, Aug. 7.

Diaz became President at a time when Mexico was so tired of revolutions that any peace was welcome. His rule was so good that by degrees, as the country revived, a genuine "Era of Good Feeling" set in, which reached its zenith about 1900. That is the secret of Diaz's long reign. The roads became so safe that an unarmed man could travel about with a mule load, of bullion through towns and wilderness alike. In the large towns, law and order prevailed. In the smallest villages the Indians were let alone. It was only in the small towns above the order of villages—that is, in places just large enough to have a single appointee to govern them—that dreadful injustices were done, and the rest of the country never heard of them, for a Mexican lives and dies near his birthplace, and sees little of the rest of the country. In some of the little towns the Jefe Politicos were very good men, and ruled as justly as possible. President Diaz aimed to have them all good, but was sometimes deceived; that is the weakness of benevolent despotism.

We had therefore, in 1900, a condition of profound peace, with all rancor forgotten, and President Diaz generally beloved. On the haciendas, some owners were good, some mistreated their peons; in the Communities, the Indians lived peacefully in their primitive way; in the Pueblos (towns) the Jefes Politicos ruled, ill or well, as they chose, but mostly pretty well; and in the big cities were at least order and written law—very good order and very good law. Europeanism thrived in the cities; Orientalism in the Pueblos; Feudalism on the Haciendas; and communistic barbarism in the Communities. And on these last, the ruins of an ancient civilization, as a foundation, all the other forms were reared in order, the cities being the only modern thing.

In Sinaloa and Durango, we always called the Jefes Politicos "Judges" for short. Officially they were Jefes Politicos in Durango, and Directores Politicos in Sinaloa; but in smaller towns they were called Sindicos or Celadores. All kinds of them were called "Judges," for they were judges as much as anything else. It was a legal evil that these men were appointed by the State Governors. Peonage

was an illegal evil, expressly forbidden by the Federal and State Constitutions, and the Civil Code.

After 1900 new frictions arose. The old Generals of 1867, who hungered to be President, were all dead except a few thoroughly attached to Diaz. No one doubts that Diaz had procured the assassination of many of them. People condoned it as being for the good of the country. But in 1900 there was the beginning of a very important change, namely: President Diaz began to get old and deaf and to lose his faculties. By degrees, he became a mere figure-head or cat's-paw for his "friends," the Cientificos. The Cientificos governed, and he was merely their tool.

The Cientificos governed with a terrible despotism, and seemed to have a frenzied idea that nothing could shake their absolutism. They ceased to make the old pretense of democracy. They sent soldiers to harry parts of the country so loyal that no soldiers were needed—places which had until then been well treated and never believed the stories of outrage from other parts, because in their own territory they saw only law and order.

Formerly anyone who could reach Diaz's personal attention was sure of justice; latterly, he was only sure of injustice.

But chiefly, of course, the Cientificos exploited the country where Diaz had not. Diaz has been a soldier and office holder all his life, was born poor, and is now quite rich, although he probably spent his presidential salary as fast as he made it. But no one accuses him of any graft. His wealth came from speculation in stocks and bonds, with an advance knowledge of legislation to be enacted; and from speculation in lands where he, as President, knew a railroad would soon be built. In either case, the money came from the general loot of capitalism, not from the public treasury, and not by confiscation or attainder of oppressed persons' property.

But the Cientificos, while they did not create a raw shortage in the treasury, gave themselves subsidies out of it for railroads they never built, and practiced other grafts. But also they gave away the most unheard of concessions. One company was empowered to import dynamite at a low rate of duty, but to all other importers the tariff was raised, so as to give the favorites a monopoly. They agreed to build a dynamite factory in the country, but only made a threadbare pretense.

The sole right to take gravel from the Culiacan river bed was given to two Cientificos; but Governor Canedo telegraphed President Diaz that if that public property had to be deeded to individuals, he would outbid any other bidders, and buy it himself, in trust for the people. As the Cientificos did not dare stir up any trouble, they let the matter go. But the worst concession I ever heard of was that giving away the sole right to fish on the Pacific Coast—a coast six thousand miles long. (There shall not be any monopolies, says the Constitution of 1857.) Thousands of poor fishermen found the very ocean given away, and their boats condemned to rot, themselves to starve—unless they paid the company a royalty, or took wages from it, or made such other terms as the company chose to give.

While Diaz's private life was as pure as Madero's (that is to say, irreproachable), the Cientificos were