THE UNIVERSITY OF CALGARY

# "Our Cause is Your Cause": The Relationship Between the Industrial Workers of the World and the Partido Liberal Mexicano, 1905-1911

by

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## Abstract

On November 20, 1910, military forces led by Francisco I. Madero ushered in the opening phase of the Mexican Revolution. Two months later, in January 1911, the Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM) began military operations in Lower California. Supported by the American-based Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), the PLM attempted to engineer the initial phase of a world-wide struggle against capitalism. Dating back to 1905, the IWW furnished the PLM with financial and moral aid, legal assistance, manpower, and political influence.

In many ways, Mexican workers in the United States were crucial players in initiating and sustaining this relationship between the IWW and the PLM. Many members of the Mexican community combined the anarcho-communism of the PLM with the syndicalism of the IWW, giving rise to institutional connections between the two organizations.

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## Dedication

Dedicated to my mom, Marolyn Vicki Ruhe, whose personal pursuit of knowledge inspired. Thank you.

1943-1991

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# INTRODUCTION

## PRELUDE TO REVOLUTION

> Our cause is yours: it is the cause of the silent slave of the soil, of the pariah of the workshop and the factory, of the galley-slave of the sea, of the hard labour convicts of the mines, of all those who suffer from the inequity of the capitalist system.[1]
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> Partido Liberal Mexicano, Manifesto to the Workers of the World, April 8, 1911.

Two months before the Mexican Revolution began, on September 3rd, 1910, the radical newspaper Regeneración reported on the conditions in Mexico: "that rumbling is the revolutionary spirit; the entire Nation is a volcano on the verge of spouting forth the fire within its entrails."[2] Two months later, on the 20th of November, military forces led by Francisco I. Madero began an assault on the regime of Mexican President Porfirio Díaz. Operating under the banner "Effective suffrage, No re-election", Madero's Anti-Re-electionist Party advocated conservative, democratic reforms for Mexico. Largely mobilizing middle-class dissent, Madero's forces disposed the aging dictator and his regime after only six months of fighting. Nonetheless, the overthrow of Díaz did not stifle the revolutionary spirit,

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[1]As cited in David Poole ed., Land and Liberty: Anarchist Influences in the Mexican Revolution, Ricardo Flores Magón (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1977), p. 95.

[2]Regeneración. September 3, 1910.

as some Mexicans envisaged more radical economic changes. In support of their own military campaigns in Mexico, the editors of Regeneración branded Madero "a traitor to the cause of liberty."[3]

Above the town of Mexicali in Baja California, on January 29th, 1911, a group of American unionists and Mexican revolutionaries raised a bright red flag with the words "Tierra y Libertad" emblazoned on one side. This aphorism, "Land and Liberty", epitomized the ideological convictions of the Organizing Junta of the Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM). Besides its involvement in the emerging revolutionary struggle in Mexico, the PLM was both a participant and a product of the ideological conflicts and class struggles in Mexico and the United States. The PLM represented many Mexican workers, as they strained to adapt and survive capitalist modernization and industrialization.

In the course of these struggles, the PLM established alliances with members of the American radical community during the period from 1905 to 1911. In particular, the PLM forged a strong relationship with the American-based Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) or, as they were popularly known, the Wobblies. The IWW provided the PLM with funds, legal help, propaganda, and volunteers for PLM activities. The relationship between the PLM and the IWW culminated with IWW involvement in the Mexican Revolution as

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[3]Ibid. February 25, 1911.

an ally of the PLM in Baja California. In effect, the IWW was decisive in both sustaining the PLM in the United States and shaping the latter's anarchist ideology.[4]

The Mexican community in the United States helped to initiate and sustain the association between the PLM and the IWW. Mexican nationals furnished crucial political, financial and ideological support for the PLM. Between 1905 and 1911, Mexican sympathizers in the United States actively recruited and organized discontented Mexicans living both in the United States and Mexico. In addition, Mexican workers contributed substantial financial aid to promote PLM objectives in Mexico and to sustain the PLM in the United States. In doing so, Mexicans in the United States offered ideological backing for the political, economic and social goals of PLM leaders. More importantly, however, Mexican workers in America constituted a useful link with certain elements of the American labour movement. Situated between the organizing efforts of the IWW and the PLM, the Mexican community served as an intermediary between these two organizations. Thus, in several ways, this group facilitated the initial contact, and underpinned the continuation of the relationship between the Industrial Workers of the World and the Partido Liberal Mexicano.

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[4] "Anarchism", according to Ricardo Flores Magón, "aims at establishing peace for ever among all the races of the earth by the suppression of [the] fountain of all evils - the right of private property". See Poole ed., p. 112.

Persecuted by the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz, many Mexican anarchist leaders were forced into exile in the United States. On January 4, 1904, Ricardo Flores Magón, Enrique Flores Magón and Santiago de la Hoz arrived in Laredo, Texas. There, they were joined by Librado Rivera, Antonio I. Villareal, Juan Sarabia, Manuel Sarabia and Rosalío Bustamente. Collectively, this group represented the revolutionary wing of the Mexican Liberal Party. Launched on September 28, 1905, in St. Louis, Missouri, the Organizing Junta of the Partido Liberal Mexicano provided Mexican exiles with an organization to agitate more effectively.[5] Through the PLM, Magón and other anarchists continued their efforts to organize workers in Mexico and the United States, and to build a revolutionary movement against Díaz.

The leaders of the PLM were dissatisfied with the course of Mexican development and the repressive measures used to sustain it. Their immediate goal in 1905, was the overthrow of Díaz and a curtailment of clerical and foreign influences in Mexico. Journalists by trade, the Magón brothers utilized their skills as writers to communicate with Mexicans in the United States and Mexico through the newspaper Regeneración, the PLM's "independent journal of

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[5]Ward S. Albro, Always a Rebel: Ricardo Flores Magón and the Mexican Revolution (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1992), p. 30. The leadership of the PLM in 1905 included Ricardo and Enrique Magón, Juan and Manuel Sarabia, Villareal, and Bustamente.

combat."[6] In 1905, the PLM represented the most clearly organized and articulated opposition to Díaz' thirty-year reign.

During the Porfiriato, the Mexican economy underwent dramatic structural changes. Propelled by foreign investment dollars, and a sympathetic Mexican government, the Mexican economy experienced rapid industrial development. American, British, and German capital penetrated many sectors, including mining, petroleum, railroads, agriculture, and manufacturing.[7] For Mexico's peasantry, Díaz' economic revolution had major destabilizing effects. The widespread destruction of communal ejido lands and the expansion of large haciendas, displaced many peasant farmers. Landless, many farmers migrated to cities and towns in search of wage-labour, some finding employment in newly created industries as textile workers, miners, or on the railroads. For many, emigration to the United States became a viable option. The majority, however, remained in Mexico and became peon labourers on haciendas. In effect, Díaz's economic programs created a landless urban and rural proletariat in Mexico. Undoubtedly, the proletarianization

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[6]Poole ed., p. 127. The first issue of Regeneración on foreign soil was produced in San Antonio, Texas, on November 5, 1904.

[7]For a complete analysis of the extent of foreign involvement in Mexican industrial development, see John Hart, Revolutionary Mexico: The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), pp. 105-162.

of Mexico's peasantry created deep-seated social tensions. Besides the destruction of traditional, collective farming, Díaz also instituted a system of repression, including the establishment of a secret police force, control of the press, and laws banning labour organization.

Operating in St. Louis, the leadership of the PLM came in contact with anarchists Emma Goldman and Florencio Basora.[8] Since members of the PLM were already highly influenced by the literary works of Mikhail Bakunin, Pierre Joseph Proudhon, and Peter Kropotkin, their discussions with Goldman and Basora helped to reinforce and refine their own anarchist ideology.[9] Operating under the traditional "Liberal" banner the PLM publicly promoted a rather conservative reform platform.[10] Privately, however, the

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[8]In fact, the relationship between Basora and Ricardo Flores Magón was so close that, for a time, Ricardo actually lived in Basora's house. See Manuel González Ramírez, Epistolario y Textos de Ricardo Flores Magón (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1964), p. 83.

[9]Alberto Reyes López, Las Doctrinas Socialistas de Ricardo Flores Magón (México: Cámara de Diputados, Donceles y Allende, n.d.), pp. 31-43. Emma Goldman vehemently denounced the tactics of the American trade unions, instead advocating direct action and the creation of an international union of workmen. See The Emma Goldman Papers, especially "Boston to Billings", November 19, 1907. Reel #56. Throughout the period between 1905-1911, Goldman remained in close contact with Ricardo Flores Magón, and often spoke on his behalf at rallies, and published materials in her anarchist journal Mother Earth.

[10]The PLM Program, released in 1906, reflected the goals of many in the movement. However, it was not indicative of the ideological program of the leadership. For a copy of the 1906 Program, see Appendix A, in James Cockcroft, Intellectual Precursors of the Mexican Revolution

PLM admitted that the Liberal designation was only a facade for their real intentions:

> Everything reduces to a question of tactics. If from the start we had called ourselves anarchists, communists or even socialists only a few would have listened to us. No liberal party in the world has our anti-capitalist tendencies, which are about to launch a revolution. In order not to have everyone against us, we will continue to...call ourselves liberals.[11]

Clearly, while hiding behind the label "liberal", many in the PLM pursued a more radical program.[12] Ultimately, their plan was to re-organize the liberal movement, arm the Mexican people against Díaz, and then transform the liberal revolution into a revolutionary war. According to Enrique Flores Magón, "this was the plan that we later followed, that we revealed to nobody...that we jealously guarded in our brains, waiting for the opportune moment."[13]

Even within the inner-circle of the PLM, however, there was not a firm consensus on the unofficial program. The left-wing of the party, represented by the Magón brothers, Rivera, and Praxedis Guerrero secretly adopted this more

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(Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968).

[11]As cited in Donald C. Hodges, Mexican Anarchism After the Revolution (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1995), p. 12.

[12]Shawn England, "Anarchy, Anarcho-Magonismo, and the Mexican Peasant: The Evolution of Ricardo Flores Magón's Revolutionary Philosophy," (M.A. Thesis, University of Calgary, 1995). England details the evolution of Ricardo Flores Magón's ideological precepts, asserting that Magón's outlook was largely shaped by traditional Mexican communal relations.

[13]Ibid., p. 13.

radical program.[14] Others, like Villareal and Sarabia opted for a more socialist approach to reform in Mexico. In effect, the PLM's publicly shifting ideology, and their own internal divisions, provided considerable confusion as to their motives. While operating as a conservative, liberal party, the leaders of the PLM were preparing to transform the organization into a more anarchist and syndicalist movement. And, this tendency among the majority of the PLM laid the foundation for links with more radical elements in the IWW.

On Tuesday, June 27, 1905, various representatives of the American labour movement gathered in Chicago, Illinois, to lay the foundation for a new revolutionary organization.[15] Present were William Haywood and Charles Moyer from the Western Federation of Miners (WFM) and the American Labor Union. Also present were representatives from the United Mine Workers of America, the United Brotherhood of Railway Employees, the United Metal Workers and the Journeyman Tailors' Union. Other delegates included representatives from Montreal, Canada: the Wage Earners Union and the Bakers and Confectioners' Union. Socialists

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[14]By 1907, the inner-circle of the PLM expanded to include anarchists Anselmo L. Figueroa, Juan Olivares, Fernando Palomárez, Práxedis Guerrero and socialist Lázaro Gutiérrez de Lara.

[15]Melvyn Dubofsky, We Shall be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), p. 81.

were well represented by Daniel DeLeon and his Socialist Labor and Trade Alliance, and Eugene V. Debs. Others of note included Mary "Mother" Jones, Thomas Hagerty, William E. Trautmann, and anarchist Florencio Basora.[16]

Formally established on July 8, 1905, the Industrial Workers of the World provided an alternative to the conservative and exclusionary policies practised by the largest trade union in the United States, the American Federation of Labor (AFL). Rather than organizing on the basis of trade like the AFL, the IWW aimed to organize along industrial lines. In effect, the IWW planned to organize workers on the basis of the industry in which they were employed, instead of strictly on the basis of craft.[17] Seven departments were established, reflecting various occupations: manufacturing, public service, distribution, food stuffs, mining, transportation, and building.[18] Thus, on any job-site, workers were members of the same occupational department. In contrast to the AFL, the IWW targeted any worker who earned a living "either by his brain

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[16]W.E. Trautmann ed., Proceedings of the First Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World (New York: Labor News Company, 1905), pp. 609-16.

[17]Miner's Magazine, March 9, 1905.

[18]Ibid., April 13, 1905, p. 14. Thomas Hagerty's famous "Wheel of Fortune", showing the mechanics of IWW organization is displayed on p. 15.

or his muscle."[19] The founders of the IWW envisaged a labour organization which was blind to race, colour, gender, or skill-level.[20]

The IWW was established to provide leadership and organization for an expanding revolutionary, international working class. According to the IWW, the working class was presently engaged in an open struggle against the modern capitalist. Indeed the preamble of the IWW constitution reflected their militant position:

> The working class and the employing class have nothing in common...Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together...and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class.[21]

Certainly, the founding members of the IWW perceived the organization to be the organ of emancipation for the world's working class. In the words of Bill Haywood, the IWW planned "to put the working class in possession of the economic power, the means of life, in control of the machinery of production and distribution, without regard to

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[19]William Haywood, "Speech," in Proceedings of the First Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World, p. 1.

[20]In many ways, the IWW were a product of past native North American labour movements and European syndicalist traditions. In the mid-nineteenth century, the Knights of Labor established a foundation for industrial unionism in North America, which the founders of the IWW built upon. Besides the Knights, the IWW were also highly influenced by the syndicalist ideology of the CGT in France.

[21]Trautmann, W.E. ed., Proceedings of the First Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World (New York: Labor News Company, 1905), p. 247.

capitalist masters."[22] After organizing the workers of the world, the IWW planned to topple capitalism by calling for a world-wide "General Strike." Clearly, the IWW emphasized the principles of internationalism, solidarity, and militancy. The IWW responded to Karl Marx' axiom: "The emancipation of the working class must be the class-conscious work of the working class."[23]

By 1911, most historians concede that many members of the IWW openly participated in the Mexican Revolution on behalf of the PLM. Yet, few scholars have accounted for the underlying causes of IWW participation in Baja California. For the most part, historians have set-out vague or partial explanations concerning the origins and nature of the interaction between the PLM and the IWW. This study addresses this historiographical absence by focusing particularly on the relationship between the IWW and PLM.

Historians have generated a considerable body of literature concerning the organizational activities and ideological evolution of the IWW. Focusing exclusively on the IWW, works by John Graham Brooks, Joseph Conlin, Fred Thompson and Patrick Murfin, Paul Brissenden, Philip Foner and Melvyn Dubofsky, all exclude any commentary relating to

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[22]Haywood, p. 181.

[23]This quotation from Marx is printed inside the cover in Trautmann, Proceedings of the First Convention.

PLM-IWW relations.[24] Instead, these studies focus on Wobbly free-speech fights, their attempts to compete with the American Federation of Labor, and internal ideological conflicts. The emphasis of these authors on domestic activities has been at the expense of a broader understanding of the IWW's international dimensions. Similarly, some historians of the PLM, such as Thomas Langham, Peter Henderson and Ward S. Albro, depict the PLM's association with the IWW as spontaneous and limited.[25] In many cases, the relationship between the PLM and the IWW has been overlooked, and the IWW's participation in the Mexican Revolution downplayed.

Besides the noted exceptions, historians of the PLM have offered several explanations for the development of links between the PLM and the IWW. James D. Cockcroft, in

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[24]See John Graham Brooks, American Syndicalism: The I.W.W. (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1913); Joseph R. Conlin, Bread and Roses Too: Studies of the Wobblies (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Corporation, 1969); Fred Thompson and Patrick Murfin, The IWW: Its First Seventy Years, 1905-1975 (Chicago: Industrial Workers of the World, 1977); Paul Brissenden, The I.W.W.: A Study of American Syndicalism (New York: Russell and Russell Inc., 1957); Philip S. Foner, History of the Labor Movement in the United States. v. 4 (New York: International Publishers, 1965); Melvyn Dubofsky, We Shall Be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969).

[25]Thomas C. Langham, Border Trials: Ricardo Flores Magón and the Mexican Liberals (El Paso: The University of Texas Press at El Paso, 1981) and Ward S. Albro, Always a Rebel: Ricardo Flores Magón and the Mexican Revolution (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1992); Peter V.N. Henderson, Mexican Exiles in the Borderlands, 1910-13 (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1979).

his 1968 study, submits that the relationship between the PLM and IWW was spawned by their shared experiences of political persecution.[26] Certainly, common persecution characterizes one facet of the IWW and PLM relationship, but this alone fails to provide a durable explanation for the protracted commitment made between the two organizations.

As already alluded to, the theme of internationalism among both the Wobblies and the Liberal Party remains one highly neglected area. Although subjected to criticism, Patrick Renshaw's work provides some details as to the IWW's international dimensions.[27] Renshaw summarizes the IWW's activities outside the United States, focusing on Britain, Canada, Australia, South Africa, Norway and various South American nations. Unlike his predecessors, Renshaw suggests that the internationalist perspective of the IWW was paramount in establishing links with foreign organizations, such as the PLM in Mexico.[28] Likewise, historian Harvey Levenstein claims an internationalist position.[29] Many elements of the global labour movement, according to

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[26]James D. Cockcroft, Intellectual Precursors of the Mexican Revolution, 1900-1913 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), p. 126.

[27]Patrick Renshaw, The Wobblies: The Story of Syndicalism in the United States (New York: Doubleday and Company, 1967).

[28]Renshaw, pp. 289-291.

[29]Harvey A. Levenstein, Labor Organizations in the United States and Mexico: A History of their Relations (New York: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1971).

Levenstein, believed that international ties generated greater domestic strength. Based on this view of international labour solidarity, organizations such as the IWW and the PLM actively sought international alliances. According to Levenstein, the anarcho-syndicalist and international outlook underpinning the PLM and IWW, "provided the basis for the first major contacts between the labor movements of the two countries."[30] Although an internationalist orientation played an important part in uniting the PLM and the IWW, in and of itself, internationalism fails to provide an enduring explanation to account for the alliance.[31]

Similar to the internationalist argument, many historians have suggested that a common ideology provided the basis for the PLM-IWW relationship. Lowell Blaisdell asserts that "nothing seemed more apposite than the marriage consummated between the anarchist Junta and the syndicalist Industrial Workers of the World."[32] Paralleling Blaisdell, in a recent study James A. Santos argues that

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[30]Ibid., p. 7-8.

[31]Interestingly, fifteen years after his first publication, James Cockcroft amended his original position, now endorsing an internationalist perspective. See his book Mexico: Class Formation, Capital Accumulation, and the State (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), p. 96.

[32]Lowell L. Blaisdell, The Desert Revolution: Baja California, 1911 (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1962), p. 42.

"[a]narchosyndicalism bonded the IWW and the PLM."[33] It is elusive to claim that ideology was the main determinant linking the IWW and the PLM. Before 1908, the IWW and the PLM did not share a common ideological perspective, yet linkages between the organizations persisted.

Tying together the arguments of the internationalist and common ideology camps, historian Colin MacLachlan hints at a possible role for Mexican workers.[34] Although he does not fully develop the idea, he contends that the Western Federation of Miners' organization of Mexican miners "paved the way for the presence and influence of the IWW in the Mexican labour movement."[35] Moreover, Maclachlan asserts that the internationalist orientation of the PLM appealed to the internationalist elements within the IWW. The PLM's contention that the Revolution in Mexico was only the beginning of a world-wide revolution, with "its stage the surface of the whole planet", was attractive to IWW leadership[36].

Certainly, W. Dirk Raat's 1981 publication Revoltosos:

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[33]James A. Santos, Rebellion in the Borderlands: Anarchism and the Plan of San Diego, 1904-1923 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), p. 22.

[34]Colin M. MacLachlan, Anarchism and the Mexican Revolution: The Political Trials of Ricardo Flores Magón in the United States (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991).

[35]Ibid., p. 6.

[36]Ibid., pp. 34-5.

Mexico's Rebels in the United States was one of the first studies to exclusively consider the experiences of the PLM in the United States.[37] Unfortunately, Raat does not directly address the development of PLM-IWW relations. Instead, he suggests implicitly that the collective ideological goals of the PLM and the IWW served to unite their causes. Through the organizational efforts of the WFM among Mexican workers in the United States and Mexico, the PLM and IWW discovered a common ideological outlook.

Reversing the arguments of Raat and MacLachlan, Norman Caulfield asserts that the leadership of the PLM was paramount in delivering the IWW, and its political and economic aims, to Mexican workers in the United States. According to Caulfield, the growing relationship between the PLM and the WFM, both in Mexico and the United States, spearheaded the development of subsequent IWW-PLM relations.[38] Caulfield argues that the organizing efforts of the WFM in the American mining sector pioneered the connections between the PLM and the IWW.[39] Raat, MacLachlan and Caulfield's identification of the WFM as the *sole* linking agent, however, is somewhat problematic.

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[37]W. Dirk Raat, Revoltosos: Mexico's Rebels in the United States, 1903-1923 (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1981).

[38]Norman Caulfield, "The Industrial Workers of the World and Mexican Labor, 1905-1925," (M.A. Thesis, University of Houston, 1987), p. 28.

[39]Ibid., p. 35.

The arguments of MacLachlan, Raat, and Caulfield all hinge on a belief that the WFM, after 1905, operated as a wholly independent union. Yet, this assertion is unsubstantiated given that the WFM served as an affiliate of the IWW and the organizing force in the IWW mining department. It was under the auspices of the IWW that the WFM began its campaigns in 1905 to organize Mexican workers in the American southwest. The WFM's efforts were clearly fundamental in attracting Mexican workers to the IWW. Nonetheless, an exclusive focus on the WFM belies the political agency and convictions of Mexican workers themselves. Arguably, the personal political decision of Mexican workers to participate in union activities were more important than the actions of the WFM in forging links between the PLM and IWW.

Moreover, available evidence suggests that the PLM and the WFM had not established formal contacts by 1906. In effect, Caulfield's explanation proves question begging in light of the activities of PLM members who actively supported each organization as early as 1906. In addition, the available evidence indicates that it was not an official policy of the PLM, at any time prior to 1910, to encourage its members to join the IWW. Instead of the WFM serving to link the IWW and the PLM, a more convincing argument can be made for the independent and collective actions of Mexican workers in the United States.

In general, the present historiography fails to account, in any significant way, for the development of IWW-PLM relations. Undoubtedly, an internationalist perspective and a common ideological outlook contributed to uniting the two organizations by 1911. While important, the impact of ideological considerations are difficult to discern when studied in isolation. Instead, any analysis of the PLM-IWW relationship must also account for the material realities of the alliance. The works of Raat, MacLachlan, and Caulfield suggest that the institutional efforts of either the PLM or the WFM helped foster ties with the IWW.

Since the 1960s, the study of American labour history has undergone a substantial methodological shift. In the 1950s and early 1960s, labour historians focused their attention almost exclusively on the internal affairs of unions, union activity, and the impact of union leaders. The primary concerns of these authors were the causes and effectiveness of strike action initiated by established unions. However, by the mid-1960s, the focus of labour history dramatically shifted, incorporating an active role for the working class. Undoubtedly, the publication of E.P. Thompson's classic work The Making of the English Working Class precipitated much of this intellectual re-configuration in American historiography.[40] Besides

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[40]E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class (London: Penguin Books, 1968).

rejecting the structuralist-Marxist propensity toward economic determinism, Thompson advocated writing "history from below". In Making, Thompson understood the process of industrialization as a complex event that dramatically altered the economic system as well as the social structure. Throughout this process of redefinition, Thompson asserts that workers adapted and established a specific working class identity - defined by the working class themselves. Ultimately, Thompson offered a definitive role for the working class in shaping their own social and economic lives.

Many American historians embraced this new methodological path and began to reassess the current historiographical trends in American labour history. Clearly inspired by Thompson, Herbert Gutman's 1966 publication Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, exemplifies a Thompsonian focus on working class experience and human agency.[41] Instead of focusing on union activities, Gutman explores the "beliefs and behaviour of ordinary working Americans" during the process of industrialization. While utilizing many of Thompson's methodological concepts, Gutman's approach offers a blueprint specifically designed for the North American industrial experience.

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[41]Herbert G. Gutman, Work, Culture and Society in Industrializing America (New York: Vintage Books, 1977).

Thompson's assertion that "the working class did not rise like the sun at an appointed time. It was present at its own making", set him apart from "traditional" labour historians. Building on Thompson's premise, Herbert Gutman's treatment of the American working class offers an investigation into the variances and complexities of an ethnically composed and diverse group of men and women. The American working class was, by no means, a static group. Instead, the domestic and international infusions of "peasants, farmers, skilled artisans, and casual day labourers," brought a host of traditional personal and group work habits and values which significantly impacted the development of industrial society.[42] By moving beyond an analysis of the strike and the union, Gutman illustrates the complex social relationships resulting from the meeting of industrial and preindustrial work and familial habits. In attempting to examine this encounter, Gutman analyses the complex and interactive relationship between workers, their productive experience, and their non-productive experiences.

The present thesis builds on E.P. Thompson's cultural-social analysis of the working class. More importantly, however, this work also builds on the methodological paradigm envisaged by American historian Herbert Gutman. By accepting the premise a continuous influx of immigrant workers shaped the American working class, this study is a

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[42]Gutman, p. 15.

direct response to Gutman's challenge incorporate the role of "non-white" immigrant groups in affecting the development of the American working class. While at times paralleling the experiences of Europeans, Mexican immigrants' experiences in the United States reveals how race and ethnicity partially shaped the American working class.[43] Ethnic clustering, the creation of ethnic associations, the retention of communal and kinship ties, geographic and social mobility, and a common language, all reinforced pre-industrial patterns of work and culture for Mexican immigrants.

Undoubtedly, the Mexican immigrant experience in the United States between 1900 and 1910 was distinct from that of the European immigrant. Since unrestricted movement back to Mexico remained a real possibility for Mexican immigrants, they understood their stay in the United States as temporary and transitional. As a result, they actively preserved their Mexican heritage and culture, resisting both Americanization and proletarianization. Ultimately, Mexican immigrants' close proximity to the border shaped the way they interpreted their experiences in industrial America.

Framed by an ethnic response, Mexican workers in the United States resisted proletarianization. The participation of Mexican workers in unions represented one form of defiance. Philip Foner's study of the IWW provides

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[43]Ibid., p. 12.

some explanations for the immigrant attraction to the IWW.[44] Foreign-born workers appreciated low initiation fees, minimal dues, and "rank-and-file rule". The IWW's opposition to political action further enticed unnaturalized immigrants to join; in the face of mounting racism on the jobsite, immigrants found a sense of dignity in the IWW. The foreign language press also appealed to workers from other countries in their native languages. When many workers, in the same industry and region, entered the IWW, they were often placed in separate branches all of the same nationality. This "appealed to immigrants by offering them the inducement of associating with the organization on the basis of their own cultural similarities."[45]

Mexican workers in the United States were, for the first time, allowed the political freedom to experiment with a variety of ideological conceptions. Union participation signified one avenue through which Mexican workers articulated their class interests in the United States. Mexican workers found the militant industrial ideology and solidarity exhibited by members of the IWW particularly captivating. Confronting exploitation, and lacking past industrial experiences from which to draw, Mexican workers experimented with various ideological frameworks.

Although he focuses on a somewhat different context,

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[44]Foner, p. 188.

[45]Ibid., pp. 121-122.

Alan Knight asserts that Mexican workers were forced to

> develop and absorb ideologies (liberal, anarcho-syndicalist, socialist) as they went along, and they had to experiment with new organisational forms and political stratagems-mutualism, syndicalism...Their vision had to be forward and their discourse innovative.[46]

Confronting exploitation and discrimination in the United States, many Mexican workers were forced to re-conceptualize their world-view. Stemming from a long standing proclivity for anarchist and syndicalist principles, Mexican workers in the United States embraced the ideology of the PLM and IWW.[47] Within the PLM and the IWW, they discovered a range of political and economic strategies relevant both to their Mexican roots and American industrial experiences. As a result, Mexican immigrants actively participated in the union activities of the IWW, while simultaneously, supporting the goals of the PLM.

While accepting the materialist-humanist[48] framework

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[46]Alan Knight, The Mexican Revolution, v. 1 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), p. 150.

[47]John Mason Hart, Anarchism and the Mexican Working Class, 1860-1930 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978).

[48]The materialist conception of history, according to Frederick Engels, claims that "the economic situation is the basis, but the various elements of the superstructure...also exercise their influence upon the course of the historical struggles and in many cases determine their form in particular". See "Frederick Engels to Joseph Bloch," in Letters on Historical Materialism, 1890-94 (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1980), p. 10. "Structuralist" historians claim that the economic base is the ultimate determining factor in history, while "humanists" argue that their is an interaction between the base and superstructure.

pursued by Thompson and Gutman, the present study is not blind to recent criticisms of their work. In the last decade, the main assault against Marxist-humanist historians, such as Thompson and Gutman, has come from historians informed by post-structuralist methodology. Perhaps the strongest assault has come from Joan Wallach Scott, who maintains that the materialist approach is gender exclusive.[49] Consequently, Scott concludes that historical materialism is incompatible with gender history.

Nonetheless, when applied properly, the materialist-humanist and post-structuralist frameworks provide a continuity of method. Certainly, post-structuralist theorists have contributed to our understanding of experience. They argue that life experiences are interpreted through a wide array of complex, inter-relating lenses, which shape an individuals' personal identity. These lenses, or "categories of identity" include race, gender, ethnicity, class, culture, nationality, place and religion. Since these categories are lived simultaneously, the interpretation of an experience is shaped by the

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[49]Joan Wallach Scott, Gender and the Politics of History (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988). Certainly, Scott's criticisms of Thompson are not without warrant. In many cases, he distinctly separates the working experiences of male and female workers. Moreover, at times, Thompson does not expand the concept of "experience" to include the productive experences of women nor the family. However, this appears to be more a problem with Thompson's application than a serious flaw with historical materialism in general.

interaction of these different categories. This study is informed by, and accepts, the increasing role of discourse analysis as an important technique offering insight into the working class experience. Thus, this thesis draws its methods from two perspectives: it is rooted in the materialist framework of Gutman and Thompson, and a post-structuralist methodology. Furthermore, this study broaches many topics usually examined in isolation, including social history, working class history, ethnic history, cultural history and immigrant history.

Perhaps the most serious impediment to reconstructing the scope of IWW-PLM relations was the destruction, in the post-WWI era, of the majority of IWW documents by the United States government. The clandestine nature of many of the PLM's activities also frustrates the historical evaluation of developments between the IWW and the PLM. Hounded by private detectives and U.S. authorities after 1904, PLM leaders made a deliberate attempt to limit the extent of high-level documentation. Indeed, a complete understanding of the IWW-PLM connection is nearly impossible. Nevertheless, it is possible to ascertain levels of contact in certain geographic zones, and the extent of financial, ideological, and moral support.

In the absence of many official IWW documents, this thesis relies on the autobiographies and manuscript collections of prominent Wobblies, including William

Haywood, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, and Ralph Chaplin.[50] Although often littered with propaganda, IWW affiliated newspapers are useful for reconstructing events and determining the increasing role of Mexican workers in the IWW. The most useful were The Industrial Worker, The Industrial Union Bulletin, The Agitator, and Miner's Magazine.

Besides archival materials uncovered in the Silvestre Terrazas Collection located at the University of California at Berkeley, the official newspaper of the party, Regeneración was paramount in understanding the PLM.[51] John K. Turner's exposé Barbarous Mexico, and Ethel Duffy Turner's oral interview and two memoirs provided important information concerning the connections between the socialist community and the PLM. Additionally, the memoirs of PLM leaders Librado Rivera and Lázaro Gutiérrez de Lara aided in recontructing the PLM's relationship with the IWW.[52]

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[50]William Haywood, Bill Haywood's Book: The Autobiography of William D. Haywood (New York: International Publishers, 1958); Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, I Speak My Own Piece: Autobiography of "the rebel girl" (New York: Masses and Mainstream Inc., 1955); Ralph Chaplin, Wobbly (New York: DaCapo Press, 1972).

[51]David Poole, ed., Land and Liberty: Anarchist Influences in the Mexican Revolution, Ricardo Flores Magón (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1977); Armando Bartra, Regeneración, 1900-1918 (Mexico: Ediciones Era, 1977).

[52]Lázaro Gutiérrez de Lara and Edgcumb Pinchon, The Mexican People: Their Struggle for Freedom (New York: Doubleday, Page and Co., 1917); Librado Rivera, Viva Tierra y Libertad! (Mexico: Ediciones Antorcha, 1980).

Finally, Jacinto Barrera Basols' collection of letters from Ricardo Flores Magón, contribute to the foundation of this study.[53]

The important interviews conducted by Manuel Gamio in 1927 with members of the Mexican-American community in the United States provides much of the detail in relation to the Mexican community in the United States at the turn of the century.[54] Documents found in State Department Records helped to shed light on the perceptions of the PLM in 1906 by the governments of Mexico and the United States. Despite any limitations on sources, the interaction between the IWW and the PLM, through the Mexican community in the United States, remains highly discernable.

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[53]Jacinto Barrera Basols, Correspondencia de Ricardo Flores Magón, 1904-1912 (Universidad Autonoma de Puebla, 1989).

[54]Manuel Gamio ed., The Mexican Immigrant: His Life-Story (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931).

# CHAPTER ONE

## THE SHAPING OF THE MEXICAN-AMERICAN WORKING CLASS

> The bourgeoisie don't care for anything, all they want to do is exploit the worker. The bourgeoisie has everything...while one wears one's self out. On Sundays I go to the little square to hear some of the fellow workers. That is where I have gotten Socialist ideas...although I don't belong to any union because they don't want to admit the Mexicans.[1]
>
> Luis Tenorio, native of Jalisco, Mexico

The continual infusion of immigrant workers at the turn of the century impacted the composition and character of the American working class. Certainly, the diverse cultural backgrounds of recent immigrants to America, and the localized work-culture which they entered into, resulted in a dynamic, regional cultural negotiation. The foreign work-culture exhibited by recent immigrants often clashed with the local industrial conventions fostered by employers. In some cases, Americanized and American-born workers openly resented the distinct work-culture of recent immigrants. Mexican immigrants, recently separated from traditional, rural communities, actively struggled to adapt to the industrial work-culture of the United States. Like other immigrants, the extent of cultural retention by Mexican immigrants was tempered by their physical and linguistic

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[1]Manuel Gamio ed., The Mexican Immigrant: His Life Story (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 127.

isolation, the extent of class division, and their socio-economic and geographic mobility. Mexican immigrants' industrial experiences and responses in the United States remained distinct due to their proximity to the border and their homeland.[2]

While Mexican emigration to the United States remained relatively low in the late nineteenth century, the early twentieth century witnessed a sharp rise of Mexican labourers seeking employment in the American southwest. Concentrating in the labour-scarce states of Arizona, Texas and California, Mexican workers commanded higher wages and greater opportunities for employment than in Mexico. Although government sources place the official number much lower, some historians have estimated that by 1902, upwards of four to five hundred Mexicans per day were entering the United States.[3] This trend continued through the first decade of the twentieth century. In 1905, for example, the city of El Paso, Texas, absorbed 31,358 new Mexican immigrants and another 22,000 Mexican men between the ages

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[2]While the Mexican experience remains distinct, there are many parallels between the experiences of Mexican-Americans and Franco-Canadians in the United States. See especially Tamara K. Hareven ed., Anonymous Americans: Explorations in Nineteenth Century Social History (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1971).

[3]Mario T. Garcia, Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880-1920 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), p. 36. Garcia's figures indicate that U.S. immigration documents reveal an official figure of 116 Mexican immigrants per day in 1895, increasing to 1,009 by 1904.

of 19 and 45 a year later.[4] This large influx of Mexican labour, which shaped the social, economic and political composition of the American border states, ensured that Mexican workers were to play an increasingly vital role in the structure of labour relations in the American southwest.

Upon entering the southwestern United States, immigrant Mexican workers encountered a localized work culture which was highly stratified along racial lines. The occupational distribution in the city of El Paso, Texas, in 1900 reveals the extent of ethnic labour division. Over sixty-two percent of Mexicans were employed as either service workers or general labourers. In the higher-paying professional jobs, Mexicans composed a scant three percent of the total workforce.[5] The remaining Mexican workers were engaged in artisanal occupations and as low-level managers. The occupational choices of immigrant Mexican workers were clearly confined by the racist social structure of the American southwest. And, as a result, Mexican workers were almost exclusively limited to lower paying working class positions.

Faced with the ethnically stratified social structure of the American southwest, immigrant Mexican workers tended to concentrate in unskilled labour-intensive industries. For example, Mexican workers composed between seventy and

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[4]Ibid., p. 38-9.
[5]Ibid., p. 86.

ninety percent of track crews in the American southwest railway companies. Similarly, the American mining industry attracted an increasing number of Mexican workers after the turn of the century. The small town of Waco, Arizona, for example, hosted a population of two thousand Mexican miners by early 1908.[6] And, at the El Paso Smelter, Mexican workers constituted ninety percent of the total workforce.[7] Certainly, by 1905, Mexican workers had become a significant component of the working class in the American southwest.[8]

Although they lived in the United States, the majority of Mexican immigrant workers maintained a strong and ongoing connection to their native land. For the most part, Mexican workers emigrated to the United States to obtain short term employment and financial security. Most intended to return to Mexico, purchase a farm, and raise a family on the sustenance provided by the land.[9] Many workers, such as Carlos Morales, were "not thinking of living in [the United

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[6]Colin MacLachlan, Anarchism and the Mexican Revolution: The Political Trials of Ricardo Flores Magón in the United States (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), p. 12.

[7]Garcia, p. 65.

[8]Ibid., p. 62. By 1910, Mexican nationals constituted 7.1 percent of the total workers in the metalliferous industry, which included a concentration of 26.4 percent in Arizona. Smelting and refining in Arizona was also dominated by Mexican workers, composing over 60 percent of the workforce.

[9]Gamio ed., p. 45 and 106. Some Mexican immigrants, such as Juan Berzunola, actually fulfilled this dream. After working as a contract labourer on the railroad, and in the beet fields of Colorado, Berzunola returned to Ojos de Agua, Guanajuanto, and bought a parcel of land with his family. Gamio, p. 145.

States] all [his] life", and therefore were unconcerned with even becoming functional in the English language.[10] Accordingly, most Mexican workers continued to nurture their links with the politics, culture and heritage of Mexico. Most of these workers eschewed American citizenship, and sought instead to preserve their identity as Mexicans.

Elías Gonzáles, a migratory worker and native of Parral, Chihuahua, emigrated to Santa Fe, New Mexico in 1911. In an interview, he asserted that,

> I would rather die before changing my citizenship; I was born a Mexican and my parents always told me never to change from being a Mexican citizen because one never ought to deny one's country or one's blood.[11]

Gonzáles' statement reflects the enduring sense of national identity retained by many Mexican workers. Similar sentiments were echoed by other Mexicans in the United States, including Carlos Ibáñez, who came to California in search of work in 1904: "I would rather cut my throat before changing my Mexican nationality...My country is before everything else."[12] In fact, Mexicans who changed their citizenship were often bitterly rejected by other immigrant workers. Angelino Bates, a shoemaker from Guadalajara, Jalisco, strongly condemned "those who have become American citizens. They are all nothing but traitors."[13] Since

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[10]Ibid., p. 13. The same attitude is illustrated by Mexican worker Gonzalo Galván, see p. 25.
[11]Ibid., p. 126.
[12]Ibid., p. 46.
[13]Ibid., p. 173.

many Mexican workers perceived their time in the United States as temporary, these workers maintained a strong Mexican national identity and a vested interest in Mexican social and political developments.

Mexican immigrants, unfamiliar with and inexperienced in the rigors of industrial life, encountered difficulties adapting to the United States. The pre-industrial work habits that many Mexican workers carried with them to the United States openly clashed with the highly disciplined work ethic promoted by industrial employers and native workers.[14] Indeed, Mexican workers in the United States existed "between two worlds": an industrializing work-culture in America and a more traditional rural-culture in Mexico.[15] American employers and union leaders clearly discerned differences in the work patterns exhibited by recent Mexican immigrants. According to W.J. Morgan of the Labor Advocate, the official paper of the Central Labor Union, wage increases were necessary for female Mexican workers because: "I believe that if the Mexican girl had proper food and living her mind would get to functioning as does that of her Anglo-Saxon sister". However, he qualified his position by stressing that Mexican workers may require

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[14]Herbert G. Gutman, Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America (New York: Vintage Books, 1976), pp. 13-15.

[15]David G. Gutiérrez ed., Between Two Worlds: Mexican Immigrants in the United States (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc, 1996).

"more than a generation for their minds to get to functioning like the Anglo-Saxon."[16] Unlike many observers of the time, Morgan was cognizant that the work habits exhibited by Mexican workers' were shaped by culture, not by racial differences. Undoubtedly, Mexican immigrants brought traditional work patterns and habits to the factories and fields of the United States.

Mexican workers' difficulties adapting to the expectations of American industrial life often reinforced and fostered the construction of racist stereotypes. Most commonly, employers voiced complaints concerning the lack of productivity among recent Mexican immigrants. F.B. Fletcher, the general manager of Acme Laundry in El Paso, identified racially defined differences between the work habits of Mexican and Anglo workers in his employment:

> we are confronted with the deep seated differences in temperament existing between the Anglo-Saxon and mixed Latin races...the differences between the progressiveness, initiativeness and energy of the former and the backwardness of the Mexican.[17]

Many Mexican workers struggled with the immediate collision between pre-industrial work patterns and the industrial discipline of the factory. During the early period of adjustment to proletarianization, the Mexican workers' perceived lack of productivity was often interpreted by employers as an inherent, racial characteristic rather than

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[16]Garcia, p. 96.
[17]As cited in Garcia, p. 92.

as a product of their cultural heritage. As such, Mexican work habits were frequently referred to in derogatory, racist terms. In 1910, the American Immigration Commission appraised the work habits of Mexican cantaloupe workers: "They stand the heat well, but are lazy, irregular, lack ambition, are of a roving class, and are generally considered the least efficient laborers."[18] In an economic system which valued "efficiency", the pre-industrial work habits of Mexican immigrants distinguished them from "americanized" workers. In turn, culturally shaped differences in work patterns fuelled the fire of racial stereotypes and further entrenched divisions between workers along racial lines.

Various elements of the American labour movement, with different ideological perspectives, harboured distinct images of the Mexican worker. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) regarded Mexicans, and most non-white immigrants, as a significant and growing threat to the economic position of the labour movement in the United States. AFL officials maintained that the influx of unskilled immigrants from Asia, Europe and Mexico took jobs away from American citizens.[19] Moreover, the majority of

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[18]Reports of the United States Immigration Commission (Washington: Government Printing Press, 1911), vol. 24, p. 236.

[19]Philip Foner, History of the Labor Movement in the United States, v.3: The Policies and Practices of the American Federation of Labor, 1900-1909 (New York: International Publishers, 1981), p. 258-9.

immigrants accepted lower wages and worked longer hours which eroded the bargaining position of the union. Immigrants constituted a source of surplus labour which could be manipulated by employers to intimidate unions and break strikes.[20] The AFL believed that excess labour drove down the premium for labour in general.

As a result, AFL locals in Arizona and Texas struggled continuously against the employment of unskilled Mexican labour. At times, the campaign against Mexican labour assumed a hostile and racist tone. Members of the AFL attacked the moral character of Mexican workers, depicting them as "worthless and criminal", and circulated claims that Mexican males "practice[d] polygamy, adultery, and every other class of crime against morality."[21] Despite AFL attacks on their character, a small percentage of Mexican workers were organized into AFL locals. These select few were American citizens and skilled labourers, thereby conforming to the stringent criteria of the AFL. Indeed, the exclusionary policies of the AFL left many Mexican workers with few options for union membership.

Transiency hampered the ability of Mexican workers to adapt to industrial employment in the United States, and overcome stereotypes. The mobility patterns of Mexican workers in the United States reflect a recurring east-west

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[20]Garcia, p. 96.
[21]Ibid., p. 103.

movement across the southwestern states in search of work.[22] Unlike most European immigrants, however, Mexican workers also retained the ability to return south to their homeland. Recalling the experiences of his parents, Juan Salorio maintained in 1927 that,

> All [Mexicans] along the border were the same, and there were no difficulties crossing from one side to the other, nor immigration, not anything which now creates differences between the Americans and the Mexicans who were born on one side or the other of the border.[23]

Importantly, this "escape clause" in their emigration partially conditioned their attitudes toward American society. The close proximity and sustained contact of Mexican workers with Mexico, and their communal villages, served to reinforce pre-industrial modes of work and familial contacts. Filomeno Condé, a native of Michoacán, emigrated to the United States in 1906, and found work as an agricultural labourer in Laguna, California. After two years, in 1908, he returned to Mexico to marry. In 1909, the couple moved to El Centinela, Arizona, where Condé found employment on the railways. In 1911, they moved permanently back to Mexico.[24] By virtue of his ongoing contact with members of his family and village in Mexico, Condé remained inextricably tied to the cultural values, customs, and habits of his homeland. Without doubt, this continual

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[22]Gamio, pp. 45, 80-81, 141-44.
[23]Ibid., p. 278.
[24]Ibid., pp. 122-3.

contact with Mexico lessened Condé's need and desire to adopt American industrial values and habits. Indeed, frequent north-south migration limited the extent of cultural adaptation undergone by Mexican immigrants.

The life story of Guanajuato resident Gonzalo Plancarte sheds further light on the prevalence of east-west and north-south mobility. After working on the southwestern American railways from 1900 to 1902, Plancarte decided to return to Mexico and took a job in Mexico City as a street car conductor. After getting married and having two children in Mexico, he moved west to Los Angeles and found various employment including a job on the Southern Pacific railway lines, in construction, as an agricultural day labourer in California's Imperial Valley, and finally on the Santa Fe railroad in Salt Lake City.[25] Although Plancarte lived in the United States, his ability to return to Mexico uninhibited limited the extent of his Americanization. He explained: I "always eat my meals in the style of our country and I want my children to be brought up that way". In fact, continued contact with Mexico, and the unfamiliar working experiences in the United States, convinced many Mexicans to return home before their children became Americanized.[26]

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[25]Ibid., p. 92-3.

[26]Ibid., p. 95. In another part of the interview, Plancarte stated that "now that they are young I want to take my children to Mexico so they will keep on being Mexicans", p. 96.

While most Mexican workers in the United States retained their religious beliefs, some expressed a growing sense of disillusionment with the institution and powers of the church. Although Catholic, Mexican worker Luis Tenorio did not attend church because he felt that the institution was the "[invention] of the bourgeoisie in order to have us always working for them", and instead believed that, "each one ought to believe what seems to him best."[27] Similar sentiments were expressed by Guillermo Salorio: "I think that all the religions are nothing but a deception which the rich and the strong have of always making the poor work."[28] Others, such as PLM supporter Señora Flores de Andrade, while respect[ing] all the churches...[in] reality I don't believe in any of them but I do believe in a Supreme God maker of everything that exists and that we depend on Him. As for the rest, the ministers and priests, all men are alike to me."[29] It appears that some Mexican workers in the United States, while being devout Catholic supporters, tended to advocate a reduction in the powers of the church.[30]

Both shaping attitudes and further inhibiting

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[27]Gamio, p. 128.
[28]Ibid., p. 129.
[29]Ibid., p. 35-6.
[30]Traditionally, the Liberal movement in Mexico has advocated the reduction in the powers of the church, both as landowners and as a political force. In many ways, the views of Andrade are a reflection of Liberals in general, and more specifically the platform of the PLM.

Americanization was the geographic clustering exhibited by Mexican workers in the United States. Throughout the southwestern United States, Mexican immigrants tended to coalesce in neighbourhoods situated within the confines of larger urban centres. These Mexican "barrios" provided recent immigrants with a sense of normality and kinship in a foreign land. Historian Manuel Gamio, after interviewing Juan Ruiz, a resident of Los Angeles, relates his experiences in a Mexican barrio: "he has always lived in Mexican communities. He says that he feels as though he were in Mexico."[31] Ernesto Galarza, a former resident of Mazatlán, and resident of the barrio in Sacramento, California, explained that the barrio represented for his family a refuge from American society or a "colonia mexicana."[32] The barrios became cultural centres for permanent residents and migrants. Although the barrio was not homogenous, the community strove to preserve elements of their local Mexican heritage by speaking Spanish and cooking traditional foods.[33] In addition, the community worked together in times of need, collecting for funeral costs and aiding accident victims. Moreover, the barrio setting helped to maintain and promote a sense of patriotism among

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[31]Ibid., p. 111.

[32]Ernesto Galarza, Barrio Boy (Notre Dame: University of Norte Dame Press, 1971), p. 200.

[33]According to Galarza, the Sacramento barrio was composed of immigrants from the provinces of Chihuahua, Sonora, Jalisco, and Durango. See pp. 200-202.

Mexican workers by sponsoring observances of national holidays. The maintenance of cultural traditions provided Mexicans in the United States with "natural and effective forms of self-assertion and self-protection."[34]

Often poor, recent immigrants and migrant workers were provided with food and shelter "in trust" from families living in the barrio. Further, through migrants, networks were established to disseminate important information and news from Mexico to the various barrios.[35] The constant influx of immigrants to the barrios aided in sustaining the distinctive cultural atmosphere of Mexican enclaves in the southwest.[36] The barrios functioned to unite Mexican workers in the United States and provide a source of cultural congruity in their lives. Moreover, the geographic isolation of the barrios reinforced and sustained familial and kinship networks with members of the Mexican community. In effect, the barrios reinforced Mexican cultural traditions within the larger American society, and nurtured a sense of national and ethnic identity among Mexican workers.

Mexican workers frequently voiced disillusionment with their experiences in the United States. This disappointment can be partly attributed to ethnic clustering and to their proximity to the border as well as the nature of racism and

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[34]Gutman, p. 66.
[35]Ibid., pp. 201-202.
[36]Gutiérrez, p. xvi.

exploitation. Many Mexican workers expressed a sense of uneasiness and exploitation during their tenure in the United States. Gonzalo Plancarte, a contract labourer in America for eleven years, planned to "spend [his] last days in Mexico", because "in spite of the fact that I have lived [in the United States] so many years I can't get used to it."[37] Like Plancarte, Juan Berzunolo felt unappreciated and uncomfortable while working in the United States:

> For my part, all the time that I have been in this country I have always thought of going back to my country...I have left the best of my life and my strength here, sprinkling with the sweat of my brow the fields and the factories of these gringos, who only know how to make one sweat and don't even pay attention to one when they see that one is old.[38]

Since many Mexican workers, such as Berzunolo and Plancarte, struggled to adapt to industrial expectations, they often felt a sense of uneasiness. In response, Mexican workers created and participated in associations employed to protect themselves and their cultural heritage.

Confronting extreme change, Mexican immigrants established mutualistic and fraternal associations to preserve their cultural heritage and safeguard their class interests. The largest fraternal association, the Alianza Hispano Americana, was established in 1894 in Tucson, Arizona, and was mainly composed of Mexican workingmen.[39]

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[37]Gamio, p. 96.
[38]Ibid., p. 147.
[39]Jose Amaro Hernandez, Mutual Aid for Survival: The Case of the Mexican American (Malabar: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Company, 1983), p. 31.

Owing to its strong working class composition, the association sometimes functioned as a Mexican union. When Mexican miners went on strike in the Morenci-Clifton region of Arizona in 1903, Alianza assumed a leadership role in negotiations with the Detroit Copper Company. Without a formal union to protect their interests, Mexican miners relied on community organizations to provide class unity. Observing the cohesion provided Mexican workers by ethnic organizations, the Arizona Daily Star declared that "through these societies [Mexican workers] could exert some sort of organization to stand together" during the strike.[40] Besides providing direct organization, the local mutual aid societies were ideologically important, emphasizing the importance of unionization for Mexican labourers. Union meetings and discussions were conducted at the workers' societies, and various unions were encouraged to utilize their halls for organizing campaigns.[41] One newspaper announced in 1904 that "in Arizona our brothers...arrived at the grand conclusion that in union there is strength, and from the societies proceeds the well-being and progress of the people."[42]

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[40]Arizona Daily Star, June 7, 1903. As cited in Hernandez, p. 38.

[41]Hernandez, p. 43.

[42]El Labrador. March 20, 1904. As cited in David Weber ed., Foreigners in Their Native Land: Historical Roots of Mexican Americans (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973), p. 252.

Alianza and other mutualistic societies[43] flourished and, by 1904, El Labrador of Las Cruces, New Mexico, reported that there was "no place in Arizona, no matter how small it might be, that has not established mutual societies."[44] This included branches or lodges in towns and cities such as Phoenix, Jerome, Congress, Tempe, Nogales, Yuma, Kofa, Clifton, Morenci, Metcalf, Bisbee, Douglas, and Florence.[45] Besides offering organization during strikes, mutualistic societies provided workers with death and sick benefits, life insurance of $1000, and weekly access to "doctors, medicine, and cash money."[46] Often operating within barrios, mutual aid societies provided the satisfaction of community life and collective security, while preventing the full assimilation of Mexican nationals into the dominant American culture and society.[47] Fraternal societies served as a form of ethnic self-protection and an expression of ethnicity. Helping to provide organized leadership to Mexican settlements, as "mediating" institutions, the Fraternal and Mutualistic associations "aided in the preservation and encouragement of Mexican ethnic consciousness among immigrants and helped

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[43]Other examples include La Saragoza and Obreros. See El Labrador. July 15, 1904, in Weber, p. 253.

[44]El Labrador. "La Sociedad Alianza Hispano-Americana de Tucson, Arizona", March 20, 1904. As cited in Weber, p. 252.

[45]Ibid.

[46]Ibid.

[47]Hernandez, p. 10-11.

form a permanent and cohesive Mexican community."[48]

While the majority of Mexicans went to the United States to find employment, financial incentives often converged with political motivations. In 1906, Señora Flores de Andrade immigrated from Chihuahua to El Paso, Texas, against the wishes of her family. She recalled her reasons for emigrating:

> in the first place to see if I could better my economic condition and secondly to continue fighting in that region in favor of the Liberal ideals, that is to say, to plot against the dictatorship of Don Porfirio.[49]

Andrade's decision to migrate northwards, like a number of other Mexicans, was inspired by a complex array of political and economic motivations. Andrade's own political motivation demonstrates that Ricardo Flores Magón and his liberal followers' relocation to the United States was not an isolated, exceptional occurrence but rather part of a larger pattern of politically informed immigration. This is not to suggest, however, that all Mexican immigrants maintained a political commitment as clearly defined as Magón or Andrade. Nevertheless, a number of Mexicans in the United States were highly attuned to the political conditions prevalent in Mexico and the political ideals espoused by the Liberal Party. By virtue of politically active family members, many immigrants like Primo Tapia of

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[48]Garcia, p. 223.
[49]Gamio, p. 31.

Michoacán were already introduced to Liberal doctrines before emigrating to the United States. Indeed, many of the workers had partially articulated their political outlook which was rooted in a combination of Mexican experiences and family traditions.[50]

The poor working conditions experienced in the United States reinforced Mexican workers' dissatisfaction with the exploitation they left behind in Mexico. Many Mexicans in the United States were attracted to the PLM due to a combination of individual political awareness, the exploitive economic conditions prevalent in Mexico and the United States, and the maintenance of a strong ethnic identity. It was these factors which made the Mexican community in the United States fertile ground for the penetration of the ideas of the PLM. Certainly these factors, in addition to the outward looking political perspective of Mexican workers, enabled the PLM ideology to strike a chord within the American Mexican community.

In important ways, the publication of the *Program of the Liberal Party* in July of 1906, helped to cultivate support among Mexican workers and political dissidents in the United States. The *Program* advocated equal rights for Mexican women and openly addressed the issue of Indian rights. In general, the Liberal *Program* proscribed

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[50]Paul Friedrich, Agrarian Revolt in a Mexican Village (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1970). A more complete discussion of Primo Tapia is provided in chapter four.

legislative solutions to mitigate the exploitive conditions facing the Mexican working class. The *Program* called for an eight hour work day, a minimum wage, an end to child labour, limits on the employment of foreigners, minimum workplace standards, and designated Sundays as a day of rest.[51] In effect, the Liberal *Program* effectively dealt with many of the primary concerns of the Mexican proletariat.

More specifically, however, the *Program* addressed the immediate goals of Mexican workers in the United States. Not only did the *Program* represent an end to the conditions experienced in the United States, but one measure of the *Program* spoke directly to Mexicans working in the United States:

> For those Mexicans residing abroad who so solicit, the Government will provide repatriation, paying the transportation cost of the trip and allotting them lands that they can cultivate.[52]

In effect, the demands of Mexican workers in the United States found a voice in the Program of the PLM. In many ways, the political program of the PLM maintained a certain degree of resonance within the Mexican community and became a rallying point for the Mexican working class in the United States.

In addition to their immediate concern with job

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[51]Cockcroft, p. 242-3.

[52]For a reprint of the Program of the Liberal Party, see James Cockcroft, Intellectual Precursors of the Mexican Revolution, 1900-1913 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1968), p. 243.

protection, Mexican workers participated in promoting the goals of the PLM leadership. Mexicans in the United States found a variety of ways to express their growing support for the PLM. While the newspaper Regeneración remained the political authority of the liberal movement, sympathizers in Mexico and the United States demonstrated their support by establishing local newspapers mirroring many of the political and economic obstacles identified by the PLM. As Regeneración served as the official instrument of propaganda for Magón's now-international liberal movement, local newspapers served the same function for the smaller American Liberal Clubs.

Liberal sympathizers in Mexico began establishing Liberal Clubs after the 1899 Liberal Party convention held in San Luis Potosí challenged its membership to actively organize.[53] In part, Liberal Clubs were conceived as a tool for grass-roots level organizing for the movement. One pervasive feature of the Clubs was the attachment of a newspaper or "spokesman of the Club". In Mexico, these dissident liberal newspapers were repeatedly suppressed for their attacks on the Díaz regime. In 1901 alone, over fifty newspapers were suspended and more than one hundred editors imprisoned. The following year, thirty-nine Liberal newspaper editors were jailed for expressing their political

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[53]Ibid., p. 83-87.

views.[54] As a result, many newspaper publishers, like Ricardo Flores Magón, crossed into the United States to continue their fight against Díaz in a less hostile political environment.

In the United States, liberal newspapers publicized the corrupt nature of the Díaz government and rallied the support of Mexican liberal sympathizers. In addition, they sought to introduce the goals of the Liberal movement to a broader, non-liberal audience. Weekly Spanish-language liberal newspapers appeared throughout Texas, Arizona, and California. These newspapers concentrated their attention on raising political consciousness in Mexico, and focused on issues relevant to Mexicans living in the United States. In the American southwest, it is clear that the state of Texas was a hotbed of pro-Magónista literature. Two of the earliest and most ardent supporters of the liberal movement were El Mensajero and 1810, published from Del Rio, Texas, by Cresencio Villareal Marquez and Pedro Gonzalez.[55] Many liberals in Arizona expressed their support in a similar manner through the establishment of newspapers such as El Industrial in Douglas, and El Defensor del Pueblo in Tucson.

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[54]John Kenneth Turner, Barbarous Mexico (New York: Cassell and Company Ltd., 1911), p. 170.

[55]In Texas, pro-Magónista newspapers appeared across the state, including La Reforma Social, La Bandera Roja and Punto Rojo (El Paso), El Progreso, El Regidor, La Humanidad, La Voz de Texas, La Prensa, and Guerra (San Antonio), El Rebelde (Dow), La Voz de Juarez (Waco), Reforma Liberal y Justicia (Austin), and La Corregidora (Laredo).

These liberal newspapers represented one of the most effective vehicles available to the Magónistas to transmit liberal ideas.[56]

Liberal newspapers, published in the United States, furnished the Magónistas with an important weapon to disseminate liberal propaganda to a wider audience. In many cases, these pro-liberal, Spanish-language publications provided recent immigrants with their only access to and perspective on, political and social issues.[57] In effect, the liberal newspapers enabled a liberal ideology to permeate the Mexican community in Texas and Arizona. Additionally, since the majority of Mexican workers were highly mobile, newspapers became an indispensable tool for the dissemination of Liberal propaganda into distant communities both in the United States and Mexico.[58]

The PLM's 1906 reformist program appealed to a broad spectrum of Mexican workers. Certainly, in the beginning, the organized opposition provided by the PLM attracted reformist members of the upper class, such as Francisco Madero. Nonetheless, the main composition of PLM supporters were unskilled industrial workers, small-scale artisans and

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[56]Ricardo Flores Magón, Correspondencia de Ricardo Flores Magón (1904-1912). ed. Jacinto Barrera Basols (Puebla: Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 1989).

[57]Gamio, pp. 85, 119, 133.

[58]Ibid., pp. 45, 145-7, 92-3.

merchants, and middle-class professionals.[59] Indeed, by late 1906, the backbone of PLM support was the Mexican working class. The majority of PLM supporters were located in the American states of Texas, Arizona, and California, and the Mexican provinces of Sonora, Coahuila, Chihuahua, and Durango. However, adherents could be found from as far away as Indiana and the Yucatán peninsula.[60] In general, PLM adherents were working-class men under forty residing in the southwestern United States and northern Mexico.

However, as the political motives of Señora Flores de Andrade earlier illustrated, support for the PLM was not the exclusive domain of male industrial workers. In 1906, she successfully established a women's Liberal club, the Daughters of Chauhtémoc, in El Paso, Texas.[61] Through this organization, Andrade solicited financial aid for the PLM and raised political awareness among Mexican workers in El Paso. Following in the footsteps of Andrade, Isidra T. de Cárdenas established the weekly newspaper Voz de la Mujer (Voice of Women). Reproducing articles from Regeneración, Mujer provided an important cog in the transmission of PLM ideas to the Mexican population residing in El Paso.[62] In Mexico City, female textile workers formed the pro-PLM

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[59]W. Dirk Raat, Revoltosos: Mexico's Rebels in the United States (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1981), p. 31.

[60]Silvestre Terrazas Collection, Box 27, Folder 11b. Records of Governor Enrique Creel. (Hereafter cited as STC).

[61]Gamio, p. 30.

[62]Raat, p. 33.

organization Hijas de Anahuac in 1907 with a membership of over three hundred workers. Other women's organizations, such as the Liberal Union of Mexican Women supplied the PLM with funds and support.[63] Indeed, the PLM's reformist platform crossed gender lines, attracting a diverse assortment of working-class support.

More readily accessible to the PLM, Mexican workers in the United States were vital agents for the transmission of liberal propaganda to Mexico. Through kinship and communal ties to Mexico, workers in the United States exchanged and propagated Liberal ideas into remote areas throughout Mexico.[64] After the 1907 economic downturn in the United States, for example, many migratory Mexican workers, politicized in America, returned home to the Laguna region in central Coahuila. In conjunction with the propagandizing efforts of the PLM in the region since 1905, the returning workers helped to radicalize the workforce in Laguna. Now exposed to socialist, anarchist and unionist ideas, migratory workers helped to convert the region into a hotbed of PLM activity after 1907.[65] Especially in the "free towns", where migratory workers concentrated, the PLM were

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[63]Ibid., p. 34.
[64]Gamio, p. 123.
[65]William K. Meyers, "La Comarca Lagunera: Work, Protest, and Popular Mobilization in North Central Mexico," in Other Mexicos: Essays on Regional Mexican History. ed. Thomas Benjamin and William McNellie (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1984), p. 261.

able to consolidate almost unqualified support.[66] Since their stay in the United States was transitory, Mexican workers constituted an effective vehicle for the transmission of PLM doctrines back to Mexico and across the American southwest.

As mentioned earlier, the extension of Mexican Liberal Clubs into the United States was the most important manifestation of liberal support for the Magónistas in the United States. Indeed, such Clubs cultivated interest in liberal ideas, and spawned a number of figures who were later to rise to a level of prominence in the future liberal movement. For the PLM, Liberal Clubs in Mexico and the United States were critical centres of organization in the struggle against Díaz. Further, these Liberal Clubs elicited financial contributions from their members to sustain the PLM. One of the most important way in which Mexican liberals in the United States provided the PLM with financial support was through subscriptions to Regeneración. This is evidenced by the fact that Regeneración, one year after resuming publication in 1905, claimed a circulation of approximately 20,000.[67]

One of the first Liberal Clubs formed in the United States was the *Club Liberal Ponciano Arriaga*, organized in

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[66]Ibid., p. 250.

[67]David Poole ed., Land and Liberty: Anarchist Influences in the Mexican Revolution, Ricardo Flores Magón (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1977), p. 128.

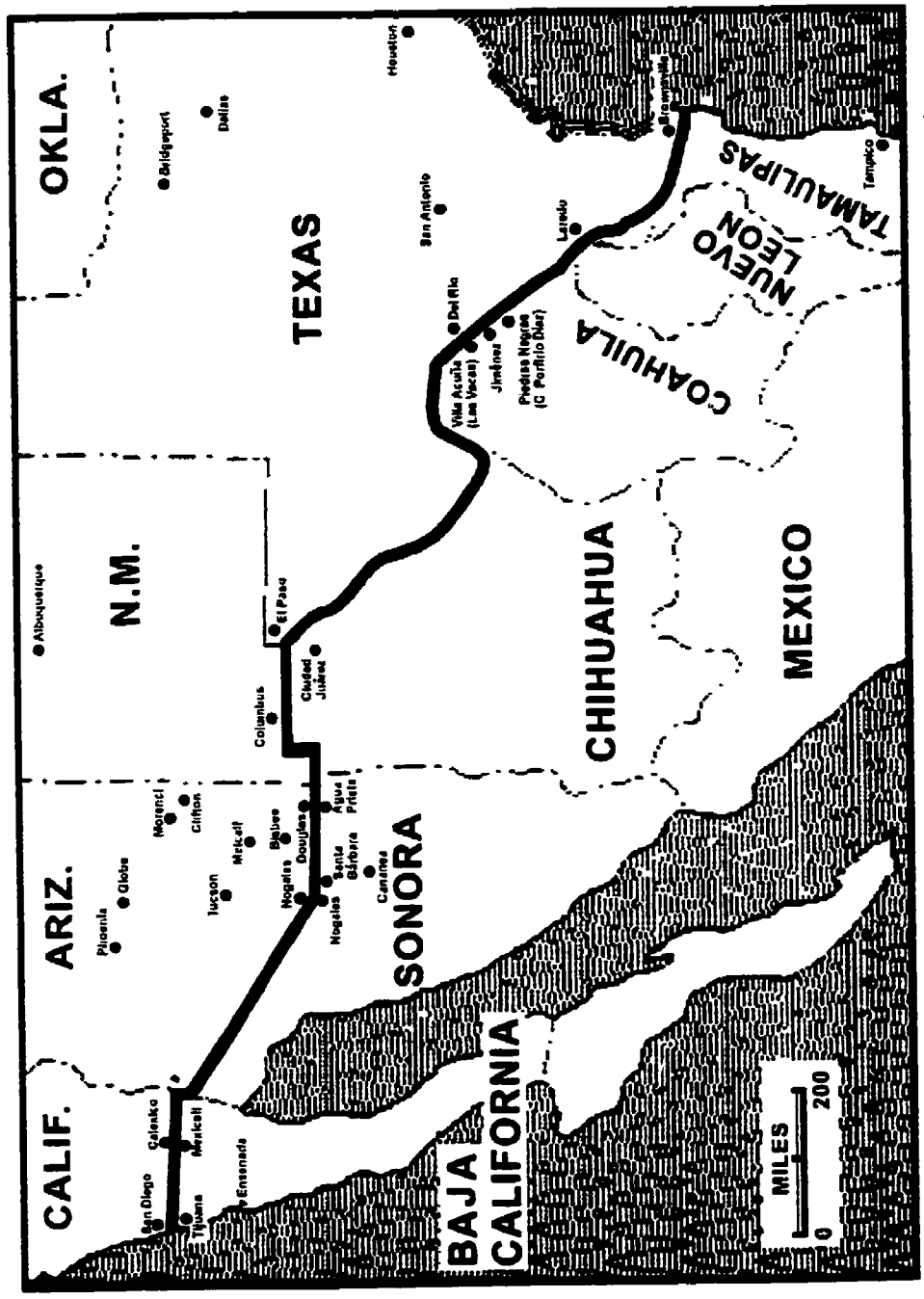


Figure 1: United States - Mexico Border Region

El Paso, Texas. Officially established on February 5, 1904, the Club was, in fact, a transplanted version of the original Club which had operated in San Luis Potosí since 1903. Its founders, Díaz Soto y Gama and Camilo Arriaga, had long been active members in the Liberal movement in Mexico and close friends with Ricardo Flores Magón. In fact, it was Arriaga who helped facilitate the move of Ricardo and other liberals to the United States in 1904.[68] However, by 1906, a dispute over leadership and ideology between the two men resulted in Arriaga accepting a more limited role within the movement. In the end, Arriaga, by mid-1906, resigned as the head of the Club paving the way for Prisciliano G. Silva to become the President of *Club Liberal Ponciano Arriaga*.[69]

Liberal sympathizers throughout Arizona followed the lead of Arriaga and Soto y Gama and organized local Liberal Clubs in their own cities and towns. Indeed, one of the most active Clubs was formed in August 1905 in Douglas, Arizona. Antonio P. Araujo, together with Lázaro Puente and Tomas Espinosa, founded the *Club Liberal Libertad*. Its official organ, the newspaper El Democrata, sought to provide a local, public forum for the St. Louis Junta.[70] In addition, they encouraged Mexicans in the Douglas area to

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[68]Ward S. Albro, Always a Rebel: Ricardo Flores Magón and the Mexican Revolution (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1992), p. 34.

[69]Ibid., p. 61.

[70]Ibid., p. 35.

join forces with the Magónistas and successfully collected financial resources for the group. Another important Liberal Club was the *Obreros Libres*, organized by Praxedis G. Guerrero, Francisco Manrique, and Manuel S. Vásquez. Composed of Mexican miners in Morenci, the Club applied to the PLM for recognition on June 3, 1906, and was officially recognized in the fall of 1906.[71] Mexican liberals in Texas formed Clubs in San Antonio, Bridgeport, Brownsville, and Alice, Texas.

Besides their interest in the PLM, and in spite of their limited interests in American society and politics, Mexican workers recognized that class solidarity was sometimes vital to protect their job security.[72] In 1901, two hundred Mexican construction workers, employed by the El Paso Street Car Company, went on strike. In part, the strikers were reacting to a rumour that Mexicans from Cuidad Juárez had been hired from Mexico as less expensive replacements. In addition to demanding job security, they called for a pay increase of fifty cents per ten hour day. The strikers agreed to assurances of job security and dropped their wage demands when the Company agreed to hire

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[71]Ibid., p. 52.

[72]For an alternative perspective, see Garcia. He indicates that the Mexican working class in El Paso developed an ethnic consciousness instead of a class consciousness.

only residents of El Paso.[73]

At times, Mexican workers attempted to secure concessions from employers that extended beyond the realm of job security. In certain struggles, Mexican workers recognized class-based interests which transcended ethnic divisions. In 1903, strikes in Morenci, Arizona, and Oxnard, California, were initiated to improve working conditions. As earlier discussed, in Morenci, Mexican workers cooperated with Italian miners to strike against "the most detestable industrial conditions" in Arizona. Supported only from the organization provided by Alianza, the workers elicited an extremely violent response from the Detroit Copper Company, and were forced back to work within a few days.[74] Nevertheless, the multi-ethnic composition of the strikers reflects a growing acknowledgment among Mexican workers of their class interests.

In April of 1903, Mexican and Japanese workers launched a more successful strike in Oxnard. Here, the workers effectively attained improved working conditions, and subsequently, formed the Sugar Beet and Farm Laborers' Union of Oxnard.[75] Soon after, the workers in Oxnard applied for a union charter to the AFL Executive Council, but were refused. The refusal was, in part, rooted in racist conceptions and attitudes towards immigrants prevalent

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[73]Garcia, p. 107.
[74]Miner's Magazine, February 21, 1907, p. 8.
[75]Philip Foner, v.3, p. 276.

within segments of the American labour movement.[76] Without the support of the American Federation of Labor, Mexican workers were unable to sustain an independent labour organization.[77] As a result, the majority of Mexican workers remained unorganized and highly exploited throughout the 1900-1905 period.

In their search for an alternative to the conservative and racist policies of the AFL, Mexican workers looked to the industrial ideology of the Western Federation of Miners. Mexican workers' interest in the WFM may be partially attributed to their previous ideological orientation. As historian John Hart has demonstrated, a syndicalist ideology pervaded Mexican working class life since the middle of the nineteenth century.[78] Upon entry to the United States, some Mexican workers were already highly politicized as to anarchist and syndicalist traditions.

Mexican workers' traditional syndicalist orientation, combined with WFM ideology and eagerness to organize, facilitated the unionization of Mexican workers. Shortly

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[76]The refusal of an AFL charter to the Sugar Beet and Farm Laborers' Union, was largely due to AFL conceptions of Asian workers. Perceiving Asian workers as a growing threat to the employment of American workers, the AFL actively lobbied Washington to gain restrictions on the immigration of Japanese and Chinese workers. Mexican workers, on the other hand, were seen as temporary residents in the U.S., and hence, less of a threat to American labour. See Foner, v.3, p. 277.

[77]Foner, v. 3, pp. 276-8.

[78]John M. Hart, Anarchism and the Mexican Working Class, 1860-1931 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978).

after the turn of the century, officials of the WFM began to express an interest in organizing immigrants working in the mining industry. Along with the Europeans and Scandinavians, the Mexicans working in Arizona were identified as a largely untapped source of potential membership. Officials of the WFM, like those of the AFL, conceived immigrant labour as a serious threat to the American working class movement by providing employers with a surplus labour pool. Rather than excluding these workers, however, the WFM decided that a more effective method was to organize them and eliminate alternative labour pools to the employers. Thus, after 1903, the WFM actively endeavoured to organize Mexicans in the United States to gain control of the mining industry.[79]

Because Mexican mine workers were concentrated in the southwest, the WFM shifted their focus to the state of Arizona. Through the Arizona State Union, the WFM began an organizing drive among the Mexican workers.[80] While the WFM had already achieved moderate success integrating Mexicans into the union in Durango and Telluride, Colorado, it urged its members elsewhere "to induce the Mexican miners to join the union."[81] After three years of work, by December 1905, the WFM had established locals in fourteen mining centres in Arizona, situated along the Mexican

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[79]Raat, p. 44.
[80]Miner's Magazine. August 31, 1905. pp. 7-8.
[81]As cited in Foner, v.3, p. 402.

border. These Arizona locals included many towns with large Mexican populations, including Bisbee, Globe, Jerome and McCabe.[82]

The industrial experiences of Mexican immigrants in the United States elicited a distinctive, ethnic response. Confronting a racist work-culture, Mexican workers replied by establishing institutions and modes of resistance in defence of their cultural traditions. Indeed, the Mexican immigrants' response showed two interconnected faces: one which protected their Mexican heritage; and another which adapted to industrial realities on their own terms. In many ways, these varying forms of culture resistance and assimilation opened the door to the possibility of cooperation and solidarity with some portions of the American labour and radical movements. And, ultimately, the cultural adaptations made by the Mexican immigrant community in the United States paved the way for future PLM and IWW relations.

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[82]Miner's Magazine. December 31, 1905, p. 15.

# CHAPTER TWO

## THE STRUGGLE IN MEXICO WAS BECOMING MY STRUGGLE

> I don't like the United States because it is very imperialistic and very capitalistic. On account of the capitalists all the proletariats of the world are suffering so that I think that some day the social revolution will come and destroy all the dominion of this country.[1]
>
> Guillermo Salorio

The radical political opinion expressed by Mexican worker Guillermo Salorio illustrates, in part, the willingness of Mexican workers in the United States to embrace a highly polemic revolutionary ideology. Class divisions, exacerbated by the exploitive and racist conditions confronting Mexican immigrants, contributed to this militant attitude. The ideological orientation of Mexican workers, combined with the deft advertising of the PLM and the IWW, produced within the Mexican community a group of politically informed and motivated workers. Importantly, Mexican workers' acceptance of either the militant industrial ideology of the IWW, or the anarcho-syndicalism of the PLM, was not always mutually exclusive. Many Mexican workers in the southwestern United States merged the ideological goals of the PLM and IWW during

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[1]Salorio was a Mexican immigrant who worked in construction in Los Angeles at the turn of the century. Manuel Gamio, The Mexican Immigrant: His Life Story (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1931), p. 130.

periods when the leadership of each organization were focused on domestic affairs. As a result, Mexican workers' endorsement of both PLM and IWW goals encouraged the formation of institutional connections after 1905.

Occupied with individual domestic pursuits, the leadership of the PLM and IWW established little formal contact during 1906. The PLM's interests in the United States remained limited to preparing the Mexican community, through education and organization, for revolution. It was not until the arrests of several top PLM leaders in early 1907 that the PLM openly encouraged aid from non-Mexican groups to sustain their struggle. Likewise, the IWW became entangled in battles on the home front through 1906. Consequently, high-level contact between the leadership of the PLM and the IWW stalled throughout 1906.

On the evening of June 1, 1906, a miners strike at Cananea, Sonora, temporarily distracted the PLM's leadership. Although two Liberal Clubs existed in Cananea, and Mexican workers from the Douglas Liberal Club had been agitating in the mines since 1905, the strike caught the PLM somewhat by surprise.[2] PLM leaders scrambled to take political advantage of the strike, principally by assuming a leadership role in negotiations with the mine owner,

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[2]John M. Hart, Revolutionary Mexico: The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), p. 66. PLM agitators included Antonio de P. Araujo, Enrique Bermudez, Manuel M. Diéguez, Estaban B. Calderón, and Francisco M. Ibarra.

American-entrepreneur William Greene. While negotiations stalled, Mexican *rurales* and Texas Rangers from the United States arrived, violently ending the three day strike.[3]

Owing to the presence of the PLM in Cananea, considerable historical debate has surrounded the motivations of the Mexican miners in Cananea.[4] Indeed the labour friction in Cananea predated the actual strike and was rooted in material concerns and tensions arising from social inequities. The American newspaper El Paso del Norte reported in August 1904 that wage differentials between Mexican and American workers were a major point of contention in Cananea.[5] Besides monetary concerns, the article also asserted that the Mexicans were being treated as "inferiors" in their own country. Clearly, the Cananea strike was a highly complex event which was rooted in

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[3]For a participants' perspective see Esteban B. Calderon, Juicio Sobre la Guerra del Yaqui y Genesis de la Huelga de Cananea (México: Centro de Estudios Historicos del Movimiento Obrero Méxicano, 1975).

[4]Authors such as David Pletcher, Rails, Mines, and Progress:Seven American Promoters in Mexico, 1876-1911 (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958), p. 27, and Lowell Blaisdell, The Desert Revolution: Baja California, 1911 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1962), p. 8, contend that the strike was politically motivated, part of a systematic attempt by the PLM to discredit Díaz and to raise revolutionary consciousness. Although the American Consul remained sceptical of PLM involvement, President Díaz believed that the strike was a politically motivated attempt to undermine his authority. See "Thompson to Root" (June 5, 1906), U.S. Consular Records, Dispatches from Mexico City, Record Group 59, File 79, p. 2.

[5]El Paso del Norte, August 28, 1904, p. 2.

material concerns, social inequalities, racism, class issues and political objectives. In essence, it is fair to suggest that the PLM did play a significant role in further preparing and exasperating a political environment in Cananea which was already conducive to strike activity.

According to PLM member Lazaro Gutiérrez de Lara, the events at Cananea illustrated to the PLM leadership the work required for a successful revolution:

> The Liberal Junta thus had a double task before it, not only to educate the Mexican people in their rights and to organize them into an effective weapon of revolution, but to educate the American people to the real issues involved in that revolution, and thus to forestall the possibility of intervention in Mexico should the revolution succeed in its objectives.[6]

In light of the events at Cananea, the PLM leadership recognized that education on both sides of the border was essential. And, with that goal in mind, the leadership of the PLM openly accepted political allies in the United States after 1906.

Disregarding the warnings signs revealed at Cananea, the PLM, in September of 1906, went ahead with a planned revolutionary plot against Díaz which involved both an internal offensive and a cross-border assault. In combination with Liberal sympathizers in the United States, the PLM selected September 26, 1906, as the date on which Liberal Clubs in Mexico were expected to take up arms and

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[6]L. Gutiérrez de Lara and Edgcumb Pinchon, The Mexican People: Their Struggle for Freedom (New York: Doubleday, Page, and Co., 1917), p. 342.

attack government buildings and banks.[7] On that date, the PLM leadership mobilized a military force which consisted of Mexican miners from Douglas, Arizona. The miners carried out a successful cross-border attack on the Coahuilan town of Jiménez, easily seizing the customs house. However, an overall lack of logistical support in Mexico ended the assault and the miners quickly returned to the United States. Reaffirming the Liberals' commitment to further education and organization was the failure of Liberal supporters in Mexico to take-up arms against Díaz.[8] Overall, the movement was hampered by poor communication, a lack of arms, and effective government intervention, both in Mexico and the United States.

While the PLM were busy hatching revolutionary plots in Mexico, the IWW was absorbed in a judicial fight to free three prominent leaders of the WFM and founders of the IWW. Bill Haywood, Charles Moyer, and George Pettibone were arrested on February 18, 1906, and charged with conspiracy to murder the former Governor of Idaho, Frank Steunenberg.[9]

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[7]Lyle C. Brown, "The Mexican Liberals and their Struggle Against the Díaz Dictatorship: 1900-1906," in Antologia MCC (Mexico: Mexico City College Press, 1956), p. 353-354.

[8]Ward S. Albro, Always a Rebel: Ricardo Flores Magón and the Mexican Revolution (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1992), p. 63. Surprisingly, only in the province of Veracruz did Liberal supporters even attempt to engage Díaz' forces.

[9]Philip Foner, History of the American Labor Movement, v. 4 (New York: International Publishers, 1965), p. 48.

For members of the labour movement, the arrests of these three leaders symbolized the ongoing class struggle being fought on the industrial front. Considerable financial and political resources were committed during 1906 and early 1907 to the legal fight in the courtroom and to the political battle in the press from labour, socialist, and anarchist organizations across the United States.[10] Like the PLM in 1906, the IWW found themselves engaged in costly domestic battles.

Besides their struggles in the courtroom, the IWW also confronted internal divisions at their second convention, held in September of 1906. Factional divisions pitted the alliance of Daniel DeLeon, William Trautmann, and Vincent St. John, against IWW President Charles Sherman.[11] By the end of the conference, the DeLeon faction successfully ousted Sherman, charging him with the misappropriation of funds.[12] Ultimately, the expulsion of Sherman, a conservative force in the IWW, further radicalized the IWW, paving the way for anarchist elements to gain influence over

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[10]Ibid., pp. 51-54.

[11]DeLeon's role in the IWW was tenuous from the beginning. Since the opening convention in 1905, rumours persisted that DeLeon was maneuvering to eventually incorporate the IWW into his Socialist Trades and Labor Alliance. Rumours resurfaced at the 1906 convention, owing to his role in the ousting of Sherman. See Glen L. Seretan, Daniel DeLeon: The Odyssey of an American Marxist (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979).

[12]Ibid., p. 75.

the ideological direction of the organization.[13]

The second convention of the IWW also marked the revival of many original institutional goals. Instead of openly competing with the AFL, IWW officials decided to expand their efforts to attract unskilled immigrants and migratory labourers. Indicative of this new direction was the resolution to step-up earlier efforts to publish more educational materials in foreign languages. Furthermore, the local structure of the IWW was altered to accommodate immigrant workers. A motion was passed "to allow wage-earners of a given nationality to form unions of their own in the respective industries in which they are employed."[14] Throughout 1906, internal disputes and legal battles impeded the IWW's ability to forge either international links or domestic ties with foreign organizations such as the PLM.

Although the highest levels of both organizations were otherwise preoccupied throughout late 1906 and early 1907, association between the IWW and the PLM persisted. While high-level association was limited, the links between the two organizations were increasingly strengthened by an expanding and overlapping membership. The increasing commitment of the IWW to seduce Mexican workers helped to foster organizational growth among Mexican workers. The

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[13]Ibid., p. 77.

[14]Proceedings of the Second Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World (1906), p. 110. As cited in Brissenden, p. 160.

appearance of several Spanish-language newspapers and translations of the IWW constitution reflected the IWW's new orientation. Increasingly evident were indications that, by 1907, the IWW and the PLM were co-existing within the Mexican community.

Due to the efforts of the PLM and the IWW within the Mexican community, many Mexican workers decided to participate in both organizations, demonstrating a growing commitment to collaborate with organizations fighting for both their political and class interests. Some members of the PLM, highly dedicated to industrial unionism, actively distributed IWW literature and promoted IWW objectives. In September of 1906, for example, the PLM district-leader in Arizona and co-founder of the Douglas Liberal Club, Lázaro Puente, was arrested by American authorities. In his possession, police found copies of A Los Obreros Industriales (an I.W.W. pamphlet), The Industrial Worker, and Defensor del Unionismo Industrial de la Clase Trabajadora (a Spanish version of the IWW newspaper).[15] Evidently, by late-1906, PLM officials were beginning to openly participate in IWW organizing efforts.

The increasingly favourable response of PLM officials to the IWW undoubtedly had an impact upon the political consciousness of Mexican workers. Not only were PLM

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[15]Dirk Raat, Revoltosos: Mexico's Rebels in the United States, 1903-1923 (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1981), p. 44-5.

officials openly distributing IWW literature, they were indirectly signalling to the PLM's membership in the United States a degree of institutional acceptability for the IWW. Indeed, this implied recognition of the IWW contributed to the appeal of the IWW among Mexican workers in the United States.

In 1906 the PLM flourished in the Mexican community, as evidenced by the proliferation of Liberal Clubs across the southwestern United States. The same cannot be said for the IWW. Not until 1907 did the organizational and educational groundwork laid by the IWW within the Mexican community begin to pay noticeable dividends. Increasingly, Mexican workers in the United States began to gravitate towards the ideological outlook and organization provided by the IWW. The IWW tactic of "soapbox" speeches was perhaps the most effective method of eliciting the support of the Mexican community.[16] Both Spanish and English speaking IWW organizers frequently visited communities and job sites of workers to preach the doctrines of industrial unionism. Many Mexican workers identified these soapbox speeches as the source of their introduction to syndicalist and socialist ideas.

As already mentioned, Guillermo Salorio, a Mexican

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[16]The IWW found "soapbox" speeches particularly effective with Mexican workers for several reasons. Verbal communication appealed to the oral traditions of Mexican workers and was an especially important method of attracting semi-literate immigrants.

working in construction, became exposed to ideas of industrial unionism while working in the United States. He recalled his initial exposure to the IWW's concept of industrial unionism:

> I went to the square on Sundays and there heard some comrades make speeches. They said nothing but the truth, that capital is what steals everything and that money isn't good for anything, that it is necessary for everyone to work. I believe the same in everything and that is why I liked their ideas and I began to read papers and books and go to the IWW hall.[17]

As indicated by Salorio, the IWW reinforced many of the ideas not yet fully articulated by Mexican workers, and provided a forum for the expression of these ideas. Highly revolutionary in tone, Salorio personally believed that the continued exploitation of workers by the capitalist class in the United States would eventually lead to a "social revolution", destroying "all the dominion of this country."[18] Clearly, then, the accessability and political ideology of the IWW was compelling to many highly exploited and unorganized Mexican workers.

Another Mexican worker, Luis Tenorio, following his attendance at several public lectures, concluded that "the bourgeoisie don't care for anything, all they want to do is exploit the worker". According to Tenorio, his main intellectual influence remained the soapbox speeches he heard on Sundays, which led him to read IWW newspapers, and

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[17]Gamio, p. 129.
[18]Ibid., p. 130.

ultimately to formulate his own "Socialistic ideas."[19] Like Salorio, the ideology of the IWW was highly compelling to Tenorio, allowing him to articulate and confirm many of his personal revolutionary ideas. For many Mexican workers, the meaning ascribed to the ideas of the PLM and IWW reflected collective traditions, their personal political outlook, and material concerns.

Mexican workers' growing class consciousness and political awareness was reflected in the success of IWW organizers in California and Arizona. Six months after their participation in the PLM-led attack on Jiménez, in February of 1907, Mexican miners in Morenci, Arizona, requested IWW organizers. In response, the IWW dispatched WFM organizers Frank Little of Globe, Arizona, and Fernando Valarde of Phoenix. Upon his arrival, Little declared that "there is among the Mexicans...of the Clifton-Morenci district a strong sentiment for organization". In addition, Little maintained that the "Mexicans...have shown more of a desire for economic independence and more fearlessness in avowing that desire than have the Americans". Not surprisingly, the IWW were successful in organizing the Clifton Mill and Smelterman's Union, local 158, with the majority of the membership "being Mexicans."[20]

In light of the request of the Mexican workers in

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[19]Ibid., p. 127.
[20]Miner's Magazine. February 21, 1907, p. 8.

Morenci-Clifton, the WFM accelerated organizational efforts in Arizona by placing organizers in almost every mining community.[21] WFM successes in Arizona included the organization of twelve hundred Mexican and American smelterman in Douglas, as well as the establishment of locals in Bisbee, Globe, Metcalf and McCabe. Among Mexican workers, IWW organizers found that "the solid, effective features of the Industrial Workers of the World and its noble sentiments of democracy and disregard of race or creed appeal strongly to these men."[22] In fact, interest among Mexican workers was so apparent that WFM organizers requested literature in "Mexican" for distribution to non-union men.[23] The Mexican workers' interest in the IWW indicates a growth in class consciousness and illustrates their growing commitment to the principles of unionism and general political activism.

Grassroots organizing conducted by the PLM in 1906 helped to promote unity in the Mexican community and set the stage for unionization. A correlation exists between the expansion of Liberal Clubs in Arizona and the rise of IWW locals between 1906 and 1907. In general, locations which saw early PLM activity often became sites of IWW organization. In Bisbee, Morenci, Clifton, Metcalf, and Douglas, Arizona, the PLM successfully established Liberal

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[21]Ibid., July 25, 1907, p. 7.
[22]Ibid., February 21, 1907, p. 8.
[23]Ibid., March 21, 1907, p. 3.

Clubs.[24] By mid-1907, IWW organizers successfully organized Mexican workers in these same cities.[25] In some instances it is clear that the PLM's network of Liberal Clubs actively promoted the cause of labour solidarity among Mexican workers.[26] Sometimes, Liberal Clubs openly worked either in combination with existing labour unions or had union structures directly attached to the Club.[27] Although inconclusive for other Liberal Clubs, it is clear that direct union involvement characterized the Liberal Clubs in Cananea, Morenci, Holmes, Texas, Río Blanco, Vera Cruz, and Santa Barbara, Chihuahua.[28] In Holmes, for example, officials of the PLM club were active in organizing local farm workers into the Junta Union Liberal de Agricultores Mexicanos.[29] Indeed, the educational and organizational foundation laid by PLM organizers in 1906 contributed to paving the way for IWW organizational successes in 1907.

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[24]See Albro, pp. 82-3 and Ellen Howell Myers, "The Mexican Liberal Party," (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Virginia, 1970), pp. 285-6.

[25]Miner's Magazine. December 31, 1907.

[26]Emilio Zamora, The World of the Mexican Worker in Texas (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1993), p. 63.

[27]Meyer, p. 240; Raat, p. 34.

[28]In all these cases, the Liberal Clubs worked in conjunction with a local workers union. The organizational activities of the PLM in Cananea are illustrated in chapter two. In Morenci, Arizona, the Liberal Club Obreros Libres, and in Santa Barbara, Chihuahua the Liberal Club Sociedad de Obreros "Vicente Guerrero" both served as a liberal centres and local unions. See Myers, pp. 97, 107-8 and 114. In Río Blanco, Vera Cruz, PLM members started the club Mesa Directiva, which in turn, formed the union Gran Círculo de Obreros Libres, see Raat, p. 34.

[29]Zamora, p. 143.

In California, the IWW also found a growing interest among the Mexican workers in the agricultural industry. By the summer of 1907, IWW organizers in the fields of California successfully incorporated Mexican orange pickers working in the towns of Cervina, Redlands, and Highlands.[30] However, the seasonal nature of agricultural work, and the mobility of Mexican labourers, presented serious difficulties for the IWW in California.[31] Nonetheless, by April 27, 1907, IWW local 12 in Los Angeles incorporated over two hundred orange pickers from the surrounding countryside.[32] And a year later, in May of 1908, the IWW formed two main organizing centres in California, located in the towns of Redlands and Holtville.[33]

As more Mexican workers joined ranks of the IWW, affiliated publications increasingly publicized issues relevant to Mexican workers in the United States. Reflecting the interests of the Mexican community, the editors of the Miner's Magazine reported the massacre of textile workers in the Orizaba district in Mexico on January 12, 1907.[34] In addition, the IWW exhibited a highly sympathetic tone regarding Mexican revolutionists captured in the United States. In February of 1907, for example,

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[30]Industrial Union Bulletin. March 30, 1907.
[31]Industrial Worker. See especially, July 1, 1909, p. 3 and August 12, 1909, p. 4.
[32]Ibid., April 27, 1907.
[33]Industrial Union Bulletin. May 30, 1908.
[34]Miner's Magazine. January 24, 1907, p. 13.

they profiled the arrests of PLM members Crescencio Villareal Márquez, D. Castro, and Pedro González, who were arrested by American authorities, and were slated for extradition to Mexico. The WFM condemned American authorities for harassing Mexican citizens on unprovable charges. According to the WFM, the Mexican revolutionaries were guilty of nothing except "attempting to stir public sentiment against the tyranny and corruptness of Mexican officials."[35] Certainly, the increasing frequency of articles relevant to Mexican workers in the United States testifies to the growing presence of Mexican workers in the IWW.

In July of 1907, an incident in Douglas, Arizona, helped to publicize and broaden the base of support for Mexican political refugees. Mary "Mother" Jones, founding member of the IWW, and organizer for the United Mine Workers and the WFM, was leading a strike against the Phelps Dodge copper mine when the editor of the Magónista newspaper El Industrio alerted her: "Oh Mother, they have kidnapped Sarabia, our young revolutionist."[36] She was informed that Manuel Sarabia, a member of the PLM, had been illegally arrested, kidnapped by American officials, and transported across the border into Mexico. Immediately, Jones wrote letters of protest to the state Governor and to officials in

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[35]Ibid., February 14, 1907, p. 8.

[36]Mary Jones, Autobiography of Mother Jones (New York: Arno and the New York Times, 1969), p. 137.

Washington. Moreover, she organized a protest meeting aimed at President Porfirio Díaz, that "blood-thirsty pirate... [who is] stamping his feet on the constitution of our United States."[37] Following the protest, Jones was able to secure a private meeting with the Governor of Arizona. As a consequence of the political pressure brought to bear by Jones, Manuel Sarabia was returned to the United States after only eight days in Mexico.

The illegal arrest and extradition of Manuel Sarabia in July of 1907 brought national attention to the activities and persecution facing PLM members in the United States. Accordingly, the incident supplied a rallying point for sympathetic left-wing support for the PLM. For American socialists, such as Mother Jones, the main issue surrounding the Sarabia case was "the right of free speech, the right of free press [and] the right of Asylum."[38] Certainly, the proximity of Sarabia's arrest to the arrests of the WFM leadership, momentarily united socialists and labour behind the cause of free speech and political asylum.

In the wake of the failed revolutionary outbreak in September of 1906, came a series of arrests of high-level PLM leaders for violating the neutrality laws of the United States. Two months after the illegal extradition of Manuel

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[37]Ibid., p. 138.

[38]"Mother Jones to Thomas J. Morgan". September 9, 1910. Edward M. Steel ed., The Correspondence of Mother Jones (Pittsburgh: The University of Pittsburgh Press, 1985), p. 80-81.

Sarabia, Ricardo Flores Magón, Juan Sarabia, Librado Rivera, and Antonio Villareal were arrested on August 23, 1907 in Los Angeles. A letter of protest from an IWW local in St. Louis first alerted non-Mexican members of the IWW to the PLM's situation on September 14.[39] Asserting the need for international labour solidarity, the St. Louis local repeated its pleas for assistance in October.

In order to facilitate increased aid, on December 30, 1907, Manuel Sarabia wrote a personal letter to William Haywood of the WFM. Sarabia appealed for protracted, widespread support, encompassing both "moral and financial" aid. In an attempt to gain Haywood's sympathy, Sarabia drew parallels between the people responsible for the arrests of Magón and his co-patriots to the "the same enemy who tried so much to kill you" in 1906. In closing, Sarabia emphasized the ideological continuity between the two organizations, asserting, "[y]our cause is our cause, the fight for the working class against the capitalist class."[40] Sarabia's letter illustrates a level of familiarity among the PLM leadership of the industrial-political ideology of the IWW. In addition, it attests to the fact that the PLM were acquainted with the political disposition of the leadership of the WFM following their own

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[39]Industrial Union Bulletin. September 14, 1907.

[40]Manuel Sarabia to Bill Haywood. Letter printed in Miner's Magazine. January 9, 1908, p. 12, and is dated December 30, 1907.

arrests in 1906.

Events following the arrests of the PLM leadership in the fall of 1907 indicate the extent of participation in American organizations by Mexican workers. In an attempt to raise funds for the PLM's legal defense, Modesto Díaz issued a circular to socialist and labour groups in the United States. According to the letter, Díaz wrote his appeal on behalf of the organizations to which he belonged:

> Partido Liberal Mexicano
> The Socialist Party, Los Angeles County
> Partido Socialista de Obreros, Los Angeles
> Industrial Workers of the World, local no. 12
> Club Ciencias Sociales, Los Angeles
> Socialist Party, Rama Mexicana.[41]

Significantly, Díaz identified himself as a representative of the PLM and the IWW, indicating membership in either group was not mutually exclusive within the Mexican community. Moreover, it indicates that Mexican participation in many American political and labour organizations was accomplished through the creation of parallel, ethnically-based institutions.

Many sympathetic Mexican workers in the United States actively cultivated support for the PLM. Through the newspapers La Mujer Moderna and El Obrero, Andrea and Teresa González, as well as Isidra T. de Cárdenas, agitated to gain broader sympathy for the Magónistas. As part of their

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[41]"Modesto Díaz to Manuel L. Escamillo" (n.d.), in Manuel González Ramírez ed., Epistolario y Textos de Ricardo Flores Magón (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1964), p. 223-4.

program, hundreds of petitions were gathered from workers in Texas and California were sent to the State Department and to president Roosevelt.[42] Indeed, many members of the Mexican community in the United States attempted to raise political awareness for the plight of the PLM leaders.

The arrests of the WFM leadership, Manuel Sarabia, and the PLM leadership, confirmed to many in the IWW evidence of collusion between the American government and the American business community. The arrests were perceived as part of a larger pattern of government involvement in the suppression of labour organizations. Driven by a desire to protect the favourable economic and political system in Mexico, the American business community spearheaded the repression of the PLM by utilizing their political lobby in Washington to convince the Roosevelt government to undermine the PLM.[43] Indeed, the WFM interpreted the prosecution of the PLM as part of a larger conspiracy by the American business community to inhibit the global advancement of labour organization. To combat the American business community and the American government, the WFM demanded that the "laboring millions in America must arouse...and reach forth the fraternal hand to those brothers."[44]

In a show of labour solidarity, the IWW created the "Mexican Defense Fund" to aid the jailed revolutionists on

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[42]Raat, p. 32-34.
[43]Miner's Magazine. October 3, 1907, p. 5.
[44]Ibid.

February 1, 1908.[45] Administered by IWW local no. 12, from Los Angeles, the fund received financial contributions from the majority of unions composing the IWW. This included various locals of the WFM, the Workman's Sick and Death Benefit Fund, and the Tailors Union in Los Angeles.[46] The contributions from IWW affiliates was supplemented by personal donations secured by PLM member Lazaro Gutiérrez de Lara operating in Los Angeles. Independent unions such as the United Brewery Workers (UBW) also offered financial assistance. As well, contributions were secured from socialist sympathizers such as the Socialist Labor Party in Phoenix, the Socialist Party in Bisbee, and the Mexican Socialist Party.[47] The diverse nature of political contributions indicates the broad appeal of the PLM's cause among America's labour and socialist community.

In order to gain the support of its membership, the IWW stressed the working class nature of the PLM in their weekly publication, the Industrial Union Bulletin.[48] To supplement monetary contributions, the WFM initiated a propaganda campaign designed to rally support for the imprisoned Mexicans and to lobby the support of the entire labour movement. From the standpoint of the WFM, the predicament of Magón, Villareal and Sarabia's was comparable

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[45]Industrial Union Bulletin. February 8, 1908.
[46]Ibid., March 7, 1908.
[47]Ibid., March 21, 1908.
[48]Ibid., September 14 and February 1, 1907; February 8 and 15, 1908.

to the plight of Jesus Christ, George Washington, and Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone.[49] The arrests of the PLM leadership represented more than a simple case of violation of the American neutrality laws. Instead, the IWW believed that the American government and the American business community were engaged in a conspiracy to curtail labour organization.

Perceiving that the arrests of the PLM as a remnant of their supposed involvement in the 1906 Cananea strike, WFM propaganda asserted that American capitalists in Mexico, such as William Greene, were spearheading the persecutions. Indeed, the fight for the PLM became a conflict between labour and capital. The propaganda and organizational efforts conducted by the IWW, from October to December 1908, yielded over eight hundred dollars for the Liberal's cause. With the money, local supporters employed the services of Socialist lawyer Job Harriman in Los Angeles to defend the PLM leaders. Clearly, the proximity of the arrests of Magón, Villareal, and Sarabia, to Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone, served to unite left-wing opposition in the United States on behalf of the PLM.[50]

One of the most important sources of support for the

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[49]Miner's Magazine. October 3, 1907, p. 5.

[50]Grace Heilman Stimson, Rise of the Labor Movement in Los Angeles (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1955), p. 321.

PLM came from American socialists.[51] As with the arrest of Manuel Sarabia, the arrests validated for American socialists the need for increased efforts to protect free-speech and the constitutional right of asylum for political refugees.[52] The National Socialist Convention in 1908, passed a resolution supporting the PLM, and Eugene V. Debs made the government's treatment of political refugees a campaign issue in the 1908 election.[53] Mother Jones continued her efforts by lecturing across the country in 1908 to raise support for the PLM.[54] Using her political contacts in Washington, D.C., Jones arranged a private meeting with President Roosevelt where she pleaded the cases of the PLM to the President and asked for a pardon on their

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[51]For a fuller discussion of the role of socialists in defending the PLM, see Diana K. Christopulos, "Mexican Radicals and the Mexican Revolution, 1900-1925" (Ph.D. Dissertation, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1980); and, Ivie E. Cadenhead Jr., "The American Socialists and the Mexican Revolution of 1910," in The Southwestern Social Science Quarterly. 43:2 (September 1962), pp. 103-117.

[52]J. Robert Constantine ed., Letters of Eugene V. Debs. vol. 1: 1874-1912. (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985), p. 300. Samuel Gompers, Seventy Years of Life and Labour: An Autobiography (New York: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1967), pp. 305-308.

[53]Robert E. Ireland, "The Radical Community, Mexican and American Radicalism, 1900-1910," in Journal of Mexican-American History, 2 (December 1973), p. 24.

[54]Mother Jones personally raised over $4000 dollars in 1908 for the Liberals. In her lecture tour, she challenged American workers to answer the question: "Why [are not] we backing up the Mexican people against Diaz?". See Jones, p. 141. And, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, I Speak My Own Piece: Autobiography of "The Rebel Girl" (New York: Masses and Mainstream Inc., 1955), p. 79.

behalf.[55] As well, Samuel Gompers of the AFL made an official appeal to the President for the release of the prisoners.[56] Roosevelt, however, after reviewing the case, decided not to intervene.

In large part, the sympathy of American socialists for the PLM cause can be attributed to the work of PLM member Anselmo L. Figueroa, a major organizer of Mexican workers for the Socialist Party in Los Angeles.[57] Socialist John Murray started the Prisoners Defense League in 1907 to provide moral and financial assistance for immigrants facing illegal arrest and deportation.[58] Personally, Murray travelled to Mexico in 1908 to discover for himself the extent of exploitation facing the Mexican working class. Carrying papers which identified him as an associate of Ricardo Flores Magón, Murray invaded the inner-circle of PLM

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[55]Ibid., p. 141.

[56]Samuel Gompers, Seventy Years of Life and Labour: An Autobiography (New York: Augustus M. Kelley Publishers, 1967), p. 308. The AFL financially and publicly supported the PLM until 1911, using their persecutions as an opportunity to show the AFL's commitment to promoting civil liberties and democracy in Mexico. Additionally, Gomper's feared that a failure to support the PLM would result in Mexican workers joining the IWW. See Gregg Andrews, Shoulder to Shoulder?: The American Federation of Labor, the United States, and the Mexican Revolution, 1910-24 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 18.

[57]James A. Santos, Rebellion in the Borderlands: Anarchism and the Plan of San Diego, 1904-23 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), p. 15. According to Santos, many Mexican socialists later joined the IWW, and through Figueroa supported the PLM.

[58]John Murray Collection. Carton 1, folder entitled "Mexican Defence League".

resistance in Mexico City.[59]

Working alongside Murray were socialists Ethel and John Turner and Elizabeth Trowbridge, an heiress from Boston who took an interest in the PLM's cause. At the request of Ricardo, Trowbridge financed several pamphlets in 1908 designed to raise awareness and money for the PLM's cause.[60] According to Trowbridge, Ricardo Flores Magón personally solicited her to "publish the facts as widely as possible...[because]...[p]ublicity saved the lives of Haywood, Moyer and Pettibone."[61] In an effort to fulfil the wishes of Magón, Murray, Trowbridge, and the Turners moved to Tucson, Arizona, in late 1908, and started the magazine The Border. Articles in the magazine made no apologies for their clearly partisan political position in further publicizing the plight of the PLM in the United States and to raise funds.[62]

One powerful result of the PLM's relationship with Los Angeles Socialists was the publication Barbarous Mexico by John Turner. Accompanied by PLM-member Lazaro Gutiérrez de

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[59]International Socialist Review. Vol. IX, no. 9, March 1909, pp. 641-659; Vol. IX, no. 10, April 1909, pp. 737-752.

[60]Elizabeth D. Trowbridge, Under the...Stars and Stripes...Residents in the United States Assaulted, Arrested without Warrant, and Imprisoned in American Jails for Political Opinions Differing From a Foreign Government (n.p, n.d.). See also, Elizabeth Trowbridge, Political Prisoners Held in the United States: Refugees Imprisoned at the Request of a Foreign Government (Santa Barbara: Rogers and Morley Printers, May 8, 190[8?]. John Murray Collection.

[61]Trowbridge, Political Prisoners, p. 4.

[62]The Border. January-May 1909. Located in Bancroft Library.

Lara in 1909, Turner toured Mexico posing as a potential investor. In provinces such as Yucatán, he witnessed some of the most exploitive working conditions in the Western Hemisphere.[63] The publication of Barbarous Mexico in 1909 angered many in the American business community, and the American government. Nonetheless, the publicity generated by the book resulted in additional financial and moral assistance for the PLM.

Although jailed, PLM leadership continued to nurture revolutionary elements in Mexico. In late June of 1908, plans were smuggled from jail calling for a second nation-wide rebellion against Díaz.[64] Expecting a PLM victory, well-informed IWW correspondents from Holtville, California, encouraged workers to migrate to Mexico for "Good Jobs - lots of work - good pay, where capitalism is dethroned."[65] However, only in Veisca and Las Vacas, Coahuila, and the small village of Palomas, Chihuahua, did Liberal troops engage in revolutionary activity. Similar to the failure of 1906, American and Mexican authorities were able to thwart the attack by arresting several members of the PLM's inner circle in Texas. After the arrests, the Los Angeles local

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[63]John Kenneth Turner, Barbarous Mexico (New York: Cassell and Co. Ltd., 1911).

[64]Ethel Duffy Turner, "Writers and Revolutionists", an interview conducted by Ruth Teiser for the University of California, Berkeley, 1967. p. 12. Turner was present in the jail when Ricardo slipped the plans for the revolution of 1908 to a co-patriot.

[65]Industrial Union Bulletin. June 8, 1908.

of the IWW absolved the PLM of responsibility for the border raids: "All reports sent out that [the Liberals] were trying to overthrow the political government are false."[66]

After the failed 1908 uprising, and with the leadership of the PLM still incarcerated, some middle-ranking PLM members began making subtle overtures to the IWW. In a letter to the Industrial Union Bulletin, IWW member John A. Olivares, working in Los Angeles, proposed the IWW extend its efforts into Mexico:

> As I know you and your comrades don't object to color and race I beg you, in the name of my fellow workers, to show us the way you think the I.W.W. propaganda may be extended into the Mexican territory. You can rest assured that you will find the ground well prepared and worked and you would have in a short time a large number of members. I can give you the necessary data which would help in the work and allow it to be carried on as fast as possible.[67]

As the contents of the letter indicate, Juan A. Olivares, was no average Mexican worker in the United States. In 1906, Olivares was a political activist in the Orizaba region of Mexico and a founding member of the PLM-affiliated workers union *Gran Circulo de Obreros Libres* (GCOL). In his capacity with GCOL, Olivares assisted in the production of the pro-Magónista newspaper Revolución Social. After the first issue of the newspaper, however, Mexican police attempted to arrest the leadership of the union.[68]

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[66]Ibid. June 27, 1908 and February 20, 1909.
[67]Industrial Union Bulletin. July 11, 1908.
[68]Rodney D. Anderson, Outcasts in their Own Land: Mexican Industiral Workers, 1906-1911 (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1976), pp. 103-106.

Olivares escaped to the United States and continued to struggle on behalf of the Liberals in Los Angeles. In Los Angeles, Olivares joined the Liberal Club *Tierra Igualdad y Justicia*. With the PLM leadership jailed, Olivares, in May and June 1908, edited the pro-Magónista journal Libertad y Trabajo from Los Angeles.[69] Clearly, at some time during 1908, some PLM members began to entertain thoughts of employing the organizational and ideological foundation of the IWW in Mexico.

Certainly by mid-1908, the WFM and the IWW were taking an active role in championing the PLM's cause. One aspect of their efforts was the expansion of their media campaign to publicize the working conditions in Mexico under Díaz. Further, the WFM and the IWW attempted to educate the American public and its own membership of the political goals of the PLM. Although the WFM had formally ended their relationship with the IWW in 1908, they continued to struggle on behalf of the PLM.[70] In their official publication, Miner's Magazine, the WFM instituted a political campaign aimed against President Díaz, the

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[69]Ethel Duffy Turner, Ricardo Flores Magón y Partido Liberal Mexicano (Morelia, Michoacán: Editorial "Erandi", 1960), p. 151.

[70]Miner's Magazine. July 30, 1908, p. 5. Although the WFM's 1908 Convention resolved to repeal its membership in the IWW, it resolved to provide "moral and financial support to the Mexicans...and urged all local unions to render such financial assistance as was within their power to give".

American government, and American capitalists.[71] Articles throughout 1908 continued to emphasize the role of American capitalists in perpetuating the exploitive economic system existing in Mexico.

During 1908, Mexican workers in the United States increased their participation in the IWW. In August of 1908, the Phoenix branch of the IWW, under the direction of Fernando Valarde, selected a committee to establish a newspaper "devoted to the interests of Mexican wage workers."[72] Clearly Mexican workers were taking a more active role in promoting and spreading the union. A year later, in May 1909, a further request was made by the Phoenix local, revealing the extent of Mexican involvement in the IWW:

> I wish you could publish a page in Spanish. There are many Spanish-speaking workers through this country and the bulk of our local membership are Spanish-speaking, and it is hard to get agitational literature.[73]

In Los Angeles, local 12 reported in July 1909 that regular "street propaganda meetings" had been highly effective in attracting Mexican workers. In fact, local 12 was anticipating the addition of "a Mexican branch with enough members to almost double our numbers."[74] Besides their active role in the PLM, Mexican workers' participation in

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[71]Ibid. June 11, June 18, July 16, July 30, September 10, September 17, October 29, November 26, December 3, December 10, December 24, 1908.

[72]Industrial Union Bulletin, August 22, 1908.

[73]Industrial Worker. May 20, 1909, p. 1.

[74]Ibid. July 1, 1909, p. 3.

the IWW was increasing throughout 1908.

Due to the publicity generated by the arrests of the PLM leadership and the growth of Mexican participation in the IWW, Anglo-members of the IWW became more familiar with the personalities and goals of the movement. After meeting Manuel Sarabia's brother Juan in 1909, Wobbly Ralph Chaplin expressed his growing commitment to the leadership of the PLM:

> The struggle in Mexico...was becoming my struggle; Enrique and Ricardo Flores Magon were becoming my personal heroes, and Porfirio Diaz my personal enemy.[75]

In part, Chaplin's own attraction to the Magón brothers was rooted in his belief that they "were seeking to establish freedom in human affairs not only in Mexico but throughout the world."[76] To stay familiar with the progress of the movement, Chaplin received weekly copies of Regeneración, which he regularly translated into English.

The organizational and educational work of the PLM encouraged the formation of both political and class consciousness among Mexican workers in the United States. Indeed, Mexican workers political orientation contributed to subsequent IWW organizing successes. Collectively, the messages conveyed to Mexican workers by the PLM and the IWW, while confirming many previously held beliefs, helped to

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[75]Ralph Chaplin, Wobbly: The Rough-and-Tumble Story of an American Radical (New York: DaCapo Press, 1972), p. 106.

[76]Ibid., p. 113.

foster international labour solidarity within the Mexican community. The 1907 arrests of the PLM leadership provided the impetus for closer relations between the IWW and Mexican workers. In effect, the IWW's support of the jailed PLM officials illustrated the IWW's commitment to cooperation and, thus, galvanized their relationship with many members of the Mexican community. By 1909, Mexican workers were firmly entrenched in both the IWW and the PLM, unifying the organizations at a grassroots level.

# CHAPTER THREE

## THEY ARE DIRECT ACTIONISTS, AND THEY ARE ACTIVE

> There is a class of revolutionists in this country who are willing to do anything but fight. They will jabber and vote and petition and scoff at those with the courage to fight. The I.W.W. boys are true to their colors. They are direct actionists, and they are active.
> The Agitator. April 15, 1911.

> The I.W.W. is composed largely of men who have ceased to care for jobs, who are rebels against Business and have made up their minds to beat their way through life.
> Regeneración, April 29, 1911.[1]

Incarcerated between 1907 and 1910, the leadership of the PLM struggled to maintain revolutionary momentum in Mexico and the United States. When, in August 1910, the PLM were released from prison they lacked funds, organization, and were facing serious time restrictions.[2] As a result, the PLM were willing to accept overtures calling for cooperation with the now anarchist-dominated IWW. For both organizations, the decision to participate in an alliance represented a combination of ideological considerations and realpolitik. Thereafter, the PLM were able to dominate

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[1]Regeneración. April 29, 1911. As cited in David Poole ed., Land and Liberty: Anarchist Influences in the Mexican Revolution, Ricardo Flores Magón (Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1977), p. 85.

[2]Francisco I. Madero announced on October 1st, 1910, that he would commence military operations against Díaz on November 20th. Thus, the PLM had six weeks to re-organize.

Wobbly military support, while the IWW found a potential gateway into the Mexican labour market. From this alliance, the PLM were able to secure moral and financial support, manpower, and political connections from the IWW.

The IWW's involvement with the Mexican community in the United States was not obstructed by the imprisonment of PLM leadership in the fall of 1907. Indeed, IWW organizers continued to nurture links with Mexican workers, especially in California. In Fresno, local 66 had enormous success organizing Mexican railway workers and migratory farm labourers in early 1910.[3] The city of San Diego, in the meantime, was the site of a strike initiated by the IWW's Spanish language branch of the public service workers', local 13. Because the Mexican workers around San Diego were treated "like dogs", the IWW proposed to "get every Mexican here in the union and educate them on I.W.W. principles and tactics."[4] To that end, Spanish speaking organizers held street meetings which were attended by "large crowds" of approximately two hundred and fifty Mexican workers.[5] Within a week, one hundred Mexican workers were incorporated into local 13, San Diego. Without doubt, the incarceration of the PLM had little impact on the continuation of

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[3]Melvyn Dubofsky, We Shall be All: A History of the Industrial Workers of the World (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1969), p. 184.

[4]Industrial Worker. August 20, 1910, p. 1.

[5]Ibid. August 20 and 27, 1910.

relations between Mexican workers and the IWW. Still, the release of the PLM in 1910 helped to further accelerate links between Mexican workers and the IWW.

After three years in captivity, on August 3, 1910, Ricardo Flores Magón, Manuel Sarabia, and Antonio Villareal were released from prison in Tombstone, Arizona. Owing to Díaz' $25,000 bounty on Ricardo's head, "his friends and supporters were taking no chances."[6] The Liberals were met by three hundred members of the WFM, and escorted to Los Angeles by John Turner. Upon their arrival in Los Angeles, liberal supporters organized a rally in the Labor Temple, where they collected $414.36 to help resuscitate Regeneración.[7] Besides their financial contribution, the Mexican community in Los Angeles openly displayed their affection for the Liberal leaders, throwing flowers at their feet[8]. In addition to the over $400 collected from the rally, Mother Jones convinced the United Mine Workers to contribute $1000 in aid for the PLM.

With renewed financial backing, on September 3, 1910, the first issue of Regeneración in over three years rolled

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[6]Ethel Duffy Turner, Revolution in Baja California: Ricardo Flores Magón's High Noon, ed. Rey Devis (Detroit: Blaine Ethridge Books, 1981), p. 2.

[7]Ibid., p. 2.

[8]Ethel Duffy Turner, "Writers and Revolutionaries", an interview conducted by Ruth Teiser for the University of California, Berkeley, 1967, p. 22.

off the presses.[9] From PLM headquarters in Los Angeles, Ricardo Flores Magón wrote in his familiar tenacious style: "Here we are again. Three years of forced labor in the penitentiary have but tempered our character like a blade of steel...The lash whips us into rebellion, not into submission."[10] Evidently, three years' in prison had not diminished Magón's militant, revolutionary position. Indicating their broadening base of support, and in an attempt to reach a wider audience, Regeneración now contained an "English Section" for the benefit of concerned and supportive English-speaking Americans.[11]

While the PLM continued its efforts to agitate among Mexicans in the United States and Mexico, the IWW began a process aimed at fostering international labour solidarity. A month after Magón, Villareal, and Rivera were freed from Florence penitentiary, the IWW sent an emissary to discuss the possibility of forging an official alliance with the

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[9]Industrial Worker. September 17, 1910. According to the article, Regeneración had a circulation of 10,000 to start.

[10]As cited in Ward S. Albro, Always a Rebel: Ricardo Flores Magón and the Mexican Revolution (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1992), p. 119.

[11]Originally, the PLM hired Alfred G. Sanftleben to edit the English section. However, after only three months, Sanftleben resigned citing "ideological differences". Socialist Ethel Duffy Turner inherited the position on December 31, 1910. After her resignation in April 1911, anarchist William Owen assumed the editorial post. See Armando Bartra ed., Regeneración, 1900-1918 (México: Ediciones Era, 1977), pp. 49-50.

PLM. The IWW were clear as to their agenda:

> Fellow Worker [Francisco] Martinez, organizer from San Diego, has been in Los Angeles the past two weeks conferring with Magón, Villareal, Rivera and the rest of the Mexican liberals, with a view of getting them in the I.W.W. movement.[12]

Evidently, the IWW solicited the Liberals in September 1910 with the expressed intent of incorporating the PLM into the IWW's organizational fold. The IWW's decision to investigate the possibility of an alliance was not surprising considering the anarchist evolution of IWW and PLM since 1908, the subtle overtures from PLM officials, and the extent of dual membership among Mexican workers.

While still considering the IWW's proposal, editorials appearing in Regeneración demonstrated the PLM's commitment to strengthening their position among Mexicans working in the United States and reaffirming their position as representative of the Mexican working class. On October 8th, an article appeared, written by Gutiérrez de Lara, addressing the issue of alleviating discrimination against Mexican workers in the United States. Citing the lack of adequate schooling for Mexican children in the border states of Arizona and Texas as evidence, Gutiérrez de Lara prescribed the establishment of a working class government in Mexico as a solution. Although he failed to explain his reasoning, Gutiérrez de Lara's attitude illustrates the PLM's renewed interest in securing the support of the

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[12]The Industrial Worker. September 17, 1910, p. 3.

Mexican community in the United States.[13]

After nearly two months of negotiations, on November 2, 1910, the front page of the Industrial Worker announced that "Mexicans want I.W.W. organizer". The ensuing story, dated October 26, 1910, maintained that

> The Mexican workers of the United States want to organize in the I.W.W. and co-operate with their fellow slaves in Mexico and organize them. An organization of the syndicalists in Mexico is being formed secretly and literature must be written and distributed. The I.W.W. can help in this real work of organization by agitating among the thousands of Mexicans in the United States.[14]

In order to accomplish the organization of *all* the Mexican workers in the United States, Spanish-speaking organizers were to be dispatched to the states of Arizona, California, New Mexico and Texas. By December 1910, the IWW began this organizational process, sending one of the first Spanish-speaking organizers to Texas from local 13 in San Diego.[15]

Considering their uncontested role as the spokesman for the Mexican working class, the PLM most likely sanctioned further IWW involvement with Mexicans in the United States. Indeed, five weeks of negotiations appear to have resulted in an arrangement between the IWW and the PLM, with the PLM committing the support of its entire membership to the IWW. Reflecting their new commitment to promoting industrial

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[13]Regeneración. October 8, 1910. As cited in Albro, p. 120.

[14]The Industrial Worker. November 2, 1910, p. 1.

[15]Ibid. December 22, 1910, p. 3.

unionism, the November 19 issue of Regeneración encouraged Mexicans in the United States to "organize and rise to manhood". The article written by Gutiérrez de Lara asserted that unionism would "not only improve the standard of living of Mexicans, it will also put a stop to the degrading humiliations and irritating outrages heaped upon our race."[16] Based on this article, the leadership of the PLM perceived unionism as an immediate solution for Mexican workers in the United States confronting economic and social discrimination. Indeed, beginning in November of 1910, the PLM leadership actively endorsed labour organization for Mexican workers in the United States.

Undoubtedly, for both organizations, a combination of ideological considerations and realpolitik played a role in the final decision to align in November of 1910. Within both organizations, radical elements assumed a greater role, instigating a series of shifts in ideology between 1908 and 1910. Ideologically by late 1910, the IWW were confirmed "direct actionists"[17], while the PLM prescribed anarchist solutions for Mexico's proletariat. Both organizations emphasized the need for greater labour solidarity in both

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[16]Regeneración. November 19, 1910. As cited in Albro, p. 120.

[17]"Direct action" is defined as "all the moves of the working class which have real value in getting a larger share of the total wealth produced. The forms and applications of direct action are as many as the number of varying conditions, times, and chances". See the Industrial Worker. April 1, 1909, p. 2.

the domestic and international arenas. As Regeneración's English section stated in 1910, "the Mexican Revolution is only one little corner in this Titanic, world-wide struggle."[18]

In more practical terms, the IWW was a declining institution after the schism of 1908. The Chicago branch of the IWW was left with a membership totalling only 13,200, diminishing to 9,100 members by fall 1910.[19] Potentially, the Mexican workers represented by the PLM would yield a sizable increase in IWW membership. Besides incorporating Mexican workers in the United States, the IWW also hoped that a union with the PLM would open the possibility of tapping into the Mexican labour market. In fact, the arrangement between the PLM and the IWW aludes to such a possible scenario. Since Mexican workers in the United States were now committed to the IWW, and in turn they wanted to "co-operate with their fellow slaves in Mexico and organize them", the IWW would certainly be involved in this process. Indeed, the IWW's decision to initiate an alliance with the PLM was informed by a variety of ideological and practical concerns.

Like the IWW, tangible concerns helped to influence the

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[18]As cited in Poole ed., p. 50.

[19]Brissenden, The I.W.W., p. 358. Following their association with the PLM, the IWW's membership increased rather dramatically. By 1911, they had surpassed their 1908 figures, now totalling 13,800 members.

PLM's decision to align with the IWW. The momentum of the Liberal movement had partially stalled during the three year imprisonment of Magón, Villareal and Rivera, and following the failed 1908 military offensive. To make matters worse, Francisco Madero's opposition party, the Anti-Reelectionists, had entered the fray and were openly competing with the PLM for supporters against the Díaz regime. With Madero moving quickly towards an announced November 20, 1910 revolutionary deadline, the PLM had minimal time to reorganize and mount their own military and political offensive in Mexico.[20] Since the bulk of their support was located in north-central Mexico, the PLM focused their attention on securing victories in this arena. As for Baja California, John Turner explained the PLM's expectations for the region:

> Once in their hands, they planned to use it as a great recruiting camp for Mexican refugees and to employ the territorial moneys to buy guns and ammunition to send to interior points, where they are the one thing needed to complete the overthrow of the Díaz system.[21]

For the PLM, plans for the capture of Baja California were

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[20]Francisco Madero released his Plan of San Luis Potosí in October 1910, which called for the Mexican people to rise against Díaz on November 20th, 1910. For a fuller account of Madero's rise to power, see Charles C. Cumberland, Mexican Revolution: Genesis Under Madero (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1952); and Stanley Ross, Francisco I. Madero, Apostle of Mexican Democracy (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955).

[21]The article by John Turner was published in The Coming Nation in early 1911. As cited in Lowell Blaisdell, The Desert Revolution: Baja California, 1911 (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1962), p. 3.

secondary to fighting in the northern border provinces which were to be led by top PLM generals such as Prisciliano Silva and Praxedis Guerrero.

Although the PLM had visions of generating a secondary front in Baja California, they could not openly recruit Mexicans in the United States to volunteer for military service. Having already spent time in American prisons for violating the neutrality laws, the PLM leadership clearly recognized the risks of organizing on American soil. In order to limit these risks, the institutional framework provided by the IWW offered a springboard from which the PLM could informally recruit Mexicans into military service. Across California, the IWW had an organizational structure including eleven locals in eight different cities, all containing Mexican workers.[22]

The PLM decision to launch a revolutionary campaign in Baja California was made in the fall of 1910. As he had done in 1908, Fernando Palomárez went to the region to raise political consciousness among the indigenous population and to identify specific geographical points of reference. By early 1911, the plans were solidified for a PLM-led military assault on the region. Ideologically, Ricardo Flores Magón was clear about the goals of the movement: "Lower California will soon be entirely in the hands of the mexican [sic] liberal party. Then the lands will be given to the working

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[22]Albro, p. 28.

classes with the machinery, for they are the true and rightful owners, as they are the only ones who work...The revolution of the mexican [sic] liberal party is not a political but a true economical revolution."[23] Ultimately, the PLM were not fighting to simply remove Díaz, but were entering Baja California in the hopes of securing an economic transformation for Mexico's proletariat.

Since many PLM adherents had joined the IWW between 1906 and 1910, the majority of PLM military leaders had long-standing connections with the IWW. In the fall of 1910, PLM member José María Leyva was selected as the Liberal's military commander in Baja California. Leyva was a member of the Hodcarriers Union in Los Angeles and was present at the Cananea miners strike in 1906.[24] Appointed as Leyva's second-in-command was Simón Berthold. As a member of the Teamsters Union of Los Angeles, Berthold was an experienced unionist and a well-known advocate of the IWW.[25] Because of their experiences with the IWW and the PLM, the military leadership drew parallels between the function of each organization in their respective countries. In an interview given on January 31st, 1911, Berthold told

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[23]Ricardo Flores Magón, Correspondencia de Ricardo Flores Magón (1904-1912), ed. Jacinto Barrera Basols (Puebla: Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, 1989), May 24, 1911, p. 435.

[24]Turner, Revolution in Baja California, p. 6.

[25]Blaisdell, p. 48.

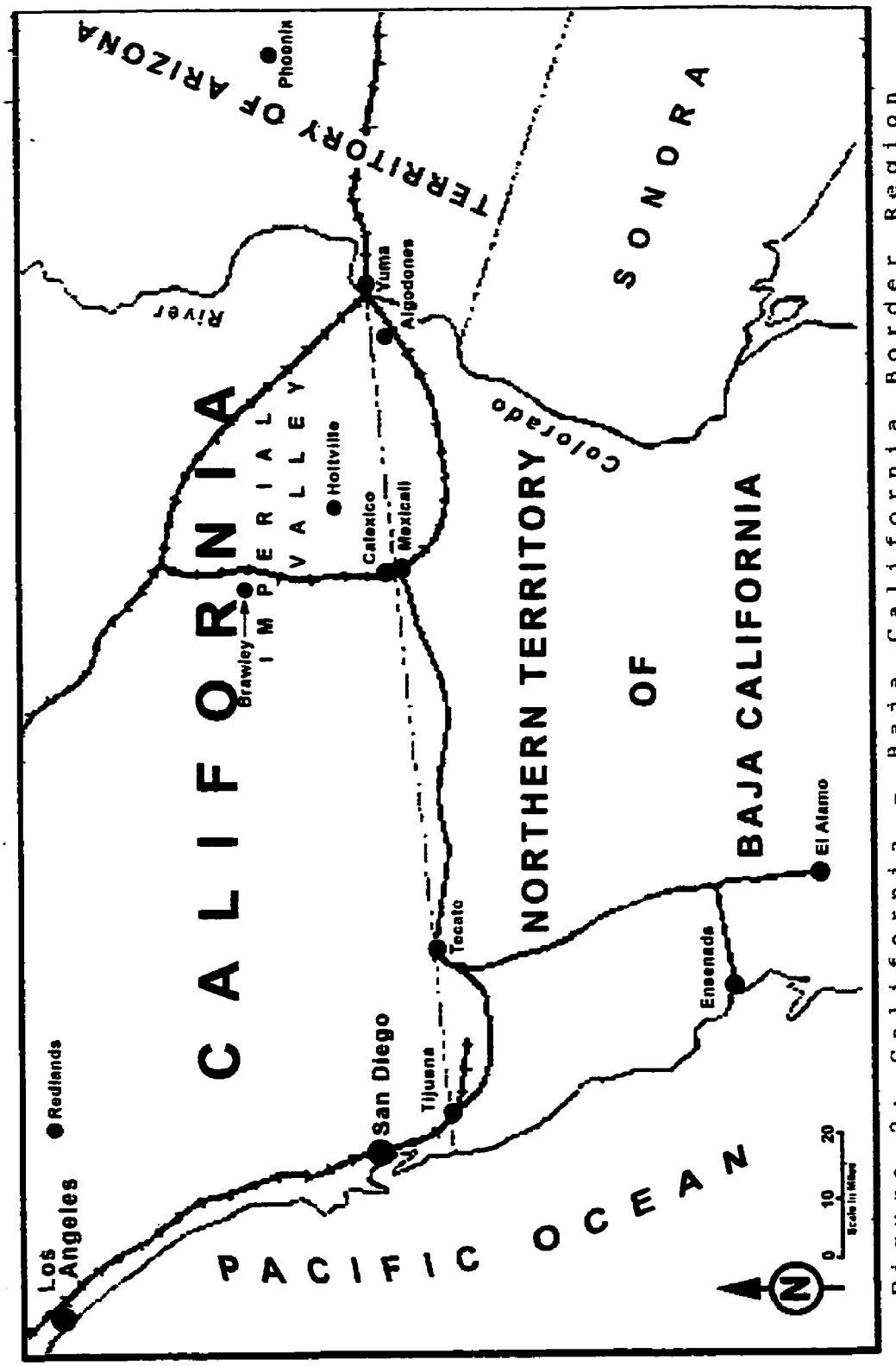


Figure 2: California - Baja California Border Region

reporters that the "[Liberal] party was in Mexico what the IWWs were in the North American states of Nevada, Colorado and Idaho."[26] Since the two most prominent PLM military leaders were drawn from the ranks of the IWW, they provided ideological and institutional links between the two organizations.

From the beginning, the PLM relied on IWW locals in California to furnish crucial financial and materiel resources for the revolution. Importantly, the IWW hall in Holtville became a regional headquarters for the PLM military forces preparing to enter Baja California. Arms sent from IWW headquarters in Chicago were sent to Holtville via Goldfield and San Diego.[27] Additional weapons were purchased by John Turner in Los Angeles and shipped to Holtville. Cognizant of neutrality violations, all military equipment destined for Baja California was transported across the border by a local sympathizer named Jim Edwards in crates labelled "Agricultural Implements."[28] In the days before the initial fighting, Berthold, Leyva, Antonio Fuertes and six other Mexican PLM and IWW members assembled at the IWW hall in Holtville. Here, they conferred with

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[26]Pablo L. Martinez, A History of Lower California (Mexico: Av. Escuela Industrial No. 46, 1960), p. 469.

[27]W. Dirk Raat, Revoltosos: Mexico's Rebels in the United States, 1903-1923 (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1981), p. 57.

[28]Blaisdell, p. 47.

William Stanley and James M. Bond of the IWW.[29] Indeed, the IWW hall in Holtville provided an important meeting place for members of the PLM and the IWW.

On the night of January 27th, Berthold, Leyva, Fuertes and Bond crossed into Mexico, meeting José Sandoval, Camilo Jiménez, Pedro Ramirez Caule, Fernando Palomárez, José Cardoza, and six local Cucapah Indian volunteers.[30] On the morning of January 29, 1911, PLM forces attacked the town of Mexicali. By the afternoon they had raised the PLM's red flag in victory. One day after the PLM's convincing victory at Mexicali, new recruits ballooned Leyva's forces to one hundred and twenty five soldiers.[31] The new troops came from four main sources: volunteers from the city of Mexicali, Mexican nationals living in the United States, members of the IWW, and several international mercenaries.[32]

Indeed, the addition of many Mexican workers from the

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[29]The composition of the original attacking force came from various sources, see Turner, Revolution in Baja California, p. 6-7; Martinez, p. 468; Blaisdell, p. 39.

[30]This list was compiled from several sources. See Blaisdell, p. 39; Turner, Revolution in Baja California, p. 6; Martinez, p. 468. Most authors contend that the IWW presence in the attack at Mexicali was limited to IWW member James Bond. However, at least one other member of the attacking force had direct affiliation with the IWW. High-ranking PLM member Fernando Palomárez was also a member of the IWW, see The Agitator, March 1, 1912, p. 4.

[31]Martinez, p. 469.

[32]Blaisdell, p. 47.

United States into the PLM's military forces is not overly surprising considering the degree of support for the PLM in Texas and southern California. In El Paso, private detective Thomas Furlong reported to Mexican ambassador Enrique Creel that as of December 1910 "all the Mexicans near El Paso are in favor of the Liberals."[33] Similar sentiments were echoed by an American consul on the California-Mexico border in late 1910. He reported that Ricardo Flores Magón and his adherents were

> sincere believers in the doctrine that a revolution is most necessary for the salvation of the Mexican common people...and I loath to confess that their writings are sought after by the [Mexican] people on both sides of the border.[34]

When the Baja California military campaign began, many PLM members filtered across the border and joined the fighting. However, the majority of Mexican workers in the United States were initially prevented from participating by American authorities stationed in Calexico, California.[35] Nevertheless, American authorities in the district reported strong sympathy for the Liberal cause among the residents of

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[33]As cited in Raat, pp. 193-4.

[34]United States, Department of State, Records of the Department of State Relating to the Internal Affairs of Mexico, 1910-1940 (Washington: Microfilm Publications, National Archives), Record Group 59, Document 812.503. See also Christopolus, p. 140.

[35]Martinez, p. 469.

southern California.[36]

Besides Mexican IWW members working in California, manpower for the military campaign also arrived from cities and towns in Arizona. According to PLM member Librado Rivera, "the majority of Mexican countrymen had access to Regeneración and, when the revolution erupted, including the Mexicans of Phoenix affiliated with the IWW, they participated in it immediately, crossing the frontier on mass."[37] Some Mexican workers from the IWW local in Phoenix, motivated by propaganda in Regeneración and possibly the IWW newspaper La Unión Industrial, travelled west to California. Arriving in Hawthorne, California, the workers from Arizona, accompanied by the IWW organizer from Phoenix, Fernando Velarde, crossed the border into Baja California.[38] Approximately five hundred workers from the Pheonix IWW local participated, at various points and times, in the Mexican Revolution on the side of the PLM.[39]

An examination of the life and career of one individual Mexican labourer in the United States offers potentially

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[36]United States Department of State, Records, Document 812.800.

[37]Librado Rivera, ¡Viva Tierra y Libertad! (Mexico: Ediciones Antorcha, 1980), p. 215-6.

[38]The Agitator. May 1, 1911, p. 4. The editors of the Agitator received a letter from Velarde in Hawthorne, California, regarding the progression of the revolution in Lower California. Also see Rivera, p. 215.

[39]Rivera, p. 215.

important insights regarding the educational levels of Mexican immigrants in the United States, mobility, patterns of participation in the IWW and the PLM, and general political and class consciousness. Primo Tapia de la Cruz, a Tarascan Indian, was born in 1885 in the pueblo of Naranja, Michoacán.[40] His immediate family was composed of an older sister, mother and an alcoholic step-father. Because of the often unpredictable behaviour of his step-father, Primo spent considerable time with his uncle, Joaquín de la Cruz. Joaquín, highly educated, served as a role model for Primo. Because Joaquín was involved in the Liberal movement, Primo grew familiar with the political teachings of Ricardo Flores Magón.[41]

At age 13 he was sent to Erongarícuaro to study at the lay seminary. Here, Primo learned Spanish, mathematics, universal history, natural history, Latin and French. As a result of his time spent in Erongarícuaro, he was considered by others in his community as "very educated". Primo never graduated, and 4 years later, at the age of 17, he returned to Naranja. Upon his return home, he was supported by his mother and uncle, and many in the village considered him "lazy". He soon took migratory work in western coastal

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[40]For a more complete discussion of Tapia, see Paul Friedrich, Agrarian Revolt in a Mexican Village (Eaglewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1970), p. 58-69.

[41]In fact, Primo's uncle was arrested for his involvement in the PLM, and spent two years in jail.

Michoacán as a labourer in the maize harvests of the Zacapu hacienda.

At age 22, in 1907, Primo abruptly left Naranja and went to the United States. For a long time, no one received a letter or oral message. Primo surfaced in Southern California, where he worked at various jobs in mines, sugar beet fields, railroads, and construction. He eventually drifted to Los Angeles where he was taken in by Ricardo and Enrique Magón. He lived in their house, became an ardent supporter of their agrarian cause, worked as a body guard, and collected dues during evening meetings of political refugees and migrant workers. The Magóns helped him attend night school where he became fluent in English. Supposedly during this period he worked on translating a copy of the Odyssey into Spanish.[42] During his time with the Magóns, Primo also became familiar with the anarchist works of Mikhail Bakunin, Peter Kropotkin and Enrique Malatesta.

During 1910 and 1911, Primo worked at the PLM headquarters in Los Angeles. When the PLM campaign in Baja California started, Primo may well have participated. It appears that Primo joined the IWW in 1911, merging the PLM's

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[42]The reasons for asking Primo to translate the Odyssey remains unclear. Perhaps, as William Owen (editor of the English section of Regeneración) suggested, it was part of the PLM's strategy to develop "revolutionary personalities". See William Owen, "Eulogy", as cited in Poole ed., p. 117.

anarcho-syndicalism and the IWW's industrial unionism.[43] Primo, a musician, worked on translating IWW songs and poems into Spanish, written by members such as Ralph Chaplin and Joe Hill. Although Primo's circumstance is not necessarily typical, his individual experience does provide insight into the nature of Mexican participation with the IWW and the PLM. Like many Mexican workers, Primo was introduced to the ideology of the PLM before he migrated to the United States. After arriving in the United States, Primo found employment in various different industries, and was highly mobile before finally settling in Los Angeles. Soon after, he joined and promoted the PLM within the Mexican community. After the establishment of an alliance between the IWW and the PLM in late 1910, Primo joined the IWW. Further endorsing the goals of the PLM in Mexican affairs, Primo may have fought in Baja California.

Unlike Primo, some Mexicans working in California were not convinced that either the IWW or the PLM had altruistic motives in Baja California. Influenced by the government-sponsored newspaper El Imparcial, Angel Ruíz, a worker from Bakersfield, California, decided to "drive out the filibusters who were invading the rich territory of Lower

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[43]The main difference between the PLM's anarcho-syndicalism and the IWW's industrial unionism is rooted in intellectual heritage. The IWW were influenced by French and Italian syndicalism, while the PLM's ideology was largely a product of Spanish anarchist traditions. Thus, while both organizations sought the destruction of capitalism, their methods slightly differed.

California" in April 1911.[44] Together with three other workers, Ruíz travelled to Tijuana at his own expense to fight for the Constitutionalist forces defending the town. Certainly, not all Mexican workers in the United States were supportive of the IWW-PLM military alliance in Baja California. Either by fighting with Díaz' forces, joining the Maderistas, or remaining neutral, Mexicans displayed their dissatisfaction with the political and economic goals of the PLM. Some interpreted the growing IWW presence in the PLM's forces as a betrayal of Mexico.

Nonetheless, many workers openly rejected negative opinions of the Magónistas in the press, and reacted negatively to the actions of some Mexican workers such as Angel Ruíz. For example, an all-women's group in Dallas, Texas, wrote to Ricardo Flores Magón in March 1911, expressing their unwavering support for the PLM:

> [we are] workers who are emancipated from the bothersome preoccupations that have kept humanity enslaved. If men have not opened their eyes to see it all, we women will not allow corrupt politicians to deceive us. Comrade Magon: fight hard against the bourgeoisie who seeks to position himself to maintain the workers under the yoke we have suffered for centuries.[45]

In spite of the negative publicity that the PLM recieved

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[44]Gamio, p. 36.

[45]As cited in Juan Gómez-Quiñones, Sembradores, Ricardo Flores Magón y El Partido Liberal Mexicano: A Eulogy and Critique (Los Angeles: UCLA Chicano Studies Research Center, 1973), pp. 85-6. The letter, dated March 4, 1911, was signed by six members of the group.

from segments of the American press, many politicized Mexican workers continued to support the PLM's efforts in Baja California.

While the PLM already enjoyed considerable support from Mexicans living in the United States, the IWW helped to bolster their support. In fact, the IWW actively encouraged its members to join the PLM forces in Baja California.[46] In a 1919 interview, Bill Haywood disclosed the extent of IWW involvement in the early phases of the Mexican revolution:

> Incidently, the revolutionists Magon, Villareal, Sarabia, and Rivera and their followers have something to do with it, as also the local unions of the I.W.W., there being at this time three locals whose entire membership has gone across the line and joined the insurgents, and [Simón] Berthold, one of the commandants, is an officer in the I.W.W. Hall at Holtville, Cal.[47]

Later, Haywood specifically identified two of the IWW locals which committed their entire membership: "most of the members of the IWW, belonging to the Brawley and Imperial locals of Southern California, crossed the line and joined forces with the Mexican Revolutionists."[48] The third local to commit its entire membership was located in Holtville, California. One IWW member from Holtville, in a letter to

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[46]Industrial Worker. March 16 and 30; April 20 and 27, 1911.

[47]The New York Times. December 11, 1919, p. 17.

[48]William D. Haywood, Bill Haywood's Book: The Autobiography of William D. Haywood (New York: International Publishers, 1977), p. 276.

the editors of the Agitator, complained that no one was available for IWW meetings because everyone in the district was engaged in the battles in Baja California.[49] Following the defection of their entire Mexican membership, many IWW locals in California were forced to cease operations. According to IWW records, the locals in San Diego and Redlands, California, were disbanded in 1911, due to the Mexican Revolution.[50]

Although "the first volunteers in the West were Mexicans, sometimes I.W.W. members, sometimes unaffiliated, except with the Partido Liberal Mexicano"[51], the PLM's early military success in Mexicali attracted more Mexicans and Americans from the United States. In fact, the PLM encouraged non-Mexican radicals to join the battle.[52] Thus, while the composition of the PLM's original force was almost exclusively Mexican, and under the firm control of the PLM in Los Angeles, the influx of new recruits altered the composition and power structure of the PLM's military forces.

One of the more influential figures to appear in

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[49]The Agitator. April 15, 1911, p. 4.

[50]Brissenden, The I.W.W., p. 366.

[51]Ethel Duffy Turner, Revolution in Baja California: Ricardo Flores Magón's High Noon. ed. Rey Devis (Detroit: Blaine Ethridge Books, 1981), p. 30.

[52]Regeneración. December 10, 24, 1910; January 21, February 11, April 8, 1911.

Mexicali was William Stanley.[53] A Canadian, and member of IWW local 413 in Imperial Valley, California, Stanley was present and participated in the initial planning for the assault on Mexicali at Holtville. On February 5th, accompanied by a force of eighteen American soldiers, Stanley joined Leyva and Berthold in Mexicali. Non-Mexican recruits such as Stanley helped to make the PLM's army in Baja California more heterogenous and international. By late February, the PLM army had absorbed soldiers from various nationalities, including North Americans, English, Australians, Boers, Russians, Germans, and French.[54]

With a growing ideologically and racially divided army, PLM leaders Berthold and Leyva repeatedly encountered disciplinary problems. On one occasion, a gun fight erupted between a Mexican and an American soldier resulting in the death of Wobbly W.E. Clark of Cincinnati, Ohio.[55] For the most part, dissention was the result of perceived inactivity by PLM military leaders. Many IWW members and adventurers had volunteered for service in Baja California because they wanted to engage in battle. This attitude directly conflicted with the slow, deliberate maneuvering of the PLM

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[53]There appears to be some confusion as to whether it is Stanley Williams or William Stanley. Since she was present for much of the Lower California campaign, I am following Ethel Duffy Turner's assertion that it is William Stanley. See Turner, Revolution in Baja California, p. 23.

[54]Blaisdell, p. 74.

[55]Ibid., p. 74.

commanders Leyva and Berthold. In order to rectify internal factionalism, William Stanley recommended the establishment of an non-Mexican auxiliary division under his leadership. Acting on Stanley's advice, Leyva created the "foreign legion" with Stanley in charge. A week later, acting without permission of the PLM, members of the legion boarded a train from which they attacked and captured the town of Algodones on February 21, 1911.[56]

According to the PLM's "General Instructions to the Revolutionaries", soldiers in the Liberal army had the right to vote on leadership. On March 4, Stanley invoked this privilege against Leyva and Berthold, endorsing José Cardoza and the new leader of the PLM forces. Although the majority of Mexicans supported the leadership of Leyva-Berthold, they were defeated by the non-Mexican contingent. Nonetheless, Berthold and Leyva refused to submit to Stanley and forcibly removed him from Mexico.[57] The dispute over leadership resulted in the desertion of Cardoza and fifty troops, who joined Madero's forces in northwestern Mexico.[58]

As in the case of Stanley's attack on Algodones, IWW soldiers often over-zealously tested theories of "direct action" by conducting semi-independent military operations. Wobbly soldier Luis Rodriquez, for example, joined PLM

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[56]Ibid., p. 75.

[57]Ibid., p. 75.

[58]Martinez, p. 471.

forces in Baja California in early March 1911. On the 12th, eighteen soldiers under his command easily overpowered resistance and seized the town of Tecate.[59] Reinforcements, led by Berthold and Leyva, arrived on March 19th, only to find that the Mexican rurales had counter-attacked and slain Rodriques and his troops. Subsequently, Leyva returned to Mexicali with seventy five men, personally crossed the border, and went to Texas to fight with Maderistas.

The defection left the military forces in disarray. Although on March 29th the PLM appointed Francisco Vásquez Salinas as the new commander, William Stanley continued to operate independent forces in the region. Attempting to surprise five hundred Federal soldiers with his eighty-five troops, Stanley was shot and killed on April 8, 1911. One week later, Simón Berthold in El Alamo was shot in a skirmish and was killed.[60] Thus, by mid-April all the military commanders loyal to the PLM had either been killed or defected to Madero. As a result, the PLM's control over events in Baja California was compromised.

On April 10, 1911, a Welshman named Caryl Ap Rhys Pryce was elected commander of the foreign legion. Without sanction from the PLM, Pryce's troops descended on the town of Tijuana in late April. By May 9, the foreign legion had

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[59]Raat, p. 57.

[60]Blaisdell, p. 82, 109.

effective control of Tijuana. Immediately, the PLM attempted to regain control over the situation by naming a Commission of Government to manage affairs in Tijuana and to study the possibility of attacking the town of Ensenada. The Commission was composed of loyal PLM members, including Antonio de Pio Arajua, Teodore Gaytan, Pedro Ramirez Caule, and Fernando Palomarez.[61] While the PLM were attempting to regain control of the situation in Baja California, military successes fostered an upsurge in IWW recruits. Thus, making more difficult the task of maintaining effective control over the actions of the troops in the region.

While PLM troops were celebrating success at Tijuana, events in Mexico City overshadowed their military exploits. Under conditions of the Treaty of Juárez, on May 24, 1911, Porfirio Díaz resigned as the President of Mexico. For many in Baja California, Díaz' resignation signalled the end of further hostilities. Pryce, for example, retired to San Diego leaving troops in Baja California without leadership. Ricardo Flores Magón, however, understood the revolution not in terms of military victories or leadership, but in economic terms. The day of Díaz' resignation, the PLM and IWW issued a joint statement outlining their position: "There will be no peace in Mexico until the Red Flag flies over the working man's country and capitalism shall have

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[61]Martinez, p. 475.

been overthrown."[62] Henceforth, PLM forces in Baja California would continue to fight for "tierra y libertad".

As the campaign in Baja California progressed, the PLM found itself relying more and more on members of the IWW in leadership capacities. Following the death of William Stanley and Berthold, and the defection of Leyva and Pryce, Jack Mosby was elected the PLM's field general. Long before the peninsular campaign, Mosby had joined the IWW in Oakland, was introduced to the PLM, and became an ardent supporter.[63] Like the fate of so many other PLM leaders before him, Mosby was shot in a skirmish with Mexican Federal scouts, and returned to the United States to recuperate.

Back in the United States, the IWW continued its efforts to support the Magónistas fight. Organizing pro-Liberal rallies in cities such as Los Angeles, San Francisco and San Diego, money and manpower was raised to support the fight in Baja California.[64] A single rally in February raised between $300 and $500 for the Liberals.[65] On February 5th, a rally was staged at the Los Angeles Labor Temple which was to feature author and socialist Jack

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[62]Industrial Worker. June 8, 1911.

[63]Lawrence Douglas Taylor, La campana magonista de 1911 en Baja California (Tijuana: El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, 1992), p. 52.

[64]Turner, Revolution in Baja California, p. 19.

[65]Blaisdell, p. 45.

London. However, at the last minute London was unable to attend, sending only his speech. It read: "We Socialists, anarchists, hobos, chicken thieves, outlaws and undesirable citizens of the U.S. are with you heart and soul."[66] Clearly, many in the socialist, labour and anarchist camps supported the principles dictating the PLM's actions in Mexico.

Following the loss of Mosby, the PLM's campaign in Baja California turned into an embarrassing fiasco. Perhaps the most damaging incident for the PLM in Baja California was the debacle surrounding John Ferris. Ferris, an adventurer, completely unfamiliar with the PLM, took control of the PLM's forces on June 1, 1911. Proclaiming an independent republic in Baja California, Ferris then encouraged elements in the United States to recognize his new state.[67] Ferris' actions brought charges of filibusterism on behalf of the PLM, which continue until today. Ultimately, the intervention by Ferris signalled the end of the PLM's dreams of establishing an anarchist state in Mexico.

Following the military and political failures of the Baja California campaign, Ricardo Flores Magón and William Owen emphasized the secondary nature of the peninsular

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[66]As cited in Blaisdell, p. 42.

[67]For a detailed description of the Ferris incident, consult Blaisdell pp. 60-63, 147-51.

campaign. Baja California, according to the PLM, was but one theatre in a larger war. Such nonchalant assessment of IWW exploits in Baja California provoked an immediate response from the IWW:

> Many deserving men went down there, and who sent them there? I do not like to ask this question, but it is the one the Revolutionary Junta SHOULD BE FORCED to answer. Just because men proclaim themselves Revolutionists is no reason why they should not be forced to answer for what, to me, on their own admission, savors of a crime against the International Proletariat. FORCE the Junta to answer and to give some explanations better than an anarchist shriek at a lot of socialist politicians.[68]

Clearly, in the aftermath of the peninsular campaign many members of the IWW blamed the PLM for the failures. Importantly, the attitude expressed by the IWW raises questions concerning the interaction between the IWW and the PLM. The assertion that Wobbly soldiers were "sent" to Baja California implies that the PLM occupied a supreme role in all military matters. Thus, it seems probable that the alliance between the IWW and the PLM gave effective control of all troops and resources to the PLM leadership.

The alliance established between the IWW and the PLM was five years in the making. Originally, informal connections were stimulated by the growing political and class consciousness of Mexican workers in the United States. Between 1907 and 1910, the IWW and the Mexican community in the United States united to provide crucial support for the

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[68]Industrial Worker. January 8, 1912.

PLM. Moreover, the ideological evolution of both the PLM and the IWW produced a strong foundation for the development of relations by mid-1910. Between 1905 and 1911, both the PLM and the IWW's endorsement of anarchism and syndicalism helped to foster institutional connections. Unfortunately, the sincerity of "direct action" demonstrated by Wobblies in 1911, at times, overwhelmed the PLM leadership both in the United States and on the field of battle.

# CONCLUSION

## THE AFTERMATH

> The dreamer is the designer of tomorrow. The practical...may laugh at the dreamer - they do not know that the dreamer is the true dynamic force that pushes the world forward. Suppress the dreamer, and the Earth will regress toward barbarism. Despised, impoverished, the dreamer goes forth, ...sowing, sowing, sowing, the seeds that will be harvested, not by him, but by the practical men of tomorrow, who will at the same time laugh at another dreamer engaged in sowing, sowing, sowing. For the dreamer's fate is injustice.[1]
>
> Ricardo Flores Magón to Ellen White, June 28, 1921

On June 22, 1912, Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magón, Librado Rivera and Anselmo Figueroa were sentenced to one year and eleven months in the federal penitentiary at McNeil Island, Washington, for violation of the United States neutrality laws.[2] Their incarceration signified the end of direct PLM involvement in the Mexican Revolution, and their hopes of transforming Mexico into a communist state.[3] Many former PLM members, however, continued to struggle on behalf

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[1]"Ricardo Flores Magón to Ellen White", June 28, 1921. In Ricardo Flores Magón: Su Vida, Su Obra, ed. B. Cano Ruiz (México: Editores Mexicanos Unidos, 1976), pp. 143-6.

[2]Colin M. MacLachlan, Anarchism and the Mexican Revolution: The Political Trials of Ricardo Flores Magón in the United States (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), p. 47.

[3]By 1912, the entire PLM-IWW military endeavour in Baja California had been dismissed by the press as a filibustering campaign.

of Mexican workers during the Revolution. Indeed, the PLM's exposure to the IWW in the United States was a contributing factor in the development and direction of the Mexican labour movement after 1911.

Former members of the PLM were paramount in establishing a national organization designed to coordinate together smaller, local unions scattered across Mexico. In July 1912, Díaz Soto y Gama, Lázaro Gutiérrez de Lara and Manuel Sarabia helped found the Casa del Obrero Mundial (House of the Workers of the World), which dominated the Mexican labour movement between 1912 and 1918.[4] Like the IWW, anarcho-syndicalist thinking dominated the Casa. In fact, the ideology of the Casa paralleled that of the IWW, adhering to a policy of non-political, direct action with an emphasis on the general strike and sabotage.[5] While the Casa flourished under Madero, the presidency of Victoriano Huerta brought serious repression. In March 1915, the leadership of the Casa endorsed the Constitutionalists led by Venustiano Carranza. As part of the alliance with Carranza, the Casa provided thousands of volunteer troops who were organized into six "Red Battalions". The involvement of thousands of workers in the Mexican Revolution helped to press labour issues to the forefront in

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[4]Marjorie Ruth Clark, Organized Labor in Mexico (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1934), p. 23.

[5]Ibid., p. 24.

the post-Revolutionary years.

It was through the organizational framework of the Casa, that the IWW made headway into the Mexican labour market. When in 1913, an American delegation of the IWW's Marine Transport Workers Union (MTW) arrived in Tampico, Tampaulipas, they discovered an existing Mexican IWW branch. This previously unknown local operated from a hall administered by the Casa. Together, the IWW and the Casa maintained a membership in the region which totalled over five thousand workers.[6] Undoubtedly, the PLM's experiences with the IWW in the United States helped to provide linkages between the two organizations. At the Mexican National Labor Congress held in October 1918, IWW delegates dominated the discussions. Besides members from Tampico, representatives arrived from Los Angeles and Torreón, Coahuila.[7] In many parts of Mexico, workers returning from the United States helped to establish local unions, which either affiliated with the IWW or were in sympathy.[8]

Until the 1920s, the IWW was highly influential in the

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[6]Caulfield, p. 77. The famous Nicaraguan revolutionary, Augusto Sandino, worked in the Tampico oil fields. Here he was exposed to radical social doctrines and Mexican nationalism which helped shape his personal views. See Neill Macaulay, The Sandino Affair (n.p.: Duke University Press, 1985), pp. 52-3.

[7]Caulfield, p. 90.

[8]Harvey A. Levenstein, Labor Organizations in the United States and Mexico: A History of their Relations (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1971), p. 11.

Mexican labour movement. Thereafter, the AFL-led Pan American Federation of Labor (PAFL) and La Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana (CROM), actively excluded IWW involvement in Mexican labour politics. Although the IWW continued to flourish in the Tampico region until the 1930s, their relative decline in the United States after WWI resulted in a simultaneous decline in Mexico.

The IWW's association with the PLM, and events in Baja California, allowed them to enter the Mexican labour scene as a proven advocate of Mexican labour. In addition, their close association with Mexican workers in the United States helped to spearhead expansion into Mexico. The return of many IWW and PLM-affiliated workers from the American southwest contributed to later IWW successes in Mexico. The establishment of IWW locals in Mexico after 1911 suggests the powerful transmission of ideas from the IWW and PLM to Mexican workers on both sides of the border.

Politicized by the IWW and the PLM, many Mexican workers played an important role in regional agrarian and labour struggles. Primo Tapia de Cruz and Pedro V. Rodriquez Triana, for example, returned to their villages to lead local agrarian revolts during the Mexican Revolution.[9] Other Mexican workers, affiliated with the IWW in the United States, returned home and became active in the Mexican

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[9]Paul Freidrich, Agrarian Revolt in a Mexican Village (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1970); Clark, p. 156.

labour movement. CROM, for example, drew many of its leaders from Mexicans who had worked in the United States and had participated in American unionism.[10] Ricardo Treviño, for example, spent seven years in the United States where he was a member of the IWW. Returning to Mexico, he was paramount in establishing the Tampico IWW before leaving to participate in CROM.[11]

In 1923, Carleton Beals wrote that the AFL had trouble asserting itself in Mexico because the AFL was "discredited with many Mexican workers by its real or fancied failure to protect, or accept on an equal basis, Mexican workers in the United States." According to Beals, the attitude of many Mexican workers dated back a decade, when a large number of workers "drifted into the ranks of the I.W.W." Consequently,

> Thousands of [Mexican Wobblies] cross and recross the border; some of them return permanently to Mexico. They are apostles of opposition to the A.F. of L...In addition the theoretical heritage of Mexican labor psychology is the syndicalist and anarchist literature of Bakunin, Kropotkin, Sorel, Ferrer, Grave, etc....For these reasons there is a large element that discredits political action.[12]

Beals' assessment of the Mexican labour movement in 1923 is illustrative of both Mexican workers personal experiences

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[10]Frank Tannenbaum, Peace By Revolution: An Interpretation of Mexico (New York: Columbia University Press, 1933), p. 137.

[11]Ibid.

[12]Carleton Beals, Mexico: An Interpretation (New York: B.W. Huebsch Inc., 1923), p. 139.

and their past involvement with the IWW, PLM, and later, the Casa. Ideologically, Mexican workers from the United States were infused with syndicalist and anarchist ideas, an animosity for the AFL, and ideas of direct action. Certainly, Mexican workers interaction with the IWW and PLM in the United States created a legacy which extended well into, and after, the Revolution.

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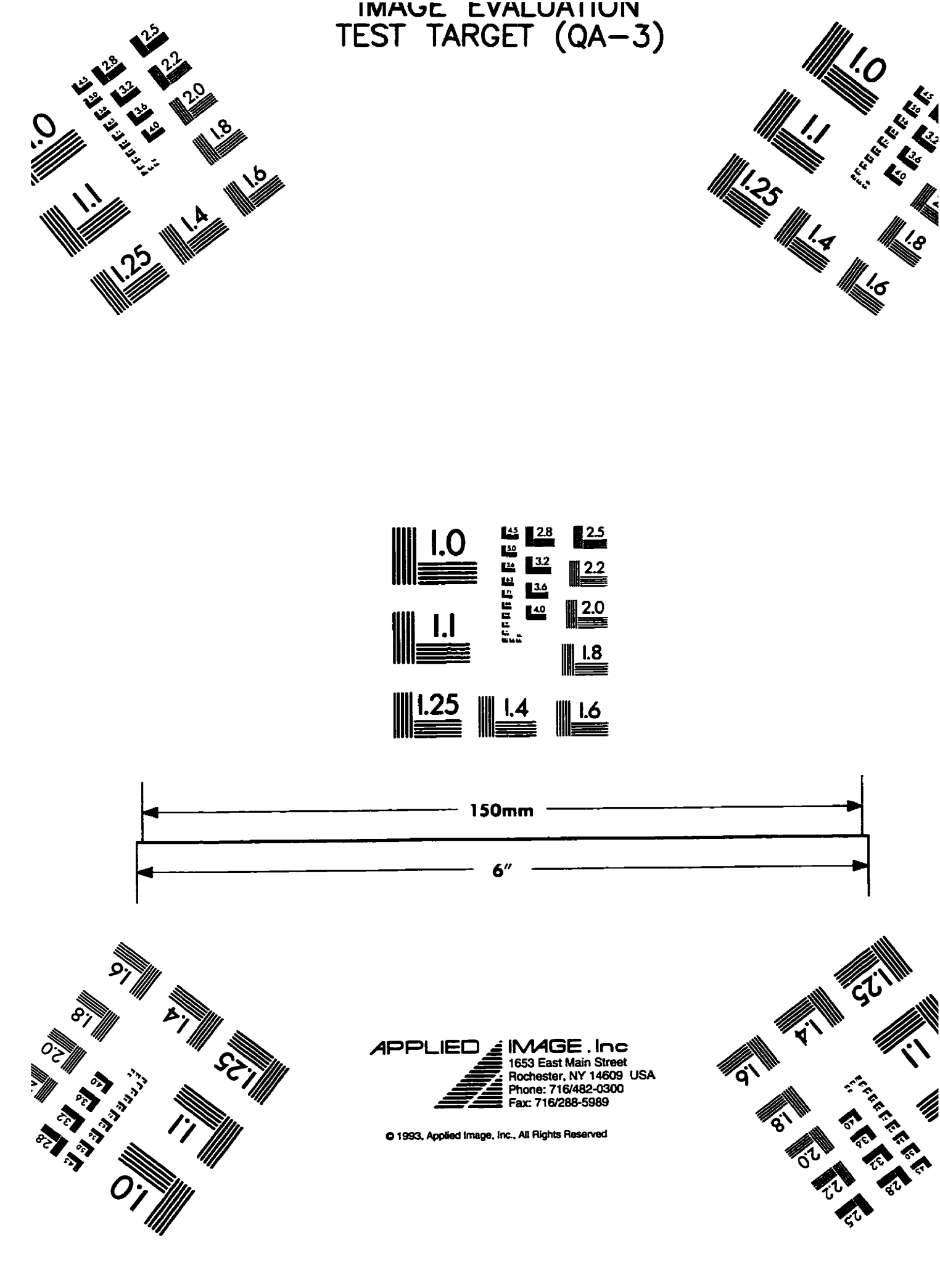
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