Adventurers, Bandits, Soldiers of Fortune, Spies and Revolutionaries:

Recalling the Baja California Insurrection of 1911 One Hundred Years Later

By James Bartoli

"That's all I wanted. I just wanted to be in on the fun." Former revolutionary fighter James Carson responded thus at eighty two years old, when asked in an interview in 1972 if he shared the filibustering goal he said was common among others of the rebel foreign legion, or if he just wanted to get away from the San-Diego Arizona Railroad camp and the gravel pit in which he had been working as an operator of a fresno scraper.[1] When an *insurrecto* scout preceding the main body had entered his camp "to chat," Carson said "I throwed my lines down and left my team standing

Rebels boarding commandeered train, June 1911. ©SDHC #80: 6181.

James Justin Bartoli, received his BA in philosophy and legal studies from UC Santa Cruz. Currently an MA History candidate at the University of San Diego, he focuses his research on the San Diego Free Speech Fight of 1912-1915, and the intersections between transnational capital, migration, and labor radicalism. The author thanks Drs. Kim Eherenman, Iris Engstrand, Michael Gonzalez, and Jim Miller for reading and commenting on earlier drafts of this article. All errors that remain, however, are his own.

Tijuana Insurrection—rebels wait on a flatcar. Railroad camps were critical sources of supply for the insurrectos, and trains were valuable for transportation. ©SDHC #8577-B.

right there" to join up. Twenty-one years old in 1911 and not fighting for any ideal, Carson was an adventure seeker who had been reared in Texas. He told the scout he would like to join up if they were going to Ensenada and the scout said "Fine," handed over the reins to a horse he had been leading, and then said "Climb on."[2] The scout introduced him to the general when they rode over to meet the army and Carson shook hands with him. "[T]hat's all there was to enlisting as far as the rebel army of Baja California was concerned,"[3] he explained. James Carson became a member of the rebel army with little fanfare, and would later be among the men briefly interned by the United States Army at Fort Rosecrans, San Diego, only to be released three days later.

The army Carson joined was affiliated with the Los Angeles based Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM) movement, members of which fought under the banner "*Tierra y Libertad*" and sought a social and economic revolution in Mexico rather than another political one. It seems unusual that Carson was recruited so unceremoniously, and that no questions were asked about his political ideas and attitudes before he was allowed to join them. Describing the army's composition, Carson recalled, "They was just a hodge-podge of working people. That's what they was…I don't remember of any Indians. Our army was about a third Mexicans and two-thirds white…of course, there was all kinds of foreign blood among us."[4] Many of the whites, or "Anglos," were labor radicals of different shades from north of the border who identified with the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), also often called "wobblies." The wobblies were sympathetic to the PLM's cause, and they shared a similar ideological outlook with the PLM.[5] This outlook, both rural and urban, was shaped by the combined experiences of migratory labor

on both sides of the border. It was influenced by anarchism and revolutionary syndicalism, and also included a belief in internationalism, worker solidarity, and direct action, as well as the belief that Mexico's Revolution might ignite a world social revolution against capitalism.[6] Other *gringo insurrectos*[7] did not share that vision, however, including some soldiers of fortune and adventurers like Carson, who simply "thought they might do just like Texas done."[8] They wanted to be close to the action and nearby for any potential distribution of rewards—not to effect a fundamental social transformation.[9]

The Baja California Revolution provoked instructive hostility from the Mexican governments of Porfirio Díaz and Francisco Madero, as well as the United States, demonstrating they shared a common perception that the social revolutionary character of the PLM-IWW campaign was a threat to the nascent economic order then being established on both sides of the border that was dominated by incorporated finance capital and an increased dependence on transnational migratory labor. This article will look at the Baja California Revolution of 1911 and examine how the clash between PLM-IWW revolutionary internationalism, transnational capital, and governments affected popular understanding of this part of the Mexican Revolution on both sides of the border. A brief synopsis of the campaign, and a look at the more controversial aspects of the Baja California Revolution, will set the stage. The intersections between transnational capital, migratory labor, and the region's physical geography are vital parts of the cultural and temporal analysis. These regional and international intersections of capital and labor flows shaped the spatial context of local developments and explain the greater hostility by the governments of Mexico and the United States toward the PLM-IWW forces, as compared to the Maderistas. They underscore why, despite the small numbers involved in the Baja California Revolution, it had a significant impact on the Mexican Revolution at large and why it was ruthlessly suppressed.

Francisco I. Madero. Photo http://www.pbs.org.

The PLM-IWW Baja California Revolution: Strained Solidarity

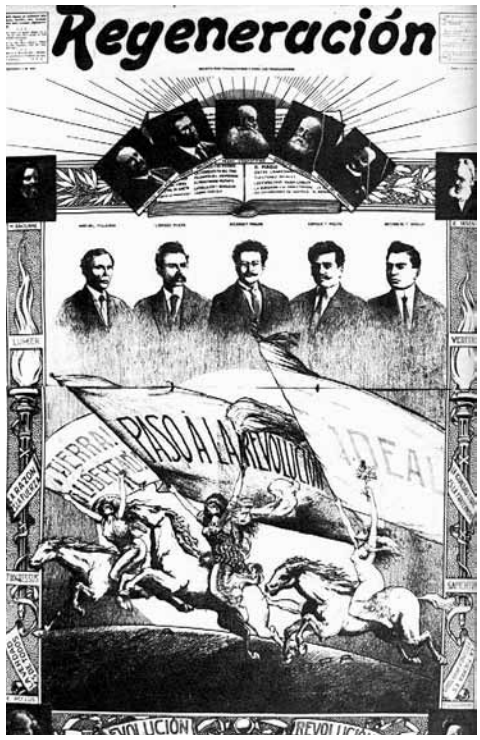
> The Dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz is about to fall; but the revolution will not end by this act alone. Upon the tomb of this infamous dictatorship there will stand, face to face, with arms in the hand, two social classes: that of the well-fed and that of the hungry, the first upholding the interests of its caste and the second the abolition of those privileges by means of the installation of a system which guarantees to every human being Bread, Land, and Liberty. [10]

The Baja California Revolution was not a minor footnote to the Mexican Revolution at large. It was a part of a movement active throughout Mexico that had set the tone of resistance before and during the early days of the revolution. The followers of the revolutionary junta of the PLM based in Los Angeles and led by Ricardo Flores Magón, often called Magonistas, desired a revolution in the economic and social order that would redistribute the land and factories to the rural and urban workers. This placed them far to the left of the politically moderate Anti-Reelectionist movement led by Francisco Madero, who sought a more limited political change.[12] While both were in revolt against Porfirio Díaz, Madero and Magón had opposing visions and goals for Mexico and its people, especially respecting foreign investment and private property. Magón was a persecuted political radical opposed to capitalism. He struggled as a journalist and intellectual to improve conditions for Mexican urban and rural working classes on both sides of the border, and he agitated strongly against abuses of foreign owned properties in Mexico. Madero, in contrast, was the leading son of a clan of border elites with extensive industrial and landed interests that had suffered during the end of the Porfiriato. Among the richest men in Mexico, and with a large personal interest in maintaining the socioeconomic status quo, he had little in common with Magón's revolutionary ends.

Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magón. Photo from 1916, published in The Los Angeles Times. *Courtesy Department of Special Collections, University Research Library, UCLA.*

Madero sought to expand foreign investment from the United States to advance Mexico's nascent industrialization, relying on cheap and plentiful labor as a draw for capital and the spur for economic development, while the PLM encouraged *campesinos* and industrial workers to appropriate foreign capital viewed as illegitimate by directly seizing control of the land and factories and beginning immediate worker self-management.[14] Prior to 1911, the PLM made other abortive attempts at fomenting revolution in 1906 and 1908, while Madero continued to seek a political solution without revolution until his own suppression during the 1910 election campaign. Between August 1907 and August 1910, Magón and several associates were tried and imprisoned for their efforts, with the United States government's questionable legal maneuvers spurring much popularity and political support among the American left for Magón and his cohorts.[15]

While the Anti-Reelectionist forces of Francisco Madero initiated the Mexican Revolution on November 20, 1910, the PLM and the IWW hastily prepared their own popular uprising in Baja California in January 1911.[16] The PLM's organizing junta was formed in late September 1905 in St. Louis and led by Ricardo Flores Magón,[17] a revolutionary critic who had been active against the Porfirio Diaz regime since 1892.[18] Born in San Antonio Eloxochitlán, Oaxaca on September 16, 1873, the anniversary of Mexican Independence, Ricardo was the middle child of three brothers.[19] Jesús, the elder, was born in 1871, and Enrique, the youngest, in 1877.[20] All three became student activists, journalists, and propagandists during the early struggle against Díaz, although Jesus eventually dropped away from activism in 1902.[21] Enrique, on the other hand, became one of his brother's most ardent supporters and carried the family's radical legacy back to Mexico in the aftermath of the Revolution.[22]



Cover of the anti-díaz newspaper Regeneración, *September 3, 1910.*

Ricardo was labeled an anarchist, persecuted by the Diaz regime, and jailed multiple times in Mexico before fleeing to the United States at the end of 1903. The newspaper *Regeneración*, his

primary weapon against Diaz, was launched in Mexico in 1900 and subsequently moved to the United States.[23] Magón believed the Porfiriato (1876-1911) had been established by fraud and maintained by force and that the Mexican people were ripe for revolution. By 1906, Magón had fully adopted anarchist ideology and social revolutionary goals; yet, he dissembled this and publicized a "liberal" program in *Regeneración* for the most part until the end of 1911 after the Baja California Revolution had already unraveled.[24]

The PLM, however, did not make the revolution in Baja California alone; it did so in alliance with the Industrial Workers of the World. The formation and spread of the PLM coincided with that of the IWW, a radical syndicalist industrial union that also formed in 1905. Rank and file Mexican and Mexican American dual members who had been organized by the IWW's major constituent union, the Western Federation of Miners, initially brought the IWW and PLM together. The two organizations shared more than an internationalist perspective and mutual stance against racial prejudice. They also found common ground through their similar political outlook and shared tactical commitment to direct action rather than parliamentary politics. Bonds of affinity grew between the two organizations as the leadership of the revolutionary junta languished in jail for having been discovered and arrested during an earlier attempt at revolution in 1906. The PLM and IWW eventually developed organizational linkages at the leadership level on the initiative of a Mexican IWW member from San Diego, Francisco Martinez.[25]

Once Magón and his associates were released in August 1910 after spending three years in jail in the United States for violating neutrality laws, they quickly

These men did the fighting. Insurrectos before the Battle of Tijuana, June 20, 1911. ©SDHC #5220-1.

Chula Vista, 3rd Avenue - army supply wagon on the way to the border, May 1911. ©SDHC #12254.

returned to Los Angeles to restart *Regeneración* and organize PLM led military action in Mexico. Madero's Anti-Reelectionist forces had beat the PLM to the field, prompting the hasty organization of a PLM offensive by Magón in Los Angeles.[26] Parlaying on the growing ties between the PLM and IWW forged by several Mexican American *revoltosos* with dual membership, Anglos were recruited to help with manpower in the fight. Non-Mexican IWW members quickly became a significant part of the PLM armed forces. Yet, in addition to non-Mexican IWW members, many international soldiers of fortune unaffiliated with the IWW or PLM were also accepted into the ranks.[27] Some would later facilitate the unraveling of the Baja California campaign and set the context for filibustering charges leveled against Magón and the *gringo insurrectos* by his Mexican critics.[28]

The PLM alliance with the IWW as *compañeros* and "fellow workers"[29] was strained by the decision to allow the non-radicalized adventurers and soldiers of fortune. Many of the sizeable Anglo component in the rebel army, especially among the adventurers and soldiers of fortune, frequently demonstrated racist attitudes. They were a disruptive element that helped discredit the PLM among many Mexicans and Indians and were a major inhibiting factor to the recruitment of Mexican and Mexican American *insurrectos* once the campaign was under way, leading many Mexican PLM members to defect to the Maderistas, contributing to the campaign's failure.[30] Private detectives, government spies, and international intrigue were also drawn to the radical character of the insurgency in Baja California, eliciting both overt and covert forms of transnational repression.[31]

The PLM's military activity was organized by the *junta* through the IWW's

General Pryce commanding the rebels in Tijuana, May 9, 1911. ©SDHC #10454-8.

meeting hall in Holtville, near the border in California's Imperial Valley. The first action was the seizure of Mexicali on January 29, 1911. Led at first by José María Leyva and Simon Berthold, the PLM army of fewer than twenty men was almost entirely Mexican and Indian during the initial action in Mexicali.[32] IWW members and soldiers of fortune quickly expanded the ranks, however, later becoming a majority of the armed force. Leyva's early death in battle, and Berthold's military ineffectiveness, led to a factionalization of the Magonista forces. Tensions had grown between the Mexicans and non-Mexicans in the rebel army, sometimes resulting in violence within the rebel camp. An IWW member known as Stanley Williams or William Stanley, who had distinguished himself with bravery in action, gave voice to the growing lack of confidence among many non-Mexicans in the cautiousness of the dual leadership of Leyva and Berthold. Taking advantage of the rebels' egalitarian principle that the commander should be elected, many *gringo insurrectos* supported men from their own ranks or among the experienced soldiers of fortune to lead the army. On March 4, Stanley proposed the replacement of Leyva and Berthold with his supporter, José Cardozo. While most of the Mexican *insurrectos* supported the current leadership, a large enough segment of the Mexicans joined the foreigners in voting for Cardozo. Yet, Berthold's supporters confiscated the weapons of the opposition after the vote while they were eating, and put Stanley in irons before forcing him back across the border. This action prompted many desertions, including Cardozo and forty-five Mexicans who moved east to join the Maderistas.[33] The schism resulted in a loss of numbers, and the split off of a "foreign legion" from the Mexican led *insurrectos* by the middle of March. Outside pressures from north of the border were also growing.

President Taft sent up to 20,000 soldiers to the area between February and March to contain the revolution south of the border, choke off PLM avenues of supply, and be ready in reserve should an intervention be ordered. New

U.S. Army General Tasker H. Bliss at the border monument viewing the fight in Tijuana, May 9, 1911. ©SDHC #3487-8.

recruits, however, continued to cross the border unarmed to join the *insurrectos*, and small arms slipped across the border.[34] Yet Magón, while a brilliant theorist and propagandist, proved inept as a revolutionary political and military leader. The expediency of using soldiers of fortune discredited the PLM cause.[35] One in particular who damaged the revolutionary cause was Welsh soldier of fortune Caryl ap Rhys Pryce. Pryce was a veteran of British imperial forces in South Africa and the Boer War and was among those who crossed the border at this time. He appeared on the scene by late April 1911 and soon became *generalissimo* of the foreign legion. His role and purpose in joining the revolutionaries remains murky.

Pryce's relationship with the promoter of San Diego's Panama-California Exposition Groundbreaking event in 1911, Richard "Dick" Ferris, provides much of the basis of the filibustering claims leveled against the rebel forces. A new theory, implied by his biographer John Humphries, is that Pryce was a spy who infiltrated the rebel army. Unable to turn the insurrection into an attempt to seize Baja California, Pryce may have succeeded in a secondary goal of destroying the rebel forces by abandonment at a crucial time, as Ferris' attempts to turn the *insurrectos* towards filibustering had proven a failure. Until a recent biography of Pryce appeared in Wales, little was known about him other than his former service for the British Empire. Humphries was able to uncover his later involvement with the British mandate constabulary in Palestine, and likely service as one of

the notorious Black and Tans in Ireland, during and after World War I. The true motivations of a lifelong soldier and policeman in the service of empire joining a revolutionary army is certainly an interesting question. Pryce's development of a cozy relationship with Dick Ferris also gave much cause for suspicion.[36]

In *The Desert Revolution*, Lowell Blaisdell describes Richard "Daredevil Dick" Wells Ferris as an "archintriguer."[37] Ferris was a former political candidate skilled at publicity, and he had made a career for himself as a professional actor and promoter. In February 1911, he was appointed to manage the Panama-California Exhibition groundbreaking ceremony to be held that July in Balboa Park in San Diego. Ferris' intrigues related to Baja California began immediately thereafter with an offer to the local Mexican consul in San Francisco to purchase Baja California coupled with a hardly veiled threat of a filibuster campaign if refused. This communication was amplified by the appearance of advertisements in the *New York World* and other newspapers to recruit one thousand men with military experience to serve "General Dick Ferris."[38] The U.S. Justice Department assigned Special Agent Clayton Herrington to investigate Ferris for having committed neutrality violations, though Herrington concluded in March that there was no incriminating evidence and that Ferris was only seeking notoriety. On March 12, the next publicity stunt featured the raising of a new flag and the reading of a proclamation near Agua Caliente, Baja California, by Miss Flora Russell, who had gained permission to ride her horse across the border and was a fan from Los Angeles of Ferris and his suffragette wife. Russell claimed Baja California "in the name of equal suffrage and of model government," and christened it as

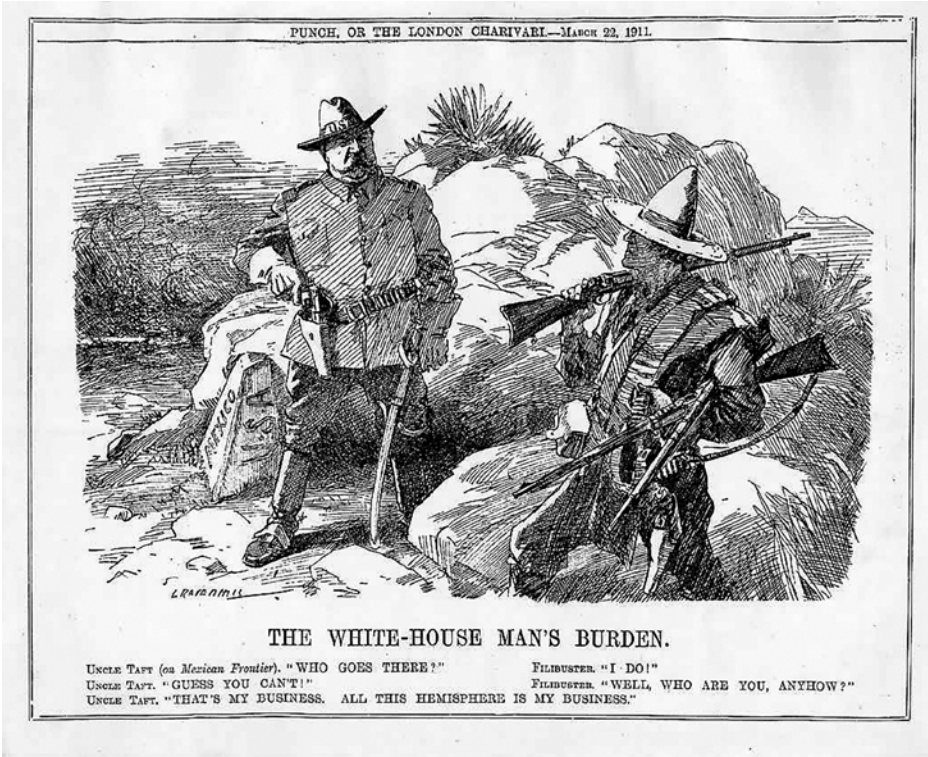
Tijuana ablaze in the background after the battle, May 9, 1911. ©SDHC #80:1699.

The only Mexicans among the Insurrectos in Tijuana, May 1911. ©SDHC #AB 222.8.

the future "Republic of Diaz."[39] Ferris remained quiet regarding Baja California after the ensuing diplomatic row until he arrived in San Diego in early May 1911.

Ferris visited Tijuana shortly after the rebel takeover, and obtained an introduction to Pryce from a very supportive reporter from the *San Diego Union*. He quickly befriended Pryce, and they engaged in much intrigue together with some of the other soldiers of fortune, sharing a common belief in Baja California's

Insurrecto headquarters in Tijuana, May 29, 1911. ©SDHC #UT 6338.



"The White-House Man's Burden," Punch Magazine *or the* London Charivari *(London) March 22, 1911.*

destiny as a "white man's land."[40] When Pryce's forces captured Tijuana in May, he had violated contrary orders from the Mexican *junta* and seemed to be playing his own game, though his victory was quickly embraced for publicity value by the *junta* and he was not punished for insubordination. Pryce's subsequent dealings with Ferris, and friction with the *junta*, were followed by his abandonment of the *insurrectos* with their funds at the critical time just after the fall of Díaz at the end of May 1911.[41] After Pryce's departure, the intrigue by the soldiers of fortune, particularly a man from Pryce's entourage named Louis James who claimed to be a West Point graduate, culminated in a half-hearted and failed attempt to put Ferris at the head of the *insurrectos* as the Provisional President of a Republic of Baja California. Fear of prosecution for violation of U.S. neutrality laws, and a stern repudiation from the radical PLM and IWW members, led Ferris to backtrack and reject the offer.[42]

The majority of historians find little evidence to support the broad-brush assertion that the PLM *junta* and the Baja California *insurrectos* were all filibusters.[43] Some of the actions of the soldiers of fortune in the foreign legion, however, and a fair amount of circumstantial evidence support the notion that Pryce and Ferris

had such aims that failed in execution. While interpreting the role of the Anglo adventurers and soldiers of fortune among the PLM army in Baja California remains contested ground for historical memory on both sides of the border, recruitment of men like James Carson by the rebel army was only one aspect of the farcical comedy of errors, or quixotic campaign, that became the Baja California Revolution of 1911. The intentions and motivations of the leadership and the rank and file PLM and IWW members who participated in the insurgency, also remain a subject of contention among historians, citizens on both sides of the border, and school children in Baja California.[44]

Soldiers of fortune, deserters from the United States military, and men who had spent much of their lives on cattle ranches were a large segment of the men who "thought they might do just like Texas done."[45] Some lacked the political consciousness and attitudes of their leaders and others had contrary—sometimes hidden—aims, all of which facilitated charges of filibusterism by Mexican nationalists and conservatives who may have been as equally or more concerned by the anti-capitalist radicalism of the PLM as by the potential it could become an annexationist movement. Many of the non-member adventurers were a disruptive influence among the PLM and IWW members and supporters and of their goals in Baja California, leading to internal dissention in both organizations and subsequent debate over responsibilities and tactics. A smaller number of adventurers also turned informant afterward and supported the United States government during the highly politicized 1912 neutrality violation trials that followed in Los Angeles. Some may have been working as spies to capture or disrupt the insurgency all along.[46]

Former buffalo cowboys (deserters?) turned insurrectos, 1911. ©SDHC #80:7279.

Supporters of the PLM goals in Mexico have variously criticized the PLM leadership for tactical errors, failing to provide material support to the *insurrectionists* in the field, as

Crowd on U.S. side of the border watching the Battle of Tijuana , June 22, 1911. ©SDHC #UT 3754.

well as abdicating their leadership by not personally taking the field. The idealism and ideological inspiration of the PLM has been officially recognized in Mexico as being precursor to the revolution, thus temporarily limiting its official relevance to the beginning of the Mexican Revolution and soft-pedaling its increasingly anarchist inspired radicalism after the Baja California campaign ended. PLM-IWW critics, on the other hand, have brought several competing charges regarding the events of the Baja California campaign. Among mildly sympathetic critics who did not fully share their radicalism, they have been charged with being impractical idealists or being more inspired by self-interested banditry or egotism than any positive social revolutionary goals. Others, including conservative partisans and the governments of Mexico and the United States, charged them with being criminals, socialists, communists, and dangerous anarchists who must be vigilantly suppressed at all costs. Many in the IWW blamed shortcomings in the PLM leadership, including a stronger penchant for producing propaganda rather than military provisions, as the root cause of the failure of the revolution. Chicano historian Richard Griswold del Castillo's list of causes for the PLM's failure remain an excellent point of departure: (1) PLM ideology was too abstract, and did not have a broad enough appeal among Mexicans; (2) United States army policing of the border that limited mobility of people and supplies; (3) the small

population of northern Baja California, many of whom became refugees, were an insufficient base of support; (4) most Mexicans living in the U.S. southwest were not from Baja California, lacked local identification, and were likely averse to military operations in the desert; and (5) many Mexicans in the United States may have believed rumors that Anglo capitalists were behind the PLM.[47] As Jim Miller points out in *Under the Perfect Sun*, racial tensions, including the impact of the disruptive elements within the rebel forces—Anglo mercenaries and adventurers—that may have been working against the PLM, and Magón's "choice to distribute more copies of Kropotkin than bullets," were also serious impediments to success.[48]

The Baja California Revolution has been frequently described as a 'comic opera' and 'stranger than fiction' due to the activities of Ferris and Pryce. The documentary evidence available on both Ferris and Pryce is limited, and relevant parts of the court records of the subsequent trials for violating neutrality laws are missing in the U.S. National Archives.[49] Humphries' interpretation that Pryce was a British agent seeking to either redirect or disrupt the PLM-IWW forces, and that Ferris and Pryce served the interests of U.S. and British capitalists who had obtained virtual principalities in Baja California during the Diaz regime, is convincing yet difficult to corroborate. General Harrison Gray Otis of the *Los Angeles Times*, John D. Spreckels of the *San Diego Union* and *Evening Tribune,*[50] and the British shareholders of the London-based Mexican Land and Colonization Company—a virtual who's who of Britain's aristocracy and upper class—all shared an antipathy towards the PLM and IWW's ideological outlook. They could be expected to attempt to protect their interests, and might have supported a covert action to do so. Even if Pryce and/or Ferris may have had filibustering aims in Baja California, however, they could not gain the support of the Mexican and IWW *insurrectos*, they did not have the support of the major landed interests, and they could only rely on the shaky loyalties of the soldiers of fortune lacking the political consciousness of the others.[51]

Insurrecto sentry guarding the Tijuana line, May 1911. ©SDHC #10454-4.

U.S. sentry at the border fence, 1911. ©SDHC #OP 9078.

The Contested Borderlands of Historical Memory

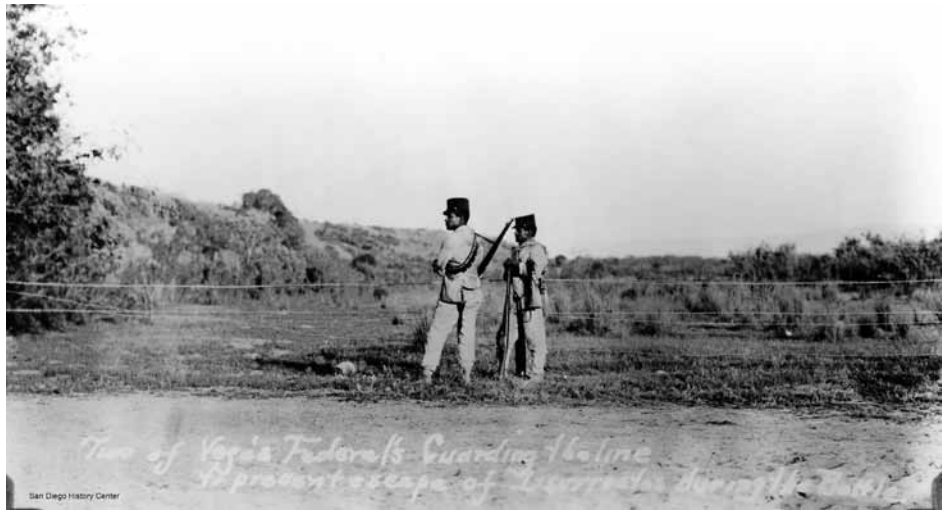
> WILL UNCLE SAM MOVE HIS BORDER LINE?
> Rumors that the Great Southwestern Maneuvers are a prelude to Another Mexican Annexation. A Queer Corner is the Southwestern-most One of the Nation.[52]

Due to a high sensitivity about the Mexican-American war, and failed nineteenth century filibuster attempts in Baja California, some Mexicans (many Baja Californians) still maintain the entire PLM-IWW insurgency was just another filibuster attempt. The article headline quoted in full above is a poignant example of the sentiment from north of the border that so deeply concerned those to the south. A detailed examination of Felix Koch's article from the June 1911 issue of *Overland Monthly*, with its provocative title quoted above, suggests a few reasons both for the permanence of the filibuster controversy to this historical episode, as well as why the ambivalence towards annexation among United States financial and border elites forestalled such action. Rumors of plans to seize the Baja California peninsula proliferated in the first half of 1911 once the United States army mobilized along the border with Mexico after the Madero and

PLM-IWW led revolutions broke out. Inspired by fantasies about the future of Baja California after the opening of the Panama Canal, the rumors were further stoked by stories in the local press that often directly advocated annexation.[53] Yet, there were also more literary, indirect pieces in popular magazines like Felix Koch's article, expressive of a more reflective and ambivalent attitude toward the region held by many editors, opinion makers, and those from north of the border with a financial interest in Baja California's development.

Unlike the title suggests, Koch's article is a travel narrative of his reflections on a "trip made by vehicle out from San Diego, part way over the same route taken by winter tourists to Tia Juana…."[54] Yet, an anxiety over the imperial issues potentially at stake is also readily apparent in the article. Koch demonstrates that anxiety through his initial framing, in his relation of visiting the boundary marker, and through his descriptions of the "dirty" people and "rather desolate" places "offering little except opportunity to gather shells on the beach, and requiring that one to take his noon meal along." [55] He shows the ambivalent and contradictory range of attitudes prevalent among many from the United States toward a potential annexation then often suggested of northern Mexico and Baja California. John Kenneth Turner asserted to the *San Francisco Bulletin* that "[i]ntervention consists in the threat to intervention."[56]

"Down in Mexico the mystery attaching to the sudden mobilization of an entire third of the American army on this continent into San Antonio, and the proximity of the Mexican line" was "no mystery at all" to Mexicans, begins Koch in his article. It was "but simply the first step in the advance of another crime



Two Mexican Federals guarding the line to prevent the escape of those who surrendered after the Battle of Tijuana. ©SDHC #10454-3.

The U.S. Army camp at the border near Tijuana, 1911. ©SDHC #AB 222.22.

like the Mexican War."[57] That Mexican attitude makes it necessary to wonder, he reasons, "how long before Uncle Sam will push his barriers southward and have need to move his border monuments."[58] An Associated Press dispatch from March 11, 1911, voices the official attitude: "The situation in Lower California is said to have caused more concern to the United States than at any other point."[59]

Koch localizes his view to the "corner" region of Baja California, however, not once mentioning why the American army was mobilized or that there was a distinct insurgency in process including many allied Mexicans and Anglos with radically anti-capitalist views who were opposed to the much larger and now successful revolutionary forces of Madero. "Interesting, indeed, is the region where, on the west, this line of monuments begins," Koch observes, before proceeding with an otherwise typical Progressive Era travel narrative. His anxieties about the emptiness and dirtiness of the land, hinting at its differing racial character and inhabitants, in the end "makes one wonder at the change that must come should this Mexican border be pushed considerably southward."[60]

Fascinated by the corner boundary monument from 1849 that was photographed for the article, Koch relates that a tablet on the paling on the American side reads: "The destruction or displacement of this monument is a misdemeanor, punishable by the United States or Mexico."[61] Interestingly, he also observes how "on both the American and the Mexican side of the grating, the iron tablet warning against mutilators has its advice in English, as if the greatest fear were to come from that side."[62] The phrasing of the last observation, using "as if" to

suggest an injustice in the implication, is rather ironic considering the historic American expansionist impulse towards Spanish and Mexican lands that was further consummated during the late nineteenth century through ownership rather than territorial control. Can it be a feigned innocence considering Koch was straddling the contested ground upon which were projected the annexationist sentiments he echoes in his title? Or could it be a reflection of imperial arrogance, summarily discounting any legitimate reason for Mexico to fear any disrespect from the United States toward Mexican sovereignty?

Historian Matthew Frye Jacobson has demonstrated how imperialist attitudes and stereotypes toward foreign peoples, at home and abroad, developed rapidly and crystallized during the years after 1876. Rising labor activism in the United States, heterogeneous immigration from areas of the world other than northwestern Europe, and a rising nativism were interrelated and destabilizing forces for the United States as a perceived "overproduction" crisis became endemic in the 1870s as mobile capital began to aggressively seek higher profits abroad. The boom times and periods of stagnant or declining domestic demand in the United States, resulting from the quest for profit maximization wherever it may be found, spurred global patterns of labor migration to America and capital investment flow abroad.[63] United States based businessmen found their first major transnational area of extended hegemony in Mexico after the period of continental expansion ending with the last Indian Wars and completion of the transcontinental railroad.[64] They also found an accessible, migratory, and cheap labor force that by 1910 had

Rebel Army surrendering arms—Tijuana, June 22, 1911. ©SDHC #95:19385-16.

already become an essential demographic component of the "dark"/"unskilled" positions in the racial geography of labor that characterized the southwestern United States.[65]

One of the characteristics of the Anglo acquisition and occupation of lands in Mexico during the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was the erection of fences and the exclusion—sometimes at gunpoint—of Mexicans and indigenous people who formerly had longstanding customary claims to occupation and usage of the land. The border became a new locus of such division as the Mexican Revolution began, "for a high wire fence has been erected, and during the battle was patrolled by our troops."[66] The demarcation of physical space, however, was only one element of the new geographical terrain of the U.S. Mexico borderlands in the time preceding the outbreak of revolution. Economic and cultural geographies were also transformed, in which new transnational flows of capital and labor changed regional social and economic relationships. A racially segregated residential settlement pattern and division of labor were established by corporate led economic development. "Corridors of migration" opened up for the displaced or 'undesirable' to seek better opportunities where their labor was in higher demand.[67] These changing geographies resulted from a pattern of uneven development and increased disparities of wealth in the border region, exemplified in Baja California by the mostly foreign owned export enclave of the Mexicali Valley in contrast with the surrounding relative poverty of the northern part of the peninsula.[68] This newly developed cultural and economic geography

Surrendered insurrectos crossing the border line, June 22, 1911. ©SDHC #10454-6.

Insurrecto General and IWW member Jack Mosby (left) and his adjutant, Bert Laflin (right), June 1911. ©SDHC #80:7280.

was bolstered by a new geography of power as well. State and corporate forces on both sides of the border cooperated with each other enforcing the mutual interests between American and Mexican border elites in the suppression of dissent and labor organizing.[69]

Mexico underwent a widespread privatization and enclosure process of land tenure during the second half of the nineteenth century.[70] Díaz's economic policies accelerated this trend and opened up Mexican land and natural resources to foreign ownership and promoted foreign investment on easy terms, which aligned perfectly with investors desires from north of the border that supported economic penetration and domination of Mexico but not territorial acquisition.[71] While Mexico's elite and small middle class also benefited from the economic growth during the Porfiriato, land ownership became highly concentrated.[72] Sufficient rural and urban employment was not developed in domestic industry or in the expanding cash crop-export sector to absorb Mexico's displaced rural population. Many rural Mexicans lacking formal title were dispossessed through the denunciation of "vacant lands" processes that increased under the Porfiriato. Private investors, often Anglo American, frequently obtained lands with a history of communal use from surveyors who did not disclose potential conflicting claims. Many were unaware of the questionable legality of the titles they had obtained and resentful or unconcerned with the opposing claims of the displaced peasantry.[73]

Rebels with their guns during the Baja California Insurrection, 1911. ©SDHC #OP 4153.

Uprooted *campesinos* and ruined artisans fed the growth of a large migratory labor force in Mexico during the late nineteenth century as they were pushed from their customary homes and pulled northward by the higher earning potential available to waged mine and ranch workers in the northern states of Mexico. By the first decade of the twentieth century, transnational migratory labor crossing over from the northern states of Mexico became instrumental to the development of the southwestern United States.[74] The migratory response of Mexican workers to land enclosures eased pressure on the Mexican state to ensure their integration into its modernizing economy, thus facilitating economic growth in the southwestern United States where Mexican labor was in high demand. Mexican workers received discriminatory treatment in the new foreign owned industries, mostly mines and ranches, on both sides of the border. Mexican Americans and Mexican immigrants only became regionally predominant after rising numbers crossed the border after 1910 and labor demand increased with the outbreak of World War I, although they had been a vital part of the local labor force in southern California and other areas adjacent to the international border since the American conquest.[75]

Mexican and Indian labor were already instrumental in several industries in San Diego County before World War I, including the Imperial Valley area established as Imperial County in 1907. These included agriculture, road and railroad maintenance, mining, real estate construction, city and county public works projects, and other industries requiring unskilled and semi-skilled labor.[76]

Intense discussion was then underway among large employers of unskilled and migratory farm labor in California about how best to meet their desire for cheap and expendable seasonal labor.[77] A racial geography of labor, with Mexican and Mexican Americans on the bottom of the socioeconomic scale, developed on American owned properties on both sides of the border.[78] An article by Wilbur Jay Hall during the formative period, published by *Sunset Magazine* in 1910, suggested that the Imperial Valley was "Just Like Dixie Land." [79] It expresses an explicit desire for a racial division of labor to take hold in the newly irrigated lands. In essence, Anglo owners and employers throughout the Southwest would benefit from migratory Mexican labor. On the other hand, Anglo labor would be privileged with respect to job opportunities, living conditions, and membership in a superior caste.[80] A successful PLM-IWW revolution in Baja California might have stood in the way of these trends favored by transnational capital.

Conclusion: Historical Memory in 1911 and 2011

Recalling a past social revolutionary uprising is an exercise in treading thin ice, especially when it has generated as much controversy as the events of the Baja California uprising of 1911. An interpretive path of least resistance adheres to clearly marked pathways along a borderland both joining and dividing two countries of unequal political-economic power. Around the boundary line, culturally constructed frontiers and zones of interaction overlap superimposed

Rebels at Fort Rosecrans, San Diego, June 1911. ©SDHC #OP 259.

General Mosby and his staff in Tijuana, June 1911. ©SDHC #UT 7725.

on the territorial division. Unlike physical borders that are defined in terms of the inclusion or exclusion of space, the geography of cultural frontiers are shaped by ever changing states of negotiation and reconstitution influenced by the daily encounters of diverse individuals and groups, and the popular memory of past interactions. Transnational economic interests and powerful institutional forces, reaching across physical as well as cultural geographies, have shaped lives on both sides of the border. In so doing, the economic power of transnational capital has influenced popular understanding of events challenging to its hegemony.

The events of 1911 in Baja California were enmeshed within developing regional political-economic trends in Mexico and the southwestern United States; global partnerships and rivalries were stoked by increased United States imperialism in the aftermath of the Spanish-American War. The limited advances achieved in political, economic, and cultural life for the average Mexican during the revolution reflect the contingent nature of cultural and political-economic systems in historical time and physical space. The distribution of land ownership remains a vital issue in Mexico; and the elimination of the caste system, recognition of labor rights, limitations on the power of the Catholic Church, and a partial restoration of Mexican hegemony over its natural resources, have only been partially realized in practice and remain hotly contested.

From the perspective of 2012, with political unrest and revolutionary ferment having erupted across the globe, the international character of the 1911 revolution in Baja California seems more readily apparent. The importance, and perils, to Mexico of its increased global economic interdependence in the later nineteenth

century–specifically the reliance upon foreign capital and the exploitation of cheap labor for national economic development–was strikingly paralleled in many ways by Iran, China, and Russia.[81] Events outside these countries resulted in a dramatic curtailment of foreign credits during the first decade of the twentieth century after a period of increased agricultural commercialization and expanded foreign investment. National elites in all four countries who were eager to modernize their culture and economies became dependent on the steady flow of capital to maintain employment and political order due to the uneven course of economic development characterized by land enclosures, externally oriented export enclaves, and growing wealth inequality. Subsequent contraction in the availability of foreign direct investment turned boom to bust and helped undo these national elites as fiscal crisis combined with combative populations resulted in destabilized national governments and revolution.[82]

Contemporary understandings of the 1911 Baja California episode in the greater Mexican Revolution were bitterly contested, like the disorders of 2011, and they were colored by the ideological, ethnic, gender and class positions from which the participants viewed it. In 1994, coinciding with the launch of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), the Zapatista movement in Chiapas appropriated and used Ricardo Flores Magón's legacy along with the other Mexican working class revolutionary heroes—Emiliano Zapata and Francisco Villa—as a stark

General Mosby surrendering to Captain Wilcox after the Battle of Tijuana. ©SDHC #10454-5.

reminder to the Mexican and United States ruling class of the persistence of revolutionary unrest in the countryside in rural Mexico.[83] Zapatista popularity in the 1990s, and the moral support they received from many urban dwellers on both sides of the border, was an unnerving spectacle for the governments and business elites who had promoted NAFTA for its echo of the revolutionary times at the beginning of the century. In 2006, another rebellion with large scale indigenous participation occurred in Magón's ancestral home state of Oaxaca, and his inspiration was readily apparent among some of the rebels.[84] The continuing relevance of the legacy of Magón to indigenous groups in Mexico who have claimed his memory as their own shows the persistent power of his ideals to Mexico's dispossessed.

NOTES

1. James Carson, as told to Lauren C. Post, El Centro, April 18, 1972, "The Battle of Tijuana," *The Wrangler,* Westerners San Diego Corral, Vol. 5, No. 2 (June 1972), 8-9. A fresno scraper is an early type of horse-drawn earthmover for use in sandy soils, a forerunner of modern bulldozers.
2. Ibid., 1, 8.
3. Ibid., 8.
4. Ibid., 10. Mexican Indians from multiple groups were, in fact, involved in the Baja California Revolution. Carson's statement is more reflective of the prevailing attitudes of Anglos in the Southwestern United States to view indigenous groups as Mexicans, and vice versa. Anthropologist Roger C. Owen's field work with Indian groups in Baja California produced important details and narrative strands about the involvement of local Indians with both the rebels and government forces. See Roger C. Owen, "Indians and Revolution: The 1911 Invasion of Baja California, Mexico," *Ethnohistory* 10, No. 4 (Autumn, 1963), 373-395.
5. "Anglos" is used in this context, as in common practice in U.S. southwestern history, to refer generally to the "white" Americanized immigrants and American-born of European descent from north of the border. Although the true etymology of the moniker – wobbly or wobblies – is unknown, IWW lore most often refers to an exchange with a friendly Chinese restaurateur from Vancouver, British Columbia in 1911 who would extend credit to members. When asking if someone was an IWW, he would unsuccessfully try to pronounce the "w" by saying "I Wobble Wobble." Local members, amused by the mispronunciation, began to jokingly call themselves "I Wobbly Wobbly." Another possible explanation refers to the "wobble saw," a type of circular saw mounted askew for cutting wider grooves. Canadian labor historian Mark Leier notes the first explanation's popularity in wobbly lore reflected that the wobblies considered it a humorous effort to counter racism and simple way of practicing internationalism. See Mark Leier, *Where the Fraser River Flows: The Industrial Workers of the World in British Columbia*, (Vancouver: New Star Books, 1990), 35, 54 n. 8.
6. Even though the PLM leadership would later openly proclaim anarchist principles, after the Baja California Revolution was defeated, only some of the members of the PLM or the IWW among the armed rebels were inspired by anarchist or syndicalist ideas. Both organizations nonetheless shared a common ideological outlook that parliamentary political action was a useless farce, and they both advocated the tactics of direct action, the general strike, and sabotage to achieve their goals. See Troy Robert Fuller, "'Our Cause is Your Cause:' The Relationship Between the Industrial Workers of the World and the Partido Liberal Mexicano, 1905-1911"

(M.A. Thesis, The University of Calgary, Alberta, 1997). Fuller has written a well argued thesis on the connections between the PLM and IWW, with his interpretation stressing the role of Mexican American dual members of the rank and file and local leadership in both organizations as critical to forging the linkages that resulted in a PLM-IWW alliance by the time of the Baja California Revolution in 1911. See also, Norman E. Caulfield, "The Industrial Workers of the World and Mexican Labor," (M.A. Thesis, University of Houston, 1987).

7. For a more colorful early account of the foreign legion in Baja California, with as much a journalistic as a literary treatment of the subject matter, see Peter B. Kyne, "The Gringo as Insurrecto," *Sunset Magazine*, 27 (September 1911), 257-267. Kyne became a prolific and well-known author of short stories and novels soon after; many of his works became early screenplays during the silent film era.

8. Carson,"The Battle of Tijuana," 9.

9. Camp talk within the foreign legion, according to Carson, held it as "general knowledge" that rebel soldiers would be paid one dollar per day and be granted 160 acres for their services should the revolution succeed. Ibid.

10. *Regeneración*, April 8, 1911, 1, 4. The excerpted "Manifesto to the Workers of the World," dated April 3, 1911, was printed with a prominent headline on the English language page, as well as leading the front page in Spanish. PDF files of the complete collection of *Regeneración* (1900-1918), among other texts, are now available online at the *Archivo Electrónico Ricardo Flores Magón* established by Mexico's Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia. Accessible online: http://www.archivomagon.net/Periodico/Regeneracion/Regeneracion.html

11. The term "Magonista" to refer to the partisans of the Los Angeles based PLM junta, once in common usage, has fallen out of favor in more recent scholarship. One reason for the loss of favor is a growing recognition that the anarcho-syndicalist inspired ideology of the PLM strongly opposed leader glorification and hierarchy. Like the IWW, the PLM identified *caciquismo* or "bossism" as instrumental to the capitalist, governmental, and religious authority structures that stood in the way of workers putting control of the land and factories into their own hands. For a similar acknowledgment, citing Magón and a supporter, see Benjamin Maldonado Alvarado, *Ante el centenario de la Revolución Mexicana: Magonismo y vida comunal mesoamericana*, (Oaxaca: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes, Oaxaca Secretaria de Cultura, 2010), 11, fn. 1. "Soy conciente de que el mismo Ricardo Flores Magón rechazaba enérgicamente el nombre de *magonistas*...Sin embargo, no encuentro nombre para referirme al movimiento liberal-anarquista que tuvo como su figura más destacada a Ricardo Flores Magón." In the most complete, and newest, interpretation available in Spanish, Mexican historian Marco Antonio Samaniego López also cautions against the accuracy of the term "magonistas" for a second reason: the confusion it generates due to the heterogeneous composition and motives of the insurgents, many of whom were not following orders from the PLM. "Los integrantes del grupo armado estuvieron lejos de ser seguidores de los dirigentes del Partido Liberal Mexicano y nombrarlos 'magonistas' o 'liberals' poco ayuda a comprender el proceso." Marco Antonio Samaniego López, *Nacionalismo y revolución: los acontecimientos de 1911 en Baja California* (Tijuana: Universidad Autónoma de Baja California, Centro Cultural Tijuana, 2008), 8.

12. For Madero's statement of his revolutionary goals, which primarily entailed the deposition of Díaz and democratic reform, see Francisco Madero, *La sucesión presidencial en 1910*, (Coahuila: El Partido Nacional Democrático, Dec. 1908). Accessible online: http://www.archive.org/details/lasucesinpresid00madegoog

13. For the best general interpretive work on the Mexican Revolution in its entirety, assessing the goals and legacies of the various participants, see John Mason Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico: The Coming and Processes of the Mexican Revolution, 10th Anniversary Edition,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997). For an analysis of PLM-Madero "divisions and coalitions," see chapter 7 of James D. Cockcroft, *Intellectual Precursors of the Mexican Revolution, 1900-1913*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1976), 157-169. For the most detailed description of the persecution of

Mexican *revoltosos* in the United States, see W. Dirk Ratt, *Revoltosos: Mexico's Rebels in the United States, 1903-1923,* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1981), *passim*, especially pp. 175-243. For a more probing analysis of the role of American economic penetration of Mexico beginning in the nineteenth century, and its resultant political influence on the Mexican Revolution, see also John Mason Hart, *Empire and Revolution: The Americans in Mexico since the Civil War,* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002). Hart's latter work, based on extensive archival research in Mexico and the United States, draws on many declassified files from the American-Mexican claims commissions arising out of the Bucareli Accords of 1923, covering claims arising out of events from the 1910s through the 1940s. Yet, he also notes in a bibliographical essay at the end of the book that "[t]he United States Government, its officials, and American businesses, entrepreneurs, and persons who went to live in Mexico have lost or kept secret many of the facts regarding their experiences there. The papers of Wilson and Roosevelt administration officials in private collections, the National Archives, and the Library of Congress have been carefully culled to remove damaging or embarrassing material." Hart, *Empire and Revolution*, 542.

14. Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico*, *passim*.

15. See 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), 11-33. See also Charles Jacob Hanlen, "Ricardo Flores Magón: Biography of a Revolutionary" (M.A. Thesis, University of San Diego, College for Men, 1967), 78-104.

16. Ricardo Flores Magón, Antonio Villareal, and Librado Rivera, all members of the PLM junta, arrived in Los Angeles on November 4, 1910 after their August release from prison in Arizona for violation of U.S. neutrality laws. See Lowell L. Blaisdell, *The Desert Revolution: Baja California, 1911,* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1962), 3.

17. *Regeneración*, September 30, 1905, 2-3. John M. Hart, *Anarchism and the Mexican Working Class, 1860-1931,* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), 89. See also Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico*, 93; Ward S. Albro, *Always a Rebel: Ricardo Flores Magón and the Mexican Revolution*, (Fort Worth: Texan Christian University Press, 1992), 30; Blaisdell, *The Desert Revolution*, 5-6; Cockcroft, *Intellectual Precursors,* 123-5; Juan Gómez-Quiñones, *Sembradores. Ricardo Flores Magón y el Partido Liberal Mexicano: A Eulogy and a Critique*, (Los Angeles: Aztlán Publications, Monoraph No. 5, Chicano Studies Center, UCLA, 1973), 29; Thomas C. Langham, *Border Trials: Ricardo Flores Magón and the Mexican Liberals*, Southwestern Studies Monograph No. 65, (El Paso, Texas Western Press, 1981), 16; MacLachlan, *Anarchism,* p. 4; Ethel Duffy Turner, *Ricardo Flores Magón y el Partido Liberal Mexicano*, (Ciudad de Mexico: Comisión Nacional Editorial del C.E.N., 1984), 75; Ethel Duffy Turner, ed. by Rey Devis, *Revolution in Baja California: Ricardo Flores Magón's High Noon*, (Detroit, Blaine Ethridge Books, 1981), viii.

18. Hart, *Anarchism,* 88. See also Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico*, 88; Albro, *Always a Rebel*, 5; Blaisdell, *Desert Revolution,* 4; Cockcroft, *Intellectual Precursors,* 74; Hanlen, "Ricardo Flores Magón," 5; Gómez-Quiñones, *Sembradores,* 20-21; Langham, *Border Trials*, 7; MacLachlan, *Anarchism*, 2; Turner, *Ricardo Flores Magón,* 18; Turner, *Revolution*, vii.

19. Sources are contradictory regarding the year of Ricardo Flores Magón's birth. A brief chapter has been dedicated to the issue in Benjamin Maldonado Alvarado, *Ante el centenario de la Revolución Mexicana,* 93-5. The most widely accepted birth year is 1873, with several adherents that include his intimates like Ethel Duffy Turner and Nicolás T. Bernal, although 1874 has gained supporters based on the remembrance of his brother Enrique – who has not always been an accurate source on details. The year 1864 has been asserted by Mexican historian José C. Valadés, and 1875 has been suggested based on a letter written by Ricardo Flores Magón to his defense attorney Harry Weinberger on May 9, 1921. Maldonado Alvarado states that the municipal authorities of Eloxochitlán produced a birth certificate confirming 1873 during a 1986 seminar organized by the Centro de Investigación y Documentación sobre Temas y Autores Oaxaqueños, de la Casa de la Cultura Oaxaqueña.

20. Hanlen, "Ricardo Flores Magón," 1, 4.

21. Diego Abad de Santillán, *Ricardo Flores Magón: El Apóstol de la Revolución Social Mexicana*, (México: Centro de Estudios Históricos del Movimiento Obrero Mexicano, 1978), 26. See also Albro, *Always a Rebel*, 17.

22. Ricardo and Enrique eventually split after their last conviction together in a heavily politicized 1918 trial for conspiracy to violate the Espionage Act of 1917, the Trading with the Enemy Act, and the Amended Federal Penal Code of 1910. See MacLachlan, *Anarchism*, 76-94. Yet, after being deported to Mexico in 1923, MacLachlan notes, "Enrique continued agitating in Mexico until October 24, 1954, when he died." *Ibid*., 92.

23. Albro, *Always a Rebel*, 5-22; Blaisdell, *The Desert Revolution*, 5; Hart, *Anarchism*, 88-89; Raat, *Revoltosos*, 18-20.

24. Albro, *Always a Rebel*, 99-105; Blaisdell, *The Desert Revolution*, 11; Cockroft, *Intellectual Precursors*, 114-116.

25. *The Industrial Worker*, September 17, 1910, 3, as cited in Fuller, "Our Cause is Your Cause," 94-95.

26. Albro, *Always a Rebel*, 117-123; MacLachlan, *Anarchism*, 30-31.

27. Fuller, "Our Cause is Your Cause," 91-106.

28. For the term *gringo insurrecto*, I borrow from Kyne, "The Gringo as Insurrecto."

29. "Fellow workers" was the traditional opening greeting of IWW members' soapbox oratory and letters. See Joyce L. Kornbluh, *Rebel Voices: An IWW Anthology, New and Expanded Edition*, (Chicago: Charles H. Kerr Publishing Co., 1998), *passim*. See also the oral history collection in Philip S. Foner, *Fellow Workers and Friends: I.W.W. Free-Speech Fights As Told by Participants*, (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981), *passim*.

30. Chicano historian Richard Griswold del Castillo dubbed the Baja California Revolution the "discredited revolution" in one of the three other articles published by this journal addressing the insurgency in Baja California in 1911. He specifically considers the question of why the PLM did not attract more Mexican recruits and its attendant loss of political appeal, identifying the non-Mexican character of the army as a major political liability. Richard Griswold del Castillo, "The Discredited Revolution: The Magonista Capture of Tijuana in 1911," *The Journal of San Diego History*, Vol. 26, No. 6 (Fall, 1980), 256-273.

31. W. Dirk Ratt, *Revoltosos: Mexico's Rebels in the United States, 1903-1923*, (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1981), 175-199, 208-243.

32. Turner, *Revolution in Baja California*, 6. See also Pablo L. Martinez, *A History of Lower California* Trans. Ethel Duffy Turner. (Mexico: Av. Escuela Industrial No. 46, 1960), 468.

33. Blaisdell, *The Desert Revolution*, 73-6. See also Turner, *Revolution in Baja California*, 10, 23-4; Martinez, *A History of Lower California*, 471-4.

34. Blaisdell, *The Desert Revolution*, 81, 83.

35. Griswold del Castillo, "The Discredited Revolution."

36. On the strange role of Pryce, see generally: John Humphries, *Gringo Revolutionary: The Amazing Adventures of Caryl ap Rhys Pryce* (Llandybie: Glyndwr Publishing, 2005), *passim*, especially pp. 45-206.

37. Blaisdell, *The Desert Revolution*, 60, 131.

38. *Ibid*., 60-62; see also *Revolutions in Cuba and Mexico*, Report of the Senate Subcommittee on Foreign Relations, 62 Congress, 2 session (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1913), 373-374; and Mike Davis, Jim Miller & Kelly Mayhew, *Under the Perfect Sun: The San Diego Tourists Never See* (New York: The New Press, 2003), 170-171, 174-176.

39. Blaisdell, *The Desert Revolution*, 87-89.

40. Blaisdell, *The Desert Revolution*, 130-135.

41. Humphries, *Gringo Revolutionary*, 163-172, especially 171. Humphries concludes on page 171: "Pryce's departure was tactical. Desertion would have been wholly uncharacteristic of a man whose life had been spent courting danger."

42. Blaisdell, *The Desert Revolution*, 147-157.

43. Some examples include: Albro, *Always a Rebel*; Blaisdell, *The Desert Revolution*; Lowell Blaisdell, "Was it Revolution or Filibustering?" *Pacific Historical Review*, Vol. 23, No. 4 (May, 1954), 147-164; Fuller, "Our Cause is Your Cause"; Turner, *Revolution in Baja California*; Griswold del Castillo, "The Discredited Revolution"; Martinez, *A History of Lower California*, 485-513; Samaniego López, *Nacionalismo y revolución*; Lawrence D. Taylor, "The Magonista Revolt in Baja California: Capitalist Conspiracy or Rebellion de los Pobres," *The Journal of San Diego History*, Vol. 45, No. 1 (Winter, 1999), 2-23; Turner, *Ricardo Flores Magón*; Turner, *Revolution in Baja California*.

44. For school children, see Celso Aguirre Bernal, *Breve Historia de Estado de Baja California: Cuaderno de Trabajo, Texto para las Escuelas de Educación Básica*, 2da. Edición (Mexicali, B.C.: Raga Impressora S.A. DE C.V., 1997), 43-46.

45. Carson, "The Battle of Tijuana," 9.

46. Blaisdell, *The Desert Revolution*, 188-194; Turner, *Revolution in Baja California*, 70-81.

47. Blaisdell concluded: "As a journalist and a theoretician, he approached, and at times achieved, greatness. On the other hand, as a leader of men, his incompetence was truly breathtaking." Blaisdell, *The Desert Revolution*, 204. Richard Griswold del Castillo also reached a similar conclusion: "The P.L.M.'s failure was not due primarily to its ideology. Indeed most of the party's platform was later enacted into law in the Mexican Constitution of 1917. The key to the failure rather was due to the party's lack of pragmatic leadership." Griswold del Castillo, "The Discredited Revolution," 263-5, 271. See also: Fuller, "Our Cause is Your Cause," 117-120.

48. Davis, Mayhew, and Miller, *Under the Perfect Sun*, 171-2.

49. A personal visit to the National Archives, Pacific Division, confirmed the lack of trial records pertinent to Ferris and Pryce.

50. Spreckels was also heavily invested in the San Diego and Arizona Railroad under construction.

51. Blaisdell, *The Desert Revolution*, especially 142-162; Blaisdell, "Was it Revolution or Filibustering;" Humphries, *Gringo Insurrecto*, 140-44, 163-191; Taylor, "The Magonista Revolt in Baja California," 12-22.

52. Headline and subheadline from Felix J. Koch, "Will Uncle Sam Move His Border Line?" *Overland Monthly*, 57, 6 (June, 1911), 646.

53. Blaisdell, *The Desert Revolution*, 62-69.

54. Koch, "will Uncle Sam," 646.

55. Ibid., 650, 646-7.

56. Quoted in Turner, *Revolution in Baja California*, 18.

57. Koch, "will Uncle Sam," 646.

58. Ibid.,

59. Quoted in Turner, *Revolution in Baja California*, 18.

60. Ibid., 650. For a nuanced analysis on the value of travel writing as a window to the discourse about empire, see also David M. Wrobel, "Exceptionalism and Gloablism: Travel Writers and the Nineteenth-Century American West," *The Historian*, 68, 3 (Fall 2006), 431-60.

61. Koch, "will Uncle Sam," 648.

62. Ibid., 649.

63. Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples At Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2000) *passim*.

64. Hart, *Empire and Revolution*, 1-267, *passim*.

65. Paul S. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States,* Vol. I (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1930), 1-94.

66. Margaret L. Holbrook Smith,"The Capture of Tia Juana," *Overland Monthly*, Vol. 28, No. 1, (July, 1911), 4. This article describes the capture of Tia Juana on May 8-9, 1911, by the rebel *insurrectos* from the perspective of an American observer watching from north of the line. The barbed wire fence had been erected by U.S. troops as part of their containment efforts to cut off all means of support to the *insurrectos* from north of the border.

67. I borrow "corridors of migration" from Rodolfo F. Acuña, *Corridors of Migration: The Odyssey of Mexican Laborers, 1600-1933* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2007). Acuña has combined narrative structure, and a comprehensive synthesis to expand on the patterns and themes initially described by Paul S. Taylor in *Mexican Labor in the United States,* Vol. I.

68. See, for example, the "Yankee enclave" characterization of the Mexicali Valley in Dorothy Pierson Kerig, "Yankee enclave: The Colorado River Land Company and Mexican agrarian reform in Baja California," (Ph.D. Diss., Univ. of CA, Irvine, 1988).

69. Raat, *Revoltosos*, especially 175-199; Michael M. Smith, "The Mexican Secret Service in the United States, 1910-1920," *The Americas*, 59, 1 (July, 2002), 65-85.

70. Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico, passim*, especially 33-51.

71. Hart, *Empire and Revolution*, *passim*. See also Gilbert G. Gonzalez, *Culture of Empire: American Writers, Mexico, and Mexican Immigrants, 1880-1930*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), *passim*.

72. Baja California was exemplary due to its remoteness and low population density compared to central Mexico. In *Empire and Revolution,* one of Hart's appendices lists the following large property holdings in Baja California: the California-Mexican Company tracts totaling 1,949,702 acres; the Circle Bar Ranch totaling 1,000,000 acres owned by R.H. Benton and the Norte Circle Bar Cattle Co.; the Colorado River Land Co. totaling 860,655 acres owned by Harrison Gray Otis and Harry Chandler, et. al.; Diversos Baldios totaling 1,480,939 acres owned by Delbert J. Hoff; the Isla del Carmen totaling 540,000 acres owned by the Pacific Salt Co.; the Mexicali town site of 100,000 acres owned by Guillermo Andrade heirs, Hiram W. Blaisdell, and Willam Hefferman; Rancho Ensenada totaling 1,100,000 acres owned by María Amparo Ruiz de Burton; San Pedro Martyr totaling 288,000 acres owned by Sam A. and Frank T. Thing; the Sociedad Irrigacion land tract of 100,000 acres owned by Sociedad de Irrigacion S.A.; and 235,000 acres of various tracts owned by the heirs of John MacManus. Not included in this list, however, are the holdings of John D. Spreckels. Hart, *Empire and Revolution*, 511-525.

73. Sophisticated investor syndicates were more aware of their questionable land titles. Consider the lengths to which the Colorado River Land Company went to research and secure title documentation and related information to prepare for inevitable counter claims: Kerig, "Yankee enclave," 70-127.

74. Marc Reisler notes that after 1910, Mexico became the "prime source" of the migratory work force in California agriculture north of the border and Mexican workers performed nearly all the construction and maintenance work for municipal streetcar systems and public works in Southern California. Reisler, *By the Sweat of their Brow: Mexican Immigrant Labor in the United States, 1900-1940* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1976), 6-8.

75. Acuña, *Corridors of Migration;* Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley: Univ. of CA Press, 1994); Mario Barrera, *Race and Class in the Southwest: A Theory of Racial Inequality* (Notre Dame: Univ. of Notre Dame Press, 1979); Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States,* Vol. I, 233-255.

76. See Frederick L. Ryan, *The Labor Movement in San Diego: Problems and Development from 1887 to*

1957 (San Diego: San Diego State College Bureau of Business and Economics Research, 1959) 16-25. See also LeRoy E. Harris, "The Other Side of the Freeway: A Study of Settlement Patterns of Negroes and Mexican Americans in San Diego, California" (PhD diss., Carnegie-Mellon University, 1974), chapter 4, 72-91; and Robert W. Diehl, "To Speak or Not to Speak: San Diego 1912" (MA Thesis, University of San Diego, 1976) 28-34.

77. Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States,* Vol. I, 2-18.

78. Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines*.

79. Wilbur Jay Hall, "Just Like Dixie Land," *Sunset Magazine*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Feb. 1910), 173-175.

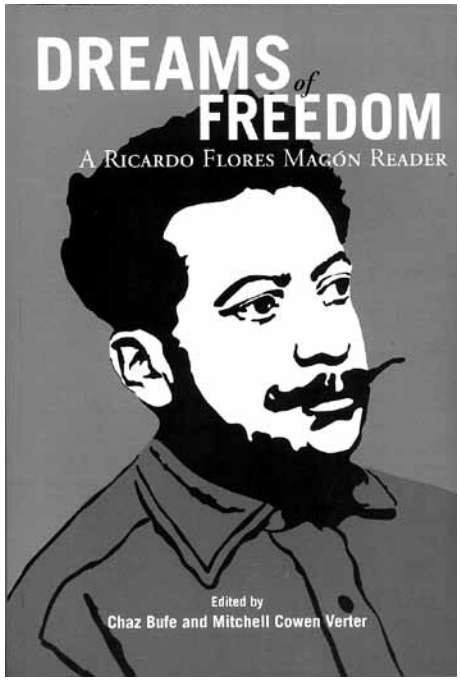
80. Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines*; Taylor, *Mexican Labor in the United States,* Vol. I, 2-18.

81. See Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico*, 187-234 *passim*. See also James Rinehart, *Revolution and the Millennium: China, Mexico, and Iran* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 1997).

82. The threads of global causation in the Mexican Revolution are amply described in Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico, passim*, especially chapter seven, 187-234.

83. Bill Weinberg, *Homage to Chiapas: The New Indigenous Struggles in Mexico*, (New York: Verso, 2000), 97, 129, 180, 288.

84. The Popular Assembly of the Peoples of Oaxaca (APPO), which erupted on the local scene in response to state repression of a teachers' strike in the Fall of 2006, included among its constituent groups the Popular Indigenous Council of Oaxaca—Ricardo Flores Magón (CIPO-RFM) and the Alianza Magonista Zapatista (AMZ). Diana Denham & C.A.S.A. Collective, editors, *Teaching Rebellion: Stories from the Grassroots Mobilization in Oaxaca*, (Oakland: PM Press, 2008); Collective Reinventions, *Broken Barricades: The Oaxaca Rebellion in Victory, Defeat, and Beyond*, (March, 2008), available online: http://www.collectivereinventions.org/Insurgent_Mexico/Broken_Barricades/Broken_Barricades.pdf. For additional online sources in translation, see: http://www.collectivereinventions.org/Insurgent_Mexico/Insurgent_Mexico.htm



Dreams of Freedom:
A Ricardo Flores Magón Reader *(cover photo) Chaz Bufe and Mitchell Cowen Verter, editors, (Oakland: AK Press, 2005). http://www.akpress.org/2004/items/dreamsoffreedommagonreader*