

# GENERAL MADERO TALKS OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

By Edward Marshall.

New York Times 1857-Current; May 14, 1911; ProQuest Historical Newspapers The New York Times (1851 - 2005)

pg. SM1

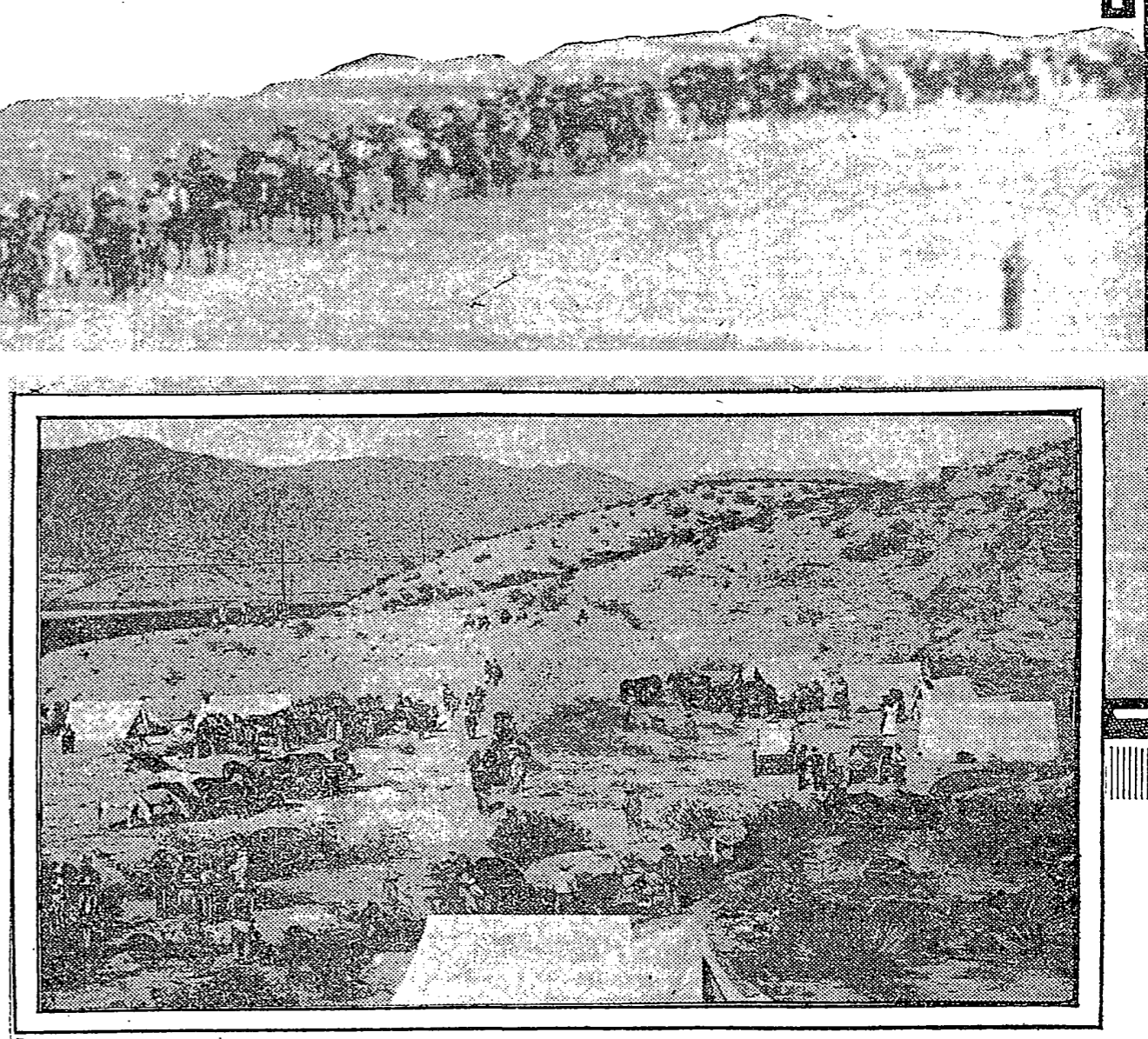
## GENERAL MADERO TALKS OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

### "An Uprising of All the People, Not Any Party," He Says.

### His Brother Tells The New York Times Correspondent the Reasons for the War.



A Part of the Insurrecto Army in the Field.



Madero's Camp.



Gen. Madero Giving Orders to an Aide.



Insurrecto Leaders.

From Left to Right Standing: Pancho Villa, Gustavo Madero, Francisco Garza and Gen. Jose de Luz Blanco, and at the Extreme Right, Alfonso Madero. Seated, from Left to Right: A Friend of the Maderos, Dr. Vasquez Gomez, Gen. Francisco Madero, Jr., Abram Gonzalez, Peno Suarez and P. Orozco.

By Edward Marshall.  
THE uprising from the start was one of all the people, not of any party. Gen. Francisco Madero said to me the other day across the Rio Grande from El Paso, and not far from where the Juarez fight occurred.  
We were seated in the little adobe hut which corresponds, according to their brand of humor, christened "Brown House," in contrast to our White House, or "the Palace."  
He is not the sort of man whom any person of much logic would at first sight select as leader of a rebel army. Small, nervous, with the black Van Dyke beard of an artist or a doctor, dreamy eyes, his tanned skin the only thing about him indicating hardihood.

He became acquainted with him at San Antonio, before the situation at Juarez and El Paso became acute, and I fancy he spoke a bit more freely to me than he did to most. Gustavo Madero is very anxious that the revolution should be thoroughly understood in the United States. He feels that efforts have been made here to spread wrong impressions. He is dismounted from a horse so big that neighboring Insurrecto ponies were quite dwarfed by it, and clad in a riding suit of only semi-military cut, led me to the shade of a near shed.  
"It is a surprising situation for the twentieth century," he said, thoughtfully. "In the distance, down the river, we could get a hazy glimpse of Juarez, which had been surrounded for some



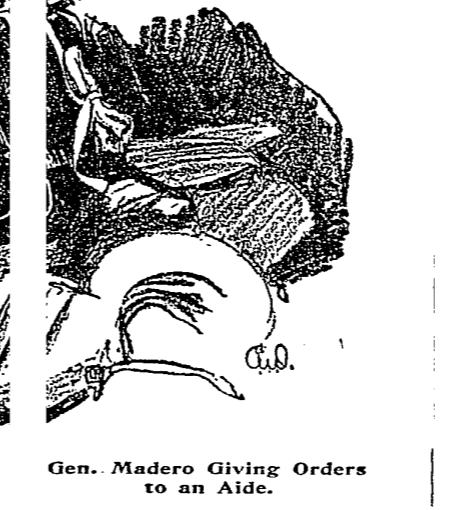
Some of the Widows of Insurrectos Cared for in the Madero Camp.

he looked anything but a military General and his soft, carefully modulated voice did not appear to have the timbre necessary to the giving of commands. But he really is a soldier of high competence, and that that gentle voice can give commands which even men unwilling to obey pay instant heed to will be attested by every soldier who has served in his command at any of the many battles which preceded the long period of argument and armistice leading up to the engagement at Juarez. It was a day or two before this fight that he discussed the situation with me.  
"Really," he went on, "few people in the history of the world, and none of whom I think of in modern history, have been longer suffering than the Mexicans. The revolution has no politics in it, none of its leaders has been swayed by personal ambition. I am not, nor have I been, at any time, a candidate for the Presidency, or any other office; none of the rebel leaders in any section of the country have been fighting for personal aggrandizement. The Mexican people began fighting because they had to fight to live, and not because they wished to fight. They were intolerably oppressed, and those who are oppressed will, strong or weak, in time, revolt. If they are weak their sense of wrong will make them strong. Fortunately, it did that with us, and therefore we are destined to win a perfect triumph."  
Then for details he referred me to his brother.  
Gustavo Madero, financial head of the revolt, is the antithesis of Francisco in appearance. Close upon six feet in height, built massively, plainly a man of far above the average strength, he chafed from the beginning because a family arrangement made of him a non-combatant and not a fighter. During the long period of armistices he continually fretted, I

time, but had not then been actually attacked. There at Juarez Diaz was in full control. Here, in the sun-baked space about that "dobe" hut in the mountains back of us the army of his enemies fretted, undisturbed by anything except its own impatience.  
"You do not know Diaz," he went on slowly. "He really is wonderful—Diaz!"  
It was Gustavo Madero speaking, financial leader of the revolution down in Mexico—its business manager—and brother of Francisco, its leader in the field.  
Francisco was close by, and in the little hut the father of them both was sitting in the grateful shade afforded

by the adobe walls and crude roof of the tiny building which the correspondents dubbed in sarcasm the "Palace." Raoul had just cantered off, gayly, in khaki, on a sturdy native pony, along the rocky trail which led to "camp"—the byvnae which bore about as close resemblance to a modern military camp as the hut does to a palace.  
They are a remarkable quartet—the four Maderos—and which of the elder three is really most important in the revolution it might be difficult to accurately say. The father, tall, gray-bearded, stooped, was anxious in the early war days to bring peace, but afterward felt less inclined toward it; Francisco, short, slight, black-bearded,

dreamy-eyed, the military leader, would be the one least likely to be picked for that part by a stranger; Raoul, the youngest who participates, looks what he is, a sturdy youth who sees the fun of fighting and takes little heed of some of its more serious aspects. Gustavo, who was talking to me, is the soldierest of all of them.  
The talk which followed about Diaz was extremely interesting, for it went off into many side lines, all of them offering new viewpoints of the revolution.  
"Diaz," he continued, after he had said some things about the President of Mexico which I do not print, "is a very great comedian."



Gen. Madero Giving Orders to an Aide.

ties a hundred times as cruel as the cruelty which has just made him weep.

#### Not Victims of the Revolution Habit.

"Let me tell you something of this Mexican revolution which you have not, perhaps, thought of. Up in the United States it may be that there are people who merely shrug their shoulder when they read of it and exclaim: 'Ah, another Latin-American revolution! Well, what of it!' Then they turn to read about what happened, possibly, the night before at the Grand Opera."  
"Well, it is not best victims of the 'revolution habit,' as I have heard Americans, with some truth, describe some people of the Latin-American States. We have been peaceful, law-abiding people—scarcely citizens, most of us, for we have had not the rights of citizenship as they are known elsewhere in the world.  
"Liberty! Now listen. I was sent to jail when they had not a charge to make against me save that I had talked with a Federal General whom they suspected. It happened that in putting me into the prison they were right from their own points of view, because, really, I was certainly opposed to them. But that they were not sure of at the time. They only knew that I had talked with the suspected man."  
Madero is a very handsome man. That seems to be a peculiarity of successful revolutionists, and whether they win in the end or not, the Maderos have surely been successful in creating revolution. Now he threw back that particularly handsome head and chuckled.  
"If you were put in jail upon suspicion, how did you, of all men, get away again?" I asked.  
"I laughed myself out of the prison," he said jocularly. "I treated all the charges which were brought against me as quite too absurd to be taken seriously. They finally became convinced that this view was the right one and released me."  
Now his voice rolled out in a very hearty peal of merriment.  
"That was six months since, and they are sorry now that I got out."  
They may well be. The Maderos, from the very start, have been the centre and the soul of the organized revolt.

means some measure of fair-play. That is sufficient.  
"Of the fifty men in the cell in which I was confined," Madero went on, presently, "forty had been sentenced to be shot by Telesforo Ocampo. That group of men condemned to die was interesting as a sample of the justice dealt out there in Mexico. This man, Ocampo, appeared to take real pleasure in condemning men to death. He it was who bet a dinner with some friends that, the very night the bet was made, he would condemn a man to death. He won the bet, of course. It began with him, purely and simply. He could always send a man to death! Wait; let me give you this man's photograph." He fumbled among his papers and found a postcard with the portrait of this Judge and a brief story of the episode, printed both in Spanish and in English, underneath the portrait. "It has been very popular in this country among Mexicans," he said. "Thousands of them have been used." He laughed. "Of course we do not put so many of them in the mails in Mexico. The man who mailed one or received one there might be the subject of another dinner bet."

#### What Really Caused the War.

"But such things have not caused the war—they have not been the only causes. I hear astonishingly little talk among the Mexicans about such things, although there seem to be enough of them for them to talk about. Our great grievances have had to do with economic injustices. It is curious about human beings. We never rouse to such excitement over the mere theft of human life; it is only when the thief steals money that we become really indignant. Executions by the wholesale did not rouse the Frenchmen to their revolution; even the outrage of their wives and daughters failed to make them go to war; it was not till they found it quite impossible to earn their livings—till their pocketbooks were touched—that they took up their guns and axes and wiped out their oppressors. It has been so with Mexico.  
"As long as we could live, no matter with what great discomforts, with what terrible accompaniment of tragedy, we patiently or stupidly endured. We have sprung into revolution only when conditions have become so terrible that the great mass of the people cannot provide themselves, unmolested, with the plain necessities of life; when they see their wives and children suffer because they are not permitted to live in peace and safety and without oppression by their labor provide for them sufficient means of sustenance.  
"Injustices of taxation have done more, perhaps, to drive us to plain desperation than any other one thing has. The system has been such that only the small favored few have been enabled to progress. The ordinary citizen can make no headway toward prosperity, no matter how eternally and how efficiently he may strive for it. Human effort has demanded its reward: in Mexico it has not had it; there, as elsewhere, when it does not get at least a small proportion of it, it will rise and smite and take for its own self its own. Let me tell you something of the system of taxation.  
"The great estates are owned by men of influence because of their great wealth, and because of this great influence and this great wealth the Government is generally friendly to them, and they are generally friendly to the Government. Especially are their owners usually the close friends of the Governors of the States in which they may be located. The Governors are representatives of Diaz, and to be a

#### Multitudes in Jail.

"Before we go on to the more serious aspects of the reasons for the revolution," he suggested, "let me tell you something about the jails and those within them. I was in prison in Belen, in a condemned cell, full of murderers. While I was in jail I made a calculation of the number who were there with me and in the other jails of Mexico. I found that two per cent. of the entire population were, at that time, locked up on one charge or another. If in New York the same percentage was locked up the city would have 80,000 of its citizens behind the bars. It is not reasonable to think, is it, that so many citizens are malefactors? Mexicans, in general, are as law-abiding as the citizens of any other country. They are not unquely vicious. Therefore it must be that quite a number of that vast horde of confined men were innocent. Well, where innocence is cast into prison, there, friend, tyranny is found. Is it not so? It is against that tyranny that we revolt in Mexico."  
"And you feel sure of victory?"  
"Yes; sure."  
"How long will the struggle last?"  
"Two weeks, four weeks, two months. Not more. Now that your Government is taking an interest it will be found impossible for it to last much longer."  
"But we take neither side."  
"No; but you are interested, and that

means some measure of fair-play. That is sufficient.  
"Of the fifty men in the cell in which I was confined," Madero went on, presently, "forty had been sentenced to be shot by Telesforo Ocampo. That group of men condemned to die was interesting as a sample of the justice dealt out there in Mexico. This man, Ocampo, appeared to take real pleasure in condemning men to death. He it was who bet a dinner with some friends that, the very night the bet was made, he would condemn a man to death. He won the bet, of course. It began with him, purely and simply. He could always send a man to death! Wait; let me give you this man's photograph." He fumbled among his papers and found a postcard with the portrait of this Judge and a brief story of the episode, printed both in Spanish and in English, underneath the portrait. "It has been very popular in this country among Mexicans," he said. "Thousands of them have been used." He laughed. "Of course we do not put so many of them in the mails in Mexico. The man who mailed one or received one there might be the subject of another dinner bet."

#### What Really Caused the War.

"But such things have not caused the war—they have not been the only causes. I hear astonishingly little talk among the Mexicans about such things, although there seem to be enough of them for them to talk about. Our great grievances have had to do with economic injustices. It is curious about human beings. We never rouse to such excitement over the mere theft of human life; it is only when the thief steals money that we become really indignant. Executions by the wholesale did not rouse the Frenchmen to their revolution; even the outrage of their wives and daughters failed to make them go to war; it was not till they found it quite impossible to earn their livings—till their pocketbooks were touched—that they took up their guns and axes and wiped out their oppressors. It has been so with Mexico.  
"As long as we could live, no matter with what great discomforts, with what terrible accompaniment of tragedy, we patiently or stupidly endured. We have sprung into revolution only when conditions have become so terrible that the great mass of the people cannot provide themselves, unmolested, with the plain necessities of life; when they see their wives and children suffer because they are not permitted to live in peace and safety and without oppression by their labor provide for them sufficient means of sustenance.  
"Injustices of taxation have done more, perhaps, to drive us to plain desperation than any other one thing has. The system has been such that only the small favored few have been enabled to progress. The ordinary citizen can make no headway toward prosperity, no matter how eternally and how efficiently he may strive for it. Human effort has demanded its reward: in Mexico it has not had it; there, as elsewhere, when it does not get at least a small proportion of it, it will rise and smite and take for its own self its own. Let me tell you something of the system of taxation.  
"The great estates are owned by men of influence because of their great wealth, and because of this great influence and this great wealth the Government is generally friendly to them, and they are generally friendly to the Government. Especially are their owners usually the close friends of the Governors of the States in which they may be located. The Governors are representatives of Diaz, and to be a

#### Multitudes in Jail.

"Before we go on to the more serious aspects of the reasons for the revolution," he suggested, "let me tell you something about the jails and those within them. I was in prison in Belen, in a condemned cell, full of murderers. While I was in jail I made a calculation of the number who were there with me and in the other jails of Mexico. I found that two per cent. of the entire population were, at that time, locked up on one charge or another. If in New York the same percentage was locked up the city would have 80,000 of its citizens behind the bars. It is not reasonable to think, is it, that so many citizens are malefactors? Mexicans, in general, are as law-abiding as the citizens of any other country. They are not unquely vicious. Therefore it must be that quite a number of that vast horde of confined men were innocent. Well, where innocence is cast into prison, there, friend, tyranny is found. Is it not so? It is against that tyranny that we revolt in Mexico."  
"And you feel sure of victory?"  
"Yes; sure."  
"How long will the struggle last?"  
"Two weeks, four weeks, two months. Not more. Now that your Government is taking an interest it will be found impossible for it to last much longer."  
"But we take neither side."  
"No; but you are interested, and that

(Continued on Page 10.)



(Continued from Page 1.)

representative of Diaz means to be Diaz. Otherwise a man does not remain a Governor. They control appraisement boards, and this, then, is the system of taxation:

"The board is supposed to go to the property to be taxed, each year, examine it, and value it impartially according to its size, improvements, location, and such matters. But, in plain fact, it never goes. The appraisement is, in truth, according to the influence of him who owns the land and, as the big land owners always are of influence, it has been they, who are best able to pay taxes, who have had the fewest taxes charged to them.

"To find a great estate appraised and taxed at a value not greater than that placed on a little farm adjoining and owned by a poor man who has no influence is not at all astonishing in Mexico. You see, the small farm owner has no—what is it that you call it in the States?—Oh, yes; he has no 'pull' in Government circles.

"The result of this is to increase the power of the great owner, because decreasing cost of his production, and to make life quite impossible for the small owner.

"Finally, the small owner is forced to sell to the larger owner against whose his lands abut. It is in this way that the big estates have all increased and small estates diminished during the régime of Diaz, although he has recently claimed that he is a strong advocate of the subdivision of all great estates.

"And the magnitude of those estates! It makes their owners little princes—little kings. The Terrassas family of Chihuahua may be instanced. They are charming people, worthy people—our families have always been good friends. That they have been the beneficiaries of the system has not been entirely their fault. But let me tell you what their property consists of, and then imagine for yourself whether I have erred in stating that the owners of the large estates are little monarchs. My father, who has made a careful study of such matters, estimates the holdings of the Terrassas family at not less than 16,000,000 acres and they, themselves, put them at 18,000,000 acres.

"Now listen: Therefore they own 25,000 square miles, or more, a territory seven times that of your own Connecticut, fourteen times that of your Delaware, two-thirds that of your Indiana, twice that of your Maryland, nearly seven times that of your Massachusetts, three times that of your New Hampshire, more than three times that of your New Jersey, more than twenty-two times that of your Rhode Island, almost three times that of your Vermont, and a little more than that of your West Virginia. I wonder if you do not agree with us when we state that this means a little more of territory than it is quite safe for one single family to control!

"I do not say this one family misuses it. They have, as I have said, been our good friends, but I do say that many of the great landowners do misuse their power over their great populations—a power which amounts almost, and sometimes literally, to that of life or death.

"You see, on this great estate of the Terrassas family there exists a popu-

lation of between 15,000 and 20,000 people, while—note this—among all those people there is not one school. It has been said that in the revolutionary party there are many men of ignorance. How could it be otherwise when there are no schools in which they may secure an education? It is for the right to education, among other things, that the party of the insurrection fights.

"I repeat that I do not say that the Terrassas family abuses this great power, but also I repeat that it is true that it and other holders of vast Mexican estates have over the large population which resides on them exactly the power of life and death, and nowhere are there opportunities of any education offered to them.

"In this twentieth century the universal longing for an education true in the United States has spread even to the distance of the great Mexican estates, whose owners, most of them, deny the thought, because they say that education makes their people likely to be troublesome and hinders labor. They do not want their people to know how to read, these holders of great Mexican estates. They are supported in this attitude by the tyrannies of Diaz.

"Thus, (do you not see?) the whole world suffers from his methods, for whatsoever keeps the sum of human education back keeps back the sum of human effort and achievement. Mexico remains an undeveloped land because its people are compelled to remain an undeveloped people.

"Will you imagine what this land, which, notwithstanding these conditions, has added so tremendously to the world's wealth, might add to it if in it there existed a free form of government, determined to develop its inhabitants and teach them how to make the most of its resources?

"It surely must eventually come—if not through the revolutions now in progress, as we hope it will, then through some future revolution. No man has ever blocked the wheels of progress in this world with permanence.

"This matter of the low taxation of large owners and the high taxation of small owners is but one detail of the whole vicious system of taxation which maintains in Mexico to-day.

"There has been discussion of all sorts of schemes for the elimination of the evils of this system. Particularly has the enforced subdivision of estates been carefully discussed. It is amusing. One thing would solve the problem, and it is the only thing which can accomplish it—the mere establishment of a fair system of taxation, which should make the great land owner pay upon each acre, value for value, what the poor man pays upon his acre. This would at once achieve the result which is required.

"You see it has been arranged there in Chihuahua as elsewhere. The Terrassas family has been placed, notwithstanding its great financial interests in the State, at the head of the State's Government, so that it, itself, directly or through some relative or employe, fixes what taxation it shall pay on its own property. An exactly similar instance is in the State of Sinaloa, where the Governor is the largest land owner and planter of and manufacturer of sugar—sugar being the main product of that State.

"Perhaps these facts may show that the revolt in Mexico is not, as has been

claimed by some, a socialistic movement. The people of the nation do not know the meaning of that word. They are not socialists. Where could they learn of socialism? They are not troubling, yet, over the theories which other nations have, for years, discussed. They know nothing of them. They are troubling, merely, for the right to their existence and some little measure of real freedom. Their battle is not for the advanced theories, but for the elementals of the simplest human happiness—those elementals which have been insisted on in the most rudimentary societies.

"We are so far, at present, from even a mediocre form of justice in our Government that advanced ideas about property distribution seem to us mere visions of some sleeper's dreams.

"The situation has, indeed, become unbearable. The government has been acquiring gradually not only a political power which is in fact despotic, but has assumed control of all the business and economical resources of the country, such as the banks, the railroads, the tobacco trade, corn, sugar, and pulque. It is one of our most anxious plans to place a heavy tax on pulque, which is a particularly vicious drink. It always makes men want to fight. But the pulque haciendas, as things stand, are owned by rich men, powerful in the government, and thus to fight this, one of the most dreadful forms of alcoholism that the world has ever known, has been impossible.

"An increased tax upon the liquor will be among the first reforms which Madero will announce. The consumption of this terrible fermentation of the cactus has become a national habit and a national curse. Increased taxation, while it would not lift the curse from our poor country, would, at least, decrease the weight with which it rests upon the people.

"To go back a moment to the evils of our present system of taxation. Concessions in the form of exemption from taxation are given freely out to favorites by men in power which, of course, gives them advantage over all competitors who have not been so favored. Ask any American who has tried, in Mexico, to establish a business of his own if he has not quickly learned that to succeed he must first see this one and then the other influential lawyer, feeling every one of them. Very often, if he tells you frankly, you will find that his success has been bought only through expensive association with high officials of the government and free participation with him on their part in the profits of his business. Otherwise his business, if he succeeds in establishing it at all, will be wrecked by those enjoying special privileges.

"The Mexican taxation system may be summed up thus: the workingman pays all he can and then a little more; the rich man in high favor contributes practically nothing."

"I asked about the general condition of the working classes and he said: 'It is a crime in Mexico for workmen to strike. Whenever a strike happens it is immediately stopped by force of arms, if need be, and its leaders are imprisoned. The government, you see, is ever fearful that a strike may mean formation of a body which may gain political power and, also, the government is always close with shareholders in the large employing companies. Strikers, many times, have been

sent to join the army, most unwillingly, thus getting as the wages of their strike some twenty cents a day, American money. Here is where ley fuga very often finds its cause for application. Ley fuga, literally, means the 'Law of flight.' By it an officer is authorized to shoot to kill a man who tries to run away. It is very easy for an officer to say that any man whom he has been instructed to destroy has tried to run away.

"Oh, it has been useless to attempt to beat the government or any of the favorites of government in Mexico. In the State of Colima was a family named Anguliano, consisting of two men and their mother. The matter of the liquidation of the dead father's estate was pending in the court. The Governor of the State, through some other parties, had interests opposed to theirs. The Angulianos were brave men and made a hard legal fight. Several times, on various pretexts, they had been imprisoned, but they still insisted on what they claimed were their plain rights. Finally Lamadrid, the Governor, called Pizano, one of his subordinates, and told him:

"Bring me those Angulianos, alive or dead."

"Pizano is one of the difficult jefe politico class, a man who may be very decent in strictly private matters, but who will obey his orders to the letter, no matter how cruel they may be. He was, at that time, the chief of the police. With his men he started to the town where the Angulianos lived. Seeing him approach, they ran into their house to hide. Pizano and his men pursued them, firing. One of the Angulianos was shot before he reached the house, and as he lay there in the street Pizano fired again, killing him. Later, in the house itself, he wounded the second brother, and when the mother ran to him, fell on her knees and pleaded with him, he shot again and killed her. He then took the bodies of the two brothers to his master, Lamadrid. It effectually stopped the litigation. There was no man left, then, to claim the Angulianos' rights in court.

"No official investigation of the shooting was made, but talk of it spread until it reached the press of Guadalajara, and most of the papers of that city very bravely opened a campaign against Lamadrid.

"Finally the press, itself, appointed a committee to go to Diaz, personally, and lay the case before him, asking justice. These newspaper men went with the mother of the Angulianos to Mexico City, where it is an established habit to appeal to the nation's supreme master rather than to its so-called Supreme Court. The President heard their story, appeared greatly interested, and promised justice—just as now he promises reforms. The old woman and the journalists returned to Guadalajara with high hope.

"Well, a new Judge was sent to Colima, and Pizano was imprisoned; but this new Judge happened to be honest and discovered Lamadrid's connection with the matter, as evidenced by Pizano's statement, and those of the policemen who went with him. Pizano merely said he had obeyed the orders given him, and had been surprised to find himself in jail. The new Judge insisted on a complete revelation of Lamadrid's part in the matter. What

was the result of this? Was Lamadrid shamed and punished? No; the Judge was removed.

"A third Judge was sent down, and even he gave a decision which condemned Pizano and his officers to death; but he stated that there were not grounds enough on which to prosecute Lamadrid. The death sentence, every one quite understood, would not be executed; it never is in such cases; it is given out to fool the public.

"But the press was not satisfied so easily. It asked for a fuller explanation. Lamadrid had not been acquitted; it had merely been announced that there was insufficient evidence on which to convict him. The Government did nothing. Then the newspapers even appealed to Lamadrid's own sense of dignity and asked him to stand trial. He answered by securing from the Supreme Court of his State, when the case of Pizano went there for revision, a reduction of the sentence of the man and his associates from death to ten or twelve years' imprisonment, and a declaration that there was no reason for further investigation of his own responsibility.

"Some people believe Diaz supports his men in cases of this sort in order to uphold the principle of his authority, so as to educate the people in respect for it; but if this were so Lamadrid would surely have been out of office after a few months. But these things happened eighteen months ago, and Lamadrid is still in office, and will be re-elected.

"Diaz preserves such men in office. He prefers to have those there on whom he has a hold. Lamadrid must now remain his creature, absolutely. To him he can declare:

"If you do not obey me as a blind man, then to jail with you on the old charge."

"This use of malefactors in the governmental scheme has been a method of Porfirio Diaz since his start. He has applied it in all parts of the country. The late Governor of Puebla, retained over twenty years, despite the most horrid of oppressions, was a bandit who helped Diaz in the revolution which made him President. It has been said that Diaz has boasted that he has been clever in his clearance of the country of the bandits by placing them in office. But it has also been remarked that one result of this has been to inject into the Government the methods of banditry. Lerdo, the President overthrown by Diaz, had good and honest men in office. Yet they say that Mexico has progressed under Diaz!

"Mexico has progressed, certainly, but it has been its stunted part of the whole world's development. Under better Government it would have progressed faster. It has progressed in spite of Diaz, not because of him.

"For instance, we have good railroads. Who built them? Much American and a little British capital. Who paid for them? The Mexican people. What did Diaz do to help this? Gave foolish and dishonest concessions by which the railroads were subsidized with big premiums on every kilometre built. Very often, not in the case of one road only, but with most of them, the concessionaires, to get this premium, made the roads two or three times as long as necessary, simply so they might draw the premiums, which amounted to much more than the construction-cost. These excessive sub-

sidies have come from the public funds. These undue lengths of road were built in places where the ground was level and construction cheap and where straight lines were, therefore, logically indicated. On the railroad in Puebla, below Tehuacan, the road twists so that for two hours you see the fields adjacent to the town without approaching it—across fine, level country. There are many other instances. The Government of Lerdo and the much older Government of Comonfort built railroads, before the Diaz régime, under terms far more advantageous. The best railroad in the country to-day, a masterpiece of engineering, was finished during Lerdo's administration. No, the railroads cannot be attributed to Diaz.

"General conditions—cost of living and public welfare—have improved, because the people have worked hard, as elsewhere, but this economic progress has been hindered, not assisted, by his methods. The favor he has shown his friends has made competition against them almost impossible and has given rise to numberless monopolies fostered by unfair exemptions from taxation of many enterprises in which those friends hold interests.

"Not only has he thus encouraged monopolies of manufactures, but of natural resources. The Light and Power Company of Mexico City has a clause in its concession stating that no other individual or company shall be granted the right to use any waterfall within a certain tremendous area, which means perpetual monopoly of light and power in the capital, Puebla, Pachuca and some other places. Therefore, certainly, electric power is high in Mexico. Ten pesos, or five dollars, monthly for light, and this is for small families; in any ordinary family of four or five persons the charge may run as high as thirty or forty pesos. This handicaps business needing small power, also, where coal is scarce and high. It must be transported 1,500 kilometres.

"Therefore, I say, the influence of Diaz on material progress in Mexico has not been good, but bad.

"There is no justice whatsoever for the workingman in Mexico. In the United States and other civilized countries a man can go to work and be protected in his wages by the courts, but in Mexico he loses courage when he sees that any day the jefe politico, for a trifling cause or none, can take him from his work and send him into prison or to exile. The factories of the District of Atlixco, in the State of Puebla, are among the best in Mexico, yet the workingmen live there in constant fear of the authorities. At last election time they organized a club to support my brother for the Presidency—just such a club as there are thousands of at each campaign time in the United States. A meeting was in progress when Machorro, jefe politico, a Lieutenant of Gov. Martinez, said to an American, who had just arrived in town:

"Come with me, if you want to know just how we do things here."

"The American went with him and his policemen. At the meeting they set aside, by counting, quite impartially, each third man, say. It may have been each fourth. Thus they took eight men from the meeting. Their hands were tied, they were taken out on a dark street, marched a few blocks to the outskirts, (not toward the jail,) and then, under claim of the ley fuga, they

were shot. This proved the energy of the Diaz Government, the 'iron hand of the master builder of a modern nation,' as one of Diaz's flatterers describes him!

"The horror-stricken American went back to Mexico City, telling the story under strict seal of secrecy. But he need not have been secret. The tale was not unusual.

"As a rule, the outrages in Mexico have been committed on the political enemies of Diaz, but also very often his chieftains commit crimes against those not in politics, against those who are so exceeding poor that they can have no influence.

"There is in Mexico City a famous policeman, well known for having committed a political murder some years ago. At that time he was condemned to death, but was released from jail in a few months and returned to the service of the Government as chief of a police precinct. Then came a horrible scandal of young girls taken to him by his officers. At last a mother made an outcry. The meagre independent press espoused her cause, and the famous Villavicencio was placed in jail.

"Presently the city was happy over the fact that an honest Judge was about to deal with him, but this occurred a year ago, when the man could be of use in politics and the situation was acute. An able lawyer, therefore, was discovered to defend him—a close friend of Vice President Corral. He was released on bond and there has been no mention of a further trial. He is free, and, although apparently out of office, gets a salary, I am informed, as a member of the Secret Service.

"On the atrocities of this man a long book could be written. He has been especially useful, we are told, in the administration of what Americans refer to as the 'third degree' upon political and other prisoners, and I assure you that in Mexico the 'third degree' makes yours seem very amateerish."

Madero stopped.

"But how foolish to continue multiplying our complaints against the Government. Summarized, they come to this:

"In Mexico there is no freedom for the ordinary citizen—not even freedom from the injustices of an entirely unequal taxation.

"In Mexico not even human life is safe from the political assassin, indeed official murders are so common as to scarcely cause comment.

"In Mexico the masses are deprived of suffrage, education, the free press, everything the free man holds most dear.

"In Mexico not even women are preserved from the vile power of politicians, especially the jefe politicos.

"In Mexico there never has been and there never can be, under the present system, an election which approaches honesty; the Nation is a monarchy in fact, a republic but in name.

"In Mexico things do not go by right, but by favor of the powerful, and in this Twentieth Century, on this side of the Atlantic Ocean, such conditions cannot be much longer tolerated.

"In Mexico is slavery, quite pure and simple, on the Peninsula of Yucatan and a condition not so far from approximating it among the laboring classes, everywhere throughout the country—a situation mediaeval, inexcusable, impossible."

(Copyright, 1911, By Edward Marshall.)