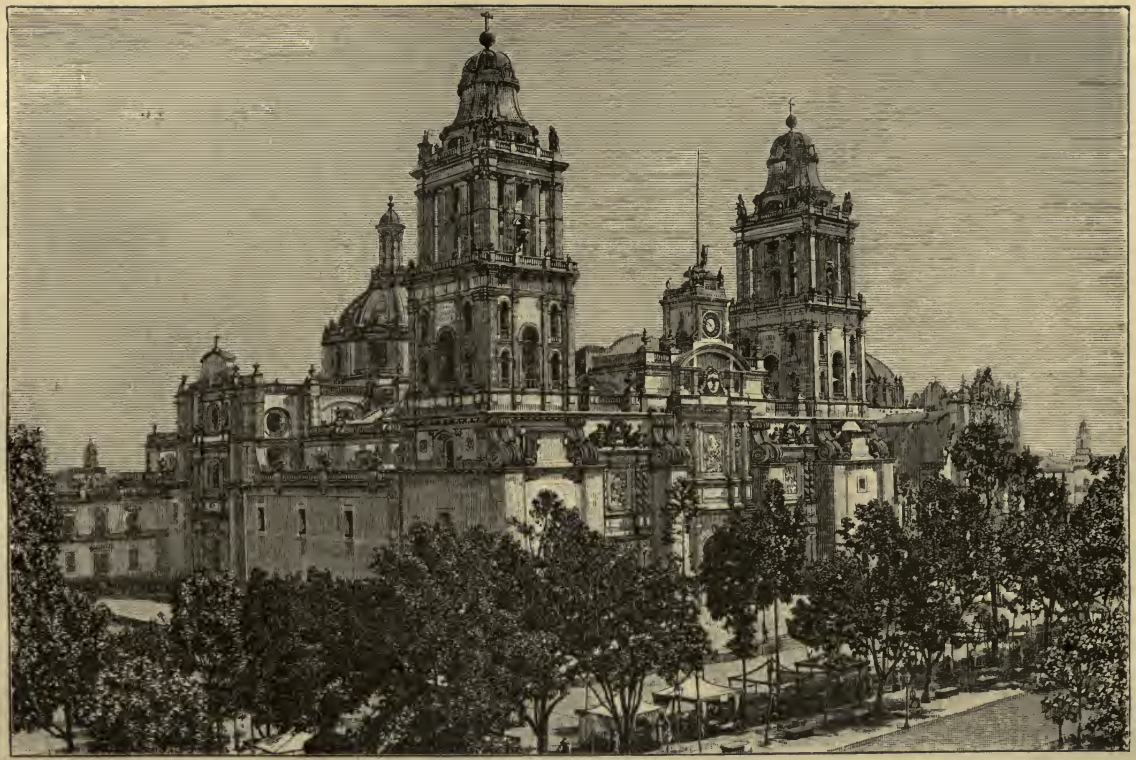


Grand Cathedral, City of Mexico.

A STUDY OF MEXICO

BY

DAVID A. WELLS, LL. D., D. C. L.

MEMBRE CORRESPONDANT DE L'INSTITUT DE FRANCE; CORRESPONDENTE DELLA REALE ACCADEMIA DE' LINCEI, ITALIA; HONORARY MEMBER OF THE STATISTICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON, ETC.

REPRINTED, WITH ADDITIONS,
FROM THE POPULAR SCIENCE MONTHLY

NEW YORK
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY
1890

PREFACE.

THIS book owes its origin to the following circumstances:

During the early months of the year 1885, the author, in pursuit of health and recreation solely, availed himself of an opportunity to visit Mexico, under peculiarly favorable conditions.

The journey, it may be further premised, was mainly made upon a special train, over the whole length of the "Mexican Central Railroad," over most of the "Vera Cruz and City of Mexico," and over a part of the "Mexican National," Railroads; the aggregate distance traversed within the territory of the republic being in excess of three thousand miles, the train running upon its own time, with its own equipment for eating and sleeping, and stopping long enough at every point of interest—city, town, *hacienda*, mine, or desert—to abundantly satisfy curiosity, and answer every immediate demand for information.

It is safe, therefore, to say that such facilities for leisurely visiting and studying so much of Mexico had rarely, if ever, before been granted.

Fully recognizing that one can know but very little of a country, who, ignorant of the language, the customs, the political and social condition and pursuits of its people, sees it simply and hurriedly as a traveler, the journey in question was, nevertheless, sufficiently instructive to satisfy thoroughly as to two points: First, that here was a country, bordering on the United States for a distance of more than two thousand miles, which was almost as foreign to the latter, in respect to race, climate, government, manners, and laws, as though it belonged to another planet; and, secondly, that the people of the United States generally knew about as much of the domestic affairs of this one of their nearest neighbors as they did of those of the empire of China. And with a realization of these facts, a temptation to enter upon a field of investigation, so fresh and so little worked, was created, too attractive to be resisted; and, accordingly, with the sole purpose of desiring to know the truth about Mexico, and to form an opinion as to what should be the future political and commercial relations between that country and the United States, the author, on the completion of his journey, entered upon a careful study of a large amount of information relative to Mexico, derived from both public and private sources, which he found at his disposal. And it is on the basis of this study, and with the kindliest feeling for and the deepest interest in Mexico, that he has written; using his experiences of travel as a guide to inquiry and as a factor in determining what it was desirable to know, rather than as may

be inferred or charged as a basis for original assertions or deductions.

In so doing, however, he claims nothing of infallibility. He frankly confesses that in respect to some things he may be mistaken; and that others might draw entirely different conclusions from the same data.* But for the entire accuracy of most

* One curious illustration of this point is to be found in the following extract from a letter recently addressed to the Mexican "Financier" by a Mexican gentleman, in contravention of the writer's opinions respecting the present industrial condition and prospective development of Mexico. He says: "If you pass through the Academy of San Carlos, you will see pictures executed by native Mexican artists in the highest style of art, comparing most favorably with any production of the academies of design of Paris, Rome, Munich, or elsewhere. Go with me, if you please, to a narrow lane in the small but picturesque city of Cuernavaca, and there in a small room, working with implements of his own make, you will observe a native, whom you would perhaps class among the peons, carving a crucifix in wood, so highly artistic, with the expression of suffering on our Saviour's face so realistic, that any foreign sculptor of the highest renown would be proud to call it a creation of his own. Again, visit with me the village of Amatlan de los Reyes, near Córdoba, and observe the exquisitely embroidered *huipilla* of some native woman, surpassing in many respects the designs of the art-needlework societies of New York or Boston; not to mention the fine filigree-work, figures in clay and wax as executed by the natives in or near the city of Mexico, the art pottery of Guadalajara, the gourds, calabashes, and wooden trays highly embellished by native artists, whose sense or acceptation of art is not acquired by tedious study at some academy of design, but is inborn and spontaneously expressed in such creations. Only yesterday in my walks about town I entered the National Monte de Piedad, where I heard the sweetest and most melodious strains from a grand piano of American make, and beheld, to my astonishment, that the artist was a native, a *cargador*, or public porter, clad in cheap *sombrero*, blouse, white cotton trousers, and sandals, with his brass plate and rope across his shoulders, ready to carry this very instrument on his back to the residence of some better-

statements and deductions he believes he finds ample warrant in the published diplomatic and consular correspondence of the United States during the last decade, and in an extensive personal correspondence with railroad and commercial men, who, from continuous residence, have become well acquainted with Mexico.* Making every allowance, however, for differences of opinion respecting minor details,

favored brother from a foreign land. If this is not innate genius, I know not what else to call it." To this it may be replied that the facts as above stated are probably not in the least exaggerated. There is undoubtedly in the Mexican people, inherited from their Spanish ancestry, much of æsthetic taste and an "innate genius" for music, painting, sculpture, embroidery, dress, decoration, and the fine arts generally. But this very fact, in view of the hard, rough work that Mexico has got to do to overcome the natural obstacles in the way of her material development, is not a matter of encouragement. For it is not genius to carve crucifixes, embroider *huipillas*, or compose and execute music, that her people need; but rather the ability to make and maintain good roads, invent and use machinery, and reform a system of laws that would neutralize all her natural advantages, even though they were many times greater than the most patriotic citizen of the country could claim for it.

* From one of these latter the following warning against publishing anything in the way of observations or conclusions was received by the writer:

"City of Mexico, *April* 13, 1886.

"The papers are filled with the letters of travelers about Mexico. If you do not conform to what many people here want you to say, you are put down as having taken a hasty or dyspeptic observation of the country, and had no opportunity to know anything. If you pass one week in an hotel, and should write conformably to what various interests would have you, you are at once quoted as a 'most intelligent and experienced traveler.' A thorough investigation scrapes off all the varnish, and will often expose the motives of not a few people in Mexico, who would have American capital plant itself there under conditions which afford no protection by their Government or ours."

the main facts and deductions presented (which can not well be questioned or disputed) seem to comprise all that is essential for a fair understanding of the physical conformation and history of Mexico; its present political, social, and industrial condition; and also for an intelligent discussion of its future possible or desirable political and commercial relations to the United States.

The results of the "Study of Mexico" were originally contributed, in the form of a series of papers, to "The Popular Science Monthly," and were first published in the issues of that journal for April, May, June, July, and August, 1886. It was not anticipated at the outset that any more extensive circulation for them, than the columns of the "Monthly" afforded, would be demanded; but the interest and discussion they have excited, both in the United States and Mexico, have been such; and the desire on the part of the people of the former country, growing out of recent political complications, to know more about Mexico, has become so general and manifest, that it has been thought expedient to republish and offer them to the public in book form—subject to careful revision and with extensive additions, especially in relation to the condition and wages of labor and the industrial resources and productions of Mexico.

The United States has of late been particularly fortunate in its consular representation in Mexico; and the author would especially acknowledge his indebtedness for information and statistics to David H. Strother ("Porte Crayon"), late consul-general

at the city of Mexico; Warner P. Sutton, consul-general at Matamoras; Consul Willard, of Guaymas; and others, whose reports during recent years to the State Department have done honor to themselves and to the Government they represented.

DAVID A. WELLS.

NORWICH, CONNECTICUT, *October, 1886.*

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER IV.

CHAPTER V.

CHAPTER VI.

CHAPTER VII.

CHAPTER VIII.

CHAPTER IX.

CHAPTER X.

CHAPTER XI.

A STUDY OF MEXICO.

CHAPTER I.

Recent popular ignorance concerning Mexico—Reasons therefor—Experience of travel by Bayard Taylor in 1850—Mexico in 1878, according to the then American minister—Rejoinder of the Mexican Government—Present security and facilities for Mexican travel—Picturesque aspect of Mexico—Peons, or agricultural population—Social condition of the people—Mexican architecture and buildings.

ALTHOUGH geographically near, and having been in commercial relations with the rest of the world for over three hundred and fifty years, there is probably less known to-day about Mexico than of almost any other country claiming to be civilized; certainly not as much as concerning Egypt, Palestine, or the leading states of British India; and not any more than concerning the outlying provinces of Turkey, the states of Northern Africa, or the seaport districts of China and Japan. It is doubtful, furthermore, if as large a proportion as one in a thousand of the fairly educated men of the

United States or of Europe could at once, and without reference to an encyclopædia, locate and name the twenty-nine States or political divisions into which the Republic of Mexico is divided, or so many of its towns and cities as have a population in excess of fifteen or twenty thousand.

The explanation of this is, that prior to the construction and opening of the Mexican "Central" and Mexican "National" Railroads, or virtually prior to the year 1883, the exploration of Mexico—owing to the almost total absence of roads and of comfortable *hospicia* for man and beast, the utter insecurity for life and property, the intervention of vast sterile and waterless tracts, and the inhospitality and almost savagery of no small proportion of its people—was so difficult and dangerous that exploration has rarely been attempted; and those who have attempted it have greatly imperiled their lives, to say nothing of their health and property.

Mexico, furthermore, is not fully known even to the Mexicans themselves. Thus, a large part of the country on the Pacific coast has scarcely been penetrated outside of the roads or "trails" which lead from the seaports to the interior. There are hundreds of square miles in Southern Mexico, especially in the States of Michoacan and Guerrero, and also in Sonora, that have never been explored, and are merely marked on the maps as "*terreno*

desconocido"; and whole tribes of Indians that have never been brought in contact with the white man, and repel all attempts at visitation or government supervision.*

During the three hundred years, also, when Mexico was under Spanish dominion, access to the country was almost absolutely denied to foreigners; the most noted exception being the case of Humboldt, who, through the personal favor and friendship of Don Marino Urquijo, first Spanish Secretary of State under Charles IV, received privileges never before granted to any traveler; and thus it is that, although more than three quarters of a century have elapsed since Humboldt

* A Mexican merchant, writing recently from Juguila, State of Oaxaca, on the southern Pacific coast of Mexico, says: "Although this State has figured in a worthy manner in the New Orleans Exposition, it is just to say, because it is the truth, that the greater part of the objects which went from the southern coast, destined for New Orleans, were carried by hand by Indians. . . . It is a pity that a region so extensive and so fertile should remain so uncultivated, so unknown, and almost entirely inhabited by semi-savage Indians, who, to plant an *almud* (six and a half quarts) of corn, destroy forests of lumber worth more than three thousand dollars. The country has scarcely two inhabitants to a square kilometre, and these semi-civilized natives, but of a pacific and honest nature. The national and neighborhood highways do not merit the name. The principal road from Oaxaca to Costa Chica is a bridle-path, and in some parts of the district of Villa Alvarez it is so narrow that last year, when I, being sick, had to be carried on a bed to Oaxaca, the servants who carried me had to abandon it and cross through the woods, as two men abreast could not walk in it. If the national roads are thus, one can imagine what the neighborhood roads might be. . . ." —"United States Consular Reports," 1885.

made his journey and explorations, he is still quoted as the best and, in many particulars, as the only reliable authority in respect to Mexico.

In 1850, Bayard Taylor, returning from California, visited Mexico, landing at Mazatlan, and crossing the country by way of the city of Mexico to Vera Cruz. His journey lasted from the 5th of January to the 19th of February—a period of about six weeks—and the distance traversed by him in a straight line could not have been much in excess of seven hundred miles—a rather small foundation in the way of exploration for the construction of a standard work of travel; yet, whoever reads his narrative and enters into sympathy with the author (as who in reading Bayard Taylor does not?) is heartily glad that it is no longer. For Mungo Park in attempting to explore the Niger, or Bruce in seeking for the sources of the Nile, or Livingstone on the Zambesi, never encountered greater perils or chronicled more disagreeable experiences of travel. It was not enough to have "journeyed," as he expresses it, "for leagues in the burning sun, over scorched hills, without water or refreshing verdure, suffering greatly from thirst, until I found a little muddy water at the bottom of a hole"; to have lived on *frijoles* and *tortillas* (the latter so compounded with red pepper that, it is said, neither vultures nor wolves will ever touch a dead

Mexican), and to have found an adequate supply of even these at times very difficult to obtain; to sleep without shelter or upon the dirt floors of *adobe* huts, or upon scaffolds of poles, and to have even such scant luxuries impaired by the invasion of hogs, menace of ferocious dogs, and by other enemies "without and within," in the shape of swarms of fleas, mosquitoes, and other vermin; but, in addition to all this, he was robbed, and left bound and helpless in a lonely valley, if not with the expectation, at least with a feeling of complete indifference, on the part of his ruffianly assailants, as to whether he perished by hunger and cold, or effected a chance deliverance. And if any one were to travel to-day in Mexico, over routes as unfrequented as that which Bayard Taylor followed, and under the same circumstances of personal exposure, he would undoubtedly be subject to a like experience.

In August, 1878, Hon. John W. Foster, then United States minister to Mexico, writing from the city of Mexico to the Manufacturers' Association of the Northwest, at Chicago, made the following statement concerning the social condition of the country at that time: "Not a single passenger-train leaves this city (Mexico) or Vera Cruz, the (then) termini of the only completed railroad in the country, without being escorted by a company of soldiers to protect it from assault and robbery.

The manufacturers of this city, who own factories in the valley within sight of it, in sending out money to pay the weekly wages of their operatives, always accompany it with an armed guard; and it has repeatedly occurred, during the past twelve months (1878), that the street railway-cars from this city to the suburban villages have been seized by bands of robbers and the money of the manufacturers stolen. Every mining company which sends its metal to this city to be coined or shipped abroad always accompanies it by a strong guard of picked men; and the planters and others who send money or valuables out of the city do likewise. The principal highways over which the diligence lines pass are constantly patroled by the armed rural guard or the Federal troops; and yet highway robbery is so common that it is rarely even noticed in the newspapers. One of the commercial indications of the insecurity of communication between this capital and the other cities of the republic is found in the rate of interior exchange," which at that time, according to the minister, varied from ten per cent in the case of Chihuahua, distant a thousand miles, to two and two and a half per cent for places like Toluca, not farther removed than sixty miles.*

* The letter of Minister Foster, discussing the commercial relations of the two republics, and from which the above is an extract, gave

Matters are, however, in a much better state at present, and for reasons that will be mentioned hereafter; but the following item of Mexican news,

great offense to the Mexican people; and, in addition to numerous newspaper criticisms, was regarded as of such importance by the Government, that an extended official reply (325 quarto pages) was made to it (in 1880) by the Mexican Secretary of Finance. It was claimed therein that, while the report of Minister Foster "contains many exact data and estimates worthy of attention, it is unfortunately marred by conceptions and deductions which are entirely without foundation," and "that it is the duty of the Government of Mexico to vindicate the country, clearing away the dark coloring under which the report in question presents it." In further illustration of the character and strength of this rejoinder on the part of the Mexican Government, the following is a summary of the answers to the specific points made by Mr. Foster, in that part of his report above quoted: Thus, in regard to the statement that passenger-trains on the Vera Cruz Railroad were escorted by soldiers, it was said: "The fact is true, but nowise worthy of censure; for, on the contrary, it is the best proof of the care with which the Government endeavors to give guarantees to travelers. Even in the most civilized countries the police forces watch over the security of the roads, and the way of doing it makes little matter, whether it be by escort or stationed forces, for in both cases it indicates a sad necessity, to wit, that of sheltering individuals from the attack of evil-doers, who exist not only in Mexico, but in every part of the world."

Again, the fact of excessive rates of exchange between the interior cities and towns of Mexico was explained by saying that it is not due to the insecurity of the roads, but rather "to the difficulty of communication, occasioned principally by long distances, bad roads, and the lack of conveniences"; and also by "the circumstance that exchange takes place in one sense only—that is to say, to place in Mexico funds that are outside of the capital."

And the report thus further sharply continues: "For every crime against life or property occurring in Mexico, a greater number of similar cases that have taken place in the United States could be cited; and this is not strange, for, in proportion as the population of the country is larger, it appears that its criminal record must be larger also. Moreover, horrible crimes have been committed in the United

telegraphed from Saltillo (Northern Mexico), under date of February 15, 1885, pretty clearly indicates the scope and desirability for future improvement, and also the present limitation on the authority of the existing national Government: "The commission of officers sent from Zacatecas by the Government to treat for a surrender with the noted bandit leader, Eraclie Bernal, has returned, having been unsuccessful in its mission. The chief demanded the following conditions: Pardon for himself and band, a bonus of thirty thousand dollars for himself, to be allowed to retain an armed escort of twenty-five men, or to be appointed to a position in the army commanding a district in Sinaloa." How such a statement as the foregoing carries the reader back to the days of the "Robbers of the Rhine," or the "free lances" of the middle ages! On the other hand, a recent consular report calls attention to the circumstance "that a certain local notoriety of the mountain districts, who had acquired a formidable reputation as an independent guerrilla leader in past wars, and as a frank highwayman in the intervals of peace, had made a descent upon the city (Mexico), unarmed and unattended, and purchased two plows."

States, some of which have not even passed through the imagination of the wickedest man in Mexico; such as the robbery of the remains of the philanthropic capitalist, A. T. Stewart, in order to get a ransom for them."

With a better government and increased railroad facilities, the amount of travel in Mexico has of late years greatly increased. Before the opening of the "Mexican Central," in 1883, the majority of travelers entered the country at the port of Vera Cruz, and journeyed by railroad (opened in 1873) to the capital (two hundred and sixty-three miles), and returned without stopping *en route* in either case; or else made excursions of no great distance from points on our southern frontier into the northern tier of Mexican States—Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas—such journeys being usually made on horseback, with preparations for camping out, and also for fighting if it became necessary. Since the opening of the "Mexican Central," however, this route offers the greatest facilities for those who desire to reach the city of Mexico, the traveler journeying by a fast train, day and night, the whole route (twelve hundred and twenty-five miles) from El Paso, in the very best of Pullman cars, over a good road, with every accommodation save that of food, which, in spite of the efforts of the company, is and will continue to be bad, simply because the country furnishes few resources—milk selling at some points as high as twenty-five cents a quart and scarce at that, while butter *as a product of the country* is almost unknown. But enter Mexico by whatever route, the ordinary

traveler has little opportunity to see anything of the country apart from the city of Mexico, save what is afforded by the view from the car-windows, and yet it is from just such experiences that most of the recent books and letters about Mexico have been written.

There is a wonderful depth of truth in a remark attributed to Emerson, that "the eye sees only what it brings to itself the power to see"; and the majority of those who in recent years have visited Mexico would seem to have brought to their eyes the power of seeing little else than the picturesque side of things. And of such material there is no lack. In the first place, the country throughout is far more foreign to an American than any country of Europe, except that part of Europe in close proximity to its Asiatic border. Transport a person of tolerably good geographical information, without giving him any intimation as to where he was going, to *almost any part of the great plateau of Mexico*—outside of the larger cities—and he would at once conclude that he was either at Timbuctoo or some part of the "Holy Land." The majority of the houses are of *adobe* (mud), destitute of all coloration, unless dust-gray is a color, and one story in height. In Palestine, however, and also (according to report) in Timbuctoo, the roofs are "domed"; in Mexico they are flat. The soil dur-

ing the greater part of the year is dry; the herbage, when there is any, coarse and somber, and the whole country singularly lacking in trees and verdure.* In the fields of the better portions of the country, men may be seen plowing with a crooked stick, and raising water from reservoirs or ditches into irrigating trenches, by exactly the same methods that are in use to-day as they were five thousand years ago or more upon the banks of the Nile. In the villages, women with nut-brown skins, black hair, and large black eyes, walk round in multitudinous folds of cotton fabrics, often colored, the face partially concealed, and gracefully bearing water-jars upon their shoulders—the old familiar Bible picture of our childhood over again, of Rebecca returning from the fountain.

Place a range of irregular, sharp, saw-tooth hills or mountains, upon whose sides neither grass nor shrub has apparently ever grown, in the distance; a cloudless sky and a blazing sun overhead; and in the foreground a few olive-trees, long lines of repellent cacti defining whatever of demarkation may be needed for fields or roadway, and a few

* It is not to be understood that there are no forests in Mexico. A large part of the low and comparatively narrow and tropical coast belt is densely wooded; and there are also valuable forest-growths on the borders of Guatemala and in the Sierra regions of Northern Mexico. But the single fact that wood (mainly mesquite) for fuel on the plateau of Mexico commands from twelve to fifteen dollars per cord, is sufficient evidence of its great scarcity.

donkeys, the type of all that is humble and forlorn —and the picture of village life upon the "plateau" of Mexico is complete.

Would any one recall the "Flight of the Holy Family into Egypt," it is not necessary to visit the galleries of Europe and study the works of the old masters, for here on the dusty plains of Mexico all the scenes and incidents of it (apart from the Jewish nationality) are daily repeated: Mary upon a donkey, her head gracefully hooded with a blue *rebozo*, and carrying a young child enveloped on her bosom in her mantle; while Joseph, the husband, bearded and sun-scorched, with naked arms and legs, and sandals on his feet, walks ploddingly by her side, with one hand on the bridle, and, if the other does not grasp a staff, it is because of the scarcity of wood out of which to make one, or because the dull beast stands in constant need of the stimulus of a thong of twisted leather.

Madame Calderon de la Barca, the Scotch wife of one of the first Spanish ministers sent to Mexico after the achievement of her independence, and who wrote a very popular book on her travels in Mexico, published in 1843, also notes and thus graphically describes this predominance of the "picturesque" in Mexico:

"One circumstance," she says, "must be observed by all who travel in Mexican territory.

There is not one human being or passing object to be seen that is not in itself a picture, or which would not form a good subject for the pencil. The Indian women, with their plaited hair, and little children slung on their backs, their large straw hats, and petticoats of two colors; the long string of *arrieros* with their loaded mules, and swarthy, wild-looking faces; the chance horseman who passes with his *serape* of many colors, his high, ornamental saddle, Mexican hat, silver stirrups, and leather boots—all is picturesque. Salvator Rosa and Hogarth might have traveled here to advantage hand-in-hand; Salvator for the sublime, and Hogarth taking him up where the sublime became ridiculous."

Where Indian blood greatly predominates in the women, the head, neck, shoulders, and legs, to the knee, are generally bare, and their garments little else than a loose-fitting white cotton tunic, and a petticoat of the same material, often of two colors.

At Aguas Calientes, within a hundred yards of the station of the "Mexican Central Railroad," men, women, and children, entirely naked, may be seen bathing, in large numbers, at all hours of the day, in a ditch conveying a few feet of tepid water, which flows, with a gentle current, from certain contiguous and remarkably warm springs.

Shoes in Mexico are a foreign innovation, and properly form no part of the national costume. The great majority of the people do not wear shoes at all, and probably never will; but in their place use sandals, composed of a sole of leather, raw-hide, or plaited fibers of the maguey-plant, fastened to the foot with strings of the same material, as the only protection for the foot needed in their warm, dry climate. And these sandals are so easily made and repaired that every Mexican peasant, no matter what may be his other occupation, is always his own shoemaker. As a general rule, also, the infantry regiments of Mexico wear sandals in preference to shoes; "not solely for the sake of economy, but because they are considered healthier, keep the feet in better condition, are more easily repaired or replaced, and make the marching easier."* Very curiously, the pegged shoes of the United States and other countries are not made and can not be sold in Mexico, as, owing to the extreme dryness of the atmosphere, the wood shrinks to such a degree that the pegs speedily become loose and fall out.

The crowning glory of a Mexican peasant is his hat. No matter how poor he may be, he will manage to have a *sombrero* gorgeous with silver spangles and heavy with silver cord, or, if he pre-

* "United States Consular Reports" on "Leather and Shoe Industries in Foreign Countries," Washington, 1885.

fers straw to felt, he will be equally extravagant in its decoration; and, in common with his blanket, the hat will be made to do duty for many years.

The laboring-classes in Mexico—the so-called "peons," who comprise the great bulk of the population—are chiefly Indians, or descendants from Indians, and are a different race from their employers. Originally conquered and enslaved by the Spaniards, and then emancipated by law, they are, as a matter of fact, through their peculiar attachment to the place of their nativity, and through certain conditions respecting the obligation of debts, almost as permanently attached to the soil of the great estates of the country as they were in the days of their former peonage, or slavery. And it is claimed that the keeping of the peons constantly in debt—a matter not difficult to accomplish by reason of their ignorance and improvidence—and so making permanent residence and the performance of labor obligatory on them, is indispensable for the regular prosecution of agriculture, inasmuch as a peon, if he once gets a few dollars or shillings in his pocket, and there is a place for him to gamble within from fifty to one hundred miles' distance, can never be depended upon for any service so long as any money remains to him. In the cities in the northern States of Mexico, where American ideas are finding their way among the

people, and where the construction of railways has increased the opportunities for employment and raised wages, the condition of the peons has undoubtedly greatly improved within recent years; but in the agricultural districts the general testimony is to the effect, that there is little appreciable change in their condition since their emancipation from involuntary servitude, "and very little sympathy or cordiality between them and their former masters and present employers. And in the cities, also, the *caste* feeling between the Indian operatives and laborers and the other nationalities, is also reported as strongly manifesting itself in jealousies and prejudices."

NOTE.—The extent to which the condition of labor in some, and probably a great, part of Mexico approximates to involuntary servitude is illustrated by the following extracts from recent United States "Consular Reports":

"In the State of Chiapas, Southern Mexico, 'laborers are divided into two classes, free and debtor. The first receive twenty-five cents per day, with rations, or thirty-eight to fifty cents without. The debtor class are those who receive in advance a sum sufficient to pay their former proprietor, which sum frequently reaches five hundred dollars or more.' When a laborer of the second, or debtor class, is dissatisfied, he obtains from the proprietor of the estate where he is situated 'a statement more or less as follows:

"'A. B., laborer [married, widower, or single], seeks employment (accommodation) at (of) farm-work for the sum of —— dollars, which he owes me, as per account made to his satisfaction. The person who wishes may contract with him, first paying the above sum, for which effect a term of eight days is given.'

"With this document the bearer seeks a new master, and, after the debt has been paid, a new contract is made before judicial authority for one or more years. The laborer agrees to give his services to the

labors of the fields on all days except feast-days. The proprietor agrees to pay the salary, supply the stipulated allowances, and make necessary advances in money, clothing, and tools. This contract is not always made with the above formalities. Sometimes the account is simply receipted as paid by the new master, the laborer being subject to the customs of the country, and at liberty to leave when he shall wish to and can obtain a new master to pay him out. The wife of the laborer, except when otherwise stipulated, is obliged to give her services in work suitable to her sex. . . .

"This system is very inconvenient for the proprietors. There is an immediate necessity of spending at least eight thousand dollars to obtain a supply of forty laborers, and it is often impossible to immediately obtain this number. Hence the custom, only agreeable to those born in the locality, to go on gathering one by one, until, after many years, they have sufficient hands to work a first-class property, which is enlarged as the number of laborers is increased. By this means a large sum has been invested in persons who offer no other security than their personal labor, and the proprietor finds himself obliged to exercise great vigilance, organizing the holding in such way as to make the servant feel that his liberty of action is restrained. The only way he has to get out of such a condition is to flee, leaving everything dear to him, including his family. . . .

"Another inconvenience experienced, not less grave, is caused by death of the laborers.

"And in spite of all this, no proprietor of this locality will accept any laborer born here who does not have a debt against him. What are the causes which have created this custom or necessity? The most important causes are the scarcity of laborers, the natural indolence of the indigenous Indian race, and, most important of all, the fertility of the soil. Whether from the excessive heat of the sun or from other causes, there exists among inhabitants of intertropical America a marked disposition to inaction. This is aided by the fertility of the soil and the ease with which sufficient may be obtained to satisfy the few necessities of those who are happy if they have enough for the day. It is therefore natural that man should live thus here; that there should be no spirit of enterprise; and that agriculture, the source of riches, should remain stationary for want of labor.

"Many proprietors work vainly trying to increase their holdings, but the great scarcity of hands prevents; and this, too, in spite of the nearness of populous towns. The poor people in these refuse to work

even when offered increased wages, being satisfied to remain as they are. The Indian inhabitant contracts a debt in some store kept by Europeans or their descendants. The goods are of little or no intrinsic value, but they please his eye, or serve to fulfill promises made to a titular saint on condition that he suffer from no pest, or have good crops, or satisfy his vices. When the time of payment arrives he can not make it, and he goes to a proprietor, who pays the debt and takes his labor on the *hacienda*. He is thus made a debtor laborer, and only for this thinks himself obliged to labor. Once reduced to this condition the debt is increased by the advances which he needs, and which are more than he earns, and his intelligence is not sufficient to understand business matters.

"In the municipality of Tuxtla Gutierrez 'wages are from twenty-five to thirty-one cents for day-laborers, and the conditions under which contracts are made are as follows: The individual presents himself before the new master or patron with whom he wishes to obtain a position with a paper indicating the sum he owes the one whom he has just left, and the one who employs him pays the debt which the paper indicates, and they agree upon the time he has to serve and the wage he shall receive. The latter is generally two dollars and a half per month, giving him a ration of corn, *frijole*, and salt, or four dollars without the ration; in both cases the necessary tools are furnished him. The ration consists of six *almudes* (six and a half quarts each) of corn, half an *almud* of *frijole*, and one pound of salt. When the individual leaves the situation a paper containing his account is given him, so that the one who employs him may return the sum he owes.'

"In the department of Jonuta 'field hands' are reported as 'under a sort of bondage, constituted by a debt of from three hundred to five hundred dollars, or even more, which each servant owes; and, by the law which governs these contracts and permits the forced confinement of the servant, he who for just cause wishes to change his master shall have three days' time, for each one hundred dollars he owes, given him to find one who will pay his indebtedness.'"

"As a rule," says Mr. Strother,* "none of the working-classes of Mexico have any idea of present

* Hon. David H. Strother ("Porte Crayon"), of Virginia, late and for several years consul-general of the United States in Mexico, a gentleman who had large opportunities for studying the country, and a

economy, or of providing for the future. The lives of most of them seem to be occupied in obtaining food and amusement for the passing hour, without either hope or desire for a better future. As the strongest proof of this improvidence on the part of the city mechanic and laborer, is the constant demand for money in advance—from the mechanic, under the pretext of getting materials to enable him to fill some order, and from the laborer, to get something to eat before he begins work."

On each estate, or *hacienda*, there are buildings, or collections of buildings, typical of the country, borrowed originally, so far as the idea was concerned, in part undoubtedly from Old Spain, and in part prompted by the necessities for defense from attack under which the country has been occupied and settled, which are also called *haciendas;* the term being apparently used indifferently to designate both a large landed estate, as well as the buildings, which, like the old feudal castles, represent the ownership and the center of operations on the estate. They are usually huge rectangular structures—walls or buildings—of stone or adobe, intended often to serve the purpose, if needs be, of actual fortresses, and completely inclosing an inner square or court-yard, the entrance to which

rare faculty of digesting and properly presenting the results of his observations.

is through one or more massive gates, which, when closed at night, are rarely opened until morning. The entire structure, or the *enceinte*, is sometimes also surrounded by a moat, while the angles of the walls and the gateways are protected by projecting turrets pierced for musketry — defensive precautions which the experience of former times with bands of highwaymen or hungry revolutionists fully justified, and which in remote parts of the country even yet continue.

Within the court, upon one side, built up against an exterior wall, is usually a series of adobe structures—low, windowless, single apartments—where the peons and their families, with their dogs and pigs, live; while upon the other sides are larger structures for the use or residence of the owner and his family, or the superintendent of the estate, with generally also a chapel and accommodations for the priest, places for the storage of produce and the keeping of animals, and one or more apartments entirely destitute of furniture or of any means of lighting or ventilation save through the entrance or doorway from the court-yard, which are devoted to the reception of such travelers as may demand and receive hospitality to the extent of shelter from the night, or protection from outside marauders. Such places hardly deserve the name of inns, but either these poor accommoda-

tions, or camping-out, is the traveler's only alternative. They put one in mind of the caravansaries of the East, or better, of the inns or *posadas* of Spain, which Don Quixote and his attendant, Sancho Panza, frequented, with the court-yard then, as now, all ready for tossing Sancho in a blanket in presence of the whole population. In some cases the *hacienda* is an irregular pile of adobe buildings without symmetry, order, or convenience; and in others, where the estate is large and the laborers numerous (as is often the case), the most important buildings only are inclosed within the wall — the peons, whose poverty is generally a sufficient safeguard against robbery, living outside in adobe or cane huts, and constituting a scattered village community.

The owners of these large Mexican estates, who are generally men of wealth and education, rarely live upon them, but make their homes in the city of Mexico or in Europe, and intrust the management of their property to a superintendent, who, like the owner, considers himself a gentleman, and whose chief business is to keep the peons in debt, or, what is substantially the same thing, in slavery. Whatever work is done is performed by the peons —in whose veins Indian blood predominates—in their own way and in their own time. They have but few tools, and, except possibly some contriv-

ances for raising water, nothing worthy the name of machinery. Without being bred to any mechanical profession, the peons make and repair nearly every implement or tool that is used upon the estate, and this, too, without the use of a forge or of iron, not even of bolts and nails. The explanation of such an apparently marvelous result is to be found in a single word, or rather material—rawhide—with which the peon feels himself qualified to meet almost any constructive emergency, from the framing of a house to the making of a loom, the mending of a gun, or the repair of a broken leg; and yet, even under these circumstances, the great Mexican estates, owing to their exemption from taxation and the cheapness of labor, are said to be profitable, and, in cases where a fair supply of water is obtainable, to even return large incomes to their absentee owners.

As agriculture can not be prosecuted on the plateau of Mexico without irrigation, the chief expense of each *hacienda* or cultivated district consists in providing and maintaining a water-supply, which is not infrequently obtained through a most extensive and costly system of canals, ponds, and dams, whereby the water that falls during the limited rainy period is stored up and distributed during the dry season; and what the great proprietor accomplishes through a great expenditure of

money the Indian communities effect at the present day, as they have from time immemorial, through associated, patient, and long-continued labor.

In no truly Mexican house of high or low degree, from the adobe hut of the peasant to the great stone edifice in the capital said to have been erected by the Emperor Iturbide, and now an hotel,* are there any arrangements for warming or, in the American sense, for cooking; and in the entire city of Mexico, with an estimated population of from two hundred and twenty-five to three hundred thousand, chimneys, fireplaces, and stoves are so rare that it is commonly said that there are none. This latter statement is, however, not strictly correct; yet it approximates so closely to the truth, that but for provision for warm baths, there is probably no exception to it in any of the larger hotels of the city where foreigners most do congregate. All the cooking in Mexico is done over charcoal, or embers fanned to a glow; and fans made of rushes, for this special purpose, are a constant commodity of the market. The use of bellows is unknown, and the employment of the lungs and breath involves too much effort. Apart from the capital

* This edifice was not erected by the emperor of that name, as is currently reported; but by a wealthy Mexican citizen for the accommodation of his family—a wife or two, some concubines, and upward of sixty children!

and some of the larger cities, Mexico is notably deficient in hotels or inns for the accommodation of travelers, and in a majority of the smaller towns there are no such places. And why should there be? The natives rarely go anywhere, and consequently do not expect anybody to come to them.

Large, costly, and often elegant stone edifices—public and private—are not wanting in the principal towns and cities of Mexico; but all, save those of very recent construction, have the characteristic Saracenic or Moorish architecture of Southern Spain—namely, a rectangular structure with rooms opening on to interior piazzas, and a more or less spacious court-yard, which is often fancifully paved and ornamented with fountains and shrubbery; while the exterior, with its gate-furnished archways and narrow and iron-grated windows, suggests the idea of a desire for jealous seclusion on the part of the inmates, or fear of possible outside attack and disturbance. Wooden buildings are almost unknown in Mexico, and in all interiors wood is rarely used where stone, tiles, and iron are possible applications. Consequently, and, in view of the scarcity of water, most fortunately, there are few fires in Mexico: nothing akin to a fire department outside of the city of Mexico, and but little opportunity for insurance companies or the business of insurance agents. As a general rule,

the buildings of Mexico, exclusive of the huts, in which the masses of the people live, are not over one story in height, flat-roofed, and have neither cellars nor garrets; and in buildings of more than one story the upper floor is always preferred as a dwelling, and thus in the cities commands the highest rent. There do not, moreover, seem to be any aristocratic streets or quarters in the cities of Mexico; but rich and poor distribute themselves indiscriminately, and not unfrequently live under the same roof.*

* Some of the recently improved and newer parts of the city of Mexico, lying remote from the center, are an exception to this rule, and are being built up with a handsome class of houses, while the adjacent streets are broad and well paved.

CHAPTER II.

Popular fallacies concerning Mexico—Its geographical position and physical characteristics—Elevation of the "Mexican Central Railroad"—The valley of the city of Mexico—The "City of Mexico and Vera Cruz Railroad"—The "*Tierras Calientes*"—No navigable rivers in Mexico—Population—Character of the Aztec civilization—A development of the "Stone Age"—The romance of Prescott's History—The predecessors of the Aztecs—Counterparts of the mounds of the United States in Mexico—Possible explanation of their origin.

THE popular opinion concerning Mexico is that it is a country of marvelous and unbounded natural resources. Every geography invites attention to the admirable location of its territory, between and in close proximity to the two great oceans; to the great variety, abundance, and richness of its tropical products—sugar, coffee, tobacco, dye and ornamental woods, vanilla, indigo, cacao, cochineal, fruits, fibers, and the like; and to the number of its mines, which for more than two centuries have furnished the world with its chief supply of silver, and are still productive. The result is, that with a majority of well-informed people, and more especially with those who have read about Mexico

in those charming romances of Prescott, and who, in flying visits to its capital, have found so much to interest them in the way of the picturesque, and have brought to their eyes little capacity for seeing anything else, the tendency has been to confound the possible with the actual, and to encourage the idea that Mexico is a rich prize, unappreciated by its present possessors, and only waiting for the enterprising and audacious Yankees to possess and make much of, by simply coming down and appropriating.

Now, with these current beliefs and impressions the writer has little sympathy; but, on the contrary, his study and observations lead him to the conclusion that the Mexico of to-day, through conjoined natural and artificial (or human) influences, is one of the very poorest and most wretched of all countries; and, while undoubtedly capable of very great improvement over her present conditions, is not speedily or even ultimately likely, under any circumstances, to develop into a great (in the sense of highly civilized), rich, and powerful nation. And, in warrant and vindication of opinions so antagonistic to popular sentiment, it is proposed to ask attention to a brief review of the condition of Mexico: *first*, from its geographical or natural standpoint; and, *secondly*, from the standpoint of its historical, social, and political experience.

Considered geographically, Mexico is, in the main, an immense table-land or plateau, which seems to be a flattening out of the Rocky and Sierra Nevada Mountains, and which, commencing within the territory of the United States as far north certainly as Central Colorado, and perhaps beyond, extends as far south as the Isthmus of Tehuantepec; a north and south length, measuring from the southern frontier-line of the United States, of about two thousand miles. Entering the country by the "Mexican Central Railway" at El Paso, where the plateau has already an elevation of 3,717 feet, the traveler progressively and rapidly ascends, though so gradually that, except for a *détour*, made obligatory in the construction of the road to climb up into the city of Zacatecas, he is hardly conscious of it, until, at a point known as Marquez, 1,148 miles from the starting-point and 76 miles from the city of Mexico, the railroad-track attains an elevation of 8,134 feet, or 1,849 feet higher than the summit of Mount Washington. In fact, as Humboldt, as far back as 1803, pointed out, so regular is the great plateau on the line followed by the "Central" road, and so gentle are its surface slopes where depressions occur, that the journey from the city of Mexico to Santa Fé, in New Mexico, might be performed in a four-wheeled vehicle.

From Marquez, or the railroad "summit," the

line descends rapidly, some six hundred feet, into the valley of the city of Mexico; which valley is really an elevated plain, thirty-one by forty-five miles in extent, having an average altitude of about 7,500 feet above the sea-level, and inclosed by high and irregular mountain-ridges, from which rise two volcanic peaks—Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl —to the height of 17,884 and 15,705 feet respectively, and whose summits are covered with perpetual snows. And it is at the lowest point, and near the center of this valley, or plain, and surrounded by a group of lakes, which in turn are bordered by swamps, that the city of Mexico is located.

Starting next from the city of Mexico, and going east toward the Atlantic, or west toward the Pacific, for a distance in either direction of about one hundred and sixty miles, we come to the edge or terminus of this great plateau; so well defined and so abrupt, that in places it seems as if a single vigorous jump would land the experimenter, or all that was left of him, at from two to three thousand feet lower level.

The annexed cut approximately represents the profile of the country between the two oceans, and in the latitude of the city of Mexico.

Up the side of the almost precipice, which bounds the plateau on the east—tunneling through

or winding round a succession of mountain promontories—the "Vera Cruz and City of Mexico Railroad" has been constructed; "rising" or "falling"

MEXICAN TABLE-LAND.

—according to the direction traveled—over four thousand feet, in passing over a circuitous track of about twenty-five miles; and of which elevation or depression, about twenty-five hundred perpendicular feet are comprised within the first twelve miles, measured from the point where the descent from the edge of the plateau begins. To overcome this tremendous grade in ascending, a sort of double locomotive—comprising two sets of driving machinery, with the boilers in the center, and known as the "Farlie" engine—is employed; and even with this most powerful tractor it is necessary, with an ordinary train, to stop every eight or ten miles, in order to keep up a sufficient head of steam to overcome the resistance. In descending, on the other hand, only sufficient steam is necessary to work the brakes and counteract the tendency to a too rapid movement. As an achievement in engineering the road has probably no parallel, except it may be in some of the more recent and limited

constructions among the passes of Colorado; and, as might be expected, the cost of transportation over the entire distance of 263 miles, from Vera Cruz to the city of Mexico, is very heavy, although at an enormous reduction on the cost of all methods previously employed. When the road was first opened, the charges for first-class freight per ton were $76; second class, $65; and by passenger-trains, $97.77. Since the opening of, and under the influence of the competition of, the "Mexican Central," these rates have been reduced to an average of about $40 to $45 per ton, and still the business is understood to be not especially remunerative. Begun in 1857, this road was not completed, owing mainly to the disturbed state of the country, until 1873. It was built under English supervision, and with English capital, at a reported cost—including workshops and equipment—of about $27,000,000, although capitalized at $37,782,000, and is solid and excellent throughout. The parties—citizens of Mexico—to whom the concession for building the road was originally granted, also received in the way of subvention from the national Government, from the time the first concession was made in 1857 to the period of the completion of the road in 1873, the sum of $7,056,619. It is further claimed by the Mexican authorities that owing to extraordinary errors in commencing the construc-

tion of the road, and the intentional diversion of the line as projected by the engineers, in order to benefit certain factories and estates of the grantee of the road—Mr. Antonio Escandon—the length of the road was increased from 304 to 423 kilometres* and entailing an unnecessary expenditure of $6,743,938. During the year 1876 the road was destroyed at different points by the revolutionists, and all traffic for a considerable time suspended.

At the station "Esperanza," one hundred and fifty miles from the city of Mexico, on the farther side of a great sandy plain, and on the very verge of the plateau, and where the descent may be said to abruptly begin, the stations, engine-houses, and shops, built of dressed stone, are as massive and elegant as any of the best suburban stations on any of the British railways. And, as illustrating how rigidly the English engineers adhered to home rules and precedents, the constructions at this station include a very elegant and expensive arched bridge of dressed stone, with easy and extended approaches, to guard against danger in crossing the tracks; although, apart from the persons in the employ of the company, the resident population is very inconsiderable.

Starting from this point in the early morning of the 27th of March, to make the descent to the

* The kilometre = 0.621 United States mile.

comparatively level and low land intervening between the base of the plateau and the ocean, the ground at the station was white with hoar-frost; while behind it, apparently but a mile or two distant, and of not more than fifteen hundred to two thousand feet in elevation, rose the glistening, snow-covered cone of Orizaba. Within the cars, and even with closed windows, overcoats and shawls were essential. Within an hour, however, overcoats and shawls were discarded as uncomfortable. Within another hour the inclination was to get rid of every superfluous garment, while before noon the thermometers in the cars ranged from 90° to 95° Fahr., and the traveler found himself in the heart of the tropics, amid palms, orange-trees, coffee-plantations, fields of sugar-cane and bananas, almost naked Indians, and their picturesque though miserable huts of cane or stakes, plastered with mud and roofed with plantain-leaves or corn-stalks. In the descent, Orizaba (17,373 feet), which at the starting-point, and seen from an elevation of about 8,000 feet, is not impressive in respect to height, although beautiful, gradually rises, and finally, when seen from the level of the low or coast lands, becomes a most magnificent spectacle, far superior to Popocatepetl, which is higher, or any other Mexican mountain, but, in the opinion of the writer, inferior in sublimity to Tacoma in Washington Ter-

ritory, the entire elevation of which last (14,300 feet) can, in some places, be taken in at a single glance from the sea-level and a water-foreground. The comparatively narrow and gently sloping strip of land which the traveler thus reaches on the Atlantic side in journeying from Mexico to Vera Cruz extends from the base of the great plateau to the ocean, and, with its counterpart on the Pacific side, constitutes in the main the so-called "*Tierras Calientes*" (hot lands), or the tropical part of Mexico. The average width of these coast-lands on the Atlantic is about sixty miles, while on the Pacific it varies from forty to seventy miles.

Considered as a whole, the geographical configuration and position of Mexico have been compared to an immense cornucopia, with its mouth turned toward the United States and its concave side on the Atlantic; having an extreme length of about 2,000 miles, and a varying width of 1,100 miles (in latitude 25° north) to 130 miles at the Isthmus of Tehuantepec. Its territorial area is 939,700 square miles, or a little larger than that part of the United States which is situated east of the Mississippi River, exclusive of the States of Wisconsin and Mississippi; and this cornucopia in turn, as has been before intimated, consists of an immense table-land, nine tenths of which have an average elevation of from 5,000 to 7,000 feet. Such an elevation

in the latitude of 42° (Boston or New York) would have given the country an almost Arctic character; but under the Tropic of Cancer, or in latitudes 18° to 25° north, the climate at these high elevations is almost that of perpetual spring. At these high elevations of the Mexican plateau furthermore, the atmosphere is so lacking in moisture, that meat, bread, or cheese, never molds or putrefies, but only spoils by drying up. Perspiration, even when walking briskly in the middle of the day, does not gather or remain upon the forehead or other exposed portions of the body; and it is through this peculiarity only of the atmosphere that the city of Mexico, with its large population, and its soil reeking with filth through lack of any good and sufficient drainage, has not long ago been desolated with pestilence.

The border States of Mexico on the north are Sonora, Chihuahua, Coahuila, and Tamaulipas. Sonora is larger than the States of Ohio and Indiana combined; Chihuahua is nearly as large as New York and Pennsylvania; Coahuila is larger than New York; and Tamaulipas is nearly as large as Maryland, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Massachusetts combined.

The surface of the great Mexican plateau, or table-land, although embracing extensive areas of comparatively level surface, which are often des-

erts, is nevertheless largely broken up by ranges of mountains, or detached peaks—some of which, like Popocatepetl, Orizaba, and Toluca, rise to great elevations—a circumstance which it is important to remember, and will be again referred to, in considering the possible future material development of the country.

Again, if we except certain navigable channels which make up for short distances from the sea into the low, narrow strips of coast-lands, there is not a navigable river in all Mexico; or, indeed, any stream, south of the Rio Grande, that in the United States, east of the Mississippi, would be regarded as of any special importance. Wells, except a few "artesian," are also so scarce on the plateau of Mexico that their very existence has been denied.

In respect, therefore, to this element of commercial prosperity, Mexico has been characterized as less favored than any considerable country except Arabia; the name of which last, as is well known, stands almost as a synonym for aridity.

No one accurately knows the total population of Mexico, as no undeniably accurate census has ever been taken; and there is no immediate prospect that any will be: certainly not so long as a majority of the people have a fear of giving any information in respect to their numbers, as is represented, and a not inconsiderable part of the coun-

try, as has already been pointed out, has never yet been brought under the rule of civil authority. A census, however, taken in 1879 and officially published in the "*Annales del Ministerio de Fomento*," reported the population as 9,908,011;* but by some

* *Table showing the Population and Area in Square Miles of each of the States of Mexico, according to the Census of 1879.*

Order of density of population.	NAME OF STATE.	Area in square miles.	Number of population.	Population per square mile.
1	The Federal District (city of Mexico)	463	351,804	759
2	State of Mexico	7,840	710,579	90
3	" " Morelos	1,776	159,160	89
4	" " Tlaxcala	1,622	138,958	85
5	" " Guanajuato	11,413	834,845	73
6	" " Puebla	12,019	784,466	65
7	" " Querétaro	3,205	203,250	63
8	" " Hidalgo	8,161	427,350	52
9	" " Aguas Calientes	2,897	140,430	48
10	" " Michoacan	23,714	661,534	27
11	" " Jalisco	39,174	983,484	25
12	" " Oaxaca	33,582	744,000	22
13	" " Vera Cruz	26,232	542,918	20
14	" " San Luis Potosí	27,503	516,486	18
15	" " Zacatecas	22,999	422,506	18
16	" " Colima	3,746	65,827	17
17	" " Chiapas	16,048	205,362	12
18	" " Guerrero	24,552	295,590	12
19	" " Yucatan	29,569	302,315	10
20	" " Tabasco	11,849	104,747	8
21	" " Nuevo Leon	23,637	203,284	8
22	" " Sinaloa	36,200	186,491	5
23	" " Tamaulipas	27,916	140,137	5
24	" " Durango	42,511	190,846	4
25	" " Campeachy	25,834	90,413	3
26	" " Chihuahua	83,751	225,541	2
27	" " Coahuila	50,904	130,026	2
28	" " Sonora	79,020	115,424	1
29	Territory of Lower California.	61,563	30,208	½
	Total for the republic	739,700	9,908,011	13.4

authorities it is estimated considerably higher, and as even approximating 12,000,000. Of the whole number, whatever it may be, fully nine tenths are believed to be located upon the high or table lands, and only one tenth on the lowlands of the east and west coasts.

So much, then, for Mexico, considered geographically or in respect to its natural conditions. Let us next, as a means of better comprehending its present condition, briefly consider its historical, social, and political experiences.

The authentic history of Mexico practically commences with its conquest and occupation by the Spaniards under Cortes in 1521. The general idea is, that the people whom the Spaniards found in Mexico had attained to a degree of civilization that raised them far above the level of the average Indians of North America, more especially in all that pertained to government, architecture, agriculture, manufactures, and the useful arts, and the production and accumulation of property. For all this there is certainly but very little foundation; and the fascinating narrations of Prescott, which have done so much to make what is popularly considered "Mexican history," as well as the Spanish chronicles from which Prescott drew his so-called historic data, are, in the opinion of the writer, and with the exception of the military record of the

Spaniards, little other than the merest romance; not much more worthy, in fact, of respect and credence than the equally fascinating stories of "Sindbad the Sailor." And, in defense and warrant for such an unusual and perhaps unpopular conclusion, attention is asked to the following circumstances and reasons:

In the Museum of the city of Mexico there is probably the best collection of the remains of the so-called Aztec people that ever has or probably ever will be gathered. Here, ranged upon shelves and properly classified, the visitor will see a large number and variety of their tools, weapons, and implements. Setting aside their fictile or pottery products, they are all of stone—the same arrow-heads, the same stone hatchets, pestles, and the like, which are still picked up on the fields and along the water-courses of New England, the South, and the West; and of which there are so many public and private collections in the United States —no better than, and in some respects inferior in artistic merit and finish to, many like articles excavated from the Western mounds, or known to have been the work of our historic Indians; or to the arrow-heads and lance-tips which are still fabricated by the Shoshones and Flatheads on the Columbia and Snake Rivers. In all this large collection there is no evidence, save a very few copper

implements, the use of which is somewhat doubtful, that the Aztecs ever had any knowledge and made any use of metal tools; and in only a comparatively few instances have fabrications of copper, of unquestionable antique origin, ever been discovered in connection with Aztec remains in Mexico.* And of the pottery and stone-work in

* In 1873 a workman, employed in making a reconnaissance of a vein of copper in the State of Guerrero, uncovered an excavation some eleven feet long by five deep and three and a half wide, at the bottom of which was found a vein of copper from one and a half to four inches thick. Examination showed that the vein had been worked, and that, while there was no sign of the use of iron or powder, the walls and the floor presented traces of fire. At first no tools were discovered; but on a careful search among the *débris* there were found one hundred and forty-two masses of stone of various sizes, different from any of the rocks constituting the mountain, shaped like hammers and wedges, and the edges of which were worn and broken off. Here, then, was evidently a vein of copper which had been worked to a limited extent by the native races in earlier times; and their method of mining was also clearly shown to be by the rude process of rendering the rock friable by heating and rapidly cooling, and then pounding off metal by means of stone hammers and wedges.

Cortes, in one of his letters to Charles V, states that, in addition to the tribute of maize, honey, and cloth which was paid to the Mexican kings before the downfall of their empire by certain subject tribes, the furnishing of a number of hatchets of copper was required. But what sort of hatchets these were is indicated by the circumstance, that some years ago an earthern pot was uncovered by the plow in a field near Oaxaca, which contained no less than two hundred and seventy-six of them; all very thin, three or four inches in length, and shaped somewhat in the form of the letter T. And as this description answers to other so-called hatchets, which have been discovered at other times and places, the idea has been suggested that the articles in question were not tools, but ornaments, or possibly coins. According to Señor Mendoza, the director of the National Museum at Mexico, there are in this

the shape of idols, small and big, masks, and vases, and of which there are many specimens in the museum and throughout the country, it is sufficient to say that it is all of the rudest kind, and derives its chief attraction and interest from its hideousness and almost entire lack of anything which indicates either artistic taste or skill on the part of its fabricators. Take any fair collection of what purports to be the products of Aztec skill and workmanship, and place the same side by side with a similar collection made in any of the most civilized of the islands of the Pacific—the Feejees, the Marquesas, or the Sandwich Islands, or from the tribes that live on Vancouver's Sound—and the superiority of the latter would be at once most evident and un-

collection certain specimens of bronze chisels, containing 97.87 per cent of copper and 2.13 per cent of tin, malleable, of a hardness inferior to iron, but yet sufficiently hard, in his opinion, to serve the purpose of a chisel. There is no proof, however, that such implements are of Aztec origin; and it is evident that they could do but little execution in carving a material so excessively hard as the stone of which the great idol, the sacrificial block of the museum, and the calendar stone in the wall of the cathedral, are composed.

M. Charney, in the account of his recent explorations in Central America (communicated to the "North American Review," 1880-'81), states that he has seen some large, handsome specimens of ancient copper axes in Mexico, which were capable of doing service; resembling American axes, "except that, instead of having a socket for the haft, the latter was split and the head of the axe secured in the cleft." The general conclusions of this writer are, that the American races of Central America, at the time of the invasion of the Spaniards, "had reached the transition period between the age of polished stone and the bronze age."

questionable. In all fairness, therefore, all controversy with the writer's position, if there is any, ought to be considered as settled; for there is no more infallible test and criterion of the civilization and social condition of either a man or a nation than the tools which he or it works with; and stone hatchets and stone arrow-heads are the accompaniments of the stone age and all that pertains thereto, and their use is not compatible with any high degree of civilization or social refinement.

But this is not all. It is now generally conceded that the Aztec tribes, that have become famed in history, did not number as many as two hundred and fifty thousand, and that the area of territory to which their rule was mainly confined did not much exceed in area the State of Rhode Island. The first sight of a horse threw them into a panic, and they had no cattle, sheep, swine, dogs, or other domestic animals—save the turkey—of any account. They had no written language, unless the term can be properly applied to rude drawings of a kind similar to those with which the North American Indian ornaments his skins or scratches upon the rocks. It is very doubtful if they had anything which would be regarded as money; and in the absence of beasts of burden, of any system of roads and of wheeled vehicles, or, indeed, of any methods of transportation other than through the

muscular power and backs of men, they could have had but little internal trade or commerce.

All authorities, furthermore, agree that human sacrifices constituted an essential part of their religion, and that, as a nation, they were addicted to cannibalism, and probably forced the adoption of its practice among the contiguous nations whom they invaded and possibly subjugated. But "cannibalism," as M. Charney remarks, "had its rise among tribes having no cattle, no hunting-grounds, and having for their maintenance only vegetable food, or an insufficiency of food; and, if the phenomenon is observed among civilized nations, it is exceptional, as in famine, or as in cities reduced to extremities by a protracted siege."*

Prescott assigns to the Aztec city of Mexico a population of three hundred thousand, and sixty

* "We find cannibalism in America at the time of the conquest among the Caribs; in the islands of the Pacific, where the natives had for their only sustenance cocoanuts and fish; and in Australia, where the soil was so poor that not only was man a cannibal, but he was furthermore constrained to limit the population. But no tribe, however savage, having at hand—whatever the trouble might be of securing the prey—bears, reindeer, horses, or oxen, is ever cannibalistic. Now, the natives of Central America and Mexico at the time of the conquest were cannibals, though the time had gone by when necessity compelled them to be such. They were farmers; cultivated several species of grain, and derived from the chase, and from animals, food sufficient to support life. Why, then, were they cannibals? The reason is, though they would not themselves account for it in that way, that they were complying with religions tradition."—M. Charney, "North American Review," October, 1880.

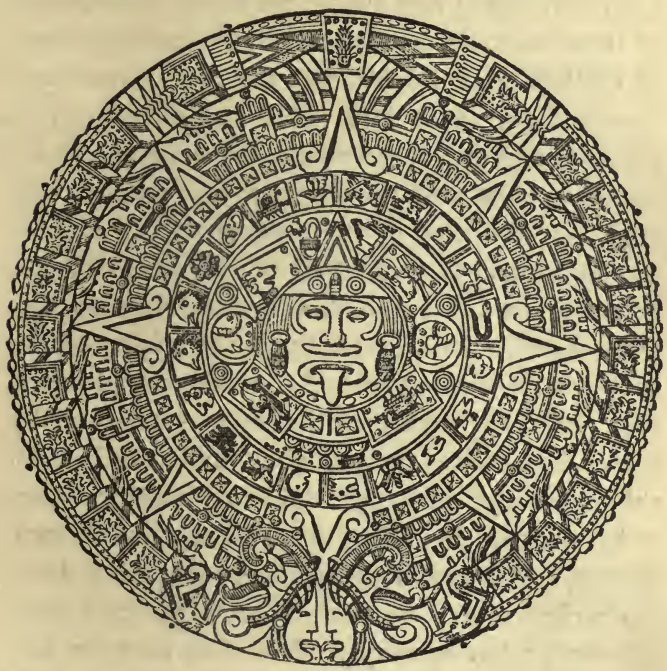
thousand houses, and abundant fountains and reservoirs of water; but a very brief reflection would seem to make it evident that no such population could have been regularly supported, mainly with bulky agricultural food transported on the backs of men, or in light canoes through canals from the neighboring small salt lakes; or supplied with water sufficient for fountains, drinking, and domestic purposes, through an earthen pipe "of the size of a man's body," brought some miles "from Chapultepec," the water adjacent to the city being then, as now, salt and unfit for use. What their manufactures could have been, with stone tools and the most primitive machinery, it is not difficult to conjecture. Probably not materially different from what the traveler may yet see at the present day in the case of the Indian woman, who, seated by the wayside, with a bundle of wool under her arm and a spindle consisting of a stem of wood, one end resting in a cup formed from the shell of a gourd, dexterously and rapidly draws out and spins a coarse but not uneven thread. If any higher degree of manufacturing industry had ever been attained by this people, it probably would not have been utterly forgotten in later days; and the fact is that, "even at the present time, the greater proportion of the domestic utensils, laborers' tools and implements, and articles of clothing in common

use in Mexico, are said to be of Indian manufacture, and differing very little, if at all, from those used before the conquest." Even in the capital of the republic, says Mr. Consul Strother, where European ideas and habits most generally prevail, a large proportion of the population now use no other bed than the traditional Indian mat, and find their principal food in the Indian corn, ground by hand on the *metate*, a hollow stone, identical in form and character with those used four centuries ago by the wives of the Indian emperors to prepare the corn and the chocolate for their august lords; and in the capital, also, as throughout the republic, the kitchens are furnished with cookery-vessels of Indian manufacture, spoons, bowls and platters of horn, wood, *calebasa* baskets, and trays of woven rushes and palm-leaves, unchanged in form and character from those described in the earliest histories of the country.

What Aztec architecture was may be inferred from the circumstance that Cortes, with his little band of less than five hundred Spaniards, leveled to the ground three quarters of the city of Tenochtitlan in the seventeen days of his siege; while of the old city of Mexico, with its reported palaces and temples, there is absolutely nothing left which is indicative of having formed a part of any grand or permanent structure.

That there was, antecedent to the Aztecs, in this country of Mexico and Central America, a superior race to which the name of Toltecs or Mayas has been applied, who built the elaborate stone structures of Yucatan and of other portions of Central America, and who, it would seem, must have been acquainted with the use of metals, can not be doubted. At a town called Tula, about fifty miles from Mexico, on the line of the Mexican Central, where the Toltecs are reported to have first settled, the traveler will see on the plaza the lower half—i. e., from the feet to the waist—of two colossal and rude sitting figures; also, several perfect cylindrical sections of columns, which were very curiously arranged to fit into and support each other by means of a tenon and mortise, all of stone. The material of which these objects of unquestionably great antiquity are composed, and which all archæologists who have seen them agree are not Mexican or Aztec in their origin, is a very peculiar basalt, so hard that a steel tool hardly makes an impression upon it. When the same traveler arrives in the city of Mexico, and is shown the three greatest archæological treasures of American origin—namely, the great idol, "Huitzilopochtli," the "Sacrificial Stone," and the so-called "Calendar" stone, now built into one of the outer walls of the cathedral—he might remark that the mate-

rial of which they are all constructed is the same hard, black stone which constitutes the relics at Tula, and that neither in the large collections of



CALENDAR STONE.

the Museum of Mexico, nor anywhere else, are there any articles, of assumed Aztec origin, composed of like material. Hence an apparently legitimate inference that the latter have a common origin with the constructions at Tula, and are relics of the Toltecs or older nations, and not of the Aztecs.

Again, while much speculation has been had in respect to the origin and use of the mounds of our Western and Southwestern States, it seems to have been overlooked that almost the exact counterparts of these mounds exist to-day in the earth-pyramid of Cholula, near Puebla, and the two pyramids of Teotihuacan, about fifty miles east of the city of Mexico; and that those structures were in use for religious rites and purposes—i. e., "mound-worship"—at the time of the invasion of the country by the Spaniards under Cortes. It seems difficult, therefore, to avoid also this further inference, that there is an intimate connection as to origin and use between all these North American mound-structures, and that they are all the work of substantially one and the same people, who found their last development and, perhaps, origin in Mexico or Central America. In calling attention to these circumstances, and in venturing opinions concerning them, the writer makes no pretension to archæological knowledge, but he simply offers what seem to him the simple, common-sense conclusions which every observer must come to, who does not bring to his eye a capacity for seeing what has been limited by some preconceived theories.

NOTE.—When the views as above expressed respecting the character of the civilization of the Aztecs were originally presented in the pages of "The Popular Science Monthly," they evoked, especially from Mexican sources, not a little adverse criticism; and the author

was accused "of a pompous and presumptuous way of dealing with historic facts," and a "curious boldness" in rejecting "the Spanish chronicles and the writings of Prescott, without offering any better authority to upset them." The question at issue, however, is not one of sentiment, but of fact; and if the evidence concerning the tools and implements, the manufactures and architecture, the absence of domestic animals, the lack of facilities for transportation, the ignorance of money and of a written language, the existence of a ferocious religious faith, and the practice of cannibalism, which the author has adduced in respect to the race which the Spaniards found dominant in the country at the time of their invasion, is fully in accordance with the facts and unimpeachable, then the latitude of deduction is so very narrow that the charge of presumption against those who may differ from the conclusions of the Spanish chroniclers certainly can not be well founded. Again, Cortes landed in Mexico with a force of five hundred and fifty Spaniards, two to three hundred Indians, a few negroes, and twelve or thirteen horses; and, with this small force, considerably reduced in numbers, but with some six thousand Indian allies, he completely overthrew and subjugated an empire whose chief city, according to Mr. Prescott, contained a population of three hundred thousand. As no such results in warring against foreign or savage nations had ever before been achieved by Europeans—the comparatively small tribe of the West India Caribs, for example, having even then (as well as subsequently) successfully resisted subjugation by the Spaniards—Cortes and his associates undoubtedly foresaw that the inferences of the European public would be, that the races they subdued were in the highest degree effeminate and incapable of much resistance; and with such an anticipation what could be more natural than that they should magnify the numbers and the civilization of their opponents, as a guarantee of their own valor and apparently superhuman achievements? The author has also the satisfaction of learning, since his views were first presented to the public, that they are in full accord with the independent conclusions of some of the leading American archæologists and historians.

CHAPTER III.

Spanish colonial policy in Mexico—How Spain protected her home industries against colonial competition—Origin of the War of Independence—Portraits of the Spanish viceroys—The last *auto-da-fe* in Mexico—Portraits of distinguished Mexicans in the National Hall of Embassadors—Ingratitude of the republic—The American war of invasion and the spoliation of Mexico—Injustice of the war.

THE Spanish rule over Mexico lasted for just three hundred years, or from 1521 to 1821; and, during the whole of this long period, the open and avowed policy of Spain was, to regard the country as an instrumentality for the promotion of her own interests and aggrandizement exclusively, and to utterly and contemptuously disregard the desires and interests of the Mexican people. The government or viceroyalty established by Spain, in Mexico, for the practical application of this policy, accordingly seems to have always regarded the attainment of three things or results as the object for which it was mainly constituted, and to have allowed nothing of sentiment or of humanitarian consideration to stand for one moment in the way of their rigorous prosecution and realization. These

were, first, to collect and pay into the royal treasury the largest possible amount of annual revenue; second, to extend and magnify the authority and work of the established Church; third, to protect home (i. e., Spanish) industries.

Starting with the assumption that the country, with all its people and resources, was the absolute property of the crown in virtue of conquest, the accomplishment of the *first* result was sought through the practical enslavement of the whole native population, and the appropriation of the largest amount of all production that was compatible with the continued existence of productive industries. With the civil power at the command of the Church, the attainment of the *second* result was from the outset most successful; for, with a profession of belief and the acceptance of baptism, on the one hand, and the vigilance of the Inquisition and a menace of the fires of the *auto-da-fe* on the other, the number of those who wanted to exemplify in themselves the supremacy of conscience or the freedom of the will was very soon reduced to a minimum. And, finally, the correctness or expediency of the principle of protection to home (Spanish) industry having been once accepted, it was practically carried out, with such a logical exactness and absence of all subterfuge, as to be worthy of admiration, and without parallel in all

economic history. For, in the first instance, with a view of laying the axe directly at the root of the tree of commercial freedom, all foreign trade or commercial intercourse with any country other than Spain was prohibited under pain of death; and this ordinance is believed to have been kept in force until within the present century. No schools or educational institutions save those of an ecclesiastical nature were allowed, and in these, instruction in almost every branch of useful learning was prohibited. Certain portions of Mexico were admirably adapted, as they yet are, to the cultivation of the vine, the olive, the mulberry, and of fiber-yielding plants, and also for the keeping and breeding of sheep; but, as a colonial supply of wine,* oil, silk, hemp, and wool might interfere with the interests of home producers, the production of any or all of these articles was strictly pro-

* "The grape-culture is destined to become one of the most important of Mexican industries. A very large area of the republic, with its volcanic soils, will be found most admirably adapted to this industry, while as a matter of fact the vine will grow in every valley and place that can be irrigated. The two most important wine-growing regions of the republic are that of Paso del Norte, in Chihuahua, and that of Durango and Coahuila, of which Parras, in the latter State —a name meaning grape-vines—is the best-known point. The wine of Parras, in spite of the difficulty and expense of transportation, has gained a good reputation outside of Mexico. Connoisseurs say that it is worthy of comparison with the best of sherry." The value of the wine and brandy produced in Mexico was returned in 1883 at $3,711,000.—"Report on the Agriculture of Mexico," U. S. Department of Agriculture, Washington, 1884.

hibited; neither was any manufacture whatever allowed which could by any possibility interfere with any similar industry of Old Spain. When Hidalgo, a patriotic Catholic priest, about the year 1810, with a desire to diversify the industries of his country and benefit his countrymen, introduced the silk-worm and promoted the planting of vineyards, the authorities destroyed the one and uprooted the other; and through these acts first instigated the rebellion that ultimately overthrew the government and expelled the Spaniards from Mexico. All official posts in the country, furthermore, were filled by Spaniards, and the colonial offices were regularly sold in Madrid to the highest bidder.

In the National Museum in the city of Mexico is a nearly or quite complete collection of the portraits of the fifty-seven Spanish viceroys who successively governed the country, and were endowed with royal prerogatives. The series commences with a portrait of Cortes, which is said to be an original; and, according to Mr. Prescott (who prefixed an engraved copy of it to the third volume of his "Conquest of Mexico"), has been indorsed by one of the best Spanish authorities, Don Antonio Uguina, as the "best portrait" of the conqueror that was ever executed. It is an exceedingly striking face, full of character, and more quiet, contemplative, and intellectual than might have been ex-

pected from his stirring and eventful career; and, as the picture is neglected and apparently in a state of decay, a copy of it ought at once to be acquired by our national Government and placed in the Capitol at Washington; or, in neglect thereof, by some one of our historical societies. For, whatever may be the opinion entertained concerning the man and his acts, there can be no question that he was one of the most conspicuous characters in American history, and has left his mark indelibly upon what is now no small part of the territory of the United States. Of the long series of portraits of his successors, as they hang upon the walls of the museum, the majority depicted in gorgeous vice-regal robes, and with stars and orders of nobility, there is this to be said—that, with few exceptions, they represent the most mediocre, unintellectual, and uninteresting group of faces that could well be imagined. They convey the idea that nearly all of the originals were men past the prime of life, whose business had been that of courtiers, and who had won their appointments either by court favoritism or from the supposed possession of qualities which would enable them to extort from the country and its people a larger revenue for the Spanish treasury than their predecessors. Among the few exceptions noted are the portraits of Don Juan de Acuña (1722–1734), the only Span-

ish viceroy born in America (Peru), and the Count de Revilla-Gigedo (1789–1794), both of whom were unquestionably rulers of great ability, and who might also well be represented in the national galleries of the United States; and the portraits of occasional ecclesiastical viceroys—bishops or archbishops—conspicuous among their neighbors by reason of their more somber vestments. The faces of these latter are not devoid of intellectuality, or indications of mental ability; but they are—one and all—stern, unimpassioned, and with an expression of grim malevolence and bigotry, which as much as says, "Woe betide any heretic, or contemner of Church supremacy, who dares to question my authority!" To which may be properly added that, during nearly all the long period of Spanish rule in Mexico, the Inquisition, or "Holy Office," wielded a power as baleful and as despotic as it ever did in Old Spain, and held its last *auto-da-fe* and burned its last conspicuous victim—General José Morelos—in the Plaza of the city of Mexico, as late as November, 1815!

In 1810, Mexico, under the lead of Hidalgo—whom the modern Mexicans regard as a second Washington—revolted against its Spanish rulers, and, after many and varying vicissitudes, finally attained its complete independence, and proclaimed itself, in 1822, first an empire, and two years later,

or in 1824, a republic. From this time until the defeat of Maximilian and his party in 1867, the history of Mexico is little other than a chronicle of successive revolutions, internecine strife, and foreign wars. In the National Palace, in the city of Mexico, is a very long, narrow room, termed the "Hall of Embassadors," from the circumstance that the President of the Republic here formally receives the representatives of foreign nationalities. Upon the walls of this room, and constituting, apart from several elaborate glass chandeliers, almost its only decoration, is a series of fairly painted, full-length portraits of individual Mexicans who, since the achievement of independence of Spain, had been so conspicuously connected with the state, or had rendered it such service, as to entitle them, in the opinion of posterity, to commemoration in this sort of national "Valhalla." To the visitor, entering upon an inspection of these interesting pictures, the accompanying guide, politely desirous of imparting all desirable information concerning them, talks somewhat after this manner:

"This is a portrait of the Emperor Iturbide, commander-in-chief of the army that defeated and expelled the last Spanish viceroy; elected emperor in 1822; resigned the crown in 1823; was proscribed, arrested, and shot in 1824. The next is a portrait of one of the most distinguished of the

soldiers of Mexico, General Mariano Arista" (the general who commanded the Mexican troops at the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma), "elected President of the Republic in 1851, was deposed and banished in 1853, and died in exile in 1855. His remains were brought home at the public expense, in a ship of war furnished by Spain, and a special decree commemorative of his services was declared by Congress. The next is General So-and-so, who also, after rendering most distinguished services, was shot"; and so on, until it seems as if there was not one of their conspicuous men whom the Mexicans of to-day unite in honoring for his patriotism and good service, but who experienced a full measure of the ingratitude of his country in the form of exile or public execution. In the same gallery is also a good full-length portrait of Washington, but, very appropriately, it is far removed from all the other pictures, and occupies a place by itself at the extreme end of the apartment.

Since the establishment of her independence in 1821, Mexico, down to the year 1884—a period of sixty-three years—has had fifty-five presidents, two emperors, and one regency, and, with some three or four exceptions, there was a violent change of the government with every new administration. The year 1848 is noted in Mexican annals as the first

time when the presidency was transferred without violence and under the law—General Arista peaceably succeeding General Herrera. But Arista was deposed and banished in the next two years, and in the next three months there were four presidents of the republic! Of the original and great leaders in the War of Independence—namely, Hidalgo, Morelos, and Matamoros—all were shot. The same fate befell both of the emperors, and also two of the more noted presidents—Guerrero and Miramon. Of the other presidents, nearly all at one time or other were formally banished or compelled to flee from the state in order to escape death or imprisonment.

In 1846 came the American war and invasion, when the United States, with "one fell swoop," as it were, took from Mexico considerably more than one half of all its territory—923,835 square miles out of a former total of 1,663,535. It is true that payment was tendered and accepted for about one thirty-fourth part (the Gadsden purchase) of what was taken, but appropriation and acceptance of payment were alike compulsory. For this war the judgment of all impartial history will undoubtedly be that there was no justification or good reason on the part of the United States. It may be that what happened was an inevitable outcome of the law of the survival of the fittest, as exemplified

among nations; and that the contrasts as seen to-day between the life, energy, and fierce development of much of that part of Old Mexico that became American—California, Texas, and Colorado—and the stagnant, poverty-stricken condition of the contiguous territory—Chihuahua, Sonora, Coahuila—that remained Mexican, are a proof of the truth of the proverb that "the tools rightfully belong to those who can use them."

But, nevertheless, when one stands beside the monument erected at the foot of Chapultepec, to the memory of the young cadets of the Mexican Military School—mere boys—who, in opposing the assault of the American columns, were faithful unto death to their flag and their country, and notes the sternly simple inscription, "Who fell in the North American invasion"; and when we also recall the comparative advantages of the contending forces—the Americans audacious, inspirited with continuous successes, equipped with an abundance of the most improved material of war, commanded by most skilled officers, and backed with an overflowing treasury; the Mexicans poorly clothed, poorly fed, poorly armed, unpaid, and generally led by uneducated and often incompetent commanders; and remember the real valor with which, under such circumstances, the latter, who had received so little from their country, resisted the invasion and con-

quest of that country; and that in no battles of modern times have the losses been as great comparatively as were sustained by the Mexican forces —there is certainly not much of pleasure or satisfaction that a sober-minded, justice-loving citizen of the United States can or ought to find in this part of his country's history. And, if we are the great, magnanimous, and Christian nation that we claim to be, no time ought to be lost in proving to history and the world our right to the claim, by providing, by act of Congress, that all those cannon which lie scattered over the plains at West Point, bearing the inscriptions "Vera Cruz," "Contreras," "Chapultepec," "Molino del Rey," and "City of Mexico," and some of which have older insignia, showing that they were originally captured by Mexican patriots from Spain in their struggles for liberty, together with every captured banner or other trophy preserved in our national museums and collections, be gathered up and respectfully returned to the Mexican people. For, to longer retain them and pride ourselves on their possession is as unworthy and contemptible as it would be for a strong man to go into the street and whip the first small but plucky and pugnacious boy he encounters, and then, hanging up the valued treasures he has deprived him of in the hall of his residence, say complaisantly, as he views

them, "See what a great and valiant man I am, and how I desire that my children should imitate my example!" If it is peace and amity and political influence, and extended trade and markets, and a maintenance of the Monroe doctrine on the American Continent that we are after, such an act would do more to win the hearts and dispel the fears and suspicions of the people of Mexico, and of all the states of Central and South America, than reams of diplomatic correspondence, and endless traveling trade commissioners and formal international resolutions. Society is said to be bound by laws that always bring vengeance upon it for wrong-doing—"the vengeance of the gods, whose mills grind slow, but grind exceeding small." What penalty is to be exacted of the great North American Republic for its harsh treatment and spoliation of poor, down-trodden, ignorant, superstitious, debt-ridden Mexico, time alone can reveal. Perhaps, as this great wrong was committed at the promptings or demand of the then dominant slave-power, the penalty has been already exacted and included in the general and bloody atonement which the country has made on account of slavery. Perhaps, under the impelling force of the so-called "manifest destiny," a further penalty is to come, in the form of an equal and integral incorporation of Mexico and her foreign people into the Federal

Union. But, if this is to be so, the intelligent and patriotic citizens of both countries may and should earnestly pray that God, in his great mercy, may yet spare them.

CHAPTER IV.

The French invasion of Mexico—Benito Juarez—Maximilian and his empire—Relation of the Church to the French invasion and the empire—Nationalization of the Mexican Church—Confiscation of its property—Momentous character and influence of this measure—Evidences of the perpetuation of the Aztec religion by the Mexican Indians—Foreign (Protestant) missions in Mexico.

In 1861, Louis Napoleon, taking advantage of the war of the rebellion in the United States, and regarding (in common with most of the statesmen of Europe) the disruption of the Great Republic as prospectively certain, made the suspension by Mexico of payment upon all her public obligations, a great part of which were held in Europe, a pretext for the formation of a tripartite alliance of France, England, and Spain, for interfering in the government of the country; and in December, 1861, under the auspices of such alliance, an Anglo-French-Spanish military force landed and took possession of Vera Cruz. From this alliance the English and Spanish forces early withdrew; but the French remained, and soon made no secret of their intent to conquer the country. The national forces,

under the leadership of undoubtedly the greatest and noblest character that Mexico has produced, Benito Juarez, reported to be of pure Indian parentage,* offered a not inglorious resistance; and in at least one instance undoubtedly inflicted a severe defeat upon the French army. But with the almost universal defection of the clergy and the wealthier classes, and with the country weakened by more than forty years of civil strife and an impoverished exchequer, they were finally obliged to succumb; and after a period of military operations extending over about sixteen months, or in June, 1863, the French entered the city of Mexico in triumph and nominally took possession of the whole country. A month later, a so-called "assemblage of notables," appointed by the French general-in-chief, met at the capital, and with great unanimity declared the will of the Mexican people to be the establishment of an empire in the person of the Archduke Maximilian of Austria, "or such other prince as the Emperor Napoleon should designate"; and in pursuance of this act the crown was formally offered to Maximilian at his palace in Austria in October, 1863, and definitely accepted by him in April, 1864. Viewed in the light of sub-

* He is said to have been a Zapotec Indian, a race that were of the mountainous portions of the country, and which were never fully subjugated by the Spaniards.

sequent events, the point of greatest interest and importance in this scheme on the part of Louis Napoleon for the conquest of Mexico and its conversion into a French dependency, to the humiliation of whatever political organizations might be left after the war to represent the former Federal Union, and to the utter discomfiture of the "Monroe doctrine"—a scheme which Napoleon designed should constitute the most brilliant feature of his reign—was the connection of the Church of Mexico and its adherents with the movement. If not, indeed, as is often suspected, the instigators of it in the first instance, they were undoubtedly in full sympathy with it from its inception—and with good reason. For, as far back as 1856, Juarez, when a member of the Cabinet of Alvarez, had been instrumental in the adoption of a political Constitution which was based on the broadest republican principles, and which provided for free schools, a free press, a complete subjugation of the ecclesiastical and military to the civil authority,* the abolition of the whole system of class legislation, and universal religious toleration—a Constitution which, with some later amendments, is still the or-

† Before this date, members of the army and all ecclesiastics could only be tried for offenses by privileged and special tribunals composed of members of their own orders; but the Constitution of Juarez abolished all that, and proclaimed for the first time in Mexico the equality of all men before the law.

ganic law of Mexico. Such a reform could not, and at the time did not, triumph over the privileged classes, the Church, the aristocracy, and the military leaders, and, although embodied in the form of law, remained in abeyance.

But the Church and the aristocracy at the same time did not fail to recognize that, if Juarez and his party ever attained political ascendency, their property and privileges would be alike imperiled.

The subversion of the so-called Republic of Mexico, with its unstable government and frequent revolutions, and its replacement with an empire, backed by the then apparently invincible arms of France, and with one of the Catholic princes of Europe on the throne, were, therefore, most acceptable to the Mexican Church and its adherents; and in Maximilian of Austria they thought they had found a man after their own heart.

He was a man of elegant presence, winning manners, and of much refinement and culture; and these qualities, with undoubted personal courage, contributed to give him a certain amount of personal popularity and sympathy.* But he was, nev-

* So much has been made by the Church, press, and historians of the popularity of Maximilian, and of the genuine public welcome which, it has been asserted, was accorded to him on his arrival in Mexico, that the Mexican Government, within recent years, has caused to be published certain documents from the national archives, in shape of war-

ertheless, in all matters of government, always a representative of the highest type of absolutism or imperialism, and in devotion to the Catholic Church an extremist, even almost to the point of fanaticism. The first of these assertions finds illustration in his establishment of a court, with orders of nobility, decorations, and minute ceremonials; the construction and use of an absurd state carriage—modeled after the style of Louis XIV—and still shown in the National Museum; and worse, by the proclamation and execution of an order (which subsequently cost Maximilian his own life), that all republican officers taken prisoners in battle by the imperialists should be summarily executed as bandits; and, second, by his walking barefoot, on a day of pilgrimage, all the way over some two or three miles of dusty, disagreeable road, from the city of Mexico to the shrine of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

When the attitude and demand of the United States, on the termination of the rebellion, induced the withdrawal of the French forces from Mexico,

rants drawn on the national Treasury in 1865 for sums expended in Vera Cruz, Córdoba, Orizaba, Puebla, and Mexico, for fireworks, illuminations, triumphal arches, etc., amounting in all to one hundred and fifteen thousand dollars; thus proving, at least in a degree, that what were at the time regarded as, and claimed to be, spontaneous manifestations of popular enthusiasm on the part of the Mexican people, were in reality but skillfully arranged devices on the part of the agents of Louis Napoleon.

Maximilian, at the suggestion of Louis Napoleon, prepared to abdicate; and, in October, 1866, even commenced his journey to Vera Cruz, with the intention of embarking on a French vessel of war and leaving the country. Unfortunately for himself, however, he was persuaded by the Church party, under assurances of their ability to support him, to return to the city of Mexico and resume his government. But the attempt was hopeless, and culminated some six months later in his capture and execution by the republican forces; and with the downfall of the "Maximilian" or the "imperial" government, Juarez became the undisputed, and also, to all intents and purposes, the absolute, ruler of the country.

This portion of the more recent history of Mexico has been detailed somewhat minutely, because the series of events embraced in it led up to and culminated in an act of greater importance than anything which has happened in the country since the achievement of its independence from Spanish domination. For no sooner had Juarez obtained an indorsement of his authority as President, by a general election, than he practically carried out with the co-operation of Congress, and with an apparent spirit of vindictiveness (engendered, it has been surmised, by the memory of the oppressions to which his race had been subjected),

the provisions of the Constitution which he had been instrumental in having adopted in 1857. The entire property of the Mexican Church was at once "nationalized" (a synonym for confiscation) for the use of the state. Every convent, monastic institution, or religious house was closed up and devoted to secular purposes; and the members of every religious society, from the Jesuits to the Sisters of Charity, who served in the hospitals or taught in the schools, were banished and summarily sent out of the country. And so vigorously and severely is the policy of subjugating the ecclesiastical to the civil authority, which Juarez inaugurated in 1867, still carried out, that no convent or monastery now openly exists in Mexico; and no priest or sister, or any ecclesiastic, can walk the streets in any distinctive costume, or take part in any religious parade or procession; and this in towns and cities where, twenty years ago or less, the life of a foreigner or skeptic who did not promptly kneel in the streets at the "procession of the host" was imperiled. Again, while Catholic worship is still permitted in the cathedrals and in a sufficient number of other churches, it is clearly understood that all of these structures, and the land upon which they stand, are absolutely the property of the Government, liable to be sold and converted to other uses at any time, and that the officiating clergy are only "tenants at

will." Even the ringing of the church-bells is regulated by law. All those rites, furthermore, which the Catholic Church has always "classed as among her holy sacraments and exclusive privileges, and the possession of which has constituted the chief source of her power over society, are also now regulated by civil law. The civil authority registers births, performs the marriage ceremony, and provides for the burial of the dead; and while the Church marriage ceremonies are not prohibited to those who desire them, they are legally superfluous, and alone have no validity whatever." (See "Report on Church and State in Mexico to the State Department," by Consul-General Strother, December, 1883.)

Such an achievement as has been here briefly chronicled was, in every respect analogous to and was as momentous to Mexico as the abolition of slavery to the United States. Like slavery in the latter country, the Catholic Church had become, as it were, incorporated into the fundamental institutions of Mexico since its first invasion and conquest by the Spaniards. It had the sole management of all the educational institutions and influences of the country; it held, in the opinion of a great majority of the people, the absolute control of the keys of heaven and hell; it had immense wealth, mainly in the form of money ready to loan,

buildings in the cities, and *haciendas* or estates in the country, and all the influences which wealth brings. And, even when Mexico achieved her independence, the influence of the Church was so little impaired by the accompanying political and social convulsions, that the national motto or inscription which the new state placed upon its seal, its arms, and its banners, was "*Religion, Union, and Liberty.*"

Except, therefore, for the occurrence of a great civil war, which convulsed the whole nation, and in which the Church, after favoring a foreign invasion, and placing itself in opposition to all the patriotic, liberty-loving sentiment of the country, had been signally beaten, its overthrow, as was the case with slavery in the United States, would not seem to have been possible. And even under the circumstances, it is not a little surprising and difficult of explanation, that a government could have arisen in Mexico strong enough and bold enough to at once radically overthrow and humiliate a great religious system, which had become so powerful, and had so largely entered into the hearts and become so much a part of the customs and life of its people; and that every subsequent national administration and party have now for a period of nearly twenty years unflinchingly maintained and executed this same policy.

How the lower orders of the Mexican people, other than the distinctive Indian population, regarded the proceedings of the Government against the Church is thus described by M. Désiré Charney, in the account of his researches in Central America: "Upon the suppression of the monastic orders in Mexico, the confiscation of the property of the clergy, and the demolition of certain churches and convents, the multitude protested, but without violence. The *leperos*, all covered as they were with medals, rosaries, and scapulars, pulled down the houses of their fetiches, while the old women, indignant witnesses of the sacrilege, ejaculated their *aves* without ceasing. The exiles had fulminated the major excommunication against whoever should have act or part in the work of demolition, or should tread the streets cut through the grounds of the torn-down convents; but, after a week or so, all fear vanished, and not only did the destroyers go about their work without remorse, but they even used the sacred woodwork of the churches to make their kitchen-fires, and the new streets had their passengers like the older ones."—"North American Review," October, 1880.

Mr. Strother, who has studied the matter very carefully, suggests that an explanation may be found in the character of the Indian races of Mexi-

co, who constitute the bulk of the population, and "whose native spirit of independence predominates over all other sentiments." He also throws out the opinion that "the aborigines of the country never were completely Christianized; but, awed by force, or dazzled by showy ceremonials, accepted the external forms of the new faith as a sort of compromise with the conquerors." And he states that he has himself recently attended "religious festivals where the Indians assisted, clothed and armed as in the days of Montezuma, with a curious intermingling of Christian and pagan emblems, and ceremonies closely resembling some of the sacred dances of the North American tribes." It is also asserted that, on the anniversaries of the ancient Aztec festivals, garlands are hung upon the great stone idol that stands in the court-yard of the National Museum, and that the natives of the mountain villages sometimes steal away on such days to the lonely forests or hidden caves, to worship in secret the gods of their ancestors. But, be the explanation what it may, it is greatly to the credit of Mexico, and one of the brightest auguries for her future, that after years of war, and social and political revolutions, in which the adherents both of liberty and absolutism have seemed to vie with each other in outraging humanity, the idea of a constitutional government, based on the broadest republican prin-

ciples, has lived, and, to as large an extent as has perhaps been possible under the circumstances, practically asserted itself in a national administrative system.

When the traveler visits the cities of Mexico, and sees the number and extent of the convents, religious houses, and churches, which, having been confiscated, are either in the process of decay or occupied for secular purposes; and, in the country, has pointed out to him the estates which were formerly the property of the Church, he gets some realization of the nature of the work which Juarez had the ability and courage to accomplish. And when he further reflects on the numbers of idle, shiftless, and certainly to some extent profligate people, who tenanted or were supported by these great properties, and who, producing nothing and consuming everything, virtually lived on the superstitions and fears of their countrymen—which they at the same time did their best to create and perpetuate—he no longer wonders that Mexico and her people are poor and degraded, but rather that they are not poorer and more degraded than they are.

What amount of property was owned by the Mexican Church and clergy previous to its secularization is not certainly known (at least by the public). It is agreed that they at one time held

the titles to all the best property of the republic, both in city and country; and there is said to have been an admission by the clerical authorities to the ownership of eight hundred and sixty-one estates in the country, valued at $71,000,000; and of twenty-two thousand lots of city property, valued at $113,000,000; making a total of $184,000,000. Other estimates, more general in their character, are to the effect that the former aggregate wealth of the Mexican Church can not have been less than $300,000,000; and, according to Mr. Strother, it is not improbable that even this large estimate falls short of the truth, "inasmuch as it is admitted that the Mexican ecclesiastical body well understood the value of money as an element of power, and, as bankers and money-lenders for the nation, possessed vast assets which could not be publicly known or estimated." Notwithstanding also the great losses which the Church had undoubtedly experienced prior to the accession of Juarez in 1867, and his control of the state, the annual revenue of the Mexican clergy at that time, from tithes, gifts, charities, and parochial dues, is believed to have been not less than $22,000,000, or more than the entire aggregate revenues of the state derived from all its customs and internal taxes. Some of the property that thus came into the possession of the Government was quickly sold

by it, and at very low prices; and, very curiously, was bought, in some notable instances, by other religious (Protestant) denominations, which, previous to 1857, had not been allowed to obtain even so much as tolerance or a foothold in the country. Thus, the former spacious headquarters of the order of the Franciscans, with one of the most elegant and beautifully proportioned chapels in the world within its walls, and fronting in part on the Calle de San Francisco, the most fashionable street in the city of Mexico, was sold to Bishop Riley and a well-known philanthropist of New York, acting for the American Episcopal missions, at an understood price of thirty-five thousand dollars, and is now valued at over two hundred thousand dollars. In like manner the American Baptist missionaries have gained an ownership or control, in the city of Puebla, of the old Palace of the Inquisition; and, in the city of Mexico, the former enormous Palace of the Inquisition is now a medical college; while the Plaza de San Domingo, which adjoins and fronts the Church of San Domingo, and where the *auto-da-fe* was once held, is now used as a market-place. A former magnificent old convent, to some extent reconstructed and repaired, also affords quarters to the National Library, which in turn is largely made up of spoils gathered from the libraries of the relig-

ious "orders" and houses. The national Government, however, does not appear to have derived any great fiscal advantage from the confiscation of the Church property, or to have availed itself of the resources which thus came to it for effecting any marked reduction of the national debt. Good Catholics would not buy "God's property" and take titles from the state; and so large tracts of land and blocks of city buildings passed, at a very low figure, into the possession of those who were indifferent to the Church, and had command of ready money; and in this way individuals, rather than the state and the great body of the people, have been benefited.

NOTE.—An official report by the Mexican Government in 1879 thus reviews the progress of foreign (Protestant) missions in Mexico, and constitutes in itself a striking evidence of the marvelous change which has taken place in Mexico within the last quarter of a century in respect to religious belief and toleration. It says: "The Mexican nation was for a long time dominated by the Roman Catholic clergy, which came to establish the most absolute fanaticism, and the most complete intolerance. Not only was the exercise of any other religion save that of the apostolic Roman Catholic faith not permitted, but for a long time the Inquisition prevailed, with all its horrors, and all those not professing the Roman Catholic faith were considered as men without principle or morality. The exercise of any other worship, and, still more, the propagation of any other religion except the Roman Catholic, would have occasioned in Mexico, up to a little more than twenty years ago, the death of any one attempting to undertake such an enterprise; inasmuch as it was considered an act meritorious in the eyes of the Divinity, the extermination of those who pretended to make proselytes in *pro* of any other religion. Although the conquests obtained through the war of reform have effected a notable change in intelli-

gence and public sentiment in this respect, the fact can not be ignored that fanaticism is not yet extinguished, and particularly in the towns distant from the centers of intelligence, and in which the indigenous element predominates."

"Notwithstanding this, since the year 1861, missionaries of various Protestant religions have come to establish their worship, and carry on their propaganda, not only in the capital of the republic and in its principal cities, where there were also great elements in favor of fanaticism, but in towns of the indigenous population, in the country, and in the very centers where fanaticism has had the greatest dominion for a long time, and where it still exists, although it has lost much of its old power.

"These missionaries have established these churches publicly, they have founded their religious worship, they have distributed their Bibles and other books, they have preached their doctrines in public, opened their primary schools and seminaries, established their orphanages, circulated their periodicals and publications, and have, relatively, and in view of the difficulties which they have had to struggle with, good success, and with scarcely any danger."

"There are no exact data, in this department, of the progress made in the republic by those missions, and only in an accidental manner has it been known what two of them have attained up to this time. The first, called the Mexican Branch of the Church Catholic of our Lord Jesus Christ, the existence of which commenced in 1861, already counts upon a church which serves it as a cathedral in the ancient temple of San Francisco, with the churches of San José de Gracia and San Antonio Abad; it has fifty congregations scattered in different parts of the republic; orphanages and schools, in which it is sustaining and educating more than five hundred children; theological seminaries, in which young men are being educated for the ministry; a weekly periodical entitled 'La Verdad' ('The Truth'), which is its organ, and counts upon more than three thousand active members. It must be borne in mind that this church is only one of those that work in that sense, and that, from the circumstance of having the character of Mexican, it has not counted upon so decided and efficacious a protection of foreign elements as the other churches which belong to different Protestant denominations, established in the United States and in England, which, through the desire of propagating their faith in every country, give themselves to expenses and efforts which they would not do in behalf of a new denomination having the character of Mexican."

"The second Protestant communion, of which there are data, is the Methodist Episcopal, founded in Mexico by Dr. William Butler, in 1873. It has extended its propaganda in the cities of Mexico, Puebla, Guanajuato, Orizaba, Córdoba, Pachuca, Real del Monte, and Amecameca, where it has twenty-one congregations, and employs thirty-three missionaries, nineteen of whom are foreigners. It sustains a theological seminary, various schools, attended by 518 children of both sexes, and two orphanages. It publishes two periodicals, with a circulation of 3,200 copies, and published, in the year 1878, 830,000 pages of religious literature. It possesses values to the amount of $75,400, and its expenses for the present year are calculated at $37,000. The members of this communion number 2,350. Besides the churches of Jesus and the Methodist Episcopal, other Protestant communities have been establishing themselves since 1861, which are now ramified in towns of the states of Nuevo Leon, San Luis Potosí, Zacatecas, Yucatan, Oaxaca, Jalisco, and Mexico, and are denominated Presbyterian, Baptist, Southern Presbyterian Synod, Mexican Mission of Friends (Quakers), Southern Methodist Mission, Congregationalist, Independent, and Presbyterian Reformed, respecting which there are not sufficient data to note with accuracy their present condition."—"Report of the Secretary of Finance of the United States of Mexico," January, 1879.

CHAPTER V.

Divisions of the population of Mexico—The national language and its commercial drawbacks—Extreme ignorance and poverty of the masses—Tortillas and frijoles—Responsibility of the Church for the existing condition of the people—Educational efforts and awakening in Mexico—Government schools, secular and military—Government and social forces of Mexico—What constitutes public opinion in Mexico?—Character of the present Executive—Newspaper press of Mexico.

HAVING thus briefly glanced at the physical condition and political and social experiences of Mexico, we are now prepared to discuss the economic condition of the country, its prospect for industrial development, and its possible commercial importance and future trade relations with the United States.

POPULATION.

The element of first importance, and therefore the one entitled to first consideration in endeavoring to forecast the future of Mexico, is undoubtedly its population; the object alike for improvement, and the primary instrumentality by which any great improvement in the condition of the

country can be effected. Whatever may be its aggregate—ten or twelve millions—it is generally agreed that about one third of the whole number are pure Indians, the descendants of the proprietors of the soil at the time of its conquest by the Spaniards; a people yet living in a great degree by themselves, though freely mingling in the streets and public places with the other races, and speaking, it is said, about one hundred and twenty different languages or dialects. Next, one half of the whole population are of mixed blood—the mestizos —of whose origin nothing, in general, can be positively affirmed, further than that their maternal ancestors were Indian women, and their fathers descendants of the Caucasian stock. They constitute the dominant race of the Mexico of to-day—the rancheros, farmers, muleteers, servants, and soldiers—the only native foundation on which it would seem that any improved structure of humanity can be reared. Where the infusion of white blood has been large, the mestizos are often represented by men of fine ability, who take naturally to the profession of arms and the law, and distinguish themselves. But, on the other hand, no small proportion of this race—the so-called *leperos*—are acknowledged by the Mexicans themselves to be among the lowest and vilest specimens of humanity in existence; a class exhibiting every vice, with hardly

the possession of a single virtue. The remaining sixth of the population of Mexico are Europeans by birth or their immediate descendants, the Spanish element predominating. The national language also is Spanish—a language not well fitted for the uses and progress of a commercial nation; and which will inevitably constitute a very serious obstacle in the way of indoctrinating the Mexican people with the ideas and methods of overcoming obstacles and doing things which characterize their great Anglo-Saxon neighbors. It should also be borne in mind that a language is one of the most difficult things to supplant in the life of a nation through a foreign influence. The Norman conquest of England, although it modified the Saxon language, could not substitute French; neither could the Moors make Arabic the language of Spain, although they held possession of a great part of the country for a period of more than seven centuries. It seems certain, therefore, that Spanish will continue to be the dominant language of Mexico until the present population is outnumbered by the Americans—a result which may occur before a very long time in the northern States of Mexico, where the population at present is very thin, but which is certainly a very far-off contingency in the case of Central Mexico.

Of the present population of Mexico, probably

three quarters, and possibly a larger proportion—for in respect to this matter there is no certain information—can not read or write, possess little or no property, and have no intelligent ideas about civil as contradistinguished from military authority, of political liberty, or of constitutional government.

The mass of all those engaged in the prosecution of agriculture and the performance of other manual labor are also divided into classes, as separate and distinct from each other as it is possible to imagine a people to be who occupy a common country and acknowledge the same government, and in this respect they greatly resemble the natives of British India.

It is difficult, in fact, to express in words, to those who have not had an opportunity of judging for themselves, the degraded condition of the mass of the laboring-classes of Mexico. The veil of the picturesque, which often suffices to soften the hard lines of human existence, can not here hide the ugliness and even hideousness of the picture which humanity exhibits in its material coarseness, and intellectual, or spiritual poverty. The late consul-general Strother, who, as a citizen of one of our former slave-holding States, is well qualified to judge, expresses the opinion, in a late official report (1885), that the scale of living of the laboring-

classes of Mexico "is decidedly inferior in comfort and neatness to that of the negroes of the Southern (United) States when in a state of slavery. Their dwellings in the cities are generally wanting in all the requirements of health and comfort — mostly rooms on the ground-floor, without proper light or ventilation; often with but a single opening (that for entrance), dirt floors, and no drainage. In the suburbs and in the country, the dwellings in the cold regions are adobe, and in the temperate or warm regions mere huts of cane, or of stakes wattled with twigs, and roofed with corn-stalks, plantain-leaves, or brush." In such houses of the common people there is rarely anything answering to the civilized idea of a bed, the occupants sleeping on a mat, skin, or blanket on the dirt floor. There are no chairs, tables, fireplace, or chimney; few or no changes of raiment; no washing apparatus or soap, and in fact no furniture whatever, except a flat stone with a stone roller to grind their corn, and a variety of earthen vessels to hold their food and drink, and for cooking (which last is generally performed over a small fire, within a circle of stones outside, and in front, of the main entrance to the dwelling). The principal food of all these people is Indian corn, in the form of the so-called *tortilla*, which is prepared by placing a quantity of corn in a jar of hot water and lime (when it can be

got) to soak overnight; the use of the lime being to soften the corn. When it is desired to use it, the grain is taken out and ground by hand on the stone and by the roller before mentioned, into a kind of paste, and then slightly dried or baked on an earthen tray or pan over a small fire. Everybody in Mexico is said to eat *tortillas*, and their preparation, which is always assigned to the women, seems to employ their whole time, "to the exclusion of any care of the dwelling, their children, or themselves." Foreigners, especially Americans, find them detestable. Another standard article of Mexican diet is boiled beans (*frijoles*). Meat is rarely used by the laborers, but, when it is obtainable, every part of the animal is eaten. Peppers, both green and red, mixed with the corn-meal or beans, are regarded as almost indispensable for every meal, and, when condensed by cooking, are described by one, who obviously speaks from experience, as forming "a red-hot mixture whose savage intensity is almost inconceivable to an American. . . . A child of six or seven years old will eat more of this at a meal than most adult Americans could in a week—eating it, too, without meat or grease of any kind; merely folding up the *tortilla* of wheat or corn-meal, dipping up a spoonful of the terrible compound with it, and hastily biting off the end, for fear some of the precious stuff should escape.

Should one be fortunate enough to have anything else to eat, these *tortillas* serve as plates, after which service the plates are eaten."

With all this, the agricultural laborers of Mexico, both Indians and mixed bloods, are almost universally spoken of as an industrious, easily managed, and contented people. By reason of the general mildness of the climate, the necessary requirements for living are fewer than among people inhabiting the temperate and more northern latitudes, and consequently poverty with them does not imply extreme suffering from either cold or starvation. When their simple wants are satisfied, money with them has little value, and quickly finds its way into the pockets of the almost omnipresent *pulque* or "lottery-ticket" sellers, or the priest. "If they are too ready to take a hand against the Government at the call of some discontented leader, it is not because they are Indian or Mexican, but because they are poor and ignorant."

Considering the great achievements of Juarez, and the precedent which his success in administration established, it is curious to note how rarely one sees faces of the Indian type in any important or public positions. The rank and file of the army seem to be unmistakably Indian, or of evident Indian descent, while the officers, almost without an exception, are white. The bands have white

leaders, though the sweetest players are understood to be pure Indians; and so also in the case of the police—the force is mainly Indian, while the superintendent and his staff are likely to be white. One also, it is said, rarely sees faces tinged with Indian blood among members of the Mexican Congress, the clergy, the teachers, the superintendents of the *haciendas*, or the students of the universities. At the same time it is understood that Indian blood is no bar to entrance into good society, or to office, if the person is otherwise qualified; and the Indian is not anywhere abused in Mexico, or ejected from the lands which his ancestors have tilled from time immemorial, as has often been the case in the United States. The majority of the Mexican Indians have lost all traces of their once wild life, and have recognized that their living must now be gained by work, even if it be but rude and imperfect; and, except in the case of the Apaches and Yaquis and of some of the tribes of Southern Mexico, have long since exchanged the blanket for the *serape*, the bow for the ox-goad, and scalp-lifting for the *monte*-table, the cock-pit, or the bull-ring. Another interesting feature of the life of the independent or free Indians in Mexico—that is, Indians not attached to any of the great estates —is, that it is eminently communistic; and more characteristic of the type of the agricultural village

communities of the early ages, on the Eastern Continent, than is exhibited by the more northern tribes of North America. Thus, the inhabitants of each village—living in adobe- or cane-built huts—own and cultivate all the lands under their control, in common with all the other members of the tribe or community, "divide the proceeds according to laws which antedate the Spanish conquest, and use the same primitive tools and methods of irrigation that were used by their ancestors in the days of the Montezumas."

One noticeable peculiarity of the Mexican laborer is the strength of his local attachments, and it is in rare instances only that he voluntarily emigrates from the place of his nativity. This circumstance found a curious illustration in the experience of the recent railroad constructions in Mexico, where the builders found that they could rely only upon the labor in the immediate neighborhood of their line of construction; and that, generally, neither money nor persuasion would induce any great numbers of these people to follow their work at a distance from their native fields and villages. In those instances where temporary emigration was effected, the laborers insisted on carrying their families with them. The Government also recognizes to a certain extent this peculiarity in their army movements; and, whenever a company or

regiment moves, the number of women—wives of the soldiers—accompanying seems almost absurdly numerous. They, however, represent, and to some extent supply, the place of the army commissariat.

EDUCATIONAL EFFORTS AND AWAKENING IN MEXICO.

It is, however, gratifying to be able to state, that at last the leading men of Mexico have come to recognize the importance of popular education; and it is safe to say that more good, practical work has been done in this direction within the last ten years than in all of the preceding three hundred and fifty. At all of the important centers of population, free schools, under the auspices of the national Government, and free from all Church supervision, are reported as established; while the Catholic Church itself, stimulated, as it were, by its misfortunes, and apparently unwilling to longer rest under the imputation of having neglected education, is also giving much attention to the subject; and is said to be acting upon the principle of immediately establishing two schools wherever, in a given locality, the Government, or any of the Protestant denominations, establish one. In several of the national free schools visited by the author, the scholars, mainly girls, appeared bright and intelligent, the teachers (females) competent, and the

text-books modern. The language of instruction was, of course, Spanish, but a greater desire than ever before to learn English is reported, and it is now (contrary to former custom) generally taught in preference to French. Industrial schools, to which boys are appointed from different sections of the country, analogous to the system of appointments in the United States for West Point and Annapolis, have also been established by the Government. One of the most interesting of these, and for the promotion of which the "Mexican Central Railroad" corporation have co-operated, exists at Guadalupe, about five miles from the city of Zacatecas. Here, in a large and well-preserved convent structure, confiscated by the Government and appropriated for school purposes, some two or three hundred Mexican boys are gathered, and practically taught the arts of spinning and weaving, printing, carpentering, instrumental music, leather-work, and various other handicrafts; while, in close contiguity, and in striking contrast with the poverty of the surrounding country, the ecclesiastical authorities are expending a large amount of money—the proceeds of a legacy of a rich Mexican mine-proprietor—in reconstructing and decorating in a most elaborate manner the church, which was formerly a part of the convent, and which has been left in their possession.

The Federal Government maintains a well-organized National School of Agriculture, and has purchased and distributed during recent years large quantities of grape-cuttings of the finest varieties, and also graftings and seeds of the finest fruit-trees and plants obtainable in Mexico and in foreign countries. There are also national schools, at the capital, of medicine, law, and engineering; a Conservatory of Music, an Academy of Fine Arts, a National Museum, and a National Library; together with institutions for the blind, deaf and dumb, the insane, for the reformation of young criminals, and such other systematic charities as are common in enlightened communities. Most of these institutions are located in old and spacious ecclesiastical edifices which have been "nationalized"; and the means for their support seem to be always provided, although the Mexican treasury is rarely or never in a flourishing condition. At the same time it is almost certain that all these laudable efforts on the part of the Government to promote education and culture, have thus far worked down and affected to a very slight extent the great mass of the people. But it is, nevertheless, a beginning.

As the stability, however, of any form of government and the maintenance of domestic tranquillity with such a population as exists in Mexico are obviously contingent on the maintenance of a strong,

well-organized, and disciplined army, the first care of the central Government is naturally to promote military rather than secular education; and, accordingly, the National Military School, located at Chapultepec, and modeled after the best military schools of Europe, is in the highest state of efficiency. The system of instruction and the text-books used are French; and the *personnel* of the school, both officers and cadets, will compare favorably with anything that can be seen at West Point. The army maintained by Mexico on a peace basis is forty-five thousand three hundred and twenty-three, or nearly double that of the United States; and, on a war-footing, was officially reported in 1883 as embracing an effective fighting force of one hundred and sixty thousand nine hundred and sixty-three. That the Mexican people possess all the physical qualities essential for the making of good soldiers can not also be questioned. At the same time, it is manifest that, upon the patriotism and intelligence of the officers in command of the army, the immediate future and prosperity of Mexico are dependent. The single fact, however, that the present Government and the most intelligent and influential people of Mexico have recognized the necessity of educating the masses of the people, and that probably the best that can be done under existing circumstances is being done, cer-

tainly constitutes the most hopeful and encouraging augury for the future of the republic.

THE GOVERNMENT AND SOCIAL FORCES OF MEXICO.

As might be expected from the existing conditions, the Government of Mexico—both Federal and State—although nominally constitutional and democratic, is not, and from the very nature of things can not be, other than personal, and is often in the highest degree arbitrary and despotic; in short, a military despotism under the form of a republic. For example, under date of February 15, 1886, the telegraph reports that the people of Coahuila are rejoicing over the fact that, after a term of a year and a half of military rule, the civil authorities are to resume control of the local government; but to this is added the following significant statement: "The policy of the civil government, however, will probably be identical with that pursued by the military, as the Governor-elect is a strong supporter of the Administration, and will accede to all the demands of the Federal Government."

No such thing as a popular assemblage, to discuss public questions of any kind, ever takes place in Mexico; and when, in the fall of 1884, a young member of the national Congress from Vera Cruz

—Diaz Miron—ventured to oppose a scandalous proposition of the then President, Gonzales, for the readjustment of the claims of the English holders of the national bonds, he felt it necessary to preface his speech on the floor of the House of Representatives with words to the effect that he fully recognized that, in opposing the Administration, he probably forfeited all chance for future political preferment, even if he did not at once endanger his personal freedom. And such, probably, would have been to him the result, had not the students of the city of Mexico made the cause of Miron their own, and, by organizing and assuming the aggressive, forced the Government to quietly abandon its position.

The yielding of the Government was, however, but temporary; for, in the elections for a new Congress during the present year (1886), it has so ordered matters as to effectually prevent all antagonism to its measures—the Opposition of the last Congress, led by Miron and his associates, and which was regarded by many as so promising for a larger measure of independence and intelligence in Mexican legislation and politics, not having been able, it is understood, to elect a single member.

The present Constitution of Mexico dates back to 1857, with modifications down to 1883. The Mexican States are independent, in the same man-

ner as are those of the United States, but seem to be less under the control of the central Federal Government, and the Federal Supreme Court, than in the latter country. There is little interest among the people of the Mexican States in national affairs, and consequently little of national spirit; a result naturally to be expected when one recalls that a large proportion of the population are Indians, who are wholly uneducated, have no conception of what their government is apart from military rule, and do not in the least concern themselves about its details. The leaders in the States are also largely military men, and experience in the past has shown that they are rarely restrained by sentiments of pride or patriotism from using their influence for their own personal advantage, and with little regard for the public welfare. The Mexican Federal Government, like that of the United States also, is composed of three departments—the legislative, executive, and judicial. Congress consists of a Senate and House of Representatives. There are about two hundred and thirty members of the latter body, elected for two years, and apportioned at the rate of one member for forty thousand inhabitants. The Senate comprises fifty-six members, two from each State. Congressmen and senators are paid three thousand dollars a year. A president of the Sen-

ate is elected each month; and that officer, in case of a vacancy in the presidency, succeeds temporarily to the executive office. The law-making body meets annually from April 1st to May 30th, and from September 16th to December 16th. In addition to this there is a permanent legislative committee of both branches, having power to act in all emergencies, and to sit during the recess of Congress. The President is not chosen directly by the people, but by electors; holds office for four years, and can not remain in power for two successive terms; and this last provision is said to be almost the only one of the Mexican Constitution that is rigidly observed.

Public opinion in Mexico has been defined to be, "the opinion entertained by the President"; and from the most favorable point of view can not mean anything more than the opinions of the large landed proprietors, the professions, the teachers, the students, and the army officers, comprising in all not more than from twenty-five to thirty thousand of the whole population. And it is understood that less than this number of votes were cast at the last presidential election, although the Constitution of Mexico gives to every adult male citizen of the republic the right to vote at elections and to hold office. Popular election in Mexico is, therefore, little more than a farce; and

the situation affords another striking illustration of a fact which is recognized everywhere by the student of politics, that an uneducated people will not avail themselves of the right to vote as a matter of course, or recognize any sense of duty or responsibility as incumbent upon them as citizens. Such a condition of affairs obviously constitutes in itself a perpetual menace of domestic tranquillity: for, with no census or registration of voters, no scrutiny of the ballot-box except by the party in power; no public meetings or public political discussions; and no circulation of newspapers among the masses, no peacefully organized political opposition has a chance to exist. Such opposition as does manifest itself is, therefore, personal and never a matter of principles. The central Government for the time being nominates and counts in what candidates it pleases; and, if any one feels dissatisfied or oppressed, there is absolutely no redress to be obtained except through rebellion. Such has been the political experience of the Republic of Mexico heretofore; and although the recent construction of railways, by facilitating the transportation of troops, has strengthened the central Government, there is no reason to suppose that what has happened in the past will not continue to happen until the first essential of a free government—namely, free and intelli-

gent suffrage on the part of the masses—is established in the country; and the day for the consummation of such a result is very far distant.

The present President of Mexico, Porfirio Diaz, is undoubtedly one of the ablest men who have ever filled the office of its chief executive; although his elevation to power was effected in the first instance through military support, and the arbitrary and violent overthrow of the regular constituted authorities. Thus, having distinguished himself in the army, and as general-in-chief of the forces that wrested the capital from Maximilian in 1866, he offered himself as a candidate for the presidency in 1871. In the following election, only 12,361 votes were cast; of which Juarez received 5,837, Diaz 3,555, and Lerdo de Tejada, who was then Chief-Justice of the Supreme Court, 2,874, with ninety-five votes recorded as scattering. Diaz refused to accept the result, on the ground that the re-election of a President was not constitutional, issued a manifesto, and repudiated the existing authorities. A bloody war, lasting about a year, ensued, in which Diaz and his forces were utterly routed. Diaz was, however, amnestied, kindly received at the capital, and lived peacefully until 1876, when he rebelled against the government of Lerdo, a scholarly and accomplished man, but deficient in military talent, who had suc-

ceeded to the presidency on the death of Juarez; and, after a series of hazardous adventures and bold exploits, collected a force sufficient to defeat Lerdo (who fled the country when his fortunes were by no means desperate), captured the capital, assumed the presidency, and subsequently obtained a ratification of his proceedings by a nominally popular election. Although he is understood to have come into the possession of large wealth and great estates (in Oaxaca) since his first elevation to the office of chief executive, he is now believed to have the interests of his country supremely at heart, has appreciated the necessity and favored all efforts for establishing and extending popular education, and is undoubtedly disposed to be as liberal and progressive as the difficult conditions and influences by which he is surrounded will permit.

It is not, furthermore, to be denied that many of the men associated with the present or recent Administrations of Mexico are of very high character and fine abilities. Thus the present Minister of Foreign Affairs—Ignacio Mariscal—is a man of great ability, a finished diplomat, and who, in addition to conducting his department with success under several Administrations, has also served as minister to England. Another dominant force in the government is Manuel Romerio Rubio, the father-

in-law of the President, who is Minister of the Interior, and is an eminent lawyer, a polished statesman, and a patriot; while the recent representative of Mexico in the United States, Señor Zamacona, and the present minister, Señor Romero, are the peers of the representatives of any of the governments of the Old World.

Although there are plenty of newspapers in Mexico — some sixteen "dailies" in the city of Mexico alone—they have, as might be expected, but comparatively few readers, and apparently exist for some other purpose than that of reporting the "news." Only one journal in the country—"El Monitor Republicano"—a daily published in the city of Mexico, and representing the Liberal Opposition, claims a circulation as great as thirty-five hundred; and probably next to this in circulation (twenty-five hundred reported) is the Church paper "El Tiempo," which is bitter alike against the Americans and all their improvements, not excepting even their railroads. Of all the other daily papers, it is doubtful whether their average circulation ever reaches as large a figure as eight hundred. Of the weekly papers of the capital—some thirty in number—one of the most recent, enterprising, successful, and influential, is the "Mexican Financier," which is printed in parallel columns of Spanish and English; and the publisher and editor of

which are graduates respectively of the Springfield (Massachusetts) "Republican" and Boston "Herald." No paper discusses the many and vexatious problems of the Mexican state and its people with greater intelligence; none has a larger measure of the confidence of the Government; and no agency in Mexico is likely to be more influential in the future in promoting the development and prosperity of the country.

The press of Mexico can hardly be said to be free; inasmuch as, when it says anything which the Government assumes to be calculated to excite sedition, the authorities summarily arrest the editor and send him to prison; taking care, however, in all such proceedings, to scrupulously observe what has been enacted to be law. Thus the editor-in-chief of "El Monitor Republicano" has recently (1885) served out a sentence of seven months in the common penitentiary, for his criticisms upon the Government.

Finally, what Mexico is to-day, socially and politically, is the natural and legitimate sequence, and exactly what might have been expected from the artificial conditions which for more than three centuries have been forced upon her; and history has never afforded such a striking, instructive, and pitiful illustration of the effect upon a country and a people, of long-continued absolutism and tyranny

in respect to both government and religion. It is true that Spain, if called to plead at the bar of public opinion, might point to her own situation and decadence as in the nature of judgment confessed and punishment awarded. But what has the Church, in whose hands for so many years was exclusively vested the matter of education, and which lacked nothing in the way of power and opportunity, to say to the appalling depths of ignorance in which she has left the Mexican people; an ignorance not confined to an almost entire lack of acquaintance with the simplest elements of scholastic learning—reading, writing, and the rules of common arithmetic—but even with the commonest tools and mechanical appliances of production and civilization? But, wherever may be the responsibility for such a condition of things, the conclusion seems irresistible that, against the moral inertia of such an appalling mass of ignorance, the advancing waves of any higher civilization are likely to dash for a long time without making any serious impression.

CHAPTER VI.

Occupations of the people of Mexico—Drawbacks to the pursuits of agriculture—Land-titles in Mexico—Mining laws—Scant agricultural resources of Northern Mexico—Origin and original home of the "cow-boy"—Resources of the Tierras Calientes—Agriculture on the plateau of Mexico—Deficiency of roads and methods of transportation—Comparative agricultural production of the United States and Mexico.

OCCUPATIONS OF THE PEOPLE OF MEXICO.

Agriculture.—Although the main business of the country is agriculture, this branch of industry is carried on under exceptionally disadvantageous circumstances.

One of its greatest drawbacks is, that the whole country is divided up into immense *haciendas*, or landed estates, small farms being rarely known; and, out of a population of ten million or more, the title to the soil (apart from the lands held by the Indian communities) is said to vest in not more than five or six thousand persons. Some of these estates comprise square leagues instead of square acres in extent, and are said to have irrigating ditches from forty to fifty miles in length. Most

of the land of such estates is uncultivated, and the water is wasted upon the remainder in the most reckless manner. The titles by which such properties are held are exceedingly varied, and probably to a considerable extent uncertain. Some originated with the Spanish crown, through its viceroys, and have been handed down from generation to generation; some came from Mexico, through its governors or political chiefs; while, over a not inconsiderable part of all the good land of the country, the titles of the Church, although not recognized by the Government, are still, to a certain extent, respected. As agricultural land generally upon the Mexican plateau, has little or no value apart from the use and control of water, it has come to pass that in various communities the title to land is vested in the water-right; and a small land-owner or farmer, instead of holding deeds for the land he occupies, owns a right to so many minutes, hours, or days of water per month—that is, he is entitled to draw from the main irrigation ditch, which skirts or runs through his land, water for so long a time each month, and to cultivate so much land as this water will irrigate. These rights to water, which are therefore equivalent to titles to land, are, like land-titles, inheritable, and subject to the laws of descent; and so scattered sometimes have become the heirs to such rights, that the re-

sult, very curiously, is often the loss of any power of sale by those actually remaining in possession. Thus, in Northern Mexico, according to Consul Sutton, there are persons whose only claim to use the general grazing-lands belonging to the community, and to cut wood upon the same, is the ownership of *ten seconds* of water per month, and yet even this small right entitles them to hold for their exclusive use such land as they may have under fence, and to live on community land so long as they can build themselves a house and make their ten seconds of water answer their purpose. In such communities agriculture is paralyzed, and, as the only person affected by this pernicious system is the small farmer, the very foundation of progressive cultivation of land is undermined wherever it exists.

Added to all this, there is a marked indisposition on the part of the large owners of real estate in Mexico to divest themselves of such property; and this for various reasons. Thus, in the heretofore almost permanently revolutionary condition of the country, the tenure of *movable* or personal property was subject to embarrassments from which real estate, or *immovable* property, was exempt. Under the system of taxation which has long prevailed in Mexico, land also is very lightly burdened. And, finally, from what is probably an

inherited tradition from Old Spain, the wealthy Mexican seems to be prejudiced against investing in co-operative (stock) or financial enterprises —the railways, banks, and mines, in both Old Spain and Mexico, for example, being to-day mainly owned and controlled by English or other foreign capitalists. Under such circumstances, there is no influx of immigrants into Mexico with a view to agriculture, and settlements, such as spring up and flourish in the United States almost contemporaneously with the construction of the "land-grant" and other railroads, are unknown, and are not at present to be expected; all of which clearly works to the great disadvantage of all Mexican railway enterprise and construction. It is also interesting to note, in connection with this subject, that it is the immobility and uncertainty of these same old Spanish or Mexican land-grants, which cover a vast portion of New Mexico, that constitute at present the greatest obstacle in the way of the growth and development of that Territory.

Statutes offering great inducements for permanent immigration—such as a bonus to each immigrant, the right to purchase public lands at moderate prices and on long terms, the right to naturalization and citizenship, and the like—were enacted by the Mexican Congress as far back as 1875, but

as yet do not appear to have been productive of any marked results.

On the other hand, the Mexican land laws discriminate very rigorously against the acquirement of land by foreigners who do not propose to become Mexican citizens, and seem to be especially framed to prevent any encroachments on the part of the United States. Thus, no foreigner who is a citizen of any country adjoining Mexico may, without previous permission of the President of the Republic, acquire real estate in any of the border States, within twenty leagues (sixty miles) of the frontier; but such permission has of late been freely given to citizens of the United States for the acquirement of ranching property on the northern frontier. The ownership of real estate by a foreigner in either country or city, within fifteen miles of the coast, is, however, absolutely forbidden, by a provision of the Mexican Constitution. By the Constitution of Mexico also, a foreigner who purchases any real estate in that country, without declaring that he retains his nationality, becomes a citizen of Mexico; and it is difficult to see how under such conditions he could properly invoke any protection from the country of his prior citizenship, in case he considered his rights in Mexico to be invaded.

The laws regulating mining property in Mexico

are very peculiar. No one in Mexico, be he native or foreigner, can own a mine absolutely, or in fee, no matter what he may pay for it. He may hold it indefinitely, so long as he works it; but under an old Spanish law, promulgated as far back as 1783, and still recognized, if he fails "to work it for four consecutive months, with four operatives, regularly employed, and occupied in some interior or exterior work of real utility and advantage," the title is forfeited and reverts to the state; and the mine may be "denounced," and shall belong, under the same conditions, "to the denouncer who proves its desertion." The denouncer, to keep the property, must, however, at once take possession and begin the prescribed work within a period of sixty days. Any person also may denounce a mine, no matter upon whose land it may be found; and also have the right to a ready access to it. This practice has one great advantage over the American mining system; and that is, that litigation about original titles and conflicting claims to mining property are comparatively rare in Mexico.

On the *plateau* of Mexico, where nine tenths of its present population live, there is undoubtedly much good land; but the great drawback to this whole region, as already pointed out, is its lack of water. During the rainy season, which com-

mences in June and lasts about four months, there is a plentiful rainfall for Central and Southern Mexico; but in Northern Mexico the rainfall, for successive years, is not unfrequently so deficient as to occasion large losses, both in respect to stock and to crops. For the remainder of the year, or for some eight months, little or no rain falls, and the climatic characteristic is one of extreme dryness. During the most of the year, therefore, the whole table-land of Mexico is mainly dependent for its water-supply upon a comparatively few springs and storage-reservoirs; and agriculture can not be generally carried on without resorting to some form of irrigation. One rejoinder to what may be an unfavorable inference from these statements has been the counter-assertion that "in the immediate neighborhood of the large cities enough grain is raised by irrigation to keep constantly more than a year's extra supply ahead to provide against a possible failure of crops"; and, further, that the storage capacity of the existing reservoirs of Mexico might easily be increased, and thus greatly extend the area of land capable of cultivation. But, admitting this, how great must be the obstacles in the way of developing any country where there is a liability to an almost entire failure of the crops from drought; and where the small agricultural pro-

prietor, who depends on each year's earnings to meet each year's needs, has always got to anticipate and guard against such a possibility! There are vast tracts of land also in Mexico, especially in the northern part, where grass sufficient for moderate pasturage will grow all or nearly all the year, but on which the water-holes are so few, and so entirely disappear in the dry season, that stock can not live on them. In a report recently sent (January, 1885) to the State Department, by Warner P. Sutton, United States consul-general to Matamoros, the statement is made that the annual value of the agricultural products of the State of South Carolina, having an area of 30,570 square miles, is at least two and a half times as great as the whole like product of the six States of Northern Mexico—namely, Tamaulipas, Nuevo Leon, Coahuila, Chihuahua, Lower California, and Sonora—which have an area of 355,000 square miles, and represent about one half of the territory of the whole republic; or, making allowance for the areas of land under comparison, the annual agricultural product of South Carolina is from twenty to twenty-five times as valuable as that of the whole northern half of Mexico!

At the same time, while nearly all of Northern Mexico, in common with New Mexico and Arizona and the western part of Texas, is notably a very

dry country, it has vast tracts covered with highly nutritious grasses, which are eminently fitted for the pasturage of horses, cattle, and sheep; and which at the present time, as they have been for many years past, are abundantly stocked with these animals. In fact, the whole so-called "cattle-range business" had its origin, not in the United States, but in this section of Mexico, whence the current phrases, the manners, customs, and the methods of doing business have been derived and copied all over the United States, wherever live-stock is raised, as it is termed, "on the range." Here also was the original home and origin of the *cow-boy;* and here, to-day, "herding" constitutes the basis of nearly all business, and the source of nearly all subsistence, profits, and wealth of the inhabitants. Everybody here, as has been remarked, "is more or less of a cow-boy—the lawyer, the doctor, the shoemaker, the tailor, the merchant, and even the editor"; for it is "the man with the spurs and the *lariat* that gives character to this whole region."

On the "*tierras calientes*," or comparatively narrow belt of coast-lands, on both the Atlantic and Pacific sides of Mexico, there is abundance of wood and water, cheap and fertile land, and most luxuriant vegetation, but the climate is such that the white races will never live there in the capacity of laborers. When one hears, therefore, of

possibilities of these regions in respect to coffee, sugar, tobacco, and a wide range of other valuable tropical products, this fact has got to be taken into account. They would, however, seem to be particularly adapted to the introduction and employment of Chinese labor; and during the past year delegations from the associated Chinese Companies of San Francisco have, it is understood, entered into negotiations with the Mexican Government, with a view of promoting an extensive immigration into these portions of the national territory.

In the State of Yucatan the scourge of locusts prevails to such an extent that almost the only agricultural product on which the planter can confidently rely is the plant that furnishes the fiber of the heniquen, which for some reason the locusts do not attack. Fields of maize, well developed in this section of Mexico, are said to be devoured level with the ground by these pests in the course of a single hour.

Again, much of the best land of the plateau of Mexico is in the nature of valleys surrounded by mountains, or of strips or sections separated by deserts. Thus, for example, to get from the city of Mexico into the fertile valley of Toluca, a comparatively short distance, one has to ascend nearly three thousand feet within the first twenty-four

miles: while between Chihuahua and Zacatecas there is an immense desert tract, over which the "Mexican Central Railway" has to transport in supply-tanks the water necessary for its locomotives. It is true that in both of these instances the natural difficulties have now in a great measure been remedied by railroad constructions; but when it is remembered that, outside of the leading cities and towns of Mexico, there are hardly any wheeled vehicles, save some huge, cumbersome carts with thick, solid, wooden wheels (a specimen of which, exhibited as a curiosity, may be seen in the National Musuem at Washington); that the transportation of commodities is mainly effected on the backs of donkeys or of men; that the roads in Mexico, as a general thing, are hardly deserving of the name;* and that, even with good, ordinary roads and good teams and vehicles at command, a ton of corn worth twenty-five dollars at a market is worth nothing at a distance of a hundred and

* One of the most noted routes in Mexico is from the capital to Acapulco, the best Mexican port on the Pacific; a route that was traveled, and constituted a part of the transit for convoys of treasure and rich tropical products between the Indies and Old Spain, a hundred years before the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth. And yet a journey over this route, a distance of three hundred miles, consumes ten days on horseback under the most favorable auspices; and the path or trail followed has in great part so few of the essentials of a road that, in popular parlance, it is spoken of as "*buen camino de pajaros*" (a good road for birds).

twenty miles—remembering these things, one can readily accept the statement that, in many sections of Mexico, no effort is made to produce anything in the way of crop products, except what has been found necessary to meet the simplest wants of the producers; and for the reason that experience has proved to them that it was not possible to obtain anything in exchange for their surplus.

The plow generally in use in Mexico is a crooked stick, with sometimes an iron point; the yoke being lashed with rawhide thongs to the horns of the oxen which draw the prehistoric implement. American plows are beginning to be introduced to a considerable extent; but the Mexican peasant on coming into possesion of one, generally cuts off one handle, in order to make it conform, as far as he can, to his ancient implement; and in recognition of this peculiarity of habit, an Illinois firm has recently introduced a form of plow with one handle! A bundle of brush constitutes the harrow. "Their hoes are heavy grub-hoes, and grass is cut by digging it up with such a hoe."

"The sickle is of the conventional type of the time of the patriarchs, but, instead of having a sharp edge, it is provided with saw-teeth, and is used in gathering small grain, the employment

of a cradle for such a purpose being unknown. In nearly all of Mexico, with the exception of some few districts, all grain is thrashed by the feet of horses or mules, which are driven round in a ring, the straw having been first spread on the ground, and the grain is separated from the chaff by the action of the wind. One objection urged by the Mexicans to thrashing-machines is that they leave the straw whole, while by the use of horses it is by the constant trampling cut up as fine as though run through a feed-cutter, and, as this straw is universally used as feed, any further preparation is obviated."—Consul Campbell.

On not a few of the great *haciendas* of Mexico American and English agricultural machinery has, however, been introduced, and more or less used. But cheapness of manual labor and the great cost incident to transportation, local taxes, etc. (agricultural machinery being free from import duties), constitute serious drawbacks to the introduction of improved machinery into the country. Added to this, should any part of a costly and unfamiliar machine break upon one of the great estates, no Mexican blacksmith can repair it—especially if the broken part is cast-iron—and the machine, in most cases, is laid aside for that season.

Nothing exhibits more strikingly the present poverty of Mexico, and the present inefficiency of

her agriculture—notwithstanding the natural advantages claimed for this industry, and that it is undoubtedly the principal occupation and support of her people—than a brief comparison of some of the results which have been recently reported for Mexico and the United States. According to a report published in 1883, by M. Bodo von Glaimer, an accepted Mexican authority, and other data, gathered and published by Señor Cubas, United States Consul-General Sutton, and the Agricultural Bureau at Washington, the value of all the leading agricultural products of Mexico—corn, wheat, sugar, tobacco, beans, coffee, and the like—for the year 1882 was estimated at about $175,000,000. But the present estimated value of the oat-crop alone of the United States is $180,000,000. Again, corn constitutes the staple food of the Mexican people, and its product for 1882 was estimated at about 213,000,000 bushels; which, with an assumed population of ten million, would give a product of $21\frac{3}{10}$ bushels per capita. But for the United States for the year 1885 the product of corn was about thirty-three bushels per capita.

Although much of the soil of Mexico is undoubtedly well adapted to the cultivation of wheat, it is as yet a crop little grown or used—wheat-bread being eaten only by the well-to-do classes.

Its product for 1882 was estimated at 12,500,000 bushels, or at the rate of about $1\frac{2}{10}$ bushel per capita; while for the year 1885, with a very deficient crop, the wheat product of the United States was in excess of six bushels per capita. Mexican coffee is as good as, and probably better than, the coffee of Brazil, and yet Mexico in 1883–'84 exported coffee to all countries to the value of only $1,717,190, while the value of the exports of coffee from Brazil to the United States alone, for the year 1885, was in excess of $30,000,000! Much has also been said of the wonderful adaptation of a great part of the territory of Mexico for the production of sugar, and everything that has been claimed may be conceded; but, at the same time, sugar is not at present either produced or consumed in comparatively large quantities in Mexico, and, in common with coffee—another natural product of the country—is regarded rather as a luxury than as an essential article of food. Thus the sugar product of Mexico for the year 1877–'78, the latest year for which data are readily accessible, amounted to only 154,549,662 pounds. Assuming the product for the present year (1886) to be as great as 200,000,000 pounds, this would give a Mexican per capita consumption of only twenty pounds as compared with a similar present consumption in the United States of nearly fifty

pounds. The further circumstance that Mexico at the present time imports more sugar than it exports; and that the price of sugar in Mexico is from two to four times as great as the average for the United States—coarse-grained, brownish-white, unrefined sugar retailing in the city of Mexico for twelve and a half cents a pound (with coffee at twenty-five cents)—is also conclusive on this point.* With the present very poor outlook for the producers of cane-sugars in all parts of the world, owing mainly to the bounty stimulus offered by the governments of Europe for the production of beet-sugar; and the further fact that the only hope for the former is in the use of the most improved machinery, and the making of nothing but the best sugars at the point of cane production, the idea so frequently brought forward that labor and capital are likely to find their way soon into the hot, unhealthy coast-lands of Mexico, in preference to Cuba and South America, and that the country is to be speedily and greatly profited by her natural sugar resources, has little of foundation. And, as additional evi-

* Sugar at La Paz, Lower California, sells for twenty-five cents a pound. In Sonora, where the sugar-cane grows naturally, a dark, coarse sugar is manufactured, but not in quantities sufficient for home consumption, about two thirds of the quantity consumed being imported from the United States or Central America. At Guerrero the price of white American is reported at twenty-five cents and of brown Mexican at five cents.

dence on these matters, the writer would here mention, that a statement has come to him from a gentleman who has been long connected and thoroughly acquainted with the "Vera Cruz and City of Mexico Railroad," which runs through the best sugar and coffee territory of the country, that not a single acre of land more is now under cultivation along its line than there was at the time the road was completed, thirteen years ago. Added to which, export taxes, in some of the sugar-producing States—notably that of Vera Cruz—have been imposed to such an extent as to actually prevent the starting of sugar-plantations.

The cotton-plant is supposed to be indigenous to Mexico, as Cortes on his first landing found the natives clothed in cotton fabrics of their own manufacture. Its culture has continued to the present day, but with very little improvement on the methods which existed at the time of the conquest.

The fiber of Mexican cotton is larger than and not so soft and lustrous as American, but cotton production in some sections of the country possesses this signal advantage, that for several succeeding seasons the plants continue to bear profitable crops, while in the United States the soil must each year be enriched with fertilizers and the seed renewed.

The completion of the railways leading to the United States has prejudiced the market and greatly diminished the production of cotton in Mexico, as cotton can now be imported without the expense and delay that were hitherto unavoidable.

Potatoes are grown to a small extent in Mexico. The seed appears to degenerate, and needs frequent changes. A sort of sweet-potato, called the *camote*, is grown, but not extensively.

Whatever, therefore, may be the natural capabilities of Mexico for agriculture, they are certainly for the future rather than of the present.

CHAPTER VII.

Manufacturing in Mexico—Restricted use of labor-saving machinery—Scarcity of fuel and water—Extent of Mexican handicrafts—Number of factories using power—Manufacture of pottery and leather—Restriction of employments for women—The pauper-labor argument as applied to Mexico—Rates of wages—Fallacy of abstract statements in respect to wages—Scarcity of labor in Mexico—Retail prices of commodities—The point of lowest wages in the United States—Analysis of a leading Mexican cotton-factory—Free trade and protection not matters of general interest in Mexico—Characteristics of the Mexican tariff system—Mines and mining—The United States, not Mexico, the great silver-producing country—Popular ideas about old Spanish mines without foundation.

Manufactures.—Apart from handicrafts there is very little of manufacturing, in the sense of using labor-saving machinery, in Mexico; and, in a country so destitute of water and fuel, it is difficult to see how there ever can be. In very many cases where the employment of machinery is indispensable, mule or donkey power seems to be the only resource; as is the case in the majority of the mines and silver-reducing works of the country—not a pound of ore, for example, being crushed through the agency of any other power,

in connection with the famous mines of Guanajuato. Many years ago an English company bought the famous *Real del Monte* mine, near Pachuca, which is reported to have yielded in a single year, with rude labor, $4,500,000. It was assumed that two things only were requisite to insure even greater returns; namely, the pumping out of the water which had accumulated in the abandoned shafts, and the introduction of improved machinery for working at lower levels. Large steam-engines and other machinery were accordingly imported from England, and dragged up by mule-power from Vera Cruz, at immense cost and labor. But the new scheme proved utterly unprofitable, and after some years' trial was abandoned. The expensive machinery was sold for about its value as old iron; the mines reverted to a Mexican company; the old methods were again substantially introduced, and then the property once more began to pay.

Deposits of coal of good quality are from time to time reported as existing, and readily accessible. But the fact that the "Mexican Central Railroad" supplies itself from the coal-fields of Colorado, nearly fifteen hundred miles from the city of Mexico, and that the "Vera Cruz Railroad" and the great silver-mines at Pachuca import their coal from England—the latter at a reported cost

of twenty-two dollars per ton—is in itself sufficient evidence that no coal from any Mexican mine has yet been made largely available for industrial purposes.* In Central Mexico, wood commands at the present time from twelve to sixteen dollars per cord, and coal from fifteen to twenty-one dollars per ton.

On the other hand, the handicraft production of many articles of domestic use, such as laborers' tools and implements, hand-woven fabrics of cotton, wool, hemp, ixtle and other fibers, sandals, saddles, earthenware and tiles, the national hat, or *sombrero*, of wool or woven palm-leaf, baskets, trays, the national liquor, *pulque*, and its distillates and the like, constitutes a great domestic industry, which, as it is individual and unorganized, is of necessity very imperfectly known, and can not be recognized or represented by statistics.

The number of factories of all kinds, using power, in Mexico, in 1883, was returned at somewhat over one hundred. Included in this number were eighty-four cotton-factories, running 243,534

* Workable beds of anthracite coal undoubtedly exist in the extreme northwest part of Mexico, about one hundred and ten miles east of the port of Guaymas, and also on the western border of the State of Chihuahua; and the former deposits have been used for some years for the generation of steam at several silver-mining establishments. But, in the absence of any cheap methods of transportation, the use of these deposits, whatever may be their extent and value, must be exceedingly limited.

spindles, ten woolen-mills, and five establishments for the printing of calicoes, representing a valuation of $9,507,775, and giving employment to 12,646 operatives of both sexes, of which 7,680 were men, 2,111 women, and 2,855 children.

The range of product of the Mexican factories is exceedingly limited, and comprises little besides the coarser cottons and woolens, the coarser varieties of paper, a few (cloth) printing and dye works, milling (flour), some machine-shops, and the manufacture of unrefined sugar.

Notwithstanding, also, that Mexico is an agricultural country, she does not produce sufficient material (cotton and wool) to keep her small number of textile factories in operation; and for this reason, and also because of the inferior quality of cotton produced, she imports a considerable proportion of her raw cotton from the United States (5,877,000 pounds in 1885),* and also of her wool from Australia.

The two largest and finest cotton-factories in Mexico are located at Querétaro, on the Mexican plateau, and at Orizaba, on the line of the "Vera

* The existing Mexican tariff imposes a duty of three cents per kilogramme (2.2 pounds avoirdupois) on the importation of unginned cotton, and eight cents on cotton ginned. Mexican cotton is packed in small bales weighing from one hundred and fifty to one hundred and seventy-five pounds; and the pure lint commands about fifteen cents per pound. American cotton ranges in price from sixteen to eighteen cents.

Cruz Railroad," and just at the foot of the great decline from the plateau; and it is interesting to note that, although the land adjacent to both of these factories is eminently adapted to the culture of cotton, and cotton is actually grown upon it, one half of the cotton used at Querétaro is American, while at Orizaba none other is used but the best New Orleans.*

The industry of Mexican pottery, a handicraft exclusively, employs a great many laborers, but has no organization—every community, and almost every family, in the districts where the conditions for production are favorable, making its own wares, as iron, tin, and copper cooking utensils are almost unknown in the domestic life of the masses of the Mexican people. The Indian manufacturer packs his pottery into wicker crates, about two feet broad and from five to six feet long, and starts to different portions of the country, on foot, with the crate on his back. Consul Lambert, of San Blas, states that he has known one "to travel more than two hundred and fifty miles to find a market, and dispose of his articles at prices varying from one and a half to twelve, and, in the case of large pieces, as high as eighteen cents,

* The number of cotton-factories in Mexico has more than quadrupled since 1865, and the business of cotton-manufacturing at the present time seems to be in a highly prosperous condition.

receiving, in the aggregate, for the sale of his cargo, from twelve to fifteen dollars."

The manufacture of leather is also one of the great industries of Mexico; but, with the exception of the sewing-machine, which has been largely introduced in this and other occupations, the product is exclusively one of handicraft. In a country where everybody rides who can, the saddlery business is especially important; and by general acknowledgment there are no better saddles made anywhere in the world than in Mexico; and yet the United States has for many years exported from twenty to thirty thousand dollars' worth of saddles annually to Mexico. The explanation is, that the mechanical appliances used in the United States for making the "trees," and for stamping, cutting, sewing, and ornamental stitching, enable the American manufacturers to pay an import duty of fifty-five per cent, and undersell the hand-product of the low price (but dear cost) Mexican artisan. Consul-General Sutton, of Matamoros, reports to the State Department, under date of July, 1885, that Mexican dealers send to the United States model saddle-trees and designs for trappings, and find it more profitable to have the major part of the work of saddle-making done there, than to do it all by the low-wage hand-labor of their own country.

"Hitherto public opinion in Mexico has almost absolutely prohibited any respectable female from engaging in any professional or personal occupations, and "any occupation or profession which would draw a woman from the seclusion of her domestic circle would entail upon her loss of caste and the general reprobation of her sex. An educated lady may devote herself to teaching the poor from motives of religious zeal, or exhibit her musical talents in public at a charity concert, but professionally never. Pressed by poverty, a Mexican lady will work in lace, embroidery, or other artistic labor, and sell her productions privately, or even give private lessons in music, etc.; but all the female professional teachers, artists, boarding-house keepers, etc., are foreigners, or nearly all; for of late years, foreign travel, foreign education, and contact with foreigners at home, combined with the liberalizing tendency of reform laws, have somewhat modified the strictness of Mexican society in this regard. Among the Indians and lower classes of Mexico, however, the women take part promiscuously in all the labors, occupations, interests, and amusements incident to their condition in life, and are neither secluded nor oppressed."—Report by United States Consul Strother, 1885.

No country affords such striking illustrations as Mexico of the fallacy and absurdity of the so-

called "pauper-labor" argument for "protection"; or of the theory, which has proved so popular and effective in the United States, for justifying the enactment of high tariffs, that the rate of wages paid for labor is the factor that is mainly determinative of the cost of the resulting product; and that, therefore, for a country of average high wages, the defense of a protective tariff against a country of average low wages is absolutely necessary as a condition for the successful prosecution by the former of its industries.

Wages, on the average, in Mexico, are from one half to two thirds less than what are paid in similar occupations in the United States; and yet in comparison with the United States the price of almost all products of industry in Mexico is high. Thus, in the city of Mexico, where wages rule higher than in almost any part of the republic, the average daily wages in some of the principal occupations during the year 1885 were as follow: Laborers, porters, etc., forty to fifty cents; masons, seventy-five cents to one dollar; assistants, thirty-seven and a half to fifty cents; teamsters, fifty cents; blacksmiths, one dollar and fifty cents; printers, one dollar; saddle and harness makers, sixty-two cents; tailors, seventy-five cents; painters, eighty-seven and a half cents; weavers in the cotton-mills at Tepic and Santiago, four dollars per

week of seventy-two hours; spinners, three dollars ditto. In the cotton-mills in the vicinity of the city of Mexico a much higher average is reported. The operatives in the woolen manufactories of Mexico are in receipt of higher average wages than those in almost any other domestic industry; and Mexican woolen fabrics are comparatively cheap and of good style and quality. Underground miners, at the great mines of Zacatecas and Guanajuato, receive an average of nine dollars per week of sixty hours; underground laborers, three dollars ditto.

The wages of common or agricultural laborers vary greatly according to their nationality, location, and character of employment. The Indian agriculturist rarely achieves more than a meager and miserable support for himself and his family, with possibly a little surplus to pay his taxes to the State and his dues to the Church.* Accord-

* "Bernal Diaz, the companion of Cortes, who writes so graphically of ancient Mexico, assures us that the market-place of the original city did not greatly differ from what we see to-day—the chief change being that now no male and female slaves are on sale. The fruits of the soil and the results of individual labor have been repeating themselves for hundreds of years. Men have died, but others do the same thing from generation to generation. Here as impressively as anywhere in Mexico appears the tireless and mechanical iteration that marks the Indian as an unprogressive human animal, and shows him to be in lower life the same child of nature as the uneducated negro of the Southern States of the United States. The Aztec sold fowls, game, vegetables, fruits, articles of food ready dressed, bread, honey, and sweet pastry, when Diaz saw him—and he does the same to-day. There is no more organi-

ing to the "Mexican Financier" of recent date, "the wages of farm-laborers on the central table-lands of Mexico range from eighteen to twenty-three cents per day, and in the hot-country States, and on the coast, where labor is not so plentiful, the rates average from thirty-seven to fifty cents per day." Agricultural laborers in the district of San Blas average nineteen cents per day, with an allowance of sixteen pounds of corn per week. On a *hacienda* near Regla, in Central Mexico,

zation about it now than there was three hundred years ago. Each Indian works for himself and sells when he wants money. Up from the hot country he passes to the city, traversing fifty and sixty miles a day, with a back-load of chickens, baskets, poultry, wooden bowls, or other salable stuff. Often the whole family make the trip and camp out on the flags of the plaza or market-house, guarding little piles of fruit or vegetables—beans, carrots, lettuce, tomatoes, peppers, radishes, beans, beets, potatoes, or squashes—until the load has been disposed of. It will be seen that the city is thus dependent on the caprices of the Indian venders. If the people who raise potatoes or carrots do not happen to be in crying need of funds, it sometimes happens that there is a raging scarcity of those or other articles. There is no thrift or forehandedness about these Indians, and the half-dollar more or less that represents the sum total of a venture of this kind is squandered with reckless rapidity. The prospector of mining days wanted few provisions and much whisky, and the peon adopts the same thoughtless and wanton policy—a little cloth and much pulque. The results are seen even in the very articles he barters. The stock has not been cultivated, and his vegetables are often withered and small and 'run out.' A first-class market-garden in the hot country would be a boon to this city, but when it comes the peons will probably assert the 'rights of labor' against such a wholesale aggression of greedy capital, and they are not likely to do it any more brutally than have the strikers of countries that boast their higher civilization."—Correspondence of "Springfield Republican."

comprising an area some eighteen miles in length by twelve in its greatest breadth, and including an artificial lake two miles in its principal dimensions, the wages paid in 1883 were six cents a day for boys and thirty-seven cents for the best class of adults.

All statements of this nature have, however, but little of significance unless account at the same time is taken of the value or purchasing power of the wages received, the needs of the wage recipient, and the character and value of the work which the wages purchase; and when these matters are given due consideration it will be undoubtedly found that wages in Mexico, as everywhere else, sustain a pretty constant ratio to the value of the services rendered, the inefficient and primitive methods used, and the necessities of the laborers; and that if they seem to a citizen of the United States to be extraordinarily low, it should be remembered that the Mexican peasant, living in a mild and in part tropical climate, has not the stimulus of prospective want which exists elsewhere to incite to industrial effort, and is not required to labor to meet expenditures for fuel, clothing, food, and habitation, which in temperate and colder countries are essential for comfort and even for existence; * or, in other words, his indus-

* "Great stress is laid upon the capacity for cheap living of the Chinese coolie or Indian ryot. I believe that the Yucatecan *labrador*

trial condition constitutes one more of the numerous illustrations, drawn from the world's experience, of the proverb, that "mankind in general are about as lazy and inefficient as they dare to be." It is also interesting to note, in connection with this subject, that a general complaint exists in Mexico of the scarcity and dearness of labor. Thus, the "Mexican Financier," in a recent article, says:

"It is idle to hope for profitable culture in this country while labor is both scarce and dear, thus compelling the planters to look to Asia for cheap labor.

can at least equal them in this respect. A ball of maize paste, or *masa*, half as large as a man's head, and a gourd of water, give him the chief part of his daily sustenance. When hunger presses, he detaches a portion of the paste, puts it in his ever-ready *jicara*, or calabash-bowl, half filled with water, and with his not too clean fingers stirs it rapidly about until the milky *pojol* results, and is rapidly disposed of. Hot gruel of maize paste, or *ortolle*, forms his morning meal; the cool *pojol* his noonday sustenance and a refreshing beverage between times. Sometimes after dusk, and when all work is over, he partakes of *tortillas* (thin cakes of maize) and an occasional *chile*, or green pepper. When *frijoles* (the black beans of the country) or a small portion of cheap meat is added, he sits down to a sumptuous repast. Fruit costs him but the picking. The *chile* and *calabazas* cost him but little more. Thus it can be seen that the Yucatecan *labrador* is not an expensive creature to feed. Earning twenty-odd cents a day, and having a portion of that deducted by the planter in payment of the ever-present debt, a *labrador* can provide the coming week's provisions for his family and still have sufficient funds left to 'take a rest' all day Sunday and the following night. Getting stupidly intoxicated with anis or *aguardiente* they politely term 'taking a rest,' and often during a prolonged debauch many do indeed take their final rest."—Report by United States Consul Thompson, Merida, Yucatan, 1885.

West coast papers are strongly opposed to Chinese immigration, while at the same time they are denouncing native labor for being untrustworthy. The trouble with the peons in the hot country is that they will not work steadily, and it is difficult to believe that newspaper declamation, which they never read, will have any effect on them. This entire labor question requires to be decided for the good of Mexico as a whole. Possessing vast stretches of most fertile lands, Mexico is destitute of the laborers necessary to make her a great exporting nation."

And yet the population of Mexico, to the square mile, is believed to be at least equal to, and possibly greater than, that of the United States.

In Yucatan, United States Consul Thompson reports (1885) the condition of labor to be as follows:

"Suitable farm-labor is very scarce. Strangers, from the nature of the climate, are useless, absolutely so, as farm-laborers. Laborers from the Canary Islands have been imported, but the experiment was a failure. A negro laborer stands the test no better than the Canary-Islanders. Upon the Mayan Indian alone fall the heaviest burdens of agricultural labor."

The following are the retail prices of some of the principal articles of domestic consumption in Mexico: Fresh beef, twelve to eighteen cents per

pound; lard, twenty to twenty-five cents; coffee, twenty-five cents; sugar, unrefined, twelve to twenty cents; table-salt, six cents; kerosene, eighty-seven cents per gallon; potatoes (city of Mexico), twenty-five cents per dozen; butter, fifty cents to one dollar per pound; flour, ten to twelve cents per pound; corn-meal, not usually in the market, unless imported; candles, thirty to fifty cents; unbleached cottons, ten to fifteen cents per yard; calicoes, fifteen to twenty cents per yard. Utensils of tin and copper are fifty per cent dearer than in the United States; while the retail prices of most articles of foreign hardware (and none other are used) are double, treble, and even four times as much as in the localities whence they are imported. "Between the extremes, a modest and economical lady's wardrobe will cost, at the city of Mexico, about fifty per cent more than the same style in the United States. This, however, is modified by the climate, which requires no change of fashions to suit the seasons, as the same outfit is equally appropriate for every month in the year."—Strother.

Imported articles of food are exceedingly high at retail in the city of Mexico. American hams, in canvas, forty to fifty cents per pound; American salmon, cans of one pound, one dollar; mackerel, eighteen to twenty-five cents each; codfish,

twenty-five cents per pound; cheese, fifty to seventy-five cents.

It is also an undoubted fact that, in the matter of supplies of Mexican domestic products, a larger price is sometimes demanded in a wholesale transaction than for the supply of a smaller quantity of the same article. This was the experience, in at least one instance, in railroad construction near Tampico, when it was desired to contract for railroad-ties, although there was no scarcity of timber; and the following story, illustrative of the same point, is told of one of the leading hotels in the city of Mexico, to the manager of which the agent of an American excursion party applied for accommodations. "How much are your rooms per day?" asked the agent. "Four dollars," was the answer. "But suppose I bring you eighty people?" "Four dollars and a half per head in that case," returned the party of the second part. "That makes more trouble."

In short, this condition of affairs in Mexico, in respect to wages and the cost of production, is in strict accord with what has been deduced within recent years from the experience of other countries; namely, that the only form of labor to which the term "pauper" has any significant or truthful application is labor engaged in handicrafts as contradistinguished from machinery production;

and that, where such handicraft or ignorant labor is employed in manufacturing, the final cost of its product, as represented by the amount of time required, or the number of persons called for in any given department, must of necessity be high. Hence, wages under such circumstances (as exist in Mexico and elsewhere) will be very low, and the conditions of life very unsatisfactory and debasing.

On the other hand, when machinery is intelligently applied for the conversion or elaboration of comparatively cheap crude materials—coal, ores, metals, fibers, wood, and the like—a very little manual labor goes a great way, and production (as in the United States) is necessarily large. This being sold in the great commerce of the world, gives large returns, and the wages represented in such production will be high, because the cost of the product measured in terms of labor is low, and the employer is thereby enabled to pay liberally; and in fact is obliged to do so, in order to obtain under the new order of things what is really the cheapest (in the sense of the most efficient) labor. Or, to state this proposition more briefly, the invariable concomitant of high wages and the skillful use of machinery is a low cost of production and a large consumption.

The following circumstance curiously illustrates

the prevailing low money rate of wages in Mexico, and the obstacle which such cheap labor interposes to the attainment of large production: At one point on the "Mexican Central Railroad," while journeying south, a machine, the motive-power of which was steam, for pumping water into tanks for the supply of the locomotives, was noticed, and commented upon for its compactness and effectiveness. On the return journey, this machinery was no longer in use; but a man, working an ordinary pump, had been substituted. The explanation given was that, with hand-labor costing but little more than the (Colorado) coal consumed, the continued employment of an engine and an American engineer was not economical.

But at no point within the observation of the writer, either on the Continent of North America or in Europe, do wages, or rather remuneration for regular labor, reach so low a figure as at Santa Fé, within the Territories of the United States. At this place, one of the notable industrial occupations is the transport and sale of wood for use as fuel. The standard price for so much as can be properly loaded upon a donkey (or *burro*) is fifty cents. The money price of the wood is high: but, as it is brought from a distance of fifteen, twenty, thirty, or even more miles, each load may be fairly considered as representing the exclusive

service of a donkey for two days—going, returning, and waiting for a purchaser—and the services or labor of an able-bodied man, as owner or attendant, apportioned to from three to five donkeys for a corresponding length of time. The gross earnings of man and donkey can not, therefore, well be in excess of twenty-five cents per day; from which, if anything is to be deducted for the original cost of the wood, its collection and preparation, and for the subsistence of the man and beast, the *net* profit will hardly be appreciable. Or, in other words, able-bodied men, with animals, are willing to work, and work laboriously, at Santa Fé, in the United States, for simple subsistence; and a subsistence, furthermore, inferior in quality and quantity to the rations generally given to acknowledged paupers in most American poor-houses; and yet no high-priced laborer in the United States has any more fear of the industrial competition of the pauper laborers of Santa Fé than he has of the competition of the paupers who are the objects of charitable support in his own immediate locality.

One of the largest, best-conducted, and (by repute) most profitable of the cotton-factories of Mexico, and one of the largest manufacturing establishments in the country, is the "Hercules" mill, located near Querétaro, 152 miles from the capital.

Taking a tramway, with comfortable cars of New York construction, for a distance of about three miles from the plaza, the visitor, on approaching, finds an establishment, embracing several acres, entirely surrounded by a massive, high, and thick wall, with gateways well adapted for defense and exclusion. On entering, the objects which first arrest attention are an attractive little park, with semi-tropical trees and shrubs; handsome residences for the owner and his family, and a stone armory or guard-house—with men in semi-military costume lounging about—containing a complete military equipment for thirty-seven men, horse and foot—Winchester rifles and two small pieces of artillery. Without being too inquisitive, the visitors are given to understand that all this military preparation was formerly more necessary than at present; but that even now it was prudent for the officers or agents of the mill to have an armed escort in making collections, contingent upon the sale of its products, from the country dealers and shopkeepers. Back of the guard-house were the mill-buildings proper, warehouses, stables, boiler-house, etc., all well arranged, of good stone construction, scrupulously clean, and in apparently excellent order.

The machinery equipment, as reported, was 21,000 spindles and 700 looms; its product being

a coarse, unbleached cotton fabric, adapted for the staple clothing of the masses, and known as *manta.* Both water- and steam-power were used. In the case of the former, a small stream, with a high fall, being utilized through an iron overshot-wheel, forty-six and a half feet in diameter—one of the largest ever constructed; for the latter a fine "Corliss" engine from Providence, Rhode Island. The spinning-frames and a part of the looms were from Paterson, New Jersey. The remainder of the looms, the steam-boilers, and the immense water-wheel, were of English workmanship. Wood, costing sixteen dollars per cord, was used for fuel; and the motive-power was in charge of a Yankee engineer, who had been induced to leave the Brooklyn (New York) water-works, by a salary about double what he had received there; but who declared that nothing would induce him to remain beyond the term (two years) of his contract, which had nearly expired. The motives prompting to this conclusion were suggested by observing, on visiting his quarters outside of the gates, that a revolver hung conveniently near the head of his iron bedstead, while another was suspended from the wall, in close proximity to the little table on which his meals were served; and also by the following remark, called out by a suggestion from one of the visitors, that a rug on the

hard, unattractive red-tile floors would seem to be desirable: "If you had to examine your bed every night, to see that a scorpion or centiped was not concealed in its coverings, the less of such things you had to turn over the better."

According to information furnished on inquiry, the hours of labor in this typical Mexican cotton-mill were as follows: "help" work from daylight until 9.30 P. M., going out a half-hour for breakfast at 9.30 A. M., and an hour for dinner, at 2 P. M.; Saturday night the machinery runs later. The spinners earn from thirty-seven and a half to fifty cents per day; weavers from six to seven dollars per week. On hearing these statements, one of the visiting party, more interested in humanitarianism than in manufactures or economics, involuntarily remarked, "Well, I wonder if they have got a God down in Mexico!" There were present at this visit and inspection a representative of one of the large cotton-factories at Fall River, and one of the best recognized authorities on mechanics and machinery, from Lowell, Massachusetts; and the judgment of these experts, after taking all the facts into consideration, was, that if this Mexican cotton-factory, with all its advantages in the way of hours of labor and wages, were transferred to New England, it would, in place of realizing any profit, sink a hundred thou-

sand dollars per annum. And yet the proprietor of this mill (Don Rubio) and his family are reputed to be among the richest people in Mexico.

The adoption of the theory of "free trade," or "protection," as the basis of a national fiscal policy, does not appear to have as yet interested, to any great extent, either the Government or the people of Mexico; and it is doubtful whether public opinion has come to any decision as to which policy will best promote the progress of the country. Under the tariff act in force in 1882, there were one hundred and four specifications of articles which could be imported free of duty—including vessels of all kinds, machinery, and most railroad equipments and cars—and eleven hundred and twenty-nine specifications of articles subject to duties, nearly all of which (only thirty-two exceptions) are simple and specific. No other rule seems to have been recognized and followed in imposing duties on imports than that "the higher the duty (or tax) the greater will be the accruing revenue"; and the *ad valorem* equivalents of many of the apparently simple and moderate duties levied on imports into Mexico are consequently so excessive, that the average rate of the Mexican tariff is probably greater than that adopted at present by any other civilized country. All domestic manufacturing industries that could

be exposed to foreign competition—as, for example, the comparatively few cotton, woolen, and paper mills, and print-works—accordingly enjoy a degree of protection that nearly or quite amounts to prohibition of all competitive *legitimate* imports; though it may be doubted whether the fiscal officers who advised or determined such rates had any knowledge or care for any economic theory, but they may have been, and probably were, influenced in their conclusions by the representations of interested parties. But, be this as it may, the practical working of such a tariff, in such a poor, undeveloped country as Mexico, is well illustrated by a recurrence to Don Rubio and his cotton-mill. The average fabric produced at this establishment is protected by a duty on similar imports of nine and three quarters cents per square metre, or about eight cents per square yard; and sells in the city of Mexico for four dollars per piece of thirty-two *varas* (or thirty yards), or at the rate of about thirteen cents per square yard. In the more remote districts of the country, or at retail, these prices are considerably greater. Domestic industry is thereby promoted; and the cotton-manufacturers of Mexico amass great wealth.

But let us look at the other side of this picture. The number of operatives who obtain opportunities for employment by reason of the existence

of cotton manufacturing, including print-works, in Mexico is probably not more at the present time than twelve thousand. The population of Mexico, to whom cotton-cloth is the chief and essential material for clothing, may be estimated at ten million. Free from all tariff restrictions, the factories of Fall River, Massachusetts, could sell in Mexico at a profit a cotton fabric as good as, or better than, that produced and sold by the factory at Querétaro, for five cents a yard, or even less. A population of ten million, poor almost beyond conception, have therefore to pay from two to three hundred per cent more for the staple material of their simple clothing than needs be, in order that some other ten or twelve thousand of their fellow-citizens—men and women—may have the privilege of working exhaustively from fourteen to fifteen hours a day in a factory, for the small pittance of from thirty-five to seventy cents, and defraying the cost of their own subsistence! Nor is this all. Under such excessive duties as now prevail, comparatively few cheap coarse cotton fabrics are legitimately imported into Mexico, and the Government fails to get the revenue it so much needs. The business of smuggling is, however, greatly encouraged, and all along the northern frontiers of Mexico has become so well organized and so profitable as to successfully defy the

efforts of the Government to prevent it. On the shelves of the stores of all the Mexican towns and cities, within two hundred and fifty to three hundred miles from the northern frontier, American cotton fabrics predominate. Five hundred miles farther "southing," however, seems to constitute an insuperable obstacle to the smuggler, and similar goods of English and French manufacture almost entirely replace at such points the American products. The present loss to the Mexican Government from smuggling along its northern frontier has been recently estimated by the "Mexican Financier" at not less than $1,500,000 per annum —a matter not a little serious in the present condition of Mexican finances; while all intelligent merchants along the frontier are of the opinion that neither the United States nor the Mexican Treasury officials can, by reason of this great illicit traffic, have any accurate knowledge of the amount of international trade between the two countries.

But if the present Mexican tariff on the import of foreign cotton fabrics were to be materially reduced, or abolished, would not, it may be asked, the cotton-factories of Mexico be obliged to suspend operations? Undoubtedly they would; but who, save the manufacturers, would thereby experience any detriment? The Mexican people would continue to have cotton-cloth the same as

now, and probably in greater abundance; for there is no other so cheap and suitable material available to them for clothing. But as the American and European manufacturers would not make their cloth a gift, or part with it for nothing, the Mexican would be obliged to buy it; or, what is the same thing, give some product of his labor in exchange for it. Consequently, the opportunity for the profitable employment of the Mexican people as a whole could not be restricted, if, in consequence of the abolition of the existing tariff on the import of cotton fabrics, they were relieved from an exorbitant and unnecessary enhancement of the cost of their clothing.

The great attractions which Mexico, in common with other Central American and South American countries and the West India islands offer for immigration, are the geniality of climate and the small amount of physical exertion necessary to insure a comfortable subsistence. But once remove or neutralize these inducements by oppressive taxation and restrictions on trade and commerce, and immigration and the accession of capital from without will be reduced to a minimum, or altogether prevented.

Mines and Mining.—The mining for the precious metals, and more especially for silver, has been, since the conquest of the country, and is

now, one of the great industries of Mexico, although it is the opinion of persons, well qualified to judge, that the country to-day would have been richer and more prosperous in every way if no mines of the precious metals had ever been discovered within its territories. That the product and profit of silver-mining in the past have been very great is certain; that a considerable number of mines are yet worked to a profit, and that future mines of great value will be discovered in the future, is also altogether probable. The popular ideas concerning the amount of the precious metals that have been furnished by the Mexican mines since the discovery and conquest of the country by the Spaniards, and the present annual product of gold and silver by Mexico, are, doubtless, a good deal exaggerated. The coinage records since the establishment of mints in Mexico, in 1537, down to 1883–'84, which are accepted as substantially accurate, and which indicate approximately the value of precious metals produced by the country during this period, are as follows:

From 1537 to 1821 (the last year of the Spanish colonial epoch), gold, $68,778,411; silver, $2,082,260,656; total, $2,151,039,067.

From 1822–'23 to June 30, 1884, gold, $45,605,793; silver, $1,023,718,366; total, $1,069,324,159. At the present time the annual product of gold

and silver in the United States is far greater than that of Mexico. Thus, for the year 1883 the production of the United States was estimated to have been—gold, $30,000,000; silver, $46,200,000; total, $76,200,000. For Mexico, the estimates for the year 1883–'84 were, gold, $500,000; silver, $24,000,000; total, $24,500,000.

The greatest obstacle in the way of the successful prosecution and development of the mining industry of Mexico, as also in the case of manufactures, is the scarcity of fuel and water for the generation and application of mechanical power, and also the scarcity of labor—many of the mines being at great distances from centers of population—and the lack of convenient and cheap means of transportation. The impression which an American visitor to one of the great Mexican silver-mines, or reducing-works, at first receives is almost always that of surprise at the apparent rudeness and shiftlessness of the methods of working. But a further acquaintance soon satisfies him that what is done is the result of long experience, and is the best that probably could be under all the circumstances. Thus, for example, for the purpose of extracting the silver from the ore by amalgamation, the rock, ground to a fine powder and made into a paste with water, is spread out on the floor of a large court, and then

worked up, with certain proportions of common salt, sulphate of iron, and quicksilver, into a vast mud-pie, by means of troops of broken-down horses or donkeys, which for two or three weeks in succession tramp round and round in the mass —animals and Indian drivers alike sinking leg-deep in the paste at every movement. When the amalgamation is completed, it is brought in vessels or baskets rather than with wheelbarrows, to washing-tanks, where half-naked men and boys further "puddle" it until the metal falls to the bottom, and the refuse runs away. The process is hard, and even cruel, for both man and beast, and is not expeditious; but it is economical (considered in reference to the cost of other methods involving power), and is effective.

The number of mining properties at present worked in Mexico by American companies is understood to be about forty.

The popular idea that there are a considerable number of old Spanish mines in Mexico which were worked to great profit before the revolution, and then abandoned when their original proprietors were driven from the country, and are now ready to return great profits to whoever will rediscover and reopen them, has probably very little foundation in fact. Sixty-five years have now elapsed since Mexico achieved her independence,

and during all this time the Mexicans, who are good miners, and to whom mining has to a certain extent the attractiveness of lottery ventures, have, we may be sure, shrewdly prospected the whole country and have not concealed any of its business opportunities. Capital, furthermore, has not been wanting to them. For, in the early days of the independence of the republic, the idea that the working of old Spanish mines in Mexico promised great profits amounted to almost a "craze" in England; and millions on millions of British capital were poured into the country for such objects; while the mining districts of Cornwall were said to have been half depopulated, through the drain on their skilled workmen to serve in the new enterprises. It is sufficient to say that the results were terribly disastrous.

Many mines in Mexico could be profitably worked, and probably would be, by American capital, if the American tariff on the import of ores did not prevent them from being sent to smelters in the United States. As it is, a considerable quantity of lead and copper ores, rich in gold and silver, are sent from mines in Northern Mexico to points as far distant as Germany for conversion — as freight to Laredo and Corpus Christi, in Texas, and thence as ballast to Europe, at a cost of from sixteen to twenty dollars per ton.

CHAPTER VIII.

Taxation in Mexico—Each State and town its own custom-houses—Practical illustrations of the effect of the system—Cost of importing a stove from St. Louis—Export taxes—Mexican taxation a relic of European mediævalism—The excise or internal tax system of Mexico—A continuation of the old "*alcavala*" tax of Spain—Effect of taxation upon general trade—The method of remedy most difficult—Parallel experience of other countries—Greatest obstacle to tax reform in Mexico.

TAXATION.

Of all the economic features of Mexico there is no one more novel, interesting, and instructive, and withal more antagonistic in its influence to the development of the country, than the system by which the Government—Federal, State, and municipal—raises the revenue essential to defray its necessary expenditures.

The general characteristics of the Mexican tariff, or system of taxing imports, have been already noticed. But one altogether anomalous and absurd feature of it remains to be pointed out.

In all commercial countries, save those which permit the levy by certain municipalities of the

so-called "*octroi*" taxes, when foreign articles or merchandise have once satisfied all customs requirements at a port, or place of entry, and have been permitted to pass the frontier, they are exempted from any further taxation *as imports*, or so long as they retain such a distinctive character.* But, in Mexico, each State of the republic has practically its own custom-house system; and levies taxes on all goods—domestic and foreign—passing its borders; and then, in turn, the several towns of the States again assess all goods entering their respective precincts. The rate of State taxation, being determined by the several State Legislatures, varies and varies continually with each State. In the Federal district—i. e., the city of Mexico—the rate was recently two per cent of the national tariff; but, in the adjoining State of Hidalgo, it was ten per cent, and in others it is as high as sixteen per cent.† The rate levied by

* The right to import is held to carry with it a right to sell on the part of the importer, without further restrictions, i. e., in the original packages. Thus, the United States Supreme Court has decided that a license-tax imposed by a State of the Federal Union, as a prerequisite to the right to sell an imported article, is equivalent to a duty on imports, and in violation of the provision of the Federal Constitution, which prohibits the States from imposing import duties; and the decision has been carefully recognized by the authorities of the several States in dealing with imported liquors under local license or other restrictive laws.

† "In all cases these duties are not imposed for the mere transit of goods through the States, but for the fact of being consumed with-

the towns is said to be about nine per cent of what the State has exacted; but in this there is no common rule. Thus, under date of April 9, 1886, an official of the "Mexican National Railroad" writes: "Goods destined for San Luis (i. e., *via* railway) pay a local tax in Laredo, Mexico, but on arrival at San Luis pay a municipal tax. These taxes are eternally changing, and are sometimes prohibitory. Take lumber, for example. Three months ago there was a municipal tax of thirty dollars per one thousand feet. This has now been reduced to one dollar per one thousand feet; but there is no certainty that the old tax will not be restored." Nor is this all. For the transit of every territorial boundary necessitates inspection, assessment, the preparation of bills of charges, and permits for entry; and all these transactions and papers involve the payment of fees, or the purchase and affixing of stamps. Thus, by section 377 of the tariff law of December, 1884, it is ordained "that the custom-house shall give to every individual who makes any importation, upon the payment of duties, a certificate of the sum paid, which certificate, on being presented to the administrator of the stamp-office in the place of im-

in the State itself. The case, therefore, will not occur, that the same goods pay twice over the duties of consumption."—Report of the Mexican Secretary of Finance, 1879.

portation, shall be changed for an equal amount in custom-house stamps. For this operation the interested party shall pay, to the administrator of whom he receive the stamps, two per cent in money (coin) of the total value of the stamps." All imports into Mexico at the present time are liable, therefore, to these multiple assessments; and the extent to which they act as a prohibition on trade may be best illustrated by a few practical examples.

In 1885, an American gentleman, residing in the city of Mexico as the representative of certain New England business interests, with a view of increasing his personal comfort, induced the landlady of the hotel where he resided (who, although by birth a Mexican, was of Scotch parentage) to order from St. Louis an American cooking-stove, with its customary adjuncts of pipes, kettles, pans, etc. In due time the stove arrived; and the following is an exact transcript of the bills contingent, which were rendered and paid upon its delivery:

ORIGINAL INVOICE:

1 stove	weight 282 pounds.	
1 box pipe	" 69 "	
1 box stove-furniture	" 86 "	
Total	437 pounds, or 199.3 kilos.	
Cost in St. Louis, United States currency		$26 50
Exchange at 20 per cent		5 30
Total		$31 80

Brought forward	$31 80	
Freight from St. Louis to city of Mexico (rail), at $3.15 per 100 pounds	$15 75	
Mexican consular fee at El Paso	4 85	
Stamps at El Paso	45	
Cartage and labor on boxes examined by custom-house at El Paso	50	
Forwarding commission, El Paso	2 00	
Exchange 16⅔ per cent on $7.64 freight advanced by Mexican Central Railroad	1 25	$56 60
IMPORT DUTIES:		
1 box, 128 kilos (stove), iron, without brass or copper ornaments, at 19 cents per kilo	$24 42	
1 box, 31.3 kilos, iron pipe, at 24 cents per kilo	7 51	
1 box iron pots, with brass handles, at 24 cents per kilo	9 48	
	$41 41	
Add 4 per cent as per tariff	1 65	
	$43 06	
Package duty, 50 cents per 100 kilos	1 00	
	$44 06	
Add 5 per cent as per tariff	2 20	
	$46 26	
Add 2 per cent municipal duty	93	
	$47 19	
Add 5 per cent consumption duty	2 36	
	$49 55	
Dispatch of goods at Buena Vista station, city of Mexico	38	
Stamps for permit	50	
		$50 43
		$107 03
Cartage in city of Mexico		75
Total		$107 78

RÉSUMÉ:

Original cost of stove, with exchange	$31 80
Freight, consular fees, and forwarding	24 80
Import duties	50 43
Cartage	75
Total	$107 78

[NOTE.—This stove was shipped from El Paso in a lot of goods for Messrs.—— & Co., the largest importing house in Mexico, thereby saving an expense of two thirds the consular fee—$14.56—which, if paid on the invoice alone, would have added $9.71 to charges, and raised the total to $117.49.]

In 1878 Hon. John W. Foster, then United States minister to Mexico, in a communication to the Manufacturers' Association of the Northwest (Chicago), thus analyzed the items of the cost, in the city of Mexico, of a tierce, weighing gross 328 pounds, containing 300 pounds (net) of sugar-cured hams:

New York cost, 300 pounds at 11 cents	$33 00
New York expenses, such as cartage, consular invoice ($4 gold), manifest, etc., average 5 per cent on large shipments	1 65
Freight from New York to Vera Cruz at 1 cent per pound, payable in New York	3 25
Exchange on New York, $37.90 at 18 per cent	6 82
Import duties in Vera Cruz, 138 kilos at 24 cents per kilo	33 12
Municipal duties in Vera Cruz, $1.03 for every 400 pounds	84
Lighterage and handling from steamer to warehouse ($1 to $1.50 per every 200 pounds)	1 63
Maritime brokerage, 2 per cent on freight ($3.25)	07
Opening and closing barrel	50
Additional charges in Vera Cruz for stamps and cartage to railroad-station, etc	1 50
Commission in Vera Cruz, 2 per cent on $70.66	1 41
Carried forward	$83 79

Brought forward	$83 79
Exchange on Vera Cruz, 1 per cent on $39.06	39
Railroad freight from Vera Cruz to Mexico, 140 kilos, at $54.32 a ton	7 60
Local duties in city of Mexico, 2 per cent on Federal duty, $33.12	66
Local expenses in city of Mexico, cartage from depot, expenses in custom-house, etc	75
Total	$93 19

The net cost of one pound of imported American ham in the city of Mexico in 1878 was therefore 31 cents, or $1 in hams in New York was equal to $2.82 in Mexico!

A similar analysis showed an invoice of ten kegs of cut nails, costing two and a half cents per pound in New York, or $22.50, to have cost $14\frac{16}{100}$ cents per pound, or $141.64, when imported, in the city of Mexico; or $1 value in nails in New York was equal to $6.29 in Mexico. In the case of salt, costing $2 per barrel in New York, the cost of importation was $20.40; or $1 of salt in New York was equal to $10.20 in Mexico! And in the case of (Milwaukee) beer, a barrel costing, on board steamer in New Orleans, $13, cost $35.61 in the city of Mexico. It is clear, therefore, as Mr. Foster points out in connection with the above exhibits, that "articles of the most common use in the United States must be luxuries in Mexico, on account of their high price"; and that while "this would be the case, with such charges, in almost

any country, however rich it might be, it is especially so in Mexico, where there is so much poverty." *

Again, the Mexican tariff provides that the effects of immigrants shall be admitted free. "But this," writes an officer of the "Mexican National Railroad Company," "is practically a dead letter, from the fact that interior duties are levied on everything the immigrant has, before he gets settled; and these are so great that no one goes. I've never known but one case go through Laredo. . . . A carpenter, or other mechanic, who desires to get employment in Mexico, has such heavy duties levied on his tools on passing the national

* The Mexican Secretary of Finance, in his reply to the report of Minister Foster (before noticed), meets these exhibits by saying that "if, instead of selecting articles rated highest in the Mexican tariff, the account of an article, free of duty, like machinery, for example, had been presented, the showing would have been quite different. . . . In the account set forth (by Minister Foster) there are some errors, but, even if they were exact, it would be proved that, in spite of the high figure of expense attached to the importation of hams and nails, the operation involves no loss, but, on the contrary, brought a profit which amply repays the importer for his trouble. The imposts which goods suffer on arriving at their place of consumption do not, as a general rule, determine whether they can or can not be sold. If the article can be produced at a less price in the consuming district, no foreign nation can compete with it, even though there should be no duty to pay; and if, on the contrary, there is a demand, high duties do not affect the importers, because they fall on the consumer. . . .If it were desirable," continues the Secretary, with not a little of well-warranted sarcasm, "Mexico could also present statements showing that some of its products suffer as heavy imposts, when exported to the United States, as those mentioned" by Mr. Foster, which are exported to Mexico.

or State frontiers, that few are willing or able to pay them. Hence few American mechanics find their way into the country, unless in accordance with special contract."

This practice of locally taxing interstate commerce is in direct contravention of an article in the Mexican Constitution of 1857, and it is said also of express decisions of the national Supreme Court. Several of the leading States of Mexico have at different times tried the experiment of prohibiting it by legislative enactments; but the States and municipalities of the country are always hard pressed to raise money for their current expenditures, and find the taxing of merchandise in transit so easy a method of partially solving their difficulties that the Federal authorities have not yet been able, or, speaking more correctly, willing to prevent it.*

* In October, 1883, in response to a call of the President of the Republic, the Governors of the several States of Mexico appointed each two delegates, who assembled in convention at the capital, and after some deliberation published a report which exhibited the incompatibilities, disadvantages, and abuses of the system in the most convincing manner; but acknowledging, at the same time, that, as all the State governments were more or less dependent upon it for their revenues, they could not recommend its present abolition. The report also concluded with a recommendation "that Congress should at once legalize a practice which a constitutional prohibition had failed to prevent, and which, under existing circumstances, it would be impolitic to suppress entirely." And, in deference to the suggestions of this conference, the Mexican Congress subsequently passed a law, with a view of modifying and limiting the authority of the State and munici-

The reciprocity treaty, which was recently proposed between the United States and Mexico, provided that certain articles exported from the United States into Mexico should be admitted free of all import duties, whether Federal or local; but it did not prohibit, as has been generally supposed, the several Mexican States from taxing such imports, in common with other articles, when the same are found within their jurisdiction! And it is claimed that such taxes are not in the nature of import duties. But, be this as it may, the effect on the internal commerce of Mexico is substantially one and the same.

The Mexican tariff system also provides for the taxation of exports, notably on the following products: gold bullion, one fourth of one per cent; silver bullion, one half of one per cent; coined gold and silver, having already paid at the mint, exempt; orchil (a lichen from which a fine purple dye is obtained), $10 per ton;* wood for cabinet-

pal custom-house officers, so as to lessen in a degree the interruptions and vexations incident to the system. But as the Federal Government and some of the States have since then authorized public improvements to an extent that the state of their finances did not justify, and have in consequence increased taxes in all possible forms throughout the republic, the prospect for the complete suppression, or even of any essential modification, of this oppressive system of taxation is not flattering.

* The effect of taxation in destroying trade and commerce is strikingly illustrated by the circumstance that when Mexico imposed in 1878 an export tax of $10 per ton on orchil, the shipments of this arti-

work and construction, $2.50 per 31.3 American cubic feet. Small export duties are also imposed on coffee and heniquen. A revision of the Mexican tariff, with a view of modifying certain of its exorbitant duties, more especially those levied on the importation of wines and liquors and certain articles of food, has been recently recommended (1885) to the Government by a committee of delegates of prominent men of business from different parts of the republic.

The existence in a state of the New World of a system of taxation so antagonistic to all modern ideas, and so destructive of all commercial freedom, is certainly very curious, and prompts to the following reflections: First, how great were the wisdom and foresight of the framers of the Constitution of the United States in providing, at the very commencement of the Federal Union, that no power to tax in this manner, and for their own use or benefit, should ever be permitted to the States that might compose it (Article I, section 10). Second, how did such a system come to be ingrafted on Mexico, for it is not a modern contrivance? All are agreed that it is an old-time practice and a legacy of Spanish domination.

cle, which had averaged about $200,000 per annum, and afforded profitable employment to the peasantry of Lower California, at once fell off to $54,000 in 1879–'80, and to $15,000 in 1880–'81. Since then exportations have considerably increased.

But, further than this, may it not be another of those numerous relics of European mediævalism which, having utterly disappeared in the countries of their origin, seem to have become embalmed, as it were, in what were the old Spanish provinces of America—a system filtered down through Spanish traditions from the times when the imposition of taxes and the regulation of local trade were regarded by cities and communities in the light of an affirmation of their right to self-government, and as a barrier against feudal interference and tyranny; and when the idea of protecting industry through like devices was also not limited as now to international commerce, but was made applicable to the commercial intercourse of cities and communities of the same country, and even to separate trades or "guilds" of the same city? Whether such speculations have any warrant in fact or not, it is at least certain that we have in the Mexico of to-day a perfect example of what was common in Europe in the middle ages; namely, of protection to separate interests (through taxation) carried out to its fullest and logical extent, and also of its commercial and industrial consequences.*

* "The laws of Old Spain, based on the civil law of the Romans, modified by the Goths, Visigoths, the Church, and the Moors, were sufficiently confused when they were introduced into Mexico some three hundred and sixty years ago. Since that date, with the addition

So much for the tariff system of Mexico. The "excise" or "internal revenue" system of the country is no less extraordinary. It is essentially a tax on sales, collected in great part through the agency of stamps—a repetition of the old "*alcavala*" tax of Spain,* which Adam Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations," describes as one of the worst forms of taxation that could be inflicted upon a country, and as largely responsible for the decay of Spanish manufactures and agriculture. Thus the Mexican law, re-enacted January, 1885, imposes a tax of "one half of one per cent upon the value in excess of $20 of transactions of buying or selling of every kind of merchandise, whether at wholesale or retail, in whatever place throughout the whole republic." Also, one half of one per cent "on all sales and resales of country or city property; upon all exchanges of movable or immovable property; on mortgages, transfers, or gifts, collateral or bequeathed inheritances; on

of the special legislation of the Spanish crown for the Indies, the edicts, decrees, and enactments of conquerors, viceroys, bishops, juntas, councils, emperors, military chiefs, dictators, presidents, and congresses, the acts of one hundred and thirty-six governments, many of them initiated and perishing amid violent domestic revolutions, and the storms of civil and foreign wars, it is not surprising that Mexican law is embarrassed with antiquated forms and anomalies, confusion, contradictions, and uncertainties."—Consul Strother, "Report to the United States Department of State, 1884."

* The very name is yet essentially kept up in Mexico, where the tax is sometimes designated as the "*alcabala*."

bonds, rents of farms, when the rent exceeds $2,000 annually; and on all contracts with the Federal, State, or municipal governments." Every inhabitant of the republic who sells goods to the value of over $20 must give to the buyer "an invoice, note, or other document accrediting the purchase," and affix to the same, and cancel, a stamp corresponding to the value of the sale. Sales at retail are exempt from this tax; and retail sales are defined to be "sales made with a single buyer, whose value does not exceed $20. The reunion, in a single invoice, of various parcels, every one of which does not amount to $20, but which in the aggregate exceed that quantity," remains subject to the tax. Retail sales in the public markets, or by ambulatory sellers, or licensed establishments whose capital does not exceed $300, are also exempt. Tickets of all descriptions—railroad, theatre, etc.—must have a stamp, as must each page of the reports of meetings; each leaf of a merchant's ledger, day or cash book, and every cigar sold singly, which must be delivered to the buyer in a stamped wrapper. Sales of spirits at wholesale pay three per cent; gross receipts of city railroads, four per cent; public amusements, two per cent upon the amount paid for entrance; playing-cards, fifty per cent—paid in stamps—on the retail price; and manufactured tobacco a variety

of taxes, proportioned to quality and value. Mercantile drafts are taxed at $10 per $1,000, which means a dollar on every hundred.

Farms, *haciendas*, and town estates are required to be taxed at the rate of $3 per each $1,000 of the valuation, but such is the influence of the land-owners that the valuation is almost nominal. In Vera Cruz the rate is reported at about 2 mills on the dollar for the most productive portions of country estates; while in the Pacific State of Colima the rate is said to be 1½ per cent. Land and buildings not actually producing income are exempt from taxation, notwithstanding they may be continually enhancing in value.*

In the towns, this system of infinitesimal taxation is indefinitely repeated, the towns acting as collectors of revenue for the Federal and State governments, as well as for their own municipal requirements. All industries pay a monthly fee: as tanneries, 50 cents; soap-factories, $1. So also all shops for the sale of goods pay according to their class, from a few dollars down to a few cents per month. Each beef animal, on leaving a town, pays 50 cents; each fat pig, 25 cents; each sheep, 12 cents; each load of corn, fruit, vegeta-

* This practice of exempting unoccupied realty from taxation also prevails in Portugal. The theory there in justification of the practice is, that the use of a thing defines its measure of value, and that to tax unused property is a process of confiscation.

bles, or charcoal, 6 cents (as a supposed road-tax), and so on; and, on entering another town, all these exactions are repeated. A miller, in Mexico, it is said, is obliged to pay thirty-two separate taxes on his wheat, before he can get it from the field and offer it, in the form of flour, on the market, for consumption. As a matter of necessity, furthermore, every center of population —small and big, city, town, or hamlet—swarms with petty officials, who are paid to see that not an item of agricultural produce, of manufactured goods, or an operation of trade or commerce or even a social event, like a *fandango*, a christening, a marriage, or a funeral, escapes the payment of tribute.*

* The following is a copy of the tariff of the city of Guerrero—one hundred and fifty miles southeast of the capital—for articles exported from the city, on account of its municipal fund, as published in the year 1883:

1. For every kind of animal killed for purpose of speculation $ .25
2. For every head of horses, mules, or cattle taken out of the country 1.00
3. For every head of horses, mules, or cattle taken into the interior ..... .12½
4. For every fat pork which is taken out of town or which is killed in town for purpose of speculating ..... .06¼
5. For every beef-hide taken out of town ..... .03¼
6. For every thousand head of sheep or goats taken out of the country 12.00
7. For every thousand head of sheep or goats taken outside of the limits of the town 1.00
8. For every horse, mule, or jackass taken out of the limits of the town ..... .25

Great complaint is made, in the Territory of Lower California and probably elsewhere, at the existence and rigid enforcement of a tax-law known

9. The mares and she-asses taken out of the country, for each	2.00
10. Each mare and she-ass taken out of the municipality to any other part of the republic will pay	.25
11. Every arroba (25 pounds) of wood raised within the jurisdiction of the town will pay for its extraction to any part of the republic, or outside of its limits	.01½
12. Each skin of sheep or goats, for its extraction to other ports, will pay	.01½
13. Each cart which enters town for speculative purposes will pay "el piso"	.12½
14. Every hundred of sugar-cane, to enter	.12½
15. Every hundred dollars' worth of earthenware of the country will pay one per cent to enter	1.00
16. Every hundred dollars' worth of foreign earthenware will pay one and a half per cent to enter the town	1.50
17. Every hundred oranges that are sold	.12½
18. All sorts of wood, worked, of this or other countries, to enter, will pay for each foot	.01
19. Each thousand of garlic or onions will pay	1.00
20. Each gallon of alcoholic liquor, to enter	.06¼
21. Each gallon of other wines or vinegar, to enter	.01½
22. Every package of dry merchandise, to enter	.12½
23. All sorts of grain, with the exception of corn, will pay to enter, on each arroba	.02
24. Every billiard-table will pay monthly	2.00
25. All other establishments of whatever kind will pay, according to the pleasure of the town authorities, a monthly tax, according to the amount of their capital. All articles which are not contained in the present tariff remain subject to the pleasure of the authorities of the city of Guerrero to levy upon them a contribution which they think right and just.	

In addition to all this, every male in the State between the ages of eighteen and sixty-six pays twelve cents monthly as a personal tax. Common laborers pay in addition six cents monthly as a tax for mate-

as "*portazgo*," the operation of which is thus described by United States Consul Turner, in a recent report to the State Department: "Under the present general tariff, lumber, horses, cattle, hogs, and some other products, can be imported from foreign countries free of duty; but, if any of these same products are brought here (La Paz) from any part of Mexico, an excessive duty is imposed upon them. Cattle may be landed here from California free of duty; but, if a poor 'ranchero' brings a cow to La Paz to sell, he must pay a duty of $2 upon it—that is, if he brings it by water; for it is one of the curiosities of this regulation that all articles introduced by land enter free, and all brought by water pay duties. The enforcement of this law is universally complained of, all over the Territory, and induces all to become smugglers."

NOTE.—[To understand the full meaning of these revenue regulations, it must be remembered that the Mexican Territory of Lower California is separated from the other territory of Mexico by the Gulf of California; and therefore, whatever enters the territory from the other parts of the republic must be transported by water.]

In fact, trade is so hampered by this system of taxation, that one can readily understand and

rial improvements, while all persons receiving a yearly salary of $150 and upward pay twelve cents per month. Professional men also pay from fifty cents to two dollars per month according to their vocation. Salaries to public officials are assessed one and a half per cent annual tax.

accept the assertion that has been made, that people with capital in Mexico really dread to enter into business, and prefer to hoard their wealth, or restrict their investments to land (which, as before pointed out, is practically exempt from taxation), rather than subject themselves to the never-ending inquisitions and annoyances which are attendant upon almost every active employment of persons and capital, even were all other conditions favorable. Mexico, from the influence of this system of taxation alone, must, therefore, remain poor and undeveloped; and no evidence or argument to the contrary can in any degree weaken this assertion. Doubtless there are many intelligent people in Mexico who recognize the gravity of the situation, and are most anxious that something should be done in the way of reform. But what can be done? If autocratic powers were to be given to a trained financier, thoroughly versed in all the principles of taxation and of economic sciences, and conversant with the results of actual experiences, the problem of making things speedily and radically better in this department of the Mexican state is so difficult that he might well shrink from grappling with it.

In the first place, the great mass of the Mexican people have little or no visible, tan-

gible property which is capable of direct assessment.

Again, in any permanent system of taxation, taxes in every country or community, in common with all the elements of the cost of production and subsistence—wages, profits, interest, depreciation, and materials—must be substantially drawn from each year's product. Now, the annual product of Mexico is comparatively very small. Thus, for example, Mr. Sutton, United States consul-general at Matamoros, as before noticed, has shown that the annual product of the single State of South Carolina is absolutely two and a half times—or, proportionally to area, twenty-five times—as valuable as the annual product of the entire northern half of Mexico; and the Argentine Republic of South America, with only one third of the population of Mexico, has a revenue twenty per cent greater, and double the amount of foreign commerce. Product being small, consumption must of necessity be also small. Ex-Consul Strother (report to State Department, United States, 1885) says: "The average cost of living (food and drink) to a laboring-man in the city of Mexico is about twenty-five cents per day; in the country from twelve and a half to eighteen cents. The average annual cost of a man's dress is probably not over five

dollars; that of a woman double that sum, with an undetermined margin for gewgaws and cheap jewelry." Mr. Lambert, United States consul at San Blas, reports under date of May, 1884: "The average laborer and mechanic of this country may be fortunate enough, if luck be not too uncharitable toward him, to get a suit of tanned goat-skin, costing about six dollars, which will last him as many years."

Consul Campbell, of Monterey, under date of October, 1885, reports: The Mexican laborer is at but small cost for his clothing. He wears instead of shoes, sandals, which are nothing more than pieces of sole-leather cut to the size of the foot and tied on by strings of dressed hide. His clothes are made of the coarse, heavy linen of the country, and a full suit costs him $2.50. He always carries a blanket, which in many cases is woven by the women of his family, but, in case he buys it, costing from $2.50 to $10; but, as one blanket will last him many years, it adds but little to his yearly expenses. The total cost of clothing for one year will not exceed $10 or $12. He is at an equally small expense for the necessary clothing for his family. Four or five dollars a year will provide one or two calico dresses for his wife; and his children, when clothed at all, are but scantily covered with the remnants laid aside by the par-

ents. Of household goods he is ignorant. A few untanned hides are used for beds, and dressed goat or sheep skins serve for mattress and covering.

The food of the masses consists mainly of agricultural products—corn (*tortillas*), beans (*frijoles*), and fruits, which are for the most part the direct results of the labor of the consumer, and not obtained through any mechanism of purchase or exchange.

Persons conversant with the foreign commerce of Mexico are also of the opinion that not more than five per cent of its population buy at the present time any imported article whatever; or that, for all purposes of trade in American or European manufactures, the population is much in excess of half a million. Revenue in Mexico from any tariff on imports must, therefore, be also limited; and this limitation is rendered much greater than it need be by absurdly high duties; which (as notably is the case of cheap cotton fabrics) enrich the smuggler and a few mill-proprietors, to the great detriment of the national exchequer.

It is clear, therefore, that the basis available to the Government for obtaining revenue through the taxation of articles of domestic consumption, either in the processes of production, or through the machinery of distribution, is of necessity very

narrow; and that if the state is to get anything, either directly or indirectly, from this source, there would really seem to be hardly any method open to it, other than that of an infinitesimal, inquisitorial system of assessment and obstruction, akin to what is already in existence.*

NOTE.—This curious tax experience of Mexico, although especially striking and interesting, is not exceptional, but finds a parallel, in a greater or less degree, in all countries of low civilization, small accumulation of wealth, and sluggish society movement. Thus, in the British island and colony of Jamaica, populated mainly by emancipated blacks and their descendants (554,132 out of a total of 580,804 in 1881), who own little or no land, and through favorable climatic conditions require the minimum of clothing and shelter, and little of food other than what is produced spontaneously, or by very little labor, the problem of how to raise revenue by any form of taxation, for defraying the necessary expenses of government, has been not a little embarrassing. For the year 1884, the revenue raised from taxation on this island represented an average assessment of about $3.40 per head of the entire population; but of this amount an average of about fifty cents only per head could be obtained from any excise or internal taxation; and this mainly through the indirect agency of licenses and stamps, and not by any direct assessment. The balance of receipts was derived from import and export duties, and from special duties on rum, which last furnished nearly one fourth of the entire revenue. During the same year the average taxation of the people of the United States—Federal, State, and municipal—was in excess of fourteen dollars per capita. A condition of things in British India, analogous to that existing in Jamaica, has for many years necessitated the imposition of very high taxes upon salt, as almost the only method by which the mass of the native population could be compelled to contribute anything whatever toward the support of their

* The experience of Mexico in respect to taxation ought to be especially instructive to all that large class of statesmen and law-makers in the United States who believe that the only equitable system of taxation is to provide for an obligatory return and assessment of all property, and that to exempt anything is both unjust and impolitic.

government; the consumption of salt being necessary to all, and its production and distribution being capable of control, and so of comparatively easy assessment. In short, if a man can avoid paying rent, make no accumulations, and will live exclusively on what he can himself gather from the bounty of Nature, he can not be taxed, except by a capitation or poll tax; and it would be difficult to see how in such a case even such a tax could be collected. But, the moment he enters into society and recognizes the advantages of the division of labor and exchange, he begins to pay taxes, and the higher the civilization he enjoys the greater will be the taxes.

But the greatest obstacle in the way of tax reform in Mexico is to be found in the fact that a comparatively few people—not six thousand out of a possible ten million—own all the land, and constitute, in the main, the governing class of the country; and the influence of this class has thus far been sufficiently potent to *practically* exempt land from taxation. So long as this condition of things prevails, it is difficult to see how there is ever going to be a middle class (as there is none now worthy of mention), occupying a position intermediate between the rich and a vast ignorant lower class, that take no interest in public affairs, and are only kept from turbulence through military restraint. Such a class, in every truly civilized and progressive country, is numerically the greatest, and comprises the great producers; and because the great producers, the great consumers and tax-payers—for all taxes ultimately fall upon consumption—and so are the ones most interested in the promotion and maintenance of good gov-

ernment. A tax-policy, however, which would compel the land-owners to cut up and sell their immense holdings, especially if they are unwilling to develop them, would be the first step toward the creation of such a middle class. But it is not unlikely that Mexico would have to go through one more revolution, and that the worst one she has yet experienced, before any such result could be accomplished. At present, furthermore, there is no evidence that the mass of the Mexican people, who would be most benefited by any wise scheme for the partition of the great estates and for tax reform, feel any interest whatever in the matter, or would vigorously support any leader of the upper class that might desire to take the initiative in promoting such changes. And herein is the greatest discouragement to every one who wishes well for the country.

CHAPTER IX.

The Federal budget—Receipts and expenditures—Principal sources of national revenue—Foreign commerce—Coinage of the Mexican mints—Imports and exports—The United States the largest customer for Mexican products—Silver monometallism in Mexico—Its inconveniences and abandonment—Introduction of paper money—Sanitary conditions of Mexico—Terrible mortality of the cities of Mexico and Vera Cruz.

THE Federal budget, in respect to expenditures for the fiscal year 1886–'87, as reported by President Diaz to the Mexican Chamber of Deputies, was as follows:

Congress	$1,052,144
Executive Department	49,251
Judiciary	434,892
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	419,828
Ministry of Interior	3,539,364
Ministry of Justice	1,333,696
Ministry of Public Works	4,711,771
Ministry of Finance	12,004,270
Ministry of War and Navy	12,464,500
Total	$36,009,716

The estimates of receipts were uncertain. It was hoped, if business recovered, that they would reach $33,000,000; and the Government promised

to try and restrict the national expenditures to this amount.

The following are the reported receipts and expenditures of the republic for the years 1880–'81 to 1883–'84 inclusive:

YEARS.	Receipts.	Expenditures.
1880–'81.....	$26,550,000	$24,900,000
1881–'82.....	30,400,000	30,590,000
1882–'83.....	32,850,000	37,580,000
1883–'84.....	37,620,000	42,760,000

As for the sources of national revenue, the customs are understood to yield about one half; taxes on sales and stamps, some $5,000,000; post-offices and telegraph lines, $650,000; lotteries, $800,000; while the receipts from taxes levied by the States (mainly on sales also) amount to from $8,000,000 to $10,000,000, or about one half the receipts from customs.

In respect to the foreign commerce of Mexico, a report on the "Commercial Relations of the United States," issued by the United States Department of State in 1883, says: "Owing to the system, or, rather, to the lack of system, in regard to the collection and publication of customs returns by the national Government, it is impossible for our consuls in Mexico to supply any trustworthy statistics concerning the foreign commerce

of the republic." Mr. Carden, Consul for Great Britain, in a report to his Government in 1883, on the trade and commerce of Mexico, says, in reference to the difficulties encountered in investigating this subject: "Since 1874 no attempt has been made to do more than estimate the value of imports by that of customs receipts; which, seeing the constant alterations of and additions to the tariff, and the fluctuations in the quantities of goods introduced free of duty, can necessarily only afford a very imperfect basis for calculation." In respect to exports the information is much more satisfactory. An approximative estimate of the results for 1880 was as follows:

Exports	$32,663,554
Imports	24,003,372
Total	$56,666,926 *

The precious metals—coin, bullion, and ores—always constitute the great bulk of what Mexico exports; and the proportion of agricultural products or other merchandise exported is surprisingly small. Thus, out of the total value of exports for 1884, estimated by Consul-General Sutton at $39,716,000, nearly three fourths, or $28,452,000, were credited to the precious metals, and only $11,264,000 to all other commodities; and of these

* Since this date the aggregate of the exports and imports of Mexico has without doubt very considerably increased.

last the largest proportion always consists of articles produced near the seaboard, or near the line of the "City of Mexico and Vera Cruz Railroad." During recent years, and since the construction of the so-called American railroads, the increase in the exports from Mexico, of products other than the precious metals, has, however, been very notable, and is apparently progressive. But the fact that the exports of Mexico *always* largely exceed her imports, that the great bulk of the exports are *always* the precious metals, and that the excess of imports does not represent payment for interest to any extent on any national foreign indebtedness, naturally creates a suspicion that the whole (export) transaction is something abnormal; which may find an explanation in the existence of a class of wealthy absentee landlords, or proprietors, who, living permanently in Paris or Spain, draw rents, tolls, and profits from their Mexican properties, and invest or expend the same in other, or foreign countries. The bulk of the coinage of Mexico—both of silver and of gold—is exported almost as soon as it leaves the mints. Thus, although the average annual coinage of the Mexican mints from 1876 to 1880 was $22,524,694, and since then has been larger ($25,610,000 in 1881–'82), the amount of coin in actual circulation in the country is believed to have never been in excess of

$15,000,000 or $20,000,000. Much of the Mexican coined silver has, as is well known, been heretofore in large demand to meet the world's requirements for trade with China; but what has come back to Mexico for it in exchange is somewhat of a commercial puzzle.

The present annual value of the total import trade of Mexico is probably not in excess of $35,000,000, of which the United States already controls a large proportion. Thus, for the year 1883, the returned value of all merchandise exported from the United States to Mexico was $16,587,630; of which $14,370,992 was "domestic" and $2,216,638 "foreign" merchandise. This was, however, a year of very active railroad construction, with an abnormal employment of Mexican labor, and large disbursements of American capital in the country. Since then there has been a marked falling off in exports from the United States (less than $13,000,000 in 1884), which has been attributed partly to the withholding of orders in anticipation of the ratification of a commercial treaty between the two countries, and partly to the great depression of business consequent on the large decline in the price of silver.*

* How greatly the depreciation of silver affects the business interests of a country like Mexico, which not only uses a silver currency almost exclusively, but also relies on silver as one of its chief exports (i. e., for the payment of imports), is shown by the circumstance that

Although, according to the above figures, the United States appears to take the lead of all other nations in respect to the import trade of Mexico, it is claimed by the English consular officials that, if the necessary figures were obtainable, it would be demonstrated that the real exports of England and France to Mexico are larger than they are reported. "All that the United States exports to Mexico is of necessity sent direct, as it would be unreasonable to suppose that any American goods would be sent *via* Europe, and thus figure in the indirect trade of other countries. On the other hand, it is certain that all the indirect trade through the United States is European, and it is probable that a fair share of it consists of English and French merchandise; and this is especially the case when so much material for the construction of new railways is being imported from England through the Texan ports and sent by rail across the frontier." —Report of Consul Carden, 1883.

the Directors of the "Vera Cruz and City of Mexico Railroad" reported at their annual meeting in London, on the 25th of May, 1886, that the loss of the company in exchange for the half-year ending December 31, 1885, was £29,641; on the gross earnings for the same period, of £302,134. They further add: "The average rate of exchange fell during the half-year from 41–46*d.* per dollar, at which it stood at the end of June 1865, to 40–45*d.*, and since the beginning of the current half-year (1886) the rate has further fallen, and at the present time is 38–76*d.* On equal remittances made a year previously, when the average rate was 42–39, the loss would have been only £21,669, and thus an additional burden of £7,972 has been imposed on the shareholders."

In regard to the exports from Mexico there is less difference of opinion, and it seems to be agreed that the United States and England are the chief consumers of Mexican products, and that Germany, France, and Spain hold a subordinate place as buyers from Mexico. For the year 1884–'85 the value of Mexican exports—precious metals and merchandise—has been estimated as high as $45,600,000; of which $25,053,000, or 55 per cent, went to the United States; $15,367,000, or 32.9 per cent, to England; 4.8 per cent to France; 3 per cent to Germany, and 2.6 per cent to Spain. It therefore follows, if these figures are correct, that the United States buys more of Mexican merchandise than all the other nations of the world together. Excluding the exports of the precious metals, the proportion of exports in favor of the United States would undoubtedly be much greater.

In a report to the State Department (May, 1884), ex-Consul-General Strother thus briefly sums up the obstacles (heretofore noticed more in detail) which stand in the way of the future development of the commerce of Mexico. He says: "Topographically considered, Mexico labors under many serious disadvantages to commerce, whether external or internal. Her coasts on both oceans are broad belts of intolerable heat, disease, and aridity, and, except a few small seaport towns,

are nearly uninhabited. On the whole extent of her coast-line there are but two natural harbors available for first-class modern merchant-vessels—those of Anton Lizado on the Gulf, and Acapulco on the Pacific. All the other so-called seaports now used by commerce are open roadsteads, dangerous in rough weather, and only approachable in lighters, or are located on rivers, the entrances to which are closed to ocean traders by shallows or sand-bars. The natural obstructions and difficulties in the way of inland traffic are scarcely less observable. Mexico is entirely wanting in navigable rivers and lakes. Her fertile districts, capital cities, and centers of population are separated from each other by long distances, arid districts, immense chains of mountains, and vast *barrancas* washed out by her rapidly descending water-courses. These difficulties were partially overcome by the Spaniards, who constructed a noble system of highways and bridges extending between the principal cities of the viceroyalty, but from the nature of the soil they were immensely expensive to construct and difficult to maintain. During the long and ruinous wars for independence, and the civil wars which followed, these highways went rapidly to destruction; and, notwithstanding recent repairs and reconstructions, the general condition of Mexican highways is not

encouraging to either commerce or travel. But all these natural and accidental disadvantages combined may be regarded as nothing in comparison with the crushing and suffocating influences brought to bear on Mexican commerce, foreign and domestic, by the exclusive policy imposed by the mother-country during the three centuries of Mexico's colonial vassalage; and, secondly, by the system of internal and interstate duties and custom-houses, inherited from Old Spain, which still practically vexes the internal commerce of the republic."

Silver Monometallism.—Until within a very recent period, Mexico has furnished to the world a most curious and interesting example of a somewhat populous country conducting its exchanges almost exclusively by means of a monometallic, silver currency; no other form of money, with the exception of a small copper coinage, having been used or recognized. The results were most instructive. The bulk and weight of the silver currency constituted a most serious embarrassment to commerce and all money transactions. Thus, if one proposed to trade, even to a retail extent, or go on a journey, a bag of coin had to be carried. If it were proposed to pay out a hundred dollars, the weight of the bag would be five and a half pounds; if two hundred dollars, eleven

pounds; if five hundred, twenty-seven pounds. About the doors of the principal banking-houses were to be seen groups of professional porters (*cargadores*), who gained a livelihood by carrying loads of coin in *ixtle* bags from one part of the city to another. Where collections or payments were to be large, and the distance to be traversed considerable, regular organizations of armed men, and suitably equipped animals—known as "*conductas*"—were permanently maintained; and severe and bloody fights with bandits were of common occurrence. At the great cotton-mill at Querétaro, as already noted, the organization of a *conducta*—men, arms, and horses—for making collections, was as much an essential of the business as the looms and the spindles. "It was obviously impossible to carry even a moderate amount of such money with any concealment, or to carry it at all with any comfort; and the unavoidable exhibition of it, held in laps, chinking in trunks or boxes, standing in bags, and poured out in streams at the banks and commercial houses, was one of the features of life in Mexico," and undoubtedly constituted a standing temptation for robbery. This state of affairs continued until 1880. The Government, the banks, the merchants, the railroad offices, and private individuals transacted all their business in silver coin;

and all promises to pay, notes, bonds, mortgages, etc., were drawn up with the invariable provision, "payable in hard dollars (*pesos fuertes*), to the exclusion of all paper money existing, or that may be hereafter created." The only bank-notes issued at that date were large bills of the "Bank of London, Mexico, and South America"—a branch of which, unchartered, was established in Mexico in 1864. Their circulation was extremely limited; small traders and the people at large declining to accept them. Since then, the "Monte de Piedad" (the national pawnbroking establishment), a "national" bank, and various banks of foreign incorporators, have issued notes; and the practice thus initiated has rapidly extended to all sections of the republic. The basis of issue of all the regularly chartered banks is understood to be substantially the same as that of the "Banco Nacional Mexicano" (Mexican National Bank), which is authorized to issue three millions of paper for every million of coin or bullion in its coffers, which notes are legal tender from individuals to the Government, but not from the Government to individuals, or between individuals. This bank is chartered for thirty years, and is exempted from taxation during that period. Its present circulation has been reported at over $5,000,000. The possibilities, if not probabilities, therefore,

now are, that a flood of paper will ultimately drive silver out of circulation in Mexico; and that neither popular traditions nor prejudices, nor the adverse influence of the mints (which in Mexico are private establishments), nor its great silver-mining interests (at present the most important business interest of Mexico), can have any effect in checking the paper currency movement.

RELATION OF THE SANITARY CONDITION OF MEXICO TO ITS COMMERCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

The sanitary condition of every country constitutes an important element in determining its commercial development, and Mexico especially illustrates the truth of this proposition. The coast-lands of the republic are hot and unhealthy. The more elevated portions, where nine tenths of the people live, are claimed to be unsurpassed in salubrity. Strangers from northern latitudes, and accustomed to the ordinary levels of human residence, are liable, on coming to the Mexican plateau, to a process of acclimation, which, although often very trying, is rarely attended with any very serious consequences. Horse-dealers from Texas state that they lose from twelve to twenty per cent of the horses brought to the city of Mexico for sale, solely from the climatic in-

fluences contingent on its great altitude. The sanitary conditions of the two chief commercial centers of the republic, namely, the city of Mexico and of Vera Cruz, are, however, so extraordinary and so obstructive to national progress that any review of the country would be imperfect that neglected to notice them. The evil in the case of the former is local and not climatic, and is due to the circumstance that the site of the city is "a bowl in the mountains," so that drainage from it is now, and always has been, very difficult. And, as years have passed, and the population living within the bowl has multiplied, the evil has continually increased, until Lake Tezcoco, which borders the city, and on which Cortes built and floated war-galleys, has been nearly filled up with drainage deposits which have been carried into it through an elaborate system of city sewers. If these sewers ever had fall enough to drain them, they have, as the result of the filling up of this lake, little or none now, and the result is that they have become in effect an immense system of cess-pools; while the soil, on which from 250,000 to 300,000 people live, has become permeated with stagnant water and filth inexpressible. And were it not for the extreme dryness and rarefaction of the air, which, as before pointed out, prevent the putrefaction of animal substances,

and seem to hinder the propagation of the germs of disease, the city must long ago have been visited with plague, and perhaps have been rendered absolutely uninhabitable. And, even under existing circumstances, the average duration of life in the city of Mexico is estimated to be but 26.4 years. Typhoid fever prevails all the year round, and is especially virulent at the end of the dry season, when the heat is the greatest. And, surprising as it may seem, with a climate of perpetual spring and an elevation of 7,500 feet above the sea-level, lung and malarial diseases hold a prominent place among the causes of death. According to the reports of the Board of Health of the Mexican capital for April and May of the present year (1886), thirty-three per cent of the weekly mortality at that season was to be referred to typhoid and other forms of gastric fever, and twenty per cent to consumption and pneumonia. In the year 1877, when a typhus epidemic prevailed, the city's mortality was reported to have been as high as 53.2 per thousand as compared with an average death-rate of 24.6 in Paris for the same year. "A distinguished member of the medical faculty of Mexico has lately published a report, in which he demonstrates, by comparative statistical tables, that the annual mortality of the city is increasing

to such an extent as already to counterbalance the natural movement of the population, and, if not checked in time, as threatening the race."* —"United States Consular Reports," No. 3, 1881, p. 18.

This condition of affairs is not due, as some might infer, to any improvidence or want of enterprise on the part of the Mexicans, for the evil has long been recognized, and at present especially interests the Government. But the difficulties in the way of applying an efficacious remedy are very great, and engineers are not fully agreed as to the best method for attaining the desired result. "For such is the nature of the plain upon which Mexico is built, such the conformation of the land and the contour of the mountains about it, that a vast system of tunneling and canalization would be necessary to create a fall sufficient to drain the valley; and, before the city can be drained, the valley must be." It is said that one celebrated American engineer, whose advice was recently asked by the Government, reported that, if a thorough drainage could

* Under the title of the "Great Necropolis," one of the prominent Mexican newspapers, the "Correo del Lúnes," recently said: "Undisguised terror is caused by these processions of the dead which daily defile through the streets of Mexico. To be alive here is getting to be a startling phenomenon. It may be a very short time, unless energetic remedial measures are adopted, before the capital will have to be moved to another location."

be effected, the city, through a consequent shrinkage of soil, would probably tumble down. And, finally, the existing condition of the national and municipal finances is such, that it is not easy for the authorities to determine how the money necessary to meet the contingent great expenditures—estimated at about $9,000,000, or a sum equivalent to more than one third of the entire annual revenue of the General Government—is to be provided.

It ought not to be inferred that there is special danger to travelers, or tourists, visiting the Mexican capital, and residing there during the winter months or early spring; for experience shows that, with ordinary precautions in respect to location, diet, exercise, and exposure, health can be maintained there as easily as in most of the cities of Italy at the same seasons. One serious drawback to the visitation of Mexico by English-speaking foreigners, intent on either business or pleasure, is the absence of any suitable public pro vision for the care or comfort of any such who may happen to fall victims to accident or disease. This condition of things is greatly aggravated in case of contagious diseases, when the authorities, on notification by the landlord of any hotel or boarding-house, "immediately remove the patient to a public pest-house, where with scores or hundreds of uncongenial companions, suffering from

all kinds of loathsome diseases, he is placed in the hands of nurses whose language he probably can not speak or understand, and to whose food and manners he can not, especially in such a trying hour, become accustomed; and where he is prohibited any little delicacies that might be sent him, and where he lies down alone, to suffer and perhaps to die." * In the city of Mexico the further continuance of such painful experiences has in a great degree been prevented by the founding and establishment by private contributions during the present year (1886), of a small but suitable and conveniently located hospital, with provision for ten free beds, and two furnished rooms for rental; and these arrangements it is proposed to enlarge as rapidly as further contributions for the purpose will permit. It may be further noted that this enterprise was the outcome of a meeting of Americans and others on the anniversary of the birthday of Washington in 1886; was greatly stimulated by the generosity of a "Raymond Excursion" party which happened to participate; is now under the charge of a committee, of which the Rev. John W. Butler, of the Methodist Episcopal mission, is secretary; and is a matter which strongly commends itself to the sympathy and aid of the North American and English people.

* Circular of Mexican Hospital Committee.

At Vera Cruz, the local name of which is "El Vomito" (a term doubtless originating from the continued prevalence in the town of yellow fever), the sanitary conditions are much worse than in the city of Mexico; and the causes of the evil, being mainly climatic, are probably not removable. The statistics of mortality at this place, gathered and published by the United States Department of State, are simply appalling. Thus, the population of Vera Cruz in 1869 was returned at 13,492. The number of deaths occurring during the ten years ending September, 1880, was 12,219. The average duration of life in Vera Cruz for this period was, therefore, about eleven years! Other calculations indicate the average annual death-rate of this place to be about ninety per thousand, as compared with the annual average for all the leading cities of the United States for the year 1880, of 22.28 per thousand.

The writer feels that he would be guilty of a grave omission, in this connection, if he failed to quote and also to indorse the words with which the United States consul, who gathered and communicated these facts, thus concludes his official report, October, 1880: "With these awful facts before me, I leave it to the common judgment and high ideas that our law-makers have of justice to say whether or not the salary of the con-

sul who, for eleven years, has lived in such an atmosphere, ought or ought not to be placed at least back to where it was when he was sent here."

[NOTE.—No more striking illustration of the popular "craze" for public office can be found than in the circumstance that, although an appointment to the United States consulate at Vera Cruz (salary in 1884, $3,000) is equivalent to investing in a lottery of death, in which the chances to an unacclimated person for drawing a capital prize are probably as great as one to seven or eight, no lack of applicants for the place is ever experienced. Thus, the consul whose appeal for an increase of salary is above noticed was appointed from Illinois, and resigned in 1881. His successor, appointed from Nebraska, died of yellow fever a fortnight after arrival at his post; and since then there have been two appointments, one from Nebraska and one from New Jersey.]

CHAPTER X.

Political relations, present and prospective, of the United States and Mexico—The border population—Their interests, opinions, and influence—The bearing of the Monroe doctrine—The United States no friends on the American Continent—Opinions of other nations in respect to the United States—Adverse sentiments in Mexico—Enlightened policy of the present Mexican Government—Religious toleration—Recent general progress—Claims of Mexico on the kindly sympathies of the United States—Public debt of Mexico—Interoceanic transit and traffic.

THE relations of the United States to Mexico naturally group themselves under two heads—political and commercial.

The political relations of the United States with Mexico, whether the people or the Government of the former wish it or not, are going to be intimate and complex in the future. The United States is geographically married to Mexico, and there can be no divorce between the parties. Intercommunication between the two countries, which a few years ago was very difficult, is now comparatively easy, and facilities for the same are rapidly increasing. And with the rapid increase of population in the United States,

and with increased facilities for travel, the number of people—restless, adventurous, speculative, or otherwise minded—who are certain to cross the borders into Mexico for all purposes, good and bad, is likely to rapidly increase in the future. An extensive strip of territory within the Mexican frontier is already dominated, to a great extent, for the purposes of contraband trade, by a class of men who acknowledge no allegiance to any government, and whom the Mexican authorities tacitly admit they can not restrain, and who seem to find their greatest profit in smuggling, and their greatest enjoyment in cattle-stealing, gambling, and in fights with the Indians or among themselves. And it is undoubtedly from this rough border population, who no more represent Mexico than the cow-boys of Texas and Colorado represent the people of the United States, that much of the denunciation and complaint about Mexico, its courts and its officials, which finds its way into the columns of American newspapers, originates in the first instance.

An opinion also prevails to a considerable extent, that there is a deliberate scheme—in the nature of a gigantic land-speculation—on the part of a not inconsiderable number of not unimportant people, both Americans and Mexicans, and on both sides of the border, to do all in their

power to excite animosity and a war feeling in the United States against Mexico, and revolutionary movements and disturbances in the northern States of Mexico against their central Government. These persons represent land ownership in Northern Mexico, where large tracts of Government land, it is understood, have been secured within recent years by Mexican military and political adventurers, and also by Americans, at nearly nominal prices.* So long as this land continues to be a part of Mexico, and subject to uncertainties in respect to government, it will command but a very low price, say from ten to fifty cents per acre. But let the southern boundary of the United States be once changed from the Rio Grande to a line from three to four hundred miles farther south, or to the Sierra Madre Mountains of Mexico, then this cheap Mexican land will undoubtedly rapidly appreciate in price—Texas lands near the border and

* By an executive decree, in November, 1882, the prices of public lands, subject to location in the northern States of Mexico, were fixed as follows: In Chihuahua, equivalent to seven cents per acre; Coahuila, five cents; San Luis Potosi, eighteen cents; Durango, nine cents; Zacatecas, thirty-six cents; Sonora, nine cents; Tamaulipas, seven cents. In the original publication the price was stated in Mexican currency, and the unit of land measure was the hectare, 2.47 acres. Payments, it is also understood, were allowed to favored individuals to be made at these low rates, in depreciated Mexican securities. These rates were to remain in force until 1885.

inferior in quality commanding from two to four dollars per acre—and thus insure immense fortunes to the speculators and adventurers above mentioned. And out of such a condition of things political complications between the two countries, at no distant day, are almost certain to originate.

Again, in asserting the "Monroe doctrine," the United States virtually assumes a protectorate over Mexico. For, whatever else the Monroe doctrine may embody, it unmistakably says to Mexico: "You shall not change your form of government"; "You shall not enter into any European alliances"; "You shall not make cessions of territory, except as we (the United States) shall approve"; and in return "We will not allow any foreign power, ourselves excepted, to bully, invade, or subjugate you." It may be, and is, replied that the necessity of repelling from the outset any attempt at further aggrandizement of any European power on the North American Continent, with its contingent menace to the maintenance of democratic institutions, sufficiently justifies the assertion of the Monroe doctrine, and is for the good of Mexico as well as of the United States. But, at the same time, if there was any other power on the American Continent which should arrogate to itself the right to dictate to or control the United States, as the United States

arrogates to itself the right to dictate to or control Mexico, and had sufficiency of power to make its assumptions respectable, could there be any doubt that the people of the Federal Union would regard such pretensions as a justifiable occasion for hostile protest and defiance?

Every right, however, carries with it and involves a duty; and the assertion of the Monroe doctrine by the United States carries with it an obligation of duty in respect to Mexico. What is that duty? Manifestly the duty which the strong owes to the weak. Not an offensive protectorate or meddlesome interference, but a kindly feeling and policy; manifesting itself in acts that will tend to promote the prosperity of our neighbor, and bring her willingly in accord with our own interests and wishes. Has that kindly feeling ever been manifested? To answer this question intelligently, one needs but to get a position outside of ourselves—more especially anywhere among the other people and states of the American Continent, north or south of our boundaries —when a little inquiry will satisfy, that the United States is regarded very much in the light of a great, overgrown, immensely powerful "bully," from whom no favor and scant justice are to be expected under any circumstances; and who would never hesitate, if interest or selfish indifference

prompted, to remorselessly trample down—in the old Anglo-Saxon spirit (and as it always has)—any weaker or inferior race, Mexicans, Indians, or Chinese, the poor fishermen of Newfoundland, or again the negro, if political sentiment in respect to the latter was not running for the time being in another direction. And it is safe to say that to-day there is not a nation or people on the face of the globe, which is brought in intimate contact with us, but fears and hates us; and that, apart from a conservation of the principle of free government, which the United States is believed to typify, would not be glad if the power of the Federal Government were by some contingency to be impaired or destroyed. Is it not time, therefore, that some steps should be taken to induce a different and a better state of feeling?

But, apart from any moral or ethical view of the situation, an exceptional, kindly treatment of Mexico ought to be a permanent national policy on the part of the United States, for reasons purely of self-interest, apart from any other motives. What Mexico most needs and what she has never had, unless the present Administration be an exception, is a stable, good government. Without such a government the large interests which citizens of the United States are acquiring in Mexico are sure to be imperiled. Some eighty million

dollars of American capital are understood to be already represented in Mexican railway-constructions; and other large investments have undoubtedly been made in mining and "ranching" in the country.* Now, if history is to repeat itself, and there are to be further domestic revolutions and intestine strife in Mexico, and these American property interests or their owners are, as a consequence, to be arbitrarily or unjustly treated—i. e., in the way of confiscations, or forced contributions—resistance will follow; claims for damages will be created and pressed; national intervention will be sought for, and, in the present temper of the American people, will probably be granted—with a possible sequence of war and annexation. Certainly the last thing which the United States would be likely to tolerate would be political chaos, with involved American interests, across its southern border. If it be said that there is no danger of this, it should be remembered that the

* According to the "Mexican Financier," the amount of American capital at present (1886) invested in Mexico is about $125,000,000; and the amount of similarly invested British capital not far from $200,000,000, distributed approximately as follows:

Railways	$56,500,000
Public debt	56,000,000
Banks and companies	20,000,000
Haciendas and cattle	50,000,000
House property	5,200,000
Total	$187,700,000

present President of Mexico came to his office for the first time in 1876, through successful rebellion against the regularly elected authorities; during which period the "Vera Cruz Railroad" was destroyed at different points by the revolutionists, and all travel throughout the country greatly interrupted and made dangerous; and also that during recent years there have been constantly incipient rebellions against the central authorities.

But good government in Mexico is a matter not easy of attainment. There can be no good government in any country without good finance, and the finances of Mexico are always in an embarrassed condition; and this almost necessarily for a variety of reasons. In the first place, as already pointed out, the extreme poverty of the masses, the absence of accumulated wealth, the sluggishness of all societary movements, the practical exemption of land from taxation, and the adoption of a method of taxation that blights the harvest that it is desired to gather, all render the collection of an adequate annual revenue very difficult. Owing to the semi-civilized condition of its people, Mexico is necessarily obliged to support an army nearly double that of the United States (45,323 rank and file in 1883), to maintain anything like a permanent government; and the expenditure

which this military establishment entails absorbs more than one third part of the total revenue of the state, as compared with a present *direct* military expenditure on the part of the United States, of not more than one tenth of its annual receipts.*

In a certain sense this large expenditure on the part of Mexico is for the direct benefit of the United States; for, if Mexico did not maintain reasonable peace and order throughout its great territory, the United States, having regard simply to its own peace and interests, would have to do it through military rule, on certainly so much of Mexico as is contiguous to the Federal dominions.

There can be no doubt, further, that there is a powerful party in Mexico—the old social leaders, and what considers itself the best society of the country—embracing the Church, the notables, and persons of wealth and ancient lineage allied with Spain—which is not at all in sympathy with the younger and progressive element of the nation, and sullenly opposes the introduction of railroads, and dislikes the United States. And this party would, if it could, dominate the policy of the country in all political and commercial questions. In

* The maximum military force of the United States allowed under existing laws is 2,155 commissioned officers and 25,000 enlisted men. The estimated cost of the military establishment of the United States for the current fiscal year, 1886–'87, exclusive of expenditures for public works, is $25,680,495.

proof and illustration of this, note the following extract from a recent article in the "Voz de Méjico" ("Voice of Mexico"), an able Catholic daily published in the city of Mexico, against the policy of admitting American capitalists into the republic:

"We combat," it says, "the policy of liberalism, which, greedy of material prosperity, and dazzled by the brilliancy of North American progress, opens freely the doors of our frontier to the capital of our neighbors. We do not oppose material progress, but we rather desire that it should come by natural steps, in proportion as the peace and public guarantees re-establish confidence and encourage the development of the country's own resources. Without foreign capital and without foreign labor, nothing or very little shall we be able to do, but we ought to refrain from calling in our neighbors, whose tendencies toward absorption are well known, in order that they shall decorate luxuriously our house and then install themselves in it definitely, relegating to us the departments of servitude. Prudent patriotism and good sense advise, therefore, that the co-operation of the Americans be dispensed with, although it be at the cost of material progress."

It may also be affirmed with truth that the Mexican people generally dislike the United States and its people more than any other foreign country and people. And why should they not? They

never have experienced anything of kindness or favors from the United States; and they do not forget that she has taken from them, unjustly as they think, full half of their original territory.*

* The following extract from "The Two Republics," a daily journal published in the city of Mexico, under date of June 16, 1886, illustrates the discussion of this matter from the liberal point of view: "If the professed hatred of foreigners on general principles is a sentiment which has disappeared almost entirely among the intelligent classes of the country, there still exists to-day another feeling which also disguises itself under the mask of patriotism and which is strongest among some of the most intelligent people of the republic. This feeling is no other than that of fear. And not fear of foreigners in general, least of all of Europeans (for the *fiasco* of the French intervention has done much to allay the fears entertained formerly in this country of European powers), but fear only of our Northern neighbors, and, associated with it, opposition to everything identified with American interests. A certain political party in Mexico especially distinguishes itself by the fear with which the Yankee inspires it. The conservative press, as one of the arms of the opposition to liberal governments, writes daily the most bitter criticisms against them, for having opened the ports of the country to the enterprise and the capital of the Americans. If one were to credit this press, the present President and his immediate successor should be convicted of high-treason, on account of the policy they have observed toward railroads.

"There is nothing to justify this fear, for which there is absolutely no reason. On the other hand our daily experience is demonstrating the contrary. . . .

"It is a well-established fact that neither the Mexican nor the European merchant has anything to fear from his American rival, and our own national experience proves conclusively that this fear of the Yankee is nothing but a bugbear, a groundless prejudice, which greatly injures the material development of this country. This fear serves no other purpose than to keep large capitals from our soil, which employed in Mexican enterprises would give an impulse and new life to agriculture, to mining, and to a multitude of industries which could be developed in our country, and, besides being irreconcilable to our national pride, also make us appear in the eyes of our next neighbors as a cow-

On the other hand, the present Government of Mexico seems to be cultivating and encouraging every effort that may serve to strengthen society against the possibility of any conservative reaction.

Thus, for example, the attitude of the Government toward the various Protestant sects, which are earnestly striving to gain a foothold in Mexico and extend their special theological views among its people, is well illustrated by the following answer which was returned some time since by the Governor of one of the important States of Mexico to a Protestant clergyman, who had made application for military protection for his church against a threatened mob:

"Sir, I willingly give you the desired protec-

ardly people which doubts its own vitality, the manliness of its sons, and which seeks safety in the recourse of all weaklings against danger, namely, in flight, instead of fighting danger bravely; and in this flight we greatly damage our economic interests, besides obstructing the development of the country.

"Even commerce, to which so much fear regarding our neighbors is attributed, should only see a reason for congratulation if American capital comes to this country to impart life and activity to our market, which is almost stagnant for lack of circulation of money. And if, notwithstanding the lessons of the past, the pessimists should be right, and the American enterprise were not entirely free from danger to us, why in the world have we not confidence enough in ourselves to face such danger, instead of running away from it? To close the door to the elements of natural progress, which might offer themselves, only for a feeling of fear which is as unfounded as it is needless, and almost childish, would be the same as if a man should abstain from food, for fear of producing an indigestion."

tion, as it is my duty to see that the laws are respected; and, while I feel no interest whatever in your religious forms or opinions, we are all interested in encouraging the organization of a body of clergy strong enough to keep the old Church in check."

Whether the Catholic Church will accommodate itself to the new order of things, and be content to live peaceably side by side with civil liberty and full religious toleration, or whether, smarting under a sense of injustice at its spoliation, and restless under the heavy hand of an antagonistic government, it waits its opportunity to array itself against the powers that be, is yet to be determined. Ex-Consul Strother, who has already been often quoted as an authority, thus graphically exhibits the respective attitudes of the former and still great ecclesiastical power and its acknowledged antagonist, the Government: "They may be illustrated," he says, "by a glance at the Grand Plaza of the city, across an angle of which the palace of the liberal Government and the old cathedral stand looking askance at each other. On the one hand, at the guard-mounting, the serried lines of bayonets and the rolling drums appear as a daily reiterated menace and warning. On the other, we might naturally expect to hear from the cathedral towers a responsive peal of indignant pro-

test and sullen defiance. Yet we remember that it is not the clergy, but the Government, which holds the bell-ropes."

It will not, furthermore, be disputed that under the liberal policy which Juarez adopted after the overthrow of the empire, and which the present President has especially carried out, more has been done for the regeneration and progress of Mexico than in almost all former years. Not only has freedom for religious belief and worship been secured, but a system of common schools has been established; the higher branches of education fostered; brigandage in a great degree suppressed; an extensive railroad and telegraph system constructed; postage reduced and post-office facilities extended; the civil and military law codes revised and reformed; the payment of interest upon the national debt in part renewed; and general peace, at home and abroad, maintained—and all this under difficulties which, when viewed abstractly and collectively by a foreign observer, seem to be appalling and insurmountable.

Now, why should not the United States, which heretofore has been so prompt to sympathize with and even give material aid to the people of every Old World nationality struggling for freedom and against oppression—to Poland, Greece, Hungary, and Ireland—be equally ready to sympathize with

and help the progressive party of Mexico—our neighbor—in the efforts they are unquestionably making to put their country in accord with the demands of a larger civilization?

But, assuming the general concurrence, on the part of the people of the United States, in the proposition that an exceptionally kindly treatment of Mexico ought to be a permanent policy of their Government, such a proposition, even if proclaimed in a joint resolution of both Houses of Congress, would be little other than an expression of sentiment, unless accompanied by practical action. But, through what measures, having this definite end in view, it may be asked, can practical action, not repugnant to the spirit of the Constitution or the precedents and traditions of the Government of the United States, be instituted? And, in answer, the following points are submitted for consideration:

First. That the Government and people of the United States should do all that can be reasonably asked of them to dispel the idea or suspicion, that now prevails throughout Mexico and all Central America, that the North Americans desire and intend, at no distant day, to take possession of all these countries, and destroy their present nationality. So long as this suspicion exists, the influence of the United States in Mexico and Cen-

tral America will be based to a great degree on apprehension rather than liking. A return of the cannon and flags captured by the armies of the United States in the War of 1847, as heretofore proposed, would undoubtedly greatly contribute to dispel this feeling; but, apart from this, would it not be well for those who are especially anxious to send the gospel to the heathen, to consider whether it conduces to a higher life and civilization, for two neighboring nations to live on a basis which, if made applicable to individual members of the same community, would be regarded as akin to barbarism? *

Second. The public debt of Mexico, which is recognized as valid, has been variously estimated. According to the report of the Mexican Secretary of Finance in 1879, the foreign debt of Mexico — exclusive of the enormous liabilities (some £40,000,000) contracted under the empire of Maximilian, and which Mexico (very properly) does not recognize—amounted at that date to $81,632,560;

* In 1878, Hon. John T. Morgan, United States Senator from Alabama, recognizing the importance of this matter, and after thus expressing himself in a speech—"Mexico is not destitute of a cause to look with jealous eye upon the people of the United States, while we on our part have the greatest reasons for treating her with a generous and magnanimous spirit"—proposed "that the United States should solemnly covenant not to change the present limits of Mexico, nor to consent to their being changed by any other nation." The proposition, however, did not attract any attention, or lead to any official action.

and, in addition to this, there is a reported internal debt of some $40,000,000. At the present time (1886) the aggregate national debt of Mexico has been reported as amounting to $122,891,000, and $7,891,000 arrears of interest. The obligations which this debt entails constitute a serious embarrassment to the Government, and a heavy burden upon the resources of the country. Numerous attempts have been made to fund it, with adequate provision for the payment of interest—the payment of the principal being regarded as hopeless—a scheme by President Gonzales in 1884 for a new conversion, by the issue of bonds to the amount of $86,000,000, having well-nigh occasioned a revolution; not that Mexico wanted to repudiate, but because the whole measure was believed to be tainted with fraud. During the present year (1886) however, the Mexican Government has resumed payment, in part, of the interest on the English bonded indebtedness—in pursuance of an act of Congress in 1885, which authorized the consolidation of the entire national debt without consultation with the creditors. But so long as the debt of Mexico is not arranged to the satisfaction of its holders, and the originally stipulated interest thereon is not regularly paid, the republic can expect but little credit, no sound finance, no full material development, and no thoroughly sound gov-

ernment. And, imperative as is the problem, there seems but little present chance for Mexico to solve it. The United States could, however, easily accomplish it. With its interest temporarily guaranteed by it (i. e., for a time sufficient to allow of a fuller development of the trade and commerce of the country) the Mexican debt could undoubtedly be funded at from two to two and a half per cent interest, involving an annual charge, say, from $1,800,000 to $2,225,000—less than what is almost annually wasted on river and harbor improvements that subserve only private interests; and not much more than the four leading railroads of the Northwest have this year (1886) decided to add to their annual interest charges, for the purpose of extended constructions over territory that can at present return but little remunerative business. Is this a sum too great for the American people to pay, if it will help to give good government to a contiguous territory nearly as large as all of the United States east of the Mississippi?

Buying nearly six tenths, and selling nearly one half of all that Mexico sells and buys external to itself, is not such a commerce worth fostering by the expenditure of such a sum?—especially in view of the fact that a bill was introduced at the first session of the Forty-ninth Congress which proposed, as an act of sound public policy, to tax

the people of the United States to the extent of some fifteen million dollars per annum, for the purpose of fostering only one department of the industry of the country—namely, that of manufacturing tin-plate.

That such a proposition is likely to be scouted, in the first instance, by the American public, is to be anticipated. "Have we not debts enough of our own to pay," it may be asked, "without looking after those of other people?" But let us reason a little. Can it be doubted that, after the termination of our late civil war, the United States would have practically enforced against the Maximilian government, had it been necessary, that phase of the Monroe doctrine which affirms that European political jurisdiction shall not be enlarged on this continent? Fortunately, Mexico was able, out of its patriotism and sacrifice, to protect itself against the encroachment of foreign powers, and thus saved the United States from a conflict that would have permanently increased the burden of its debt by many times two million dollars.

Again, the demands of the world's commerce, for the establishment of speedy and cheap methods of transit across the narrow belt of Southern Mexico and Central America which separates the two oceans, are being recognized; and new routes sup-

plying such conditions, at no distant day, are certain to be established. European sovereignty over them is, however, repugnant to the sentiment of the United States, and, if attempted, will probably be contested; and this, in turn, if anything more than words of protest are to be used, means formidable military and naval demonstrations and large expenditures. The people of the United States might, however, well hesitate before embarking in such an enterprise, in view of the fact that the foe which their forces would have to especially encounter and most dread, would be one against which neither courage nor skill would avail; for over all the low, tropical regions of Central America, where the routes for interoceanic transit have got to be constructed, the climate for unacclimated persons is most deadly—in proof of which the current mortality of Vera Cruz, San Blas, and the line of the Panama Canal may be cited; as well as the horrible historical experience of the forces which the North American colonies sent in 1741 to cooperate with Admiral Vernon's expedition to Carthagena and the coasts of "Darien" (Panama). But Mexico is a nation of soldiers; and, if proper kindly relations were to be established between the two countries, the United States could confidently rely on, or employ, the well-acclimated

troops of the former to guard any transit routes from foreign appropriation and control; even if a desire on the part of the people of Mexico and Central America to preserve the integrity of their own territories was not sufficient to prompt them to defensive action. But kindly relations, between nations, are not to be established in a day and under the pressure of a one-sided necessity; and nations, as well as men, "gain doubly when they make foes friends."

Third. The commercial relations between the United States and Mexico, now complicated and restricted by mutual antagonistic tariff legislation, might easily be so readjusted and broadened as to secure continued peace and amity between the people of the two nations, and greatly extend the volume and the profits of their international commerce. And to the present condition and possibilities in detail, of this commerce, attention is next invited.

CHAPTER XI.

The American railroad system in Mexico—Its influence in promoting internal order and good government—Remarkable illustration of the influence of the railroad in developing domestic industry—The kerosene-lamp a germ of civilization—Commercial supremacy of the Germans in Mexico—Mexican credit system—Trade advantages on the part of the United States—Inaptitude of Americans for cultivating foreign trade—American products most in demand in Mexico—Weakness of argument in opposition to the ratification of a commercial treaty—Adverse action of Congress—Reasons offered by the Committee of Ways and Means—Interest of the Protestant Church of the United States in the treaty—Conclusion.

THE commercial relations of the United States with Mexico are, to all intents and purposes, comprised in and identical with the system of railroads which American capital and enterprise have introduced into the latter country. Their introduction has constituted the last and the greatest revolution that Mexico has experienced since the achievement of her independence; for, with the means which they have for the first time afforded the central Government for quick and ready communication between the remote portions of the republic, a stable government and a discontinuance of internal revolts and disturbances have for the first

time become possible. Thus, to illustrate: Chihuahua, an important center of population, is distant a thousand miles or more from the city of Mexico; and between the two places, in addition, a somewhat formidable desert intervenes, of about a hundred miles in width, and over which the "Mexican Central Railroad" trains are obliged to carry a water-supply for their locomotives. Previous to 1883, if a revolution broke out in Chihuahua, the most ready method of communicating intelligence of the same to the central Government would have been to send a man on foot, probably an Indian runner. If the messenger averaged fifty miles a day, twenty days would have been consumed in reaching the city of Mexico, and from three to six weeks more, at the very least, would have been required to dispatch a corps of trained soldiers from the capital, or some intermediate point, to the scene of the disturbance. But before this the revolutionists would have had all the opportunity for levying forced loans or direct plunder, or the gratification of private animosities, that their hearts could desire. And it is altogether probable that, in a majority of such cases, political grievances were merely alleged as a pretext for and a defense of plunder; and it is a wonder how, under such circumstances, there could be any desire for or

expectation of accumulation through production, and that universal barbarism did not prevail. But now, under the railroad and its accompanying telegraph system, if anybody makes a *pronunciamiento* at Chihuahua, the Executive at the city of Mexico knows all the particulars immediately; within a few days a trained regiment or battalion is on the spot, and all concerned are so summarily treated that it is safe to say that another similar lesson will not soon be required in that locality. The new railroad constructions were, therefore, absolutely essential to Mexico as a condition for a healthy national life, and the country could well afford to make great sacrifices to obtain and extend them, apart from any considerations affecting trade development.

But the American railroads in Mexico have, in addition, already done much to arouse the most stubbornly conservative people on the face of the globe from their lethargy, and in a manner that no other instrumentality probably could have effected. When the locomotive first appeared, it is said that the people of whole villages fled affrighted from their habitations, or organized processions with religious emblems and holy water, to exorcise and repel the monster. During the first year of the experience of the "Mexican Central," armed guards also were considered an

essential accompaniment of every train, as had been the case on the "Vera Cruz Railroad" since its opening in 1873. But all this is now a matter of the past; and so impressed is the Government with the importance of keeping its railroad system safe and intact, that the Mexican Congress recently decreed instant execution, without any formal trial, to any one caught in the act of wrecking or robbing a train. That any improved methods of intercommunication between different people or countries—common roads, vessels, railroads, or vehicles, or the like—increase the production and exchange of commodities, is accepted as an economic axiom. But there could be no more striking and practical illustration of this law than a little recent experience on the line of the "Mexican National Railroad." The corn-crop, which is the main reliance of the people living along the present southern extension of this road for food, had for several years prior to 1885 failed by reason of drought; and, under ordinary circumstances, great suffering through starvation would inevitably have ensued. The natives, however, soon learned that with the railroad had come a ready market, at from two and a half to three cents per pound, for the fiber known as "*ixtle*," the product of a species of agave, which grows in great abundance in the

mountainous regions of their section of country, and which has recently come into extensive use in Europe and the United States for the manufacture of brushes, ladies' corsets, mats, cordage, etc. And so well have they improved their knowledge and opportunities, that the quantity of ixtle transported by the "Mexican National Railroad" has risen from 224,788 pounds in 1882 to 700,341 in 1883; to 3,498,407 in 1884; and 3,531,195 in the first seven months of 1885; while with the money proceeds the producers have been able to buy more corn from Texas than they would have obtained had their crops been successful, and have had, in addition, and probably for the first time in their lives, some surplus cash to expend for other purposes.

What sort of things these poor Mexican people would buy if they could, was indicated to the writer by seeing in the hut of a laborer, on the line of the "Mexican Central Railroad"—a place destitute of almost every comfort, or article of furniture or convenience—a bright, new, small kerosene-lamp, than which nothing that fell under his observation in Mexico was more remarkable and interesting. Remarkable and interesting, because neither this man nor his father, possibly since the world to them began, had ever before known anything better than a blazing brand as a

method for illumination at night, and had never had either the knowledge, the desire, or the means of obtaining anything superior. But at last, through contact with and employment on the American railroad, the desire, the opportunity, the means to purchase, and the knowledge of the simple mechanism of the lamp, had come to this humble, isolated Mexican peasant; and, out of the germ of progress thus spontaneously, as it were, developed by the wayside, may come influences more potent for civilization and the elevation of humanity in Mexico than all that church and state have been able to effect within the last three centuries.

The projection and extension of the American system of railroads into Mexico commanded the almost universal approval of the people of the United States.* It was regarded as a measure

* The Mexican railroad system at the present time (1886) is substantially as follows:

The "Mexico and Vera Cruz Railway" (263 miles) and the "Central," from El Paso to Mexico (1,224 miles), are finished and in operation. The "National" (Palmer-Sullivan, from Laredo to Mexico) lacks some 300 miles of completion. The "Central" has a line in operation from Nogales to Guaymas (265 miles). The "Internacional" (Huntington) is built and in operation from Piedras Negras some 130 miles south to a little beyond Monclova, as is also the "National" from Matamoros to San Miguel de Camargo, some 80 miles. The "Central" has about 100 miles built, from Tampico toward San Luis Potosi, and about 16 miles on the Pacific coast at San Blas. The "National" has built from Acámbaro, on the southern division, toward the Pacific coast at Manzanilla, as far as Pátzcuaro, some 95 miles.

in the interest of civilization, and as likely to be mutually and largely beneficial to the people of both nations. But for the United States and Mexico to maintain their present tariff restrictions on the international trade of the two countries is to simply neutralize in a great degree the effect of the railways, and create conditions so antagonistic to the idea which a railway represents that the investment of a large amount of money in their construction by citizens of the United States, under existing circumstances, would seem almost akin to dementia. For it must be obvious that these restrictions produce exactly the same result as if, after the railways had been completed, an earthquake had thrown up a ridge directly across the lines, so steep and precipitous on the northern side as to add from thirty to forty per cent to the cost of all merchandise passing from the United States into Mexico, and so much more difficult of ascent on the southern side as to add some ninety per cent to the cost of all goods passing from Mexico into the United States. And, if such a physical calamity had actually occurred, the stockholders might reasonably doubt whether the lines were worth operating.

They have also some work done on the other end from Manzanilla. Some work has been done on the Tehuantepec route, and there are various other small lines building or in operation.

But, at the same time, if there are any who expect that trade would immediately and largely increase between the two countries if all tariff restrictions were mutually abolished, they are certain to be disappointed. A large proportion of the people of Mexico—possibly nine tenths—will for the present buy nothing imported, whether there is a high tariff or no tariff—not because they do not want to, but because they are so poor that they can not buy under any circumstances; while the limited wealthy class will buy what they want of foreign products, irrespective of high duties.

Again, the internal trade or distribution of merchandise in Mexico is, furthermore, largely in the hands of the Germans, who learn the language and conform to the customs and prejudices of the country much more readily than the Americans or English. They will work longer than an American or Englishman for a smaller price, and they naturally prefer the products of their own countries; and German manufactures have been especially popular, "because they are as cheap as they are poor"; and the advantage of paying more for what will last longer is something very difficult to impress upon the ordinary Mexican.*

* Under date of June, 1883, United States Consul Cassard reports from Tampico that some articles of American hardware, which have

In fact, cheapness in the eyes of the German merchant is the first essential in respect to the merchandise in which he proposes to deal, quality being regarded as of secondary importance.

Another matter which practically works against the extension of trade with the United States is, that American houses will not sell their goods on the long credits demanded by Mexican purchasers. A gentleman conversant, through long residence in Mexico, thus writes in respect to this matter: "It is a serious mistake to look upon Mexican credit as something to be let alone. I can say with confidence, after diligent investigation, that mercantile credit in Mexico will average up as satisfactory as in the United States. Among the large mercantile houses in the interior of Mexico, as well as the importers, and the large sugar, grain, cotton, and cattle raisers, the moral sense in a square business dealing is as keen and as just and responsible as among the general run of customers in the United States. They are slow, but pay their bills, make few business compromises, and still fewer failures. From actual inspec-

formerly had an exclusive hold on the Mexican market, are fast losing ground—Collins (Hartford) *machetes* (cutlasses) and the Cohoes (New York) axes being superseded by spurious German manufactures. "I have seen *machetes*, manufactured at Eberfeld, Germany, which, although inferior to the Collins, are nevertheless good imitations of them, selling at forty per cent cheaper."

tion of books of large houses in Mexico, exhibiting accounts of a series of years, I found that eighty-five to ninety per cent of long-credit sales were paid in full. Not one American business man in five hundred will succeed in Mexico, for the sole reason that he attempts to force his own ways and methods upon a people whose habits and ways are the antipodes of his own. Our manners are not in accord with the extreme politeness and consideration to be found in Mexico. Business is largely done on the basis of feeling and sentiment, and established acquaintance. Neither has time nor money the transcendent value that it has with us." It is also interesting to note here that for these, or some other reasons, there are comparatively few Jews in Mexico, and that as a race they do not seem to fancy the country, either as a place of residence or for the transaction of business.

Consul-General Sutton, of Matamoros, tells the following story illustrative of the good faith in a mercantile transaction of the *rancheros* of Northern Mexico, the particulars of which were detailed to him by the parties concerned: "A German house in interior Mexico contracted for the purchase of two hundred mule-colts, to be delivered a year following; and payment, at the rate of twenty dollars a pair, was made in advance. A

year elapsed, and the mules were not delivered. The head of the house would not, however, allow any message of inquiry or reminder to be sent, but remained quiet. A year after the stipulated time, the *rancheros* came in with the mules. There had been a disease and a drought, which had killed the colts the first year, and this was the reason assigned for not coming according to agreement. They sent no word, because it was so far, and they did not remember the name." When the firm counted the mules, they found that *three* had been brought for each pair stipulated and paid for; which was the way the *rancheros* quietly settled for their unavoidable breach of contract.

But, notwithstanding all these obstacles to the extension of trade, the advantages from commercial intercourse with Mexico are all on the side of the United States. Commerce, in establishing a course between any two points, always follows the lines of least resistance. And to-day, through the establishment of railway lines, which furnish ample, rapid, and comparatively cheap facilities for transportation between the interior of Mexico and such great commercial and manufacturing centers as Chicago, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Kansas City, the easiest movement for the commerce of Mexico is by and through the United States. One demonstration of this is to be found in the fact

that the "Mexican Central Railroad" now carries considerable freight that comes to New York by European steamers, and is thence transported, in bond, by rail directly through to Mexico; to which it may be added that some $300,000 of this freight, during the past year, is understood to have been English agricultural machinery, which has been bought in preference to the world-wide famous American farm machinery and implements, and carried past, as it were, the very doors of the American competing factories!

For such a singular result there are two explanations. One is, that not only in Mexico, but in all the Central and South American countries, the English and the German merchants take special pains, not only to adapt their merchandise to the peculiar tastes of the people with whom they wish to deal, but also to cultivate their good-will. The representatives of the United States, as a general rule, do neither.

A quick-witted American merchant, who has had abundant opportunities for observation in Central and South America, recently wrote to the author in respect to this matter as follows: "My experiences lead me to the conclusion that Americans are not fitted for doing an export trade in foreign countries, except, may be, English-speaking countries. The characteristic of our people to

carry with them everywhere their home habits, customs, ideas, affinities, etc., dominates every movement they make in foreign countries, and we utterly refuse to consider ourselves other than proprietors of the house where we are only the guests. Such an attitude as this blocks the way at once to successful mercantile movements on our part, and gives rise to prejudice and aversion on the part of the people whose patronage we want." Sir Spencer St. John, the British minister in Mexico, in a recent (1885) report to Lord Rosebury, British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, also says: "In the course of a very long experience I have noted that the average English commercial man of the present day is unfit to compete with the thrifty and industrious German. The former is bent on the pursuit of pleasure, while the latter gives himself no leisure until his future is assured. In fact, the Germans are our most active competitors in every mercantile transaction. There can be no doubt that up to the present time the English commercial community have shown the utmost apathy and indifference to the trade of this country, and have left to the Germans, French, and Spaniards the management of a commerce a fair share of which would fall to them if they would show the same qualities of thrift and industry which have distinguished their competitors."

Another explanation is that our European competitors in foreign trade recognize at the outset, and at all times, that trade, especially when involving radical innovations on old-time precedents and usages, is not of spontaneous growth, but has got to be cultivated; that it is a system in which product is to be given for product, and service for service, and therefore, from its very nature, can not be a "one-sided business." Accordingly, the German and English merchants in Mexico take in exchange for such wares as they desire to sell, and at a certain price, whatever the Mexicans have to offer of their products. The American merchant, on the other hand, finding that the commercial policy of his country is based on the assumption that such a system of exchanges is not desirable, and that its existing laws make reciprocal trade difficult, does not seem even to attempt it. And in connection with this subject it may be stated, that during recent years German merchants have bought merchandise in New York, which American manufacturers have acquired particular advantages in producing, shipped the same to Hamburg, and, after re-exporting to Mexico, sold them at cheaper rates than any American engaged in direct trade could afford to offer! How such a result, which on its face seems so mysterious and paradoxical, is accomplished, may

be best explained by example. Thus, the German, who has become thoroughly conversant with Mexican methods of doing business, could sell say $3,000 worth of American cottons, furniture, sewing-machines, and the like, at cost, or possibly even less than cost, because his system of selling is to exchange them for $3,000 worth of Mexican products, which he can afterward sell, it may be, at $5,000, or a sum which would give him a fair return for all his risks and for long credits, and also reimburse him for all the expenses of extended transportation. And the Mexicans are contented with their share of the transaction, because nothing better is offered to them. Hence also an explanation of what may seem to be paradoxical: that although the import and export trade of the United States with Mexico is larger than that of any other nation, there are comparatively few American dealers or distributors of merchandise permanently established in Mexico. Thus, for example, while the consumption of American imports in the district of Guaymas, on the Pacific coast of Mexico, was for the year 1885 (according to consular returns) over sixty-five per cent of the total importations, or $1,490,450 out of an aggregate of $2,041,940, there were at the same time but three American importing mercantile firms whose sales amounted to $100,000 per annum—the great bulk of

the business being in the hands of Mexican, German, and Spanish houses. As showing also how the trade in this district has increased within recent years to the benefit of the United States, it may be also mentioned that, while in 1870 the imports from the United States were only $203,600, out of a total of $1,003,600, they were, for 1885 (as above stated), $1,490,450, out of a total of $2,041,940. It is also the judgment of those well qualified to express an opinion, that, as one effect of the recent discourteous refusal of the United States to negotiate a commercial reciprocity treaty, the number of American firms or agencies doing business permanently in Mexico will notably diminish.

That the ratification of the contemplated treaty for commercial reciprocity between the United States and Mexico would have increased to some extent, and perhaps considerably, the volume of American exports, can not be doubted. Thus, for example, there are no articles of which Mexico stands in greater need than wagons and carts, barbed fence-wire, and petroleum and its derivatives for warming and lighting. In respect to the two first named, the existing Mexican tariff is almost prohibitory, and, as a consequence, it is asserted that there is not a respectable vehicle in any of the frontier towns of Mexico, and no

means, in the absence of wood, of supplying a pressing and increasing need for fencing on the great *haciendas;* while the cost of all petroleum products is so much enhanced as to greatly restrict their consumption for illumination and almost entirely preclude their use for warming, and this in a country destitute in great part of any cheap natural supply of either wood or coal. The removal of all duties on the import of merely these few articles into Mexico, as was provided in the proposed treaty, and their consequent very great cheapening, would therefore have been a boon to the people of Mexico, which they would not have failed to take advantage of to the utmost extent of their ability; and, for meeting any demand thus created, the manufacturers of the United States would have nothing to fear from any foreign competitors.

On the other hand, the arguments that have thus far proved most potent in preventing the ratification of such a treaty, on the part of the United States, have been based on the assumption that the free importation of Mexican raw sugars and unmanufactured tobacco would prove injurious to the American sugar and tobacco interests. But the entire fallacy, or rather utter absurdity, of such assumptions would seem to be demonstrated: *First*, in respect to sugar, by the

fact that, with unrefined sugar selling in Mexico for a much higher price (from twelve to twenty-four cents retail) than the same article in the United States, there have not yet been sufficient inducements for them to fully supply the domestic demand of the country for sugar from its undoubtedly great natural resources—*five and a half* dollars' worth of sugar having been exported from the United States into Mexico, in 1883, for every one dollar's worth imported during the same year from Mexico into the United States; * and, *secondly*, in respect to tobacco, by the testimony, based on careful investigation, of some of the best manufacturing authorities in the United States, that, while the best grades of tobacco for cigar purposes can now be raised in the United States at from ten to fifteen cents per pound, the cost of Mexican tobacco of a corresponding quality ranges from twenty-five to fifty cents per pound.

* A Mexican merchant, writing recently from the district of Juguila, on the Pacific coast of Mexico, to Consul-General Sutton, thus reports concerning the prospects for production of sugar in that locality. It can not fail to remind the reader of the famous argument in respect to the kettle: "On this coast *panela* (brown sugar) can be produced for one cent a pound, a price at which it is impossible for any other country in the world to compete, and notwithstanding it is so cheap we can not export a single pound. Why? 1. Because there are no roads except for birds and deer; 2. Because there are no means of transportation; 3. Because there are no ports except natural ones, or ports so called, both kinds without means for loading; and, 4. Because there is no vessel for carrying it."

It is difficult to see, therefore, what valid objections from merely trade considerations can be offered to the consummation of such a measure on the part of the United States, or to affirm which of the two countries would be the greatest gainer from the adoption of such a policy. Nay, more, it would be difficult for any one to show wherein anything of commercial or industrial disadvantage could accrue to the United States, even if it were to allow every domestic product of Mexico to be imported into her territory free of all import taxes or restrictions—articles subject to internal revenue taxes in the United States being manifestly excepted—without asking any like concessions from Mexico in return. Such a proposition may at first seem preposterous, but let us reason a little about it. In the first place, it is exactly the policy which Great Britain now offers to Mexico. Can the United States afford to bid less for the trade of the American Continent than her great commercial rival?

Again, Mexico wants, or is likely to want, everything which the United States especially desires to sell, and the only drawback to a great extension of trade between the two countries is the lack of ability on the part of Mexico to pay for what she wants. And this inability at the present time is very great. Apart from the precious

metals, the quantity and value of domestic merchandise which Mexico can export to pay for such foreign products as she may desire, as already pointed out, are comparatively small, and consist almost exclusively of the most crude natural products. For the year 1883 nearly eleven twelfths of all her exports (other than the precious metals) consisted of the ixtle and heniquen fibers; woods, mainly dye and ornamental; coffee, hides and skins, vanilla, horse-hair, catechu, dyestuffs (indigo, orchil, and cochineal), and sarsaparilla. What Mexico would sell to the United States, if all tariff restrictions were removed from her exports, would be such crude materials as have been specified—all articles of prime necessity to the American manufacturer. Reduced to terms of labor, the exchanges would substantially be the product of twelve hours' hand-labor in Mexico for one hour's labor with machinery in the United States.

The Committee of Ways and Means of the Forty-ninth United States Congress (first session) reported, however, adversely to the ratification of the proposed commercial treaty with Mexico, and in consequence of this action, and its sanction by the United States House of Representatives, all negotiations in respect to the treaty have terminated. The reasons presented as having led

the committee (almost unanimously) to these conclusions were mainly four: *First*, because Mexico is so poor; *second*, because "the American citizen living in Mexico, and pursuing the peaceful avocations of industry and commerce, is without adequate protection to life and property"; *third*, because "permanent and desirable commercial relations with a government and people so estranged from us in sentiment are without promise of substantial and successful results"; and, *fourth*, because the trade which the United States would offer to Mexico under the treaty would be more valuable than the corresponding trade which Mexico would offer to the United States.

The first of these reasons is economic; the second political; the third, having due regard to its meaning, may be well termed "Mongolian"; while the fourth is simply absurd. Reviewing them briefly and in order, it may be said, in respect to the *first*, that poor countries are the very ones with which it is especially desirable that the United States should cultivate trade; for, if the volume of trade be small, the profit of such trade is large—as is always the case where the results of rude or hand labor are exchanged for machinery product. And it is in virtue of the carrying out of this policy—i. e., trading with ruder and even barbarous nations—that Great

Britain has, more than from almost any other one cause, attained her present commercial supremacy. Again, if the facts constituting the basis for the *second* reason are as alleged, commercial isolation and restriction are no remedy for them. Commercial intimacy between nations is always productive of political good-fellowship, as isolation and restriction are of enmity; and for promoting amity with Mexico the modern drummer is likely to prove, for the present, a far better missionary than either the diplomatist or the soldier; and, as for the *third*, one might think that a precedent had been borrowed by the committee from China, where commercial intercourse with the United States itself, in common with Europe, was, until very recently, combated on the ground that the inhabitants of these countries were "foreign devils," with whom the enlightened Chinese ought not to be brought in contact.

In respect to the *fourth* reason, the language of the report of the committee reads as follows: "We open to Mexico a trade with sixty million people. We receive, in return, the advantage of trading, to a limited extent, with a comparatively small, heterogeneous population of ten million. We offer them a trade more valuable than that of any other nation of the globe."

To this it may be rejoined that the ratification of a commercial treaty between any two countries does not involve, or carry with it, the slightest obligation on the part of the people of such countries to trade. That is a matter in which private self-interest is exclusively determinate, and government, except through the exercise of absolute and despotic power, absolutely powerless. All that a free government can legitimately effect, in ratifying a commercial treaty of reciprocity with another country, is to remove obstacles which have come to stand in the way of the people of the two contracting countries following their own natural instincts and desires for bettering their material condition. Trade, as respects individuals and nations alike, can not long be continued unless it is mutually advantageous to all that are parties to it; and there is no possible contingency in which the people of Mexico would profit more, in the sense of satisfying their wants and desires, from trading with the United States, than the people of the United States would profit from trading with Mexico, unless the American people have less shrewdness and discernment in respect to trade than the Mexicans, and are not likely to profit by experience. Were an individual merchant, having warehouses filled to overflowing with all manner

of cheap and desirable goods, and greatly desirous of custom, to adopt the policy which the committee assumed to be desirable in respect to nations similarly situated, he would advertise that he did not consider it expedient to trade with people living in small towns, or comparatively poor districts, irrespective of their means of payment, or the profits that might accrue on the transactions. It has also been forcibly pointed out, by Hon. Abram Hewitt (in a minority report in favor of the ratification of the treaty), that Mexico, being rudely rebuffed in her desire to strengthen her commercial relations with the United States, may, while preserving its political autonomy, nevertheless contract such trade relations with England or Germany as to practically occupy the position of a colony to one or both of these countries, so far as its trade and commerce are concerned; "and that hence, in rejecting the Mexican reciprocity treaty, the United States practically rejects the Monroe doctrine, by turning that country, with its resources and possibilities of development," over to some European nationality.

One other point, bearing on this subject, may be also worthy of consideration by no small part of the American people. Twenty years ago, the attempt to advocate or expound any form of

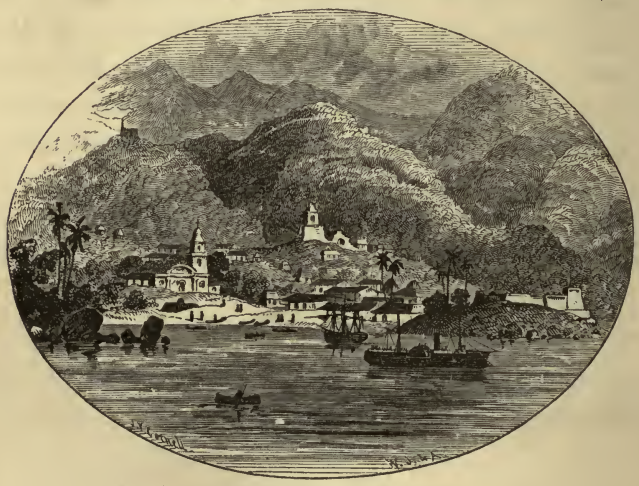
religious belief in Mexico other and different from that held by the Roman Catholic Church would have been attended with imminent deadly peril; and, under such circumstances, Protestantism had not attained any considerable foothold in that country. Then, the permission to send missionaries freely and safely into Mexico would have been regarded by the various Protestant sects of the United States as a great privilege, and the prospect of obtaining it would undoubtedly have seemed to them to warrant the putting forth of great effort, the large expenditure of money, and an earnest appeal to their Government for good offices and friendly intervention. But now that the Mexican Government, without foreign intervention or agency, and at great risk and cost to itself, has proclaimed, established, and maintained, through all its territory, the great principle of freedom of religious belief, utterance, and worship for all—and this valued privilege has come to the Protestant sects in the United States without effort and without cost—they regard the matter with indifference; do not seem to even care to acquaint themselves with the facts in the case; and exhibit no evidence of reciprocal kindly feeling or sympathy toward Mexico for her enlightened and liberal policy. It would not, therefore, be surprising, but rather in accord

with ordinary human nature, if, hereafter, when the representatives of the American Protestant churches visit Mexico, preaching the universal brotherhood of man, and love and charity to one's neighbors, and, in virtue of their character as missionaries, claiming (at least indirectly) a higher religious culture and elevation for their countrymen than that of the Mexicans, if the latter should turn round and satirically ask how all such professions comport with the recent (1886) narrow, extraordinary, and almost insulting assertion of the House of Representatives of the United States (through the indorsement of the report of their committee), "that to speak of permanent and desirable commercial relations" with the Government and people of Mexico "is without hope of success or promise of substantial and permanent results."

CONCLUSION.

Such, then, in conclusion, are the views of the writer respecting Mexico, its Government, and its people, and the present and future relations of the United States to Mexico. If he has offered anything, in the way of fact or argument, which may induce a belief, by the people of the former, that the subject is worthy of a larger

and more kindly consideration on their part than it has hitherto received, he will feel that his investigations have not been wholly unsatisfactory.



ACAPULCO.

INDEX.

THE END.

RECENT ECONOMIC CHANGES, and their Effect on the Production and Distribution of Wealth and the Well-being of Society. By DAVID A. WELLS, LL. D., D. C. L., Membre Correspondant de l'Institut de France; Corresponde Regia Accademia dei Lincei, Italia; Honorary Fellow Royal Statistical Society, G. B.; late United States Special Commissioner of Revenue; and President American Social Science Association, etc. 12mo. Cloth, $2.00.

The readers of "The Popular Science Monthly" will remember the interesting series of papers communicated to its pages during the years 1887 and 1888 by Mr. David A. Wells; in which were traced out, and exhibited in something like regular order, the causes and extent of the wonderful industrial and social changes and accompanying disturbances which have especially characterized the last fifteen or twenty years of the world's history. Since their original publication in the Science Monthly, these papers have been in great part rewritten by the author, and brought down to the latest date, and are now presented in one convenient volume.

A STUDY OF MEXICO. By DAVID A. WELLS. Reprinted, with Additions, from "The Popular Science Monthly." 12mo. Cloth, $1.00; paper, 50 cents.

"The interest and discussion the papers have excited, both in the United States and Mexico, have been such, and the desire on the part of the people of the former country, growing out of recent political complications, to know more about Mexico, has become so general and manifest, that it has been thought expedient to republish and offer them to the public in book-form—subject to careful revision, and with extensive additions, especially in relation to the condition and wages of labor and the industrial resources and productions of Mexico."—*From the Preface.*

THINGS NOT GENERALLY KNOWN; A Popular Hand-Book of Facts not readily accessible in Literature, History, and Science. Edited by DAVID A. WELLS. 12mo. Cloth, $1 75.

"The general idea of the work will be readily gathered from its title and from a glance at its contents. It contains many little items of information, gathered from the broad fields of literature, history, and science, which are not contained in cyclopædias and ordinary hand-books, and which are not readily found when sought. In the departments of Physical and Natural Sciences, moreover, are contained many interesting results of modern research, of too recent date to have found a place in ordinary scientific treatises. In a word, while this volume has little or no claim to a strictly scientific character, it is believed that it will be found at once interesting and instructive."

New York: D. APPLETON & CO., 1, 3, & 5 Bond Street.

AROUND AND ABOUT SOUTH AMERICA: Twenty Months of Quest and Query. By FRANK VINCENT, author of "The Land of the White Elephant," etc. With Maps, Plans, and 54 full-page Illustrations. 8vo, xxiv–473 pages. Ornamental cloth, $5.00.

No former traveler has made so comprehensive and thorough a tour of Spanish and Portuguese America as did Mr. Vincent. He visited every capital, chief city, and important seaport, made several expeditions into the interior of Brazil and the Argentine Republic, and ascended the Paraná, Paraguay, Amazon, Orinoco, and Magdalena Rivers; he visited the crater of Pichinchas, 16,000 feet above the sea-level; he explored falls in the center of the continent, which, though meriting the title of "Niagara of South America," are all but unknown to the outside world; he spent months in the picturesque capital of Rio Janeiro; he visited the coffee districts, studied the slaves, descended the gold-mines, viewed the greatest rapids of the globe, entered the isolated Guianas, and so on.

BRAZIL: Its Condition and Prospects. By C. C. ANDREWS, ex-Consul-General to Brazil. 12mo. Cloth, $1.50.

"I hope I may be able to present some facts in respect to the present situation of Brazil which will be both instructive and entertaining to general readers. My means of acquaintance with that empire are principally derived from a residence of three years at Rio de Janeiro, its capital, while employed in the service of the United States Government, during which period I made a few journeys into the interior."—*From the Preface.*

FIVE THOUSAND MILES IN A SLEDGE: A Mid-Winter Journey across Siberia. By LIONEL F. GOWING. With Map and 30 Illustrations in Text. 12mo. Cloth, $1.50.

"The book is most certainly one to be read, and will be welcomed as an addition to the scant literature on a singularly interesting country."—*Courier.*

CHINA: Travels and Investigations in the "Middle Kingdom." A Study of its Civilization and Possibilities. With a Glance at Japan. By JAMES HARRISON WILSON, late Major-General United States Volunteers and Brevet Major-General United States Army. 12mo. Cloth, $1.75.

"The book presents China and Japan in all these aspects; the manners and customs of the people; the institutions, tendencies, and social ideas; the government and leading men."—*Boston Traveller.*

New York: D. APPLETON & CO., 1, 3, & 5 Bond Street.

THE ICE AGE IN NORTH AMERICA, and its Bearings upon the Antiquity of Man. By G. FREDERICK WRIGHT, D. D., LL. D., F. G. S. A., Professor in Oberlin Theological Seminary; Assistant on the United States Geological Survey. With an Appendix on "The Probable Cause of Glaciation," by WARREN UPHAM, F. G. S. A., Assistant on the Geological Surveys of New Hampshire, Minnesota, and the United States. With 147 Maps and Illustrations. One vol., 8vo, 640 pages. Cloth, $5.00.

The writer has personally been over a large part of the field containing the wonderful array of facts of which he is now permitted to write, but he is one only of many investigators who have been busily engaged for the past fifteen years (to say nothing of what had been previously accomplished) in collecting facts concerning the Glacial period in this country. His endeavor has been to make the present volume a fairly complete digest of all these investigations.

The numerous maps accompanying the text have been compiled from the latest data. The illustrations are more ample than have ever before been applied to the subject, being mostly reproductions of photographs taken by various members of the United States Geological Survey in the course of the past ten years, many of them by the author himself.

THE GREAT ICE AGE, and its Relation to the Antiquity of Man. By JAMES GEIKIE, F. R. S. E., of H. M. Geological Survey of Scotland. With Maps and Illustrations. 12mo. Cloth, $2.50.

A systematic account of the Glacial Epoch in England and Scotland, with special references to its changes of climate.

PRINCIPLES OF GEOLOGY; or, The Modern Changes of the Earth and its Inhabitants, considered as illustrative of Geology. By Sir CHARLES LYELL, Bart. Illustrated with Maps, Plates, and Woodcuts. Two vols., royal 8vo. Cloth, $8.00.

The "Principles of Geology" may be looked upon with pride, not only as a representative of English science, but as without a rival of its kind anywhere. Growing in fullness and accuracy with the growth of experience and observation in every region of the world, the work has incorporated with itself each established discovery, and has been modified by every hypothesis of value which has been brought to bear upon, or been evolved from, the most recent body of facts.

New York: D. APPLETON & CO., 1, 3, & 5 Bond Street.

A NATURALIST'S RAMBLES ABOUT HOME. By CHARLES C. ABBOTT. 12mo. Cloth, $1.50.

"The home about which Dr. Abbott rambles is clearly the haunt of fowl and fish, of animal and insect life; and it is of the habits and nature of these that he discourses pleasantly in this book. Summer and winter, morning and evening, he has been in the open air all the time on the alert for some new revelation of instinct, or feeling, or character on the part of his neighbor creatures. Most that he sees and hears he reports agreeably to us, as it was no doubt delightful to himself. Books like this, which are free from all the technicalities of science, but yet lack little that has scientific value, are well suited to the reading of the young. Their atmosphere is a healthy one for boys in particular to breathe."—*Boston Transcript.*

DAYS OUT OF DOORS. By CHARLES C. ABBOTT, author of "A Naturalist's Rambles about Home." 12mo. Cloth, $1.50.

"Dr. Abbott is no closet-bred student. He gets his inspiration from actual contact with nature, and he is continually discovering analogies that escape the less sympathetic observer. Dr. Abbott is not only a clear-eyed observer and a sound philosopher; he is an admirable writer as well."—*The Beacon*, Boston.

"'Days out of Doors' is a series of sketches of animal life by Charles C. Abbott, a naturalist whose graceful writings have entertained and instructed the public before now. The essays and narratives in this book are grouped in twelve chapters, named after the months of the year. Under 'January' the author talks of squirrels, muskrats, water-snakes, and the predatory animals that withstand the rigor of winter; under 'February' of frogs and herons, crows and blackbirds; under 'March' of gulls and fishes and foxy sparrows, and so on appropriately, instructively, and divertingly through the whole twelve."—*The New York Sun.*

THE PLAYTIME NATURALIST. By Dr. J. E. TAYLOR, F. L. S., editor of "Science Gossip." With 366 Illustrations. 12mo. Cloth, $1.50.

"The Playtime Naturalist" relates the doings and holiday rambles and adventures of the "Natural History Society" of Mugby School. "As the writer," says the author in his preface, "was once a boy himself, and vividly remembers the never-to-be-forgotten rambles and observations of the objects in the country, he thought he could not do better than enlist this younger generation in the same loves and pleasures."

"The work contains abundant evidence of the author's knowledge and enthusiasm, and any boy who may read it carefully is sure to find something to attract him. The style is clear and lively, and there are many good illustrations."—*Nature.*

THE REAR-GUARD OF THE REVOLUTION. By JAMES R. GILMORE (Edmund Kirke). With Portrait of John Sevier, and Map. 12mo. Cloth, $1.50.

"The Rear-Guard of the Revolution" is a narrative of the adventures of the pioneers that first crossed the Alleghanies and settled in what is now Tennessee, under the leadership of two remarkable men, James Robertson and John Sevier. The title of the book is derived from the fact that a body of hardy volunteers, under the leadership of Sevier, crossed the mountains, and by their timely arrival secured the defeat of the British army at King's Mountain.

JOHN SEVIER AS A COMMONWEALTH-BUILDER. A Sequel to "The Rear-Guard of the Revolution." By JAMES R. GILMORE (Edmund Kirke). 12mo. Cloth, $1.50.

John Sevier was among the pioneers who settled the region in Eastern Tennessee. He was the founder of the State of Franklin, which afterward became Tennessee, and was the first Governor of the State. His innumerable battles with the Indians, his remarkable exploits, his address and genius for leadership, render his career one of the most thrilling and interesting on record.

THE ADVANCE-GUARD OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION. By JAMES R. GILMORE (Edmund Kirke). With Map, and Portrait of James Robertson. 12mo. Cloth, $1.50.

This work is in a measure a continuation of the thrilling story told by the author in his two preceding volumes, "The Rear-Guard of the Revolution" and "John Sevier as a Commonwealth-Builder." The three volumes together cover, says the author in his preface, "a neglected period of American history, and they disclose facts well worthy the attention of historians—namely, that these Western men turned the tide of the American Revolution, and subsequently saved the newly-formed Union from disruption, and thereby made possible our present great republic."

THE TWO SPIES: Nathan Hale and John André. By BENSON J. LOSSING, LL. D. Illustrated with Pen-and-Ink Sketches. Containing also Anna Seward's "Monody on Major André." Square 8vo. Cloth, gilt top, $2.00.

Illustrated by nearly thirty engravings of portraits, buildings, sketches by André, etc. Contains also the full text and original notes of the famous "Monody on Major André," written by his friend Anna Seward, with a portrait and biographical sketch of Miss Seward, and letters to her by Major André.

New York: D. APPLETON & CO., 1, 3, & 5 Bond Street.

THE HISTORY OF ANCIENT CIVILIZATION. A Hand-book based upon M. Gustave Ducoudray's "Histoire Sommaire de la Civilisation." Edited by the Rev. J. VERSCHOYLE, M. A. With numerous Illustrations. Large 12mo. Cloth, $1.75.

"With M. Ducoudray's work as a basis, many additions having been made, derived from special writers, Mr. Verschoyle has produced an excellent work, which gives a comprehensive view of early civilization. . . . As to the world of the past, the volume under notice treats of Egypt, Assyria, the Far East, of Greece and Rome in the most comprehensive manner. It is not the arts alone which are fully illustrated, but the literature, laws, manners, and customs, the beliefs of all these countries are contrasted. If the book gave alone the history of the monuments of the past it would be valuable, but it is its all-around character which renders it so useful. A great many volumes have been produced treating of a past civilization, but we have seen none which in the same space gives such varied information."—*The New York Times.*

GREAT LEADERS: Historic Portraits from the Great Historians. Selected, with Notes and Brief Biographical Sketches, by G. T. FERRIS. With sixteen engraved Portraits. 12mo. Cloth, $1.75.

The Historic Portraits of this work are eighty in number, drawn from the writings of PLUTARCH, GROTE, GIBBON, CURTIUS, MOMMSEN, FROUDE, HUME, MACAULAY, LECKY, GREEN, THIERS, TAINE, PRESCOTT, MOTLEY, and other historians. The subjects extend from Themistocles to Wellington.

"Every one perusing the pages of the historians must have been impressed with the graphic and singularly penetrative character of many of the sketches of the distinguished persons whose doings form the staple of history. These pen-portraits often stand out from the narrative with luminous and vivid effect, the writers seeming to have concentrated upon them all their powers of penetration and all their skill in graphic delineation. Few things in literature are marked by analysis so close, discernment so keen, or effects so brilliant and dramatic."—*From the Preface.*

LIFE OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS, described from Ancient Monuments. By E. GUHL and W. KONER. Translated from the third German edition by F. HUEFFER. With 543 Illustrations. 8vo. Cloth, $2.50.

"The result of careful and unwearied research in every nook and cranny of ancient learning. Nowhere else can the student find so many facts in illustration of Greek and Roman methods and manners."—*Dr. C. K. Adams's Manual of Historical Literature.*

New York: D. APPLETON & CO., 1, 3, & 5 Bond Street.

FROM FLAG TO FLAG. A Woman's Adventures and Experiences in the South during the War, in Mexico, and in Cuba. By ELIZA MCHATTON-RIPLEY. 12mo. Cloth, $1.00.

The author of this book was the wife of a planter in Louisiana, and underwent some remarkable experiences in the first part of the war; later in Mexico, many vicissitudes befell her; and of her life in Cuba, still later, she has a striking and unusual story to tell.

"In a word, the book is an account of personal adventures which would be called extraordinary did not one remember that the civil war must have brought similar ones to many. Her hardships are endured with the rarest pluck and good humor, and her shifty way of meeting difficulties seems almost to point to a Yankee strain in her blood."—*The Nation.*

THE HISTORY OF A SLAVE. By H. H. JOHNSTON, author of "The Kilimanjaro Expedition, etc. With 47 full-page Illustrations, engraved fac-simile from the author's Drawings. Large 12mo. Paper cover, 50 cents.

"'The History of a Slave' is a work of fiction based upon every-day occurrences in the Dark Continent, and well calculated to bring home to the reader the social condition of heathen and Mohammedan Africa, and the horrors of a domestic slave-trade."—*The Athenæum.*

THE MEMOIRS OF AN ARABIAN PRINCESS. By EMILY RUETE, *née* Princess of Oman and Zanzibar. Translated from the German. 12mo. Cloth, 75 cents.

The author of this amusing autobiography is half-sister to the late Sultan of Zanzibar, who some years ago married a German merchant and settled at Hamburg.

"A remarkably interesting little volume. . . . As a picture of Oriental court life, and manners and customs in the Orient, by one who is to the manor born, the book is prolific in entertainment and edification."—*Boston Gazette.*

SKETCHES FROM MY LIFE. By the late Admiral HOBART PASHA. With a Portrait. 12mo. Paper, 50 cents; cloth, $1.00.

"The sailor is nearly always an adventurous and enterprising variety of the human species, and Hobart Pasha was about as fine an example as one could wish to see. . . . The sketches of South American life are full of interest. The sport, the inevitable entanglements of susceptible middies with beautiful Spanish girls and the sometimes disastrous consequences, the duels, attempts at assassination, and other adventures and amusements, are described with much spirit. . . . The sketches abound in interesting details of the American war."—*London Athenæum.*

THE GARDEN'S STORY; or, Pleasures and Trials of an Amateur Gardener. By GEORGE H. ELLWANGER. With Head and Tail Pieces by Rhead. 12mo. Cloth extra, $1.50.

"Mr. Ellwanger's instinct rarely errs in matters of taste. He writes out of the fullness of experimental knowledge, but his knowledge differs from that of many a trained cultivator in that his skill in garden practice is guided by a refined æsthetic sensibility, and his appreciation of what is beautiful in nature is healthy, hearty, and catholic. His record of the garden year, as we have said, begins with the earliest violet, and it follows the season through until the witch-hazel is blossoming on the border of the wintry woods. . . . This little book can not fail to give pleasure to all who take a genuine interest in rural life. They will sympathize with most of the author's robust and positive judgments, and with his strong aversions as well as his tender attachments."—*The Tribune*, New York.

THE FOLK-LORE OF PLANTS. By T. F. THISELTON DYER, M. A. 12mo. Cloth, $1.50.

"The Folk-Lore of Plants" traces the superstitions and fancies connected with plants in fairy-lore, in witchcraft and demonology, in religion, in charms, in medicine, in plant language, etc. The author is an eminent English botanist, and superintendent of the gardens at Kew.

"A handsome and deeply interesting volume. . . . In all respects the book is excellent. Its arrangement is simple and intelligible, its style bright and alluring; authorities are cited at the foot of the page, and a full index is appended. . . . To all who seek an introduction to one of the most attractive branches of folk-lore, this delightful volume may be warmly commended."—*Notes and Queries.*

FLOWERS AND THEIR PEDIGREES. By GRANT ALLEN, author of "Vignettes of Nature," etc. Illustrated. 12mo. Cloth, $1.50.

No writer treats scientific subjects with so much ease and charm of style as Mr. Grant Allen. His sketches in the magazines have well been called fascinating, and the present volume, being a collection of various papers, will fully sustain his reputation as an eminently entertaining and suggestive writer.

"'Flowers and their Pedigrees,' by Grant Allen, with many illustrations, is not merely a description of British wild flowers, but a discussion of why they are, what they are, and how they come to be so; in other words, a scientific study of the migration and transformation of plants, illustrated by the daisy, the strawberry, the cleavers, wheat, the mountain tulip, the cuckoo-pint, and a few others. The study is a delightful one, and the book is fascinating to any one who has either love for flowers or curiosity about them."—*Hartford Courant.*

RECOLLECTIONS OF THE COURT OF THE TUILERIES. By MADAME CARETTE, Lady-of-Honor to the Empress Eugénie. Translated from the French by ELIZABETH PHIPPS TRAIN. 12mo. Cloth, $1.00; paper cover, 50 cents.

The inside view which these Recollections give of the Court of Louis Napoleon is fresh and of great interest.

"We advise every one who admires good work to buy and read it."—*London Morning Post.*

MEMOIRS OF MADAME DE RÉMUSAT. 1802–1808. Edited by her Grandson, PAUL DE RÉMUSAT, Senator. 3 volumes, crown 8vo. Half bound, $2.25.

"Notwithstanding the enormous library of works relating to Napoleon, we know of none which cover precisely the ground of these Memoirs. Madame de Rémusat was not only lady-in-waiting to Josephine during the eventful years 1802–1808, but was her intimate friend and trusted confidante. Thus we get a view of the daily life of Bonaparte and his wife, and the terms on which they lived, not elsewhere to be found."—*N. Y. Mail.*

"These Memoirs are not only a repository of anecdotes and of portraits sketched from life by a keen-eyed, quick-witted woman; some of the author's reflections on social and political questions are remarkable for weight and penetration."—*New York Sun.*

A SELECTION FROM THE LETTERS OF MADAME DE RÉMUSAT. 1804–1814. Edited by her Grandson, PAUL DE RÉMUSAT, Senator. 12mo. Cloth, $1.25.

MEMOIRS OF NAPOLEON, his Court and Family. By the Duchess D'ABRANTES. In 2 volumes, 12mo. Cloth, $3.00.

The interest excited in the first Napoleon and his Court by the "Memoirs of Madame de Rémusat" has induced the publishers to issue the famous "Memoirs of the Duchess d'Abrantes," which have hitherto appeared in a costly octavo edition, in a much cheaper form, and in a style to correspond with De Rémusat. This work will be likely now to be read with awakened interest, especially as it presents a much more favorable portrait of the great Corsican than that limned by Madame de Rémusat, and supplies many valuable and interesting details respecting the Court and Family of Napoleon, which are found in no other work.

New York: D. APPLETON & CO., 1, 3, & 5 Bond Street.

APPLETONS' STUDENTS' LIBRARY. Consisting of Thirty-four Volumes on subjects in Science, History, Literature, and Biography. In neat 18mo volumes, bound in half leather, in uniform style. Each set put up in a box. Sold in sets only. Price, per set, $20.00. *Containing:*

HOMER. By W. E. GLADSTONE.	1 vol.
SHAKSPERE. By E. DOWDEN.	
ENGLISH LITERATURE. By S. A. BROOKE.	"
GREEK LITERATURE. By R. C. JEBB.	
PHILOLOGY. By J. PEILE.	"
ENGLISH COMPOSITION. By J. NICHOL.	
GEOGRAPHY. By G. GROVE.	
CLASSICAL GEOGRAPHY. By H. F. TOZER.	"
INTRODUCTION TO SCIENCE PRIMERS. By T. H. HUXLEY.	"
PHYSIOLOGY. By M. FORSTER.	
CHEMISTRY. By H. E. ROSCOE.	"
PHYSICS. By BALFOUR STEWART.	
GEOLOGY. By A. GEIKIE.	"
BOTANY. By J. D. HOOKER.	
ASTRONOMY. By J. N. LOCKYER.	
PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY. By A. GEIKIE.	"
POLITICAL ECONOMY. By W. S. JEVONS.	"
LOGIC. By W. S. JEVONS.	
HISTORY OF EUROPE. By E. A. FREEMAN.	"
HISTORY OF FRANCE. By C. M. YONGE.	
HISTORY OF ROME. By M. CREIGHTON.	"
HISTORY OF GREECE. By C. A. FYFFE.	
OLD GREEK LIFE. By J. P. MAHAFFY.	"
ROMAN ANTIQUITIES. By A. S. WILKINS.	
SOPHOCLES. By LEWIS CAMPBELL.	"
EURIPIDES. By J. P. MAHAFFY.	
VERGIL. By Prof. H. NETTLESHIP.	"
LIVY. By W. W. CAPES.	
DEMOSTHENES. By S. H. BUTCHER.	"
MILTON. By S. A. BROOKE.	

THE APOSTOLIC FATHERS AND THE APOLOGISTS. By Rev. G. A. JACKSON.

THE FATHERS OF THE THIRD CENTURY. By Rev. G. A. JACKSON.

THOMAS CARLYLE: His Life, his Books, his Theories. By A. H. GUERNSEY.

RALPH WALDO EMERSON, Philosopher and Poet. By A. H. GUERNSEY.

MACAULAY: His Life, his Writings. By C. H. JONES.

SHORT LIFE OF CHARLES DICKENS. By C. H. JONES.

SHORT LIFE OF GLADSTONE. By C. H. JONES.

RUSKIN ON PAINTING.

TOWN GEOLOGY. By CHARLES KINGSLEY.

THE CHILDHOOD OF RELIGIONS. By E. CLODD.

HISTORY OF THE EARLY CHURCH. By E. M. SEWELL.

THE ART OF SPEECH. Poetry and Prose. By L. T. TOWNSEND.

THE ART OF SPEECH. Eloquence and Logic. By L. T. TOWNSEND.

THE WORLD'S PARADISES. By S. G. W. BENJAMIN.

THE GREAT GERMAN COMPOSERS. By G. T. FERRIS.

THE GREAT ITALIAN AND FRENCH COMPOSERS. By G. T. FERRIS.

GREAT SINGERS. First Series. By G. T. FERRIS.

GREAT SINGERS. Second Series. By G. T. FERRIS.

GREAT VIOLINISTS AND PIANISTS. By G. T. FERRIS.

APPLETONS' ATLAS OF THE UNITED STATES. Consisting of General Maps of the United States and Territories, and a County Map of each of the States, printed in Colors. Imperial 8vo. Cloth, $1.50.

The Atlas also contains Descriptive Text outlining the History, Geography, and Political and Educational Organization of the States, with latest Statistics of their Resources and Industries.

THE FAIRYLAND OF SCIENCE. By ARABELLA B. BUCKLEY. With 74 Illustrations. Cloth, gilt, $1.50.

"Deserves to take a permanent place in the literature of youth."—*London Times.*

"So interesting that, having once opened the book, we do not know how to leave off reading."—*Saturday Review.*

LIFE AND HER CHILDREN: Glimpses of Animal Life from the Amœba to the Insects. By ARABELLA B. BUCKLEY. With over 100 Illustrations. Cloth, gilt, $1.50.

"The work forms a charming introduction to the study of zoölogy—the science of living things—which, we trust, will find its way into many hands."—*Nature.*

WINNERS IN LIFE'S RACE; or, the Great Backboned Family. By ARABELLA B. BUCKLEY. With numerous Illustrations. Cloth, gilt, $1.50.

"We can conceive no better gift-book than this volume. Miss Buckley has spared no pains to incorporate in her book the latest results of scientific research. The illustrations in the book deserve the highest praise—they are numerous, accurate, and striking."—*Spectator.*

A SHORT HISTORY OF NATURAL SCIENCE; and of the Progress of Discovery from the Time of the Greeks to the Present Time. By ARABELLA B. BUCKLEY. New edition, revised and rearranged. With 77 Illustrations. Cloth, $2.00.

"The work, though mainly intended for children and young persons, may be most advantageously read by many persons of riper age, and may serve to implant in their minds a fuller and clearer conception of 'the promises, the achievements, and claims of science.'"—*Journal of Science.*

A WORLD OF WONDERS; or, Marvels in Animate and Inanimate Nature. A Book for Young Readers. With 322 Illustrations on Wood. Large 12mo. Cloth, illuminated, $2.00.

CONTENTS.—Wonders of Marine Life; Curiosities of Vegetable Life; Curiosities of the Insect and Reptile World; Marvels of Bird and Beast Life; Phenomenal Forces of Nature.

New York: D. APPLETON & CO., 1, 3, & 5 Bond Street.

VALUABLE
BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

Appletons' American Cyclopædia. A Popular Dictionary of General Knowledge. Edited by GEORGE RIPLEY and CHARLES A. DANA. 16 vols. Large 8vo. Per vol., cloth, $5.00; sheep, $6.00; half morocco, $7.00; half russia, $8.00; full morocco, or russia, $10.00.

"The American Cyclopædia" is a library in itself; it is well printed and in convenient form; it is trustworthy, impartial, complete, thoroughly American, deeply interesting, and instructive.

Appletons' American Annual Cyclopædia, and Register of Important Events for the Year. New Series, beginning with 1876, embraces Political, Civil, Military, and Social Affairs; Public Documents, Biography, Statistics, Commerce, Finance, Literature, Science, Agriculture, and Mechanical Industry. Large 8vo. Per vol., cloth, $5.00; sheep, $6.00; half morocco, $7.00; half russia, $8.00; full morocco, or russia, $10.00.

Maps, Woodcuts, and Steel Engravings illustrate the volumes. The first 15 volumes, 1861 to 1875, may also be procured, singly or collectively.

Cooley's Cyclopædia of Practical Receipts, and Collateral Information in the Arts, Manufactures, Professions, and Trades, including Medicine, Pharmacy, and Domestic Economy. Designed as a Comprehensive Supplement to the Pharmacopœia, and General Book of Reference for the Manufacturer, Tradesman, Amateur, and Heads of Families. Sixth edition. Revised and partly rewritten by RICHARD V. TUSON, Professor of Chemistry and Toxicology in the Royal Veterinary College. Complete in two volumes. 8vo. 1,796 pages. With Illustrations. Price, $9.00.

"The great characteristic of this work is its general usefulness. In covering such diverse subjects, the very best and most recent information seems to have been sought for, and the work is remarkable for intelligent industry. This very complete work can, then, be highly recommended as fulfilling to the letter what it purports to be—a cyclopædia of practical receipts."—*New York Times.*

Smith's Comprehensive Dictionary of the Bible; being a Revised and much Enlarged Edition of "Smith's Concise Dictionary of the Bible." Edited by Rev. S. W. BARNUM. Embellished with many hundred Woodcuts, including Maps, Plans of Cities, Illustrations of Manners, Customs, etc. Complete in 1 vol. Large 8vo. Cloth, $5.00; sheep, $6.00; half morocco, $7.50.

Glossary of Terms and Phrases. Edited by the Rev. H. PERCY SMITH, M. A., of Balliol College, Oxford. 8vo, cloth, $3.00.

The object of the work is to bring together such words, expressions, quotations, etc., English or other, as are among the more uncommon in current literature, and require, not for the scientific but for the ordinary reader, explanations, for the want of which the meaning of a sentence or a paragraph, even the drift of an argument, is often missed; explanations, moreover, not to be obtained without reference to, and perhaps tedious search among, a large and varied number of books, many of them not easily accessible.

Landmarks of English Literature. By HENRY J. NICOLL. 12mo, vellum cloth, $1.75.

"We can warmly recommend this excellent manual."—*St. James's Gazette.*

New York: D. APPLETON & CO., 1, 3, & 5 Bond Street.