

Regeneracion.

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Fine Days Ahead For Monopolists

To be true as steel to your convictions; to inquire fearlessly and stand by the result of your inquiry; to be loyal to your inmost thought and to the faithful guide you call your conscience—what better qualification for citizenship is there than this? How can nation, party or individual be helpful without being true? How can men who lack the courage to face a situation influence usefully their fellows? Where is the scientist who can achieve results save by accepting facts, however unwelcome the guise in which they may present themselves? How can problems be solved by exclusion of the elemental factors?

One is led to these reflections by studying the utterances of our press and leading citizens in connection with the McNamara confessions. Before the God of Truth I declare that a more despicable display of moral cowardice never has come under my notice. From the non-and-lamb negotiations of Lincoln Steffens to the sermons with which this Monday morning's papers are filled, there is studied evasion of facts well known to all. I do not plead for a Christian attitude toward those who, however much we may despise them, are still our fellow creatures and life's greatest product. I am not so insane as to expect broad and statesmanlike views from men who drag through existence with their noses buried in their leaders. But I do think we have a right to expect some particle of common sense, and that we should protest at the spectacle of a set of human ostriches industriously burying their heads. All this talk of social peace under conditions that exclude all possibility of anything but continued and more fiercely embittered social war is a hypocrisy against which every honest man should raise his voice.

From Gen. Otis, who takes the trouble to explain in detail how he and his associates acquired for two and a half million dollars forty-seven thousand acres in the San Fernando Valley, to the booming real estate advertisements which occupy so large a space in the columns of his own paper there comes, when you analyze it, just one note and only one. "We are in possession. We came into possession by entirely lawful means. We have a monopoly in which you can become partners if you have the price. That monopoly we shall defend." That is all it amounts to—all this talk of law and order, of good citizenship, of Christianity, patriotism, faithful social service, etc. "We have the monopoly, and, if you are good, we may consent to take you in." Not the slightest acknowledgment that monopoly itself is all the trouble. No recognition of the truth that here, as in Mexico and throughout what we call the civilized world, the disinherited, who find themselves excluded, are fighting for their rights. On the contrary, the position taken is that those without the necessary money have no rights. Therefore, at bottom, the struggle is between Life and the dollar. It is absolutely irrepressible; it will turn everything topsy-turvy; but rest assured that ultimately Life will prove victorious. Against Life Diaz could not make it go in Mexico and Madero is doing even worse. Gen. Otis and the apostles of what has the unmatched impudence to call itself "Industrial Freedom" will have no better luck.

At this point I reproduce part of a page advertisement that appeared in last Sunday's "Times." It starts as follows: "What's the matter with Los Angeles?" asks Collier's Weekly in an issue of December 2d. Judging from current events my answer would be—nothing at all. The result of the McNamara trial, emphasized by the recent election, is the biggest advertisement Los Angeles ever had, and the benefits are too great to calculate. It has been demonstrated beyond the question of a doubt—First, that this is a community where property and property rights are and will be protected. In other words, the entire country knows that it is SAFE to invest in Los Angeles. Second, the recent election has thoroughly demonstrated that this is a sober, conservative community, unalterably opposed to any fads, isms, or

extreme measures of any nature; and capital will so regard us, and money will more than ever be available for Southern California investments. Increase in realty values comes from increased population and surrounding improvement." Then comes the usual explanation that the Panama Canal will bring us an army of immigrants, each of whom will be working for the enrichment of those who have the foresight to gobble up natural opportunities, and the advertisement proceeds: "Remember, every booming settler adds to the intrinsic value of our lands, takes away just one more opportunity that you yourself might have had, and tends to raise the price of the remaining unsold lands. Remember that the next five years will see an investment and speculative era in California real estate such as the country has never witnessed before."

Joseph Feis, the multi-millionaire Single-Tax leader, who favors land speculation, could not have written more clearly. This real estate dealer has absorbed, probably without ever having read one word of it, all the Henry George philosophy. He knows that natural opportunities are limited and that the thing is to corner them and exclude the other fellow. He knows that the excluded must work for the fortunate monopolists; and, with the commercial lack of conscience that is the father of violence and social revolution, he urges his clients to become monopolists. He chortles over the fact that a couple of men have confessed to having blown up the "Times" building, and congratulates the public on Hartman's defeat, because it will be fine for monopoly, because it will bring us shoals of immigrants on whom monopoly will have a strangle hold; because it will usher in an era of speculation in real estate "such as the country never witnessed before." I have not the slightest doubt that he is in the odor of sanctity among our leading citizens which I am not. But, if there is a bar of judgment before which we shall be summoned to account for our misdeeds, I will back my chances against his, and if there is an actual hell I pity him.

I had a contemptuous opinion of the late Socialist-Labor Union political campaign because, while it singled out Gen. Otis and his San Fernando Valley holdings for attack, it funked the vital issue of land monopoly itself. And my contempt was all the keener because I knew that the men at the head of the campaign understood this question as clearly as I myself understand it. Moreover, most of them had taken part in the Mexican agitation and knew that the causes which have created our Los Angeles millionaires are the causes that have driven Mexico into bloody revolution. All this they knew but had not moral courage to avow, lust for that exceedingly wobbly thing, the labor vote, having made them moral cowards. They had not understood how loudly this age is crying for honest, uncompromising fighters—they had not mastered the lesson that there is less than nothing in the half and half.

Nevertheless there is, at last, some promise of an era of plain-speaking, and the editorial in the "Chicago Daily Socialist" of Dec. 5 is perhaps a straw showing the direction in which the wind is setting. It deals with Lincoln Steffens' abortive efforts at conciliation and says that the Socialists could have told him that "the only way the capitalist class can honestly apply the Golden Rule is to get off the backs of the workers, and that they will not do voluntarily." This truth, taken from Russia's great Anarchist, Tolstoy, we should shout from the housetops, and we well may add that Mexico is showing us that to oust the human race from its natural inheritance is to sow the wind with the certainty of reaping such a whirlwind as the race has seldom experienced. Life is beginning to assert its rights. No human power can stop it.

WM. C. OWEN.

GOOD FOR PROPAGANDA.

We have on hand many back numbers of "Regeneracion." They are excellent for propaganda purposes and could be used to great advantage for the education of the public. We will send them in bundles of 100, prepaying the expressage, for \$1.00 the bundle. Take advantage of this offer and order before the supply is exhausted.

Write us also for copies of Voltaire de Cleyre's pamphlet, "The Mexican Revolt," which is well worth the reading, and also for "What About the McNamara Case?" Within the next few weeks we shall issue a treatise on the entire Mexican situation that will interest you greatly.

Reyes Rebellion is Assuming Threatening Front

Juncture with Forces Led by Gomez Appears Imminent

Madero's Decreasing Popularity brings Intervention Nearer

Last week I ventured the remark that Reyes' entrance into Mexico pointed to his possessing much greater strength than we supposed. Confirmation of this view comes in an exclusive despatch to the "Los Angeles Times," from Dallas, Tex., under date of Dec. 9. The correspondent interviewed Capt. Cranke, in command of the Texas National Guard, who expressed the opinion that Reyes was operating according to a well matured plan, that Orozco would support him and that, as he commands ample means, he would be successful—"unless the United States intervenes." He added that he believed "the Reyes revolt would precipitate American intervention, for," said he:

"Madero had rather see the devil President of Mexico than to see Reyes in that office. Therefore, when Madero sees he cannot cope with Reyes, which he will not be long in finding out, he will announce that he cannot protect American and foreign interests, and will rely upon the United States to intervene and afford protection to American citizens and their interests. It will be difficult for this country to avoid responding to the appeal, and Madero knows that. He will deliberately prefer to see the American flag floating over Mexico than to see Reyes in the Presidential chair.

"The opinions are not mine alone," added Capt. Cranke. "If they were, although I have spent my life on the border, and believe I understand the situation, I might be less sure of the certainty of my conclusions. The beliefs I express are shared by every white man on the border, and a great many leading Mexicans themselves. Every day I talk to Americans coming back from Mexico, and they, with the men along the border and others in the republic, are absolutely of the opinion that intervention is coming."

As I have said so often, the entire situation hinges on Madero's ability to suppress revolt, and in that ability "Regeneracion" has no confidence whatever. Not at all on account of the opposition of the Mexican Liberal party, but because the Mexican masses are bent on getting possession of the soil which Madero will not tolerate. It is safe to say that, in order to win a substantial following, Reyes must give most absolute pledges on that head. A burned child dreads the fire, and a people in the frame of mind in which the Mexicans now find themselves is not to be fooled with impunity a second time.

Foreigners in Possession

"El Paso, Tex., Dec. 8.—A message to Gen. B. J. Viljoen, Mexican Police Commissioner to the Yaqui Indians, received tonight from Quaymas, says the Indians have repudiated the peace agreement signed with President Madero, and now demand the entire Yaqui Valley, from San Jose to Madero, much of which is now occupied by American settlers."

Read that dispatch again, if you please, and then put it in your pipe and smoke it; for it gives the heart of the Mexican Revolution. The Indians want their lands and the Americans are in possession. It is that which has made, from the first, this conflict as irrepressible as was the American Civil War. It is because we recognize this that we of "Regeneracion" have been so bitter against Madero and so confident of his speedy downfall, unless he should be bolstered up by American bayonets. It is because of this that we are expecting Intervention. The expropriated Yaquis—and their expropriation forms one of the most brutal and tragic pages in history—want back their land. The Americans are in possession.

I observe that Antonio I. Villarreal, who went promptly over to Madero; that Villarreal, who was given immediate military preferment and stumped Chihuahua for Madero's vice-presidential candidate, the hated Pino Suarez; that Villarreal, who used to tell Angelinos that the Mexican Liberal Party program was far in advance of the people, since they only wanted honest elections; I observe that this same Villarreal is now

admitting, in the degenerate "Regeneracion" of Mexico City, that the Mexican question is fundamentally agrarian. Men of the Villarreal type keep a most careful lookout as to the direction in which the wind is blowing, and his admission is instructive.

Apathetic Toward Elections

Inasmuch as the political Socialists of the United States have recently had politics more than ever on the brain, and inasmuch as their organs insist that the Mexicans are equally enthusiastic, I clip the following from "El Imparcial," of Dec. 4, the item having reference to the State of Puebla: "The primary elections took place today, but were ignored. Nearly half the polling places had not been set up, and those that had been were deserted all day long. It is calculated that three-fourths of the citizens abstained from voting."

In Mexico City itself the municipal elections are reported as having excited no interest, and "El Diario" remarks, under date of Dec. 4: "Our reporters visited nearly all the polling booths yesterday and found that in more than fifty per cent. of them there was no quorum." It must be understood that the law requires the presence of seven officials at each polling place.

Commenting on these conditions, "El Pais" says editorially: "We dislike confessing it, but the truth is that our people have not enthused over the famous 'effective suffrage,' as was clearly demonstrated at the late municipal elections. The entire press agrees that there has been a great lack of interest in the electoral struggle, in spite of the fact that the various political parties—the Catholic, the Evolutionist, the Anti-Revolutionist and the Liberal Radical—used all the means at their command to secure the triumph of their respective candidates. And if in connection with our municipal elections, which are the foundation of our possible democracy, there is no popular enthusiasm, what can we hope for in connection with the election of deputies, magistrates, etc.?" It attributes the public's indifference to disgust at having had Pino Suarez imposed on it as vice-president, and to a general conviction that the cards had been stacked for the election of the official Maderist ticket. "It is an official candidacy, as in the time of Porfirio," they say, "and they do not vote."

"Regeneracion's" position throughout has been that the people want the land and other radical economic reforms; and have no confidence in the election of political masters as a method of securing them. But whether we are right or wrong in this, it is certain that the Mexicans, many of whom were carried away for the moment with the novelty of being given an apparent voice in the election of Madero, have already grown heartily sick of politics. There are others.

Burying His Enemies.

"El Ahulzote," the well-known comic weekly, also calls attention to the indifference to politics, in a leading article headed "The deserted polling booths confirm our prophecy." It continues to pillory Madero remorselessly, its front-page colored cartoon being a reproduction of the story of Dives and Lazarus, with Madero and the Mexican people in the title roles. "Bread for the hungry!" pleads Lazarus. "Bah! That is not among Democracy's benedictions," retorts Madero, with his mouth full and a wolf gleam in his eye. The central cartoon is labeled, "A case of catalepsy," and represents the disinterment of dictatorship. Madero is the grave-digger. "They said she was dead. See how I will resurrect her," he exclaims. Another powerful sketch shown Madero vainly trying to wield the sword of Diaz, with the Revistas and the rebels of Juchitan making faces at him. Other comic papers are equally severe. For example, "El Comillo" has a most striking illustration, headed "Dividing the Land." The scene is again a graveyard and Madero is working desperately to bury his enemies.

The articles that accompany these

illustrations are most drastic. "In Mexico at present," writes "El Ahulzote," "there are no guarantees. Personal dignity and personal rights are trodden under foot. Men are shot without trial. Not to be a Maderist is a sin. To be a Royist is a crime. Ojo Parado's (he is Madero's brother) secret police are crowding the prisons with political offenders. The executive greatly fears unpopularity; feels, in the physical occupation of the term, that a turbid surge of protest and lack of confidence is about to lash the pedestal on which he has been placed. . . . This series of acts is symptomatic. It indicates two things: that the president's popularity is declining daily and that he is resorting to ultra dictatorial measures to check the decline. It is the symptom of great weakness on the part of the government, and signifies also that it will make desperate efforts, by means of threats and punishments, to crush the growing national spirit of revolt. The fortress of Veracruz is closed, but, to make up for it, there will not be a cell uncoupled in the penitentiary."

The Same Old Story

Such is Government! Such are the fruits of individual lust for power! Madero is unquestionably weak, as governors go; but let us not forget that those in possession have the odds enormously in their favor and never can be overthrown without a struggle. The personal ambitions of this political mountebank are costing Mexico a pretty penny. They will cost it more, much more, before the final crash.

"El Imparcial" now has a standing head, "Latest Notes of the Revolution," on its front page. Is not that a confession, Mr. Gallant,—you who are still sneering in "Cronaca Soverviva" at the "fantastic social revolution in Mexico"? Do you deny that there is a desperate struggle going on across the border? Do you deny that these people, adopting the course you as a noted Anarchist are supposed to approve, are disregarding the ballot and laying down their lives in a most real, most actual struggle for the possession of the land and economic liberty? By what right do you publish in your paper that if the Magons could be successful they would be greater tyrants than Diaz or Madero? Who gave you authority to make such guesses? Can you produce one particle of evidence to support such accusations hurled at men whose lives have been one martyrdom to the principles you yourself profess?

However, the Mexican Revolution will justify itself, regardless of the opposition of the Bergers, the Gallenans, the "Appeal to Reason," and all the turncoats in existence. Facts are the things that count, and the facts are there. Again and again have we said that from the henquien fields of Yucatan, the bitter tragedy of which forms the opening chapter of Turner's "Barbarous Mexico," there would come, sooner or later, a terrible story of revolt. It has come. "El Imparcial" of Dec. 5 devotes four and a half columns to brief notes of uprisings in the one State of Yucatan. It appears that on Dec. 4 no less than four towns were assaulted and taken by as many rebel bands, and the paper adds: "Telegrams from Merida say that 'with every hour that passes this capital receives reports of new assaults, uprisings, robberies, and the sacking of towns throughout the State.'" It remarks "also that the uprisings are spreading to the westward portions of the State and that the federal forces sent to put them down have been unable to catch up with the fugitive guerrilla bands.

In "El Imparcial" of Dec. 6, just received, there is a most excellent map of Yucatan, according to which there have been uprisings in no less than nine of the State's divisions. What the paper speaks of as the most "bloody successes" appear to have taken place at Halacho, but the bare list of towns in which there have been outbreaks fills a two-inch paragraph. Of course railroad communication is described as "severed."

Obviously Spontaneous.

Yucatan lies at the very foot of Mexico. It is beyond the Reyes sphere of influence, as it is beyond that of Gomez, Zapata or any other noted rebel leader. If any specific agitation has touched it, that agitation must have been made by occasional wandering apostles of the Mexican Liberal Party. In a word, no leader is pulling the strings. It is a spontaneous uprising of slaves who have caught the fever from afar and are endeavoring, somehow or other, to throw off their chains. Should it not have your sympathy, if only because it will aid your own individual struggle?

"El Diario" reports guerrilla activity in Durango and Veracruz. As to the latter, which is a most important State, it adds that "all communications with the South are severed." In Puebla, it says, many towns in the Digtret of Atlixco are in revolt against the governor who has been

"imposed on them by the central authority." At Zacatlan, the Yucatanistas are in arms and are marching against various towns in Veracruz. In Sinaloa, according to "El Imparcial," there have been uprisings at Imala and near the State capital, Culiacan. It also reports, in Chihuahua, San Juan as having been attacked and taken, and Hidalgo del Parral, a town of importance, as being threatened by a guerrilla of old Maderist soldiers.

I could add paragraphs of mere names, but to our English-speaking readers they would be mere names, signifying nothing without special reference to geographical and maps. My aim, therefore, is to give only a general outline, drawn as accurately as possible from careful study of numerous authorities.

This letter had been set aside as finished, but the "Los Angeles Times" of Dec. 13 comes along with the following screaming head on its front page: "Royistas are active. Towns are raided, homes looted. Outbreak spreads in four or five States of troubled Mexico. Plot to proclaim Reyes president is discovered in Madera. Rebels boldly attack trains and formal complaint is recorded." The last sentence has reference to the fact that Texas has filed claims against the Madero government amounting to \$1,500,000.

With the arrival of "El Imparcial" there have come to hand details of negotiations being carried on between Madero's special representative and Salgado, a rebel leader in Guerrero. The paper reports that "Salgado's terms of submission involve the restoration to the Indians of their lands."

Always the land question. W. C. O.

BRUTALLY ILL-TREATED

The men recently arrested at El Paso, Tex., for alleged infringement of the neutrality laws in connection with the Reyes movement, have issued a joint protest, which runs, in part: "Each one of us, without knowing each other and in different places, all busy at work in our daily occupations, never in a body, as the famous and blockhead detectives would have given something to have happened, was arrested, humiliated, clubbed with revolvers, handcuffed and treated like outlaws of the lowest type." The protest is signed by Dr. Rafael Molina, Fernando Palomares, E. M. Franco, Juan Hidalgo, R. A. Dorame, Jose Navarrete, Jose Santana Gomez and Silvestre Lomaz. The United States "stands" along among the so-called civilized nations of the world in her insistence on treating political offenders as if they were hardened criminals. All thinking persons recognize that they are almost always of superior character and intelligence.

Written—in Red

(To our Living Dead in Mexico's Struggle.) By VOLTAIRINE DE CLEYRE. Written in red their protest stands, For the Gods of the World to see; On the dooming walls their bodiless hands Have sealed "Upharsin," and flaring brands Illume the message: "Seize the lands! Open the prisons and make men free!" Blaze out the living words of the dead Written—in red.

Gods of the World! Their mouths are dumb; Your guns have spoken and they are dust. But the shrouded Living, whose hearts were numb, Have felt the beat of a wakening drum Within them sounding—the Dead Men's tongue— Calling: "Smite off the ancient rust!" Have beheld "Resurrect," the word of the Dead, Written—in red.

Bear it aloft, O! roaring flame; Skyward aloft, where all may see; Slaves of the World! Our cause is the same; One is the immemorial shame; One is the struggle, and in One name— MANHOOD—we battle to set men free. "Uncurse us the Land!" flame the words of the Dead Written—in red.

HE REALLY SAID IT.

Addressing the most powerful body of capitalists in the world, John Kirby Jr., president of the National Association of Manufacturers, said: "The present ills of society are more imaginary than real, and are not the result of any actual cause." Yes; that is what he said. Do you think we will let it pass? Wait until next week.

Socialist Papers Busy Hunting Scapegoats

So far as one can discover, after spending an afternoon running through exchanges, the Socialist press does not know where it stands on the McNamara matter. For the most part it seizes the opportunity to rail at the hated Anarchists, to boost its own party as offering the one peaceful solution of the social problem, and to declare that but for the confession it would have carried Los Angeles. Talk of ingratitude! If anybody has profited by the McNamara case it has been the Socialist Party, which used the alliance to multiply its membership a hundredfold.

The "Appeal to Reason," which exploited the McNamaras for every cent, has mounted a high horse of moral indignation. It considers that labor has received "a staggering blow, straight between the eyes," and maintains that if the McNamaras had "understood the philosophy of Socialism they would never have resorted to deeds of violence in the hope of benefiting the oppressed poor."

Our own local paper, the "California Social Democrat," which was the party's fighting organ, promptly went into hysterics. "The cause was not even remotely a Socialist issue," it screams. In starting capitals it declares that "Socialists hold terrorism in intellectual contempt, even in Russia," and implores the workers to "distrust every man tinged with anarchistic theories, either philosophic or otherwise." A contemptible article, reeking with cowardice and calumny. These would-be innocents had office on the brain, and for office there was no alliance they would not court, no friendship they would not throw coldly overboard. For the moment they are looking for a scapegoat and hunting up convenient excuses.

One should add that in "Revolt" Cloudeley Johns has written a clear, manly and well-informed article on the "Meaning of the McNamara Case." He italicises the statement that "the terrorism resorted to by the McNamaras and their associates, under the mad spurring of the desperate rank and file of the union, resulted from their minds being fixed upon the one idea of compelling the masters to renew the agreement which had been revoked."

In the St. Louis "Mirror" Marlon Reedy, Single Taxer, expresses himself as follows:

"What the country, what the world wants is a fair deal for everybody. It wants no favored class, either capitalist or laborite. It wants an equal opportunity for everybody to share in the products of the earth. It wants the earth made over into an open shop, instead of being closed on the vast majority of the children of men through the operation of privilege. The only justification of union laborism is that it is a war measure. It fights fire with fire, lawlessness now and then with lawlessness, monopoly with more monopoly. It is fundamentally wrong in its assertion that the end justifies the means, but the men in organized labor are the only people who are giving real battle to the power of money in the world. It can never win more than temporarily and spasmodically. If it could win all it wants, it would defeat itself in the long run, for it would antagonize all the rest of us and we would wipe it off the face of the earth.

"Perhaps the best thing that can be said of the plea of guilty by the McNamaras is that it will make this truth of the essential narrowness of trades unionism clearer to greater numbers of people, including those in its own ranks. Class war, it will be discovered, cannot improve general conditions, social and economic. The only thing that can possibly improve them is the releasing of the earth and its opportunities to the equal use of all men. There is no cure of the curse of monopoly in a labor union."

That fairly represents the views of the editor of this English section, and he believes the Spanish editors would endorse it also. In "Regeneracion" constantly expressed opinion the battle for the closed shop, the eight-hour law and all the other impracticalities on which American labor sees fit to fool away its time is little better for the masses than the foisting of a Madero into power. "Regeneracion's" motto is "Land and Liberty," which, as it always seemed to us, should have won us the support of the followers of Henry George, but apparently has not.

Our sympathies, however, are naturally with organized labor, because, as Mr. Reedy truly says, they "are the only people who are giving battle to the power of money."