

## The Rising Tide.

It seems like yesterday that Coxey led his army of unemployed from the Middle West to Washington. They were disorganized and vagabond, without clear purpose and capable of being reasoned with. At various stages along the line of march they were reasoned with by various representatives of law and order with the result that many dropped away and trickled back to the old quarters and the old life. When the remainder reached the capital they found no preparation for seige, were in fact disconcerted by the quiet of the place. In their bewilderment, some of the leaders, disregarding the warning of the placards in the public gardens, walked upon the grass and were "run in." Exeunt Coxeyites, Policemen et al. amid the jubilation of the Press over our superior way of handling things here in the New World. Today that same class are organized and armed and in Canon City, Col., bid defiance to the law and the state militia.

They will, of course, be overpowered; for the present the state has no choice but to overpower them. Afterwards the courts will look into their particular case and will find their crime to be the schedule crime of industrialism, some form of combination in restraint of individual liberty, and their demand to be some form of the old demand of the Unions, more wages for less work. Judgment will then be given according to the tenor of existing statutes, and recommendation made for further legislation. Meanwhile the antagonism between labor and capital takes on more and more the character of open warfare and the reprisals of each upon the other, with or without the accompaniment of lawlessness, fall not where they are supposed to be aimed, but upon the heads of two individuals of the bourgeoisie named Smith and Jones, who are innocent but interested spectators of the fight. Not only do these men pay more for coal when the miners' strike has driven up the price, but they pay more also

for all products of the manufacturies that have adjusted their prices to the pressure of the new coal schedule. Where the manufacturies are small and numerous competition will keep this advance in price close upon the minimum of profit for the manufacturer, but where monopoly controls the market every increase in the cost of contributing material is made the occasion of a disproportionate increase in the price of the manufactured goods.

The causes which have brought about this stressful condition of life in which Smith and Jones must live are reducible to two, viz., the fostering of monopoly and the recognition of operatives' unions. The first mentioned came first and its evils made the other seem a necessary measure of justice. Nevertheless every state that has legalized unionism after having promoted monopoly has put the other stone into the mill of Industrialism that is grinding Smith and Jones. And every such state feel keenly today the inherent evils of industrialism : all are suffering congestion at the centres and depopulation of the agricultural areas, for many of the Smiths and Joneses decided that it was pleasanter to be one of the mill-stones than the grist. Back to the land is the cry, but nobody is heading it : nor shall anyone head it for some time yet.

I know that to speak in this way of unionism and capital is to fly in the face of modern life ; for labor must be enabled to defend itself against capital and without capital and capitalism the huge interests of modern life cannot be sustained. And the list of these interests is enormous. The great captains of industry have exploited the world for us and have laid the spoils of their adventures at our doors. Not only, but they have brought all ends of the earth so near to us that we feel a neighbourly interest in the flavor of Australian butter and are pleased that Dr. Yat Sen has abolished spitting on the linens in the laundries of China. They have dug up iron and made it into rails and cars and huge trussel-work, and mighty ships to distribute them over the world, and they have dug up gold and stamped it into good money straight, and paid their rights-of-way and their royalties and their "hands." They have

swelled the volume of trade to such a degree that one may almost grant them the distinction of having absolutely created trade, and they have flushed the arteries of state finances with the generous wine of tariffs. And in doing all this they have piled up wealth for themselves and, through the medium of "dividends," for thousand of others who, without their intervention could not have made their own small resources productive. So much has capitalism done to buy up the jury before which it is to be tried.

But in return for these benefits it demands enormous privileges and its demands are allowed. It makes our governments, our tariffs and our treaties. It bids us assemble huge armaments and then drags them at the heels of commerce to ravish the ports of peoples whom we do not even know, and while Smith and Jones are quaking with horror at the mysterious evil of the world, it fixes for them the price they shall pay for the sugar of next year and the prices they shall receive for the grain they have not yet planted. And to insure the future indefinite life of the system it has taught these men, partly by pressure, partly through aulic economists, the doctrine of specialization, to wit, if they chance to be good plowmen, that they should plow as hard as they can and think of nothing else. This will finish the plowing sooner ; it will also finish whatever there was of human in Smith and Jones.

Now all our hopes center in these two men, and the element of high tragedy in the situation lies in the fact that, as yet, their eyes are holden. Shall they see? Will they see? Or, seeing, will they have the quiet courage to turn away and walk with those no more? Let the International Boot and Shoe Company, Ltd. compound with the operatives if they will, and stamp an additional half dollar on the soles of the "best seller;" our forlorn hope can find some queer old man, thrown out of work by capitalism and unionism, to show them how that stout cow-hide, which they are about to hand over to the profit of traders, may be tanned into good leather, and yet another old man, also shelved, who can make it into good shoes. Oh, if they would only do this, how it would cheer the feeble purpose of Brown



to grow his own flax and be in a position to snap his fingers at the Great Southern Consolidated when they put another cent on the price of cotton to enable them to expand the business ; and perhaps that gallows son of his would take heart of man and wear a native straw hat instead of trying to steal from his father's pockets the means of purchasing a Panama. If they enter upon this path and if we decide to follow them we must do so with the fore-knowledge that we shall not live so luxuriously for a time, though I can guarantee that we shall live picturesquely. But, as the manual dexterity now almost lost was slowly recovered, and as the music of small industries, long hushed, began to be heard again, interest in all good and homely things would quicken, jaded spirits would be revived and we should win back to some of that heartiness and wholesomeness which was in life two centuries ago, when man was greater and machinery less.

### **In Mexico.**

“The forests abound in mahogany, rosewood, ebony, and caoutchouc trees. The mineral wealth is very great ; silver and gold, copper, lead, and quicksilver, iron, and coal, are the leading products of the mines. Wollen and cotton spinning and weaving are encouraged by high protective duties. The imports nevertheless consist very largely of textile manufactures.” “The principal crops are maize, wheat, barley, Chili-pepper, sugar, coffee, tobacco, cotton, vanilla, flax, grapes, and all kinds of tropical fruits.” (To these resources we may now add coal oil.) “Peace Establishment, 34,500 officers and men, War Establishment, 85,000, Population, 16,000,000 ; excess of exports over imports, \$30,000,000.” (Whitaker for 1912). For the sake of congruity we will imagine that it is ex-professor Wilson who is annotating this text, “The forests etc., Our own dwindling, Canada not very neighborly in that regard, anyhow their timber is only rubbish when compared with these. Minerals etc. These will always be useful. Wollen etc. encouraged. That's wrong ; our plants should handle that business. Sugar, tobacco, coffee, etc., these must

be cornered. Excess of exports etc. A country like that may last long and become inconveniently great. Of course it is only in the capacity of secretary for a syndicate of "In'erests" that such notions would come to Mr. Wilson.

In 1519 Cortez landed at Vera Cruz, and in two years subdued the country for Spain. For 300 years Mexico remained under Spanish rule. Someone qualified for the work should give us a comparative study of the colonial systems of the Romans, the English, and the Spaniards. They had something in common, but they had very significant differences. A Roman Proconsul in Mauritania or Gaul in Hispania or in Asia, wrung what revenues he could from the conquered people, transmitted a saving minimum to the Imperial coffers, and kept the rest himself. If patriotism ever conquered selfishness the fact manifested itself in his establishing disbanded legionaries, a degraded and degrading set, at strategic points and upon the best lands. The voice of complaint could not easily reach the Imperial ear; and when it did, and the ear happened not to be the deaf one, the Proconsul might be withdrawn, if he had not been reasonable in his division of revenues, or, the "barbarian" might have his idols set up in the Roman Pantheon. England farmed out the revenues of India to the East India Company in Sixteen Hundred. One Hundred and Seventy Four years afterwards they sent the Proconsul Warren Hastings to stand between the Company and the natives on the one hand, and between the Company and the home Government on the other. But he joined the thieves and for ten years wrung the land leaving a heritage of wars and rancor of which the end is not yet. They did not interfere with the "Barbarian's" idols, except in some cases where private British enterprise cut in upon the business of manufacturing them for him. Spain too sent out her Governors and took revenues from them; but she sent also, and as part of the administration, her missionaries, to take the idols from the natives and to give them Christianity instead. And it is from the reports of these, in their capacity as guardians of the in-



terests of the "barbarians," to the home Government, that the stories of the rapacity of the Conquistadores have come. Perhaps one other source should be mentioned, for Prescott has drawn freely from it for his story of the Spanish Conquests in the New world. I mean Garcilasso's History of Peru. Garcilasso the "Inca" was the son of a Spanish nobleman of that name who fought under Pizarro, became governor of Cuzco, Peru, and married an Inca princess. The young "Inca" was educated at the University of Lima, founded within twenty years after the coming of the "Conquistadores." He gathered the history of his mother's people by travel among them, and that of the Spaniards from his father's own lips. He was drawn by the pathos of the Incas' story and perhaps colored their part more highly, and the Spaniards' part more deeply than was the truth. At any rate his own career throws more light upon the Spanish colonial policy in the sixteenth century than all his narrative. Neither Rome nor England took up the burden of the conquered races; but Spain christianized, instructed, and civilized them. Students of History have some idea of what it cost the Normans to save Saxon England from the degradation into which the Danish wars and the carnival of the Heptarchy had dragged it, but there remained among the conquered Saxons some present leaven of Christianity and the memory of a better past, to make light the work of reclaiming them. At any rate, after three hundred years of conquest and occupation, neither Rome nor England had an aboriginal race problem, while Spain has reared a family of nations that called for independance and took it. When a nation produces a race of men of the enterprise and courage of the Sixteenth Century Spaniard it will certainly produce some in whom ambition will be too great to be tempered into magnanimity even by the high honor of Spain. What proportion of those who came to America with the Pizarros and Cortez were of that type is a question which each will answer according to his preoccupations. But the vulgar belief among a large class of English speaking people that they predominated and shaped the policy, is

certainly false ; for even Garcilasso gives us abundant documents for the history of a wise and settled administration, and, more unequivocal, still, the aboriginal races are now the people of Spanish America. When the pirate Sir Francis Drake plundered Spanish galleons on the high seas he made up an easy conscience on the supposition that he was despoiling spoilers, and the nation that equipped him took up the phrase as a balm for its wounded honor. If we had only had of our own a race of men like the "Conquistadores" no evil could be heard of them above our peans of praise ; for do we not worship at the shrine of Cecil Rhodes who was a commercialized simulacrum of Pizarro.

That these old stories of Spanish cruelty should flourish in America is not hard to understand. Prescott gave them vogue, and all the interests that have filibustered under the aegis of the Monroe Doctrine supplied the driving force. When these interests waved the signal a lurid picture was ready to hand, in the child's History, and an obedient press had only to remarshal the damning epithets about the person of a devoted Weyler. The nation was deeply moved, but forgot it at once when an American army of occupation took Weyler's place and began to teach the Philipines compulsory sanitation through the language of the machine-gun.

Through the long years of President Diaz's rule Mexico was not so inviting to foreign capital as could be wished. His policy of Mexico for the Mexicans led to conservation of resources and the promotion of small industries and, of course, to heavy taxes upon all large exploitation enterprises. He was too strong a man to be trifled with, and the country pursued its course and grow immensely in credit under him. Meanwhile, and in spite of taxation, American capital was getting a hold upon the rich resources. Then came a mysteriously financed rebellion which, in 1911 put Madero in the seat of Diaz, and there was no haggling about recognizing him. He was, apparently, an implacable brute and proceeded to treat all men of note who had been faithful to Diaz as traitors to the state. The lists of prescribed grew from day to day,



till the disgusted citizens called upon Huerta, who was commander of the state troops in the Capital, to take over the government. He did so ; and, in the short term that has intervened has practically returned to the policies of Diaz. President Wilson and the American press would not recognize him ; we can understand that. But England recognized him, and now all those bloated Canadian interests that have been engineering Imperialism and have in their hearts been cherishing the hope of a pan-Anglo-Saxon alliance, with bigger navies to break open the ports of trade, do not know what order to issue, and their press, both great and small, are left to trim as best they can till sky clears up.

"When, in the course of human events," it became expedient to connect the Atlantic with the Pacific by water, President Roosevelt recognized a laboratory prepared Republic at Panama, before it had time to cool, and bought the Canal Zone from them. It is human to admire an open-handed and successful buccaneer, and we are not surprised that the condemnation of the press for that transaction dwindled into the appearance of party bickering. But there is no such excuse for the vilification of President Huerta which the American press has unceasingly carried on. Wilson affects to regard him as a murderer. Villa says he is a drunkard, and the full chorus proclaim him a tyrant and a coward. My own impression is that he showed himself possessed of a sense of what is due the nation, and a diplomatic touch, which constantly put Wilson's schoolmastering in the wrong ; and that has been his unpardonable sin.

The nominal question before the delegates of the South American Republics now convened at Niagara is the status of Huerta, but the real question is the suzerainty of the United States, implied in the Monroe Doctrine, over all the republics of the two continents. It seems probable, on the one hand, that the delegates will not agree to any sacrifice of the essential independence of Mexico, and, on the other, that President Wilson will be unwilling to conclude any treaty which will not open Mexico to a commercial absorption. Whatever the immediate results of the conference the remoter will almost certainly be to draw the three great Republics of the South closer together, and to increase their naval armaments.