UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

The Mining Life:
A Transnational History of Race and Family in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands, 1890-1965

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in

History

by

Juliette Charlie Maiorana

Committee in charge:
Professor Rebecca Plant, Chair
Professor G. Mark Hendrickson
Professor Pamela Radcliff
Professor Paul Spickard
Professor Shelley Streeby

2013

The Dissertation of Juliette Charlie Maiorana is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically:

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Chair

University of California, San Diego

2013

Dedication

This work is dedicated to my momma—Lucinda Miriam González, Heinrichs, Spalding, Skousen, Bagby, Miller, Stickney, Jones (take your pick). She taught me how and why to survive under any conditions.

And to my sons Riley Elijah Maiorana and Jackson Joseph Maiorana, who since their conception, continually teach me that once one survives, one must live, and in that living there is unfathomable joy.

Table Of Contents

List Of Tables

Acknowledgments

It takes a village to get a poor, young, *Mexicana/Chicana*, mother through her doctoral program. In my case it was a city. It is an honor and a pleasure for me to thank them all.

My extended biological family is stretched on both sides of the U.S.-Mexican border. Since beginning graduate school my family on both sides of the line have inspired, sheltered, and sustained me for the last nine years. My immediate family is mostly comprised of phenomenal women. Genoveva Spalding, Lucinda Jones, Genoveva (Jenny) Spalding, Gabrielle Spalding, Tanja Skousen, and Catelyn Stickney prove to me over and over the strength, power, love, and resilience of women of Mexican origin and immigrant women. The lone male *soldado* who stood by me through the madness of my life and doctoral program is my *hermanito,* Keith Skousen. My other brother is largely missing, but when he does show up, he is fantastic with my children. *Te amo mucho* Samuel Spalding. We would all walk through fire for each other.

I also have family not connected by blood, but rather through years of friendship and joy in sharing our lives with each other. I love and thank Tahna Weber, Erin Flemming, Amy Patricia Schneider, and Danielle Chambers. For unbelievable help with my children during my various research travels, I must acknowledge, from the bottom of my heart, Nova Patiño and Emily Montgomery.

As a woman who grew up in a trailer park in rural Arizona, I know the crucial importance of financial support. I have been very fortunate to have had a number of institutions provide resources that were of absolute necessity in researching and writing

this dissertation. My profound thanks to U.C. San Diego's Cota Robles Diversity Fellowship; the Department of History at U.C. San Diego; the U.C. San Diego Center for Iberian and Latin American Studies; Brigham Young University's Redd Center for Western Studies; the Western History Association's Sara Jackson Award for Diversity; the U.C. Center for New Racial Studies at U.C. Santa Barbara; the Western History Association in partnership with the Huntington Library and Botanical Gardens for the Martin Ridge Dissertation Fellowship; and the National Academies of the Sciences' Ford Foundation's Diversity Fellowship. I am honored to count myself as one amongst the Ford Fellows who through their listserv sustained me, challenged me, and provided warm fellowship over the course of this dissertation.

I am convinced that professional mothers should run this world. At U.C. San Diego, I was particularly impressed by the examples of Dr. Natalia Molina, Dr. Nancy Kwak, Dr. Rachael Klein, and especially, Dr. Pamela Radcliff. Dr. Rebecca Plant, also a professional mother, became my advisor after I took my qualifying exams. I am truly grateful for her example, her hard work, and her investments in me as a student. From afar, I was inspired by the work and lives of Dr. Vicki Ruiz, Dr. Deena González, Dr. Christine Hunenfeldt, First Lady Michelle Obama, and Angelina Jolie. Although not professional mothers, Mark Hanna, Daniel Widener, Everard Meade, Luis Alvarez, and Nayan Shah always kept it interesting.

Susan Deeds first taught me that graduate students are the intellectual lifeline of any university department, academic endeavor, or professional organization. I am certain she was right. At U.C. San Diego this was proven to me beyond a doubt. In my third year a terrible act of violence occurred in my department. I learned of it from the victim about

two weeks after I experienced sexual harassment at the hands of a senior scholar at an academic conference. We were both traumatized and this trauma manifested itself in view of the history graduate students. The students responded with a great deal of dignity and love for each other. It is a story I will tell in the future after more reflection and in an appropriate fashion.

It is rare to meet other students in doctoral programs who come from a similar background as I do. The strength of the history graduate student community at U.C. San Diego began with the bringing together of two sets of Warrior Twins (see the Navajo and Apache on this who also recognize the power of the number four); myself, Israel Pastrana, Cutler Edwards, and Anita Casavantes Bradford. As individuals, together, or in pairs, we are a force to be reckoned with. Later, my intellectual, personal, and political lifelines came in the forms of the following people; Nancy Egan, Megan Strom, Jessica Jordan, Gloria Kim, Elizabeth Mikos, Elizabeth Sine, Mayra Lucero Avitia, Laura Gutiérrez, Jimmy Patiño, James Schrader, Charles Nicolas Saenz, Robert Long, Amanda Beavers, Michael Letieri, Mathew Crotty, and Ryan Reft. I especially want to thank Andrea Davis, who I think would agree that we taught each other a great deal about humility and humanity. They are all talented and brilliant scholars. I look forward to watching their careers soar. Finally, I want to thank Rich Smith, Maki Smith, and the fourteen U.S. history graduate students our department admitted in the 2011-2012 academic year. They give me great hope for the future of the history program at U.C. San Diego.

I am a person who must be of service to my community. At a time when I really needed the opportunity, Dr. Benjamin Johnson asked me to serve on the Western History

Association's program committee for its 50th anniversary conference in Oakland, California (2011). In this position I was able to help facilitate the organization of seven graduate student panels for their program. My profound appreciation goes to Ben and to the graduate students who participated. From the Western History Association I would also like to thank Samuel Truett who has intellectually engaged me and my work from our first meeting. At this conference I was also lucky to find what I can only call my Chicana-Historian-Warrior-Posse. *Mil gracias* to Veronica Castillo-Muñoz, Selfa Chew, and Julia Schiavone Camacho.

Any good historian recognizes that their work is dependent upon the expertise and goodwill of librarians and archivists. I am no exception. Of the seven U.S. states and three Mexican states I visited in the course of researching this dissertation, all of the librarians and archivists I encountered were extremely professional, friendly, helpful, and very encouraging of my work. I owe them a profound debt of gratitude. Two archivists in particular deserve special mention for going above and beyond the call of duty. Dale Steiber, the head archivist at Occidental College's Special Collections department, saw my enthusiasm for the Doheny Research Foundation materials from day one. She allowed me unrestricted access to the archive on Saturdays and past operating hours; she trusted me enough to allow me into the mysterious archival vault where I could document and survey the entire collection; and she allowed me to make copies of materials for free. Christine Marin, from Arizona State University's Chicano Research Collection, took me under her wing as soon as I moved back to Arizona. Not only did she help in my searches through the archive despite the fact that she is supposedly retired, she also continues to keep me informed of various activities of interest going on around the state. Her life

work, which is enshrined in the only archive in Arizona dedicated to Chicano/a history, is truly awe-inspiring. They are both archival angels. I would also like to acknowledge all of the student workers I encountered in my travels, especially the student workers at the University of Texas at El Paso, who I believe made me more copies of the oral histories then was allowed. Shhh do not tell anyone! Finally, I would have been lost in Chihuahua City without the help of Gerardo Batista from the Instituto Nacional de Antropolgia e Historia—Centro INAH Chihuahua. Professor Batista facilitated my entry into their archival collection, introduced me to scholars of mining in the North, invited me to an academic conference, giggled at my Chicana Spanish (which put me at ease), and even offered to travel three hours south with me to Parral to help my entry into their municipal archive.

This dissertation would not have been possible without the countless undergraduates, graduate students, and historians who dedicated themselves to sharing and collecting the oral, life, and family histories of mining people, especially the documenting of the experiences of ethnic Mexicans and women. While the interpretations are entirely my responsibility, I am humbled by their commitment.

Portions of this research were presented at several academic conferences, including the Rocky Mountain Council of Latin American Studies; the Western History Association; the “Mixed Race in the Age of Obama” conference at the University of Chicago’s Center for the study of Race, Culture, and Politics; the U.C. Center for New Racial Studies conference; and the American Historical Association’s Pacific Coast Branch. I am grateful for the warm reception and invaluable feedback from the

audiences, especially Steven Hyland, Ramón Gutiérrez, Paul Spickard, Howard Winant, and Colleen O'Neill.

I was blessed to find four incredible academic mentors over the course of this work. I owe them a profound intellectual debt. Dr. Susan Deeds found me at a time when I was a die-hard Conservative Republican. Through her love, mentorship, brilliance, and passion for Latin American history, she gently politicized me and for that I am eternally grateful. Dr. David Gutiérrez began my Ph.D. journey with me as my advisor. Although we did not finish the path together in that original relationship, over time, he became a family member and taught me things I am still trying to understand. He is a bit of an evil genius in the best sense of the term. We are kindred spirits. Dr. Eric Van Young is, by any estimation, an incredible intellectual mind. Eric stood by me in my lowest moment of the Ph.D. program when no one else was around. He had an unshakable faith in me and my work. I cannot repay this debt. Finally, Dr. Paul Spickard, from the history department at U.C. Santa Barbara, joined my dissertation committee when a serious doubt as to whether I could finish this project and earn my Ph.D. existed (although not so much in my head). He saved my professional ass with no questions asked. While Dr. Spickard's body of work on the lives of mixed-race people and the United States' interactions around the world alone is laudable, to me, his real respectable legacy is the small multiracial army of scholars committed to social and racial justice that he has trained over the span of his career. As a small token of my appreciation, I plan to be just as passionate, committed, organized, and successful at training future scholars from communities that have historically been excluded from the privileged halls of academia. *Gracias en todos.*

Vita

2003	Bachelor of Science in History, Northern Arizona University
2004-2005	Teaching Assistant, Department of History, Northern Arizona University
2006	Master of Art in History, Northern Arizona University
2007-2009	Cota Robles Fellow, University of California, San Diego
2009-2012	Ford Fellow, National Academy of the Sciences, Ford Foundation, Washington D.C.
2013	Doctor of Philosophy in History, University of California, San Diego

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: United States History

Studies in Borderlands History
Professor Luis Alvarez

Studies in Modern Latin American History with an emphasis in Mexico
Professor Everard Meade

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Mining Life:
A Transnational History of Race and Family in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands, 1890-1965

by

Juliette Charlie Maiorana

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of San Diego, 2013

Professor Rebecca Plant, Chair

The Mining Life is a historical study of mixed communities and families tied to the corporate mining industry in Mexico and the United States. The dissertation focuses on mining engineers, ethnic Mexican workers, and their families, who were employed by some of the largest U.S.-owned multinational corporations, including the American

Smelting and Refining Company and Phelps Dodge. Each had industrial operations, or "mining colonies," located in mineral-rich regions in the Mexican north, U.S. southwest, Rocky Mountain West, and elsewhere. My main interest is in how the expansion of multinational mining corporations impacted the everyday lives and families of their employees in the borderlands, and how mining people responded to these changes—especially women.

The history of industrial mining in the Mexico-U.S. borderlands is an excellent avenue to explore a major U.S. economic enterprise and the transnationally mobile—and culturally mixed—family and community life it helped produce. *The Mining Life* explores this complex interracial and transnational community by focusing on middle and working classes within corporate hierarchies in the mining-intensive states of Arizona and Chihuahua. The dissertation argues that the neo-colonial—and later imperialistic—mining industry fostered conditions that created multiracial mining communities and families on both sides of the border. This outcome challenged multinational companies' own intentions for implementing racial, national, and class segregations in their camps. In the U.S.-Mexico case, the contradiction inherent in modern forms of colonial relationships was especially pronounced because of the proximity of the two countries, long-term transnational mobility, and can been clearly seen in the realm of family.

Introduction

Adventures in Old Mexico as the New Wild West:

Transnational Mining History, Race and Empire, and Border Mexicanas

Two couples are sitting in a smoky nightclub. As the men retreat to one end of the small table to enjoy their whiskey and tobacco, the women, sisters through marriage, chat, enjoying the music. Both engineers, the men discuss business, reminiscence about adventures in far-off countries, and debate the merits of new innovations in the mining and metallurgical industries. Soon the conversation drifts to family. After discussing the first man's son's troubles with women, the second engineer turns and says, "…just get him a nice little Mexican wife…like I did." Silence erupts around the table. The nice Mexican wife chokes down her tears, anger, humiliation and remains silent. The jazz slowly makes the awkwardness pass. Despite forthcoming apologies, the woman did not speak to her "American/*gringo*" husband for nearly a month.[1]

When questioned about the incident forty years after the fact, the Mexican woman still remains silent, though, she does acknowledge it happened. One wonders if it was the "get," the "little," the "Mexican," or perhaps the tone or context that upset her. Ultimately, it does not matter because her silence speaks volumes. Today the story is told with humor, irony, and a touch of anger. The anecdote encapsulates the scope and raises the questions driving this research.

[1] This oral tradition has been told to me on many occasions, by a variety of people, in a couple of different places. I have questioned the two female participants about the story at various moments in time, and the men have been dead for over twenty years. The anecdote is dated to the mid-1960s and the above representation is the essence, or least common denominator, of the versions I have heard.

The Mining Life is a historical study of mixed communities and families tied to the corporate mining industry in Mexico and the United States. The dissertation focuses on mining engineers, ethnic Mexican workers, and their families, who were employed by some of the largest U.S.-owned multinational corporations, including the American Smelting and Refining Company (Asarco) and Phelps Dodge (PD). Each had industrial operations, or "mining colonies," located in mineral-rich regions in the Mexican north, U.S. southwest, Rocky Mountain West, and elsewhere. My main interest is in how the expansion of multinational mining corporations impacted the everyday lives and families of their employees in the borderlands, and how mining people responded to these changes—especially women. The story above speaks so well to the gendered and racial culture of U.S. mining in the past, and it suggests some of the ways that women of Mexican origin responded to prejudices existing within their own mixed families.[2]

The history of industrial mining in the Mexico-U.S. borderlands is an excellent avenue to explore a major U.S. economic enterprise and the transnationally mobile—and culturally mixed—family and community life it helped produce. *The Mining Life* explores this complex interracial and transnational community by focusing on middle and working classes within corporate hierarchies in the mining-intensive states of Arizona

[2] I use "mixed" to refer to bi or multi racial/ethnic/cultural/national people, communities, or families. The dissertation uses bicultural for the children of U.S. mining engineers and Mexican-origin women. Here, *Mexicanas*, ethnic Mexicans, and Mexican-origin women are used interchangeably to refer to all women of Mexican descent in the borderlands regardless of citizenship status. *Mexicanidad* and Americaness are used to describe affiliations with (real and imagined) cultural heritages connected to Mexico and the United States. I do not see these as static essentialized cultures; rather, I attempt to sketch a particular transnational social and economic field where individuals made their lives meaningful by using these terms. I also use indigenous and Indian interchangeably, and black and Asian to refer to those respective populations because that is generally how they refer to themselves today in Arizona and Chihuahua. On my part it is a recognition of their racialized positionality, and of a historical reclamation of their own politicized identities. I rely upon interviewees' self-identifiers, or their discussions of family lineages, to describe individuals and families from different ethnic, racialized, national groups. I realize other scholars use different terms or definitions. When more clear distinctions are pertinent I note them in the text.

and Chihuahua. In Arizona, ordinary ethnic Mexican mining families are the primary focus. In Chihuahua, the study centers on the experiences of what I call the engineering class, which includes mining engineers, metallurgists, mine managers or superintendents, geologists, and other similar occupational designations. The dissertation argues that the neo-colonial—and later imperialistic—mining industry fostered conditions that created multiracial mining communities and families on both sides of the border. This outcome challenged multinational companies' own intentions for implementing racial, national, and class segregations in their camps. In the U.S.-Mexico case, the contradiction inherent in modern forms of colonial relationships was especially pronounced because of the proximity of the two countries, long-term transnational mobility, and can been clearly seen in the realm of family.

Multinational mining companies attempted to draw important racial, economic, gendered, and national distinctions amongst their "corporate families." Yet in practice, company policies and the culture of mining colonies encouraged the very mixing they were attempting to prevent. Despite company-mandated racial segregation, such as camp compositions, dual and tripartite wage scales, and prejudiced hiring practices, boundaries were transgressed. Due to the boom-and-bust nature of mining, employees were always crisscrossing regional, national, and racial borders, even as the international border became more policed. Further, mining women of all ethnicities and socioeconomic class worked hard to create a sense of community in rural mining camps that, over time, reinforced then transgressed separations in their everyday lives. Mexican-origin women also played a prominent role in shaping new kinship networks and multiracial communities instigated by corporate capitalist expansion and transnational mobility.

It was not until 1890, when Asarco received its first concession in Mexico and PD began to strengthen its foothold in Arizona, that conditions were right for a U.S. mining imperialism to emerge. Bi-national transportation and smelting networks had been constructed, indigenous resistance was brutally smashed, and migration streams had begun. By 1965, when Asarco was semi-nationalized in Mexico, the political economy of the borderlands vastly changed due to U.S. immigration reform, the Border Industrialization Program of Mexico, and the rise of the new Sunbelt industries, which did not rely so much on industrial mining.

The history of the extractive industries in the Southwest and in Mexico is an example of the flexibility and power of U.S. capitalism and its racist nature domestically and internationally. The U.S. and Mexican federal governments both supported and challenged mining corporations' visions of expansion and exploitation at different times. During the early twentieth century, U.S. mining engineers were professionalized, which largely displaced skilled ethnic Mexicans from the profession, and managerial, thus engineers enacted industrial capitalists' exploitive policies on the ground. U.S. mining corporations and engineers also embraced a corporate paternal ideology. Over time, some engineers grew more uncomfortable with their companies' racist policies. In Arizona, ethnic Mexican mining women survived a brutally violent and racist society through community building, migration, reliance upon each other, and their own brand of feminism. By the World War Two era, during an increase in mining activity, the imperial project began to break down. In Chihuahua, engineering women sought to create a segregated community, but they were never totally successful. Engineering families hired and moved with ethnic Mexican domestic workers, who were very influential to their

families. People also intermarried and further challenged strict demarcations between an American and a Mexican mining world. Mixed transnational mining communities both nurtured and challenged mixed transnational mining families. When viewed together, these aspects of borderlands mining show how ethnic, geographic, and cultural contradictions existed in borderlands mining camps and in mobile families, demonstrating both the power and fragility of U.S. mining imperialism.

By focusing on families, communities, and transnational movements, my work explores the racial and gendered history of the U.S. mining industry. It reveals a particular example of social transformation in the borderlands. During the period 1890 to 1965 the nature of borderlands mining communities changed, shifting from a more strictly segregated environment to a more fluid multiracial setting. Factors that fostered this change include women's dedication to community building in mining towns, the migrations of U.S. citizens and ethnic Mexicans during this time period, family ties that stretched over the international border, and multinationals' endless need for labor.

Finally, for these mining families, race was not about blood. Rather, it was a circumstantial and contextual experience dependent upon place, class, culture,[3] and gender. Subsequent generations inherited Mexican and American transnational identities and culture in their homes and kinship groups—especially those who eventually settled near the international border. The crosscutting histories of different classes of mining employees reveal how race was lived on a daily basis, and how family and community was recreated over generations across two nation-states.

[3] I am influenced by the anthropologist Clifford Geertz's notion of culture as "webs of significance," or the ways in which people make their lives meaningful.

Transnational Mining History, Race and Empire, and Border Mexicanas

Arizona and Chihuahua share similar qualities in their relationship with their respective nation-states. In the late nineteenth century they both were still considered frontier regions, and their mineral wealth helped fuel industrialization in the borderlands. In addition to the completion of transcontinental and bi-national railroads and the expansion of mechanized agriculture, the exploitation of the states' mineral resources by U.S. corporations helped tie these distant lands to the corporate capitalist economies developing in and between the United States and Mexico. Both states attracted migrant members of the Mexican peasantry who were displaced from their land as well as immigrants from Asia. This transregional and transnational *población flotante* (floating population) remained a defining characteristic for each state for most of the twentieth century. Arizona and Chihuahua each had a long colonial legacy of Indian fighting that created a militarized, racial, and rugged frontiersman type of culture in isolated places far from the centers of state power in Mexico City and Washington D.C. Both had contentious and accommodating relationships with polygamous Mormon communities and other religious minority groups. It took the complete surrender (and death) of two larger-than-life popular fighters to totally subdue the rebellious populations and bring each state completely into the fabric of the federal state; the surrender and captivity of the Apache medicine man-warrior Geronimo in Arizona (1886), and the execution of bandit-general Francisco "Pancho" Villa (1923) following the Mexican Revolution. During the 1920s and 1930s Arizona and Chihuahua experienced the monopolization of mining operations into the hands of fewer and fewer corporations. Finally, World War Two

caused a resurgence in mining in both states that resulted in a renaissance in borderlands mining camps.

Mining history in Arizona and Chihuahua is well-explored terrain in both intellectual and popular discourse. Yet, despite the similarities between the two regions and the great scholarly attention paid to resource extraction processes, historians have failed to bring these two mining places together in one analysis.[4] This oversight is largely a result of scholars in both countries being wedded to national frameworks and historiographies. *The Mining Life* contributes to this larger literature by applying a transnational framework with an emphasis on multidirectional mobility across geopolitical borders: the mobility of U.S. capital via the mining industry, the movements of U.S. and Mexican populations, and cultural, community, and familial exchanges on the ground. My intention is not to discount the importance of the nation-state in borderlands

[4] The literature focused on mining, even just for the twentieth century, in both Chihuahua and Arizona is large. For particularly relevant works to this dissertation, see, Marvin Bernstein, *The Mexican Mining Industry, 1890-1950* (New York: State University of New York, 1965); William French, *A Peaceful and Working People: Manners, Morals, and Class Formation in Northern Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996); Mark Wasserman, *Capitalists, Caciques, and Revolution: The Native Elite and Foreign Enterprise in Chihuahua, 1854-1911*(Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984); Mark Wasserman, *Persistent Oligarchs: Elites and Politics in Chihuahua, Mexico 1910 - 1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993); Juan Luis Sariego, *El Estado y La Mineria Mexicana: Politica, Trabajo y Sociedad Durante El Siglo XX: La Industria Paraestatal En Mexico* (México: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1990); Juan Luis Sariego, *Enclaves y Minerales en el Norte de Mexico: Historia Social de los Mineros de Cananea y Nueva Rosita, 1900-1970, ediciones de la Casa Chata,* (México: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropologia Social, 1988); Juan Luis Sariego, "Minería y el Trabajo Minero en Chihuahua," en *Historia General de Chihuahua V. Período Contemporáneo* (Chihuahua: Gobierno del Estado de Chihuahua-ENAH-Chihuahua/UACJ, 1998), 221-339; José Trinidad Flores Anguiano, *Todo Cabe en una Vida, Sabiéndose Acomodar: El "Chueco" Mariano: Obrero, Líder Sindical, Político y Empresario Minero* (Chihuahua, Mexico: Secretaría de Educacíon y Cultura del Gobierno del Estado de Chihuahua, 2009); James W. Byrkit, *Forging the Copper Collar: Arizona's Labor-Management War of 1901-1921* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982); Phillip Mellinger, "'The Men Have Become Organizers': Labor Conflict and Unionization in the Mexican Mining Communities of Arizona, 1900-1915," *Western Historical Quarterly* (August 1992); Andrés E. Jiménez Montoya, *Political Domination in the Labor Market: Racial Division in the Arizona Copper Industry* (Berkeley: Institute for the Study of Social Change, 1977); Phillip Mellinger, *Race and Labor in Western Copper: The Fight for Equality, 1869-1918* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995); Michael E. Parrish, "Mexican Workers, Progressives, and Copper: The Failure of Industrial Democracy in Arizona during the Wilson Years," *Southwest Border Series* (La Jolla: Chicano Research Publications, University of California, San Diego, 1979).

history. Indeed, the nation looms large and haunts this dissertation. One cannot contemplate the history of borderlands mining folk without an understanding of national events such as the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920), subsequent U.S. immigration policies, the deportations in the 1930s of ethnic Chinese from Mexico and ethnic Mexicans from the Southwest, or the implementation of the *Bracero* Program during and following World War Two.[5] These developments are addressed in the dissertation, but they are not the driving motor of the narrative. Instead, I emphasize the movements of capital, labor, families, and resources that did not strictly correspond to national narratives focusing on state policy.

The Mining Life draws from and adds to a growing body of historical work that detaches itself from the strict adherence to nation-based frameworks, and sees the U.S.-Mexico borderlands as a region where people fostered mixed and transnational communities and identities in the shadow of U.S. capitalist exploitation in both countries. Drawing inspiration and theoretical insights from comparative colonialisms, postcolonial, and American Studies, scholars such as Gilbert González, Pablo Mitchell, Samuel Truett, Julia María Schiavone Camacho, Selfa Chew, Veronica Castillo-Muñoz, and Ana

[5] John Mason Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico: The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1997); Friedrich Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa* (Stanford: Stanford University, 1999); Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*: *Porfirians, Liberals, and Peasants,* Vol. 1 (University of Nebraska Press, reprint ed., 1990); Alan Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*: *Counter-Revolution and Reconstruction,* Vol. 2 (University of Nebraska Press, reprint ed., 2007); Alan Knight, "The Mexican Revolution: Bourgeois? Nationalist? or Just a 'Great Rebellion'?" *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 4:2 (1985): 1-37; Ramón Eduardo Ruiz, *The Great Rebellion: Mexico, 1905-1924* (New York: Norton, 1980). For U.S. immigration policy, Mae M. Ngai, *Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004. On the deportations of the 1930s in Mexico, see, Julia María Schiavone Camacho, *Chinese Mexicans: Transpacific Migration and the Search for a Homeland, 1910-1960* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012); and specifically in Arizona, Christine Marin, "Always a Struggle: Mexican Americans in Miami, Arizona, 1909-1951" (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 2005), 61-94. For an excellent recent approach on *braceros*, see, Ana Elizabeth Rosas, "Flexible Families: Bracero Families' Lives Across Cultures, Communities, and Countries, 1942-1964" (Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 2006).

Elizabeth Rosas have broadened historians' understanding of this geographic region with their research. Here the nation-state demonstrated its power, and common folk historically crafted their lives, communities, and sense of self, across borders.[6] As Gilbert González has pointed out, for historians of ethnic Mexicans in the United States excavating transnational currents is vital for understanding twentieth-century Mexican-American history. However, unlike Dr. Gonzalez's work on the "culture of empire" and much of the literature on mining history, an emphasis on empire, race, and family is crucial to my analysis.[7] Very few works address the intersections between race, class, and gender or family relationships in mining towns or regions in the borderlands. Historians Colleen O'Neill and Katherine Benton-Cohen's work on Bisbee, and Monica Perales' book on Smeltertown, near Asarco's facilities in El Paso, are important exceptions.[8]

---

[6] U.S. historians and American Studies scholars draw especially from the work of Amy Kaplan, Ann Laura Stoler, and Emily Rosenburg in the realm of the colonial, postcolonial, and the intersections between U.S. culture and empire. Amy Kaplan, *The Anarchy of Empire in U.S. Culture* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002); Amy Kaplan, and Donald E. Pease, eds., *Cultures of United States Imperialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993); Ann Laura Stoler, *Haunted By Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006); Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982). Gilbert González, *The Culture of Empire: American Writers, Mexico, and Mexican Immigrants, 1880-1930* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004); Pablo Mitchell, *Coyote Nation: Sexuality, Race, and Conquest in Modernizing New Mexico, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005); Samuel Truett, *Fugitive Landscapes: The Forgotten History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006); Samuel Truett and Elliot Young, eds., *Continental Crossroads: Remapping U.S.-Mexico Borderlands History* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2004); Schiavone Camacho, *Chinese Mexicans;* Veronica Castillo-Muñoz, "Divided Communities: Agrarian Struggles, Migration, and Family in Northern Mexico, 1910-1952" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Irvine, 2009); Rosas, "Flexible Families"; Selfa Chew, "Race, Gender, and Citizenship: The Removal of Japanese and Japanese Mexicans from the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands during World War Two" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at El Paso, 2010).

[7] González, *The Culture of Empire*, 1-2. Most of the historical literature on mining in the Mexican north and U.S. southwest emphasizes class formation or exploitation, though, more recent work highlights race and class. See footnote four. For an excellent transnational mining history that includes gender with these units of analysis for the larger U.S.-Latin America case, see, Janet Finn, *Tracing the Veins: Of Copper, Culture, and Community from Butte to Chuquicamata* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998).

[8] Colleen O'Neill, "Domesticity Deployed: Gender, Race, and the Construction of Class-Struggle in the Bisbee Deportation," *Labor History* (34) (2-3) (Spring-Summer 1993): 256-273; Katherine Benton Cohen, *Borderline Americans: Racial Division and Labor War in the Arizona Borderlands* (Cambridge:

Deploying a transnational borderlands history perspective foregrounds the ideologies, people, and places fundamental to U.S. imperialism that we historians know much less about. It also highlights the multidirectional consequences of U.S. empire that some scholars urge historians to account for in U.S. history. [9]

By employing the term imperialism or U.S. empire in relation to the mining industry in Mexico and the Southwest, I jump into a long-running and contentious academic and political debate amongst U.S. historians and ethnic studies scholars. My work challenges strict periodizations of the United States as an empire. Traditionally, most see U.S. empire in two distinct moments. The first during the roughly 1898 to 1917 period, and later when the United States emerges as a "world power" during World War Two.[10] The United States' dominance of mining on both sides of the U.S.-Mexico border transcended these periods.

The mining industry is unique in comparison to the history of U.S. involvement with Mexican railroads, oil, or large-scale agriculture because it was not entirely expropriated or redistributed during the long Mexican Revolution (1910-1940), and because Asarco was the largest mining and smelting corporation in Mexico for this entire period. The mining industry continued to be dominated by U.S. corporations, and ethnic Mexican locals and migrants worked in the industry on both sides of the border from the

---

Harvard University Press, 2009); Monica Perales, *Smeltertown: Making and Remembering a Border Community* (Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2010).

[9] Ian Tyrell, "Confronting the 'E' Work: American Empire and Transnational History." *Australasian Journal of American Studies* (26) (1) (2007): 41-53. A recent history of the U.S. oil industry in Saudi Arabia outlines and argues for a more global history of the extractive industries beginning in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands. Robert Vitalis, *American's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier* (London & New York: Verso, 2009), introduction.

[10] Pablo Mitchell also challenges strict periodizations of U.S. imperialism by rightly highlighting the annexation of the Mexican north in 1848. Mitchell, *Coyote Nation*, 4.

time of industrialization until the present. Mining was also one of the primary industries in Arizona (copper, cattle, and cotton) until well after the World War Two era.

Because of the factors above, I must reject two previous models of colonialism and imperialism previously put forth by U.S. historians. The first is Mae Ngai's "imported colonialism," which as she states is only applicable to agriculture, and secondly, the "internal colonial model" popular amongst Chicano/a scholars and more recent historians of race in Arizona.[11] While the utility of the internal colonial model to the relationships over land, labor, and racial exploitation that developed in the Southwest is very useful, it neglects the dimensions of U.S. imperialism so vivid in the history of industrial mining, and its impacts on *Mexicanos/as* and Chicanos/as on both sides of the border. Paul Kramer recently urged historians to stop debating the names scholars give to U.S. imperialism (or if it even existed), and to turn our attention to investigating how power operates over distance, the uneven transformation of multiple communities, and to compare structural systems of exploitation. Kramer wants a U.S. imperial historiography of power, connection, and comparison. A literature that emphasizes how imperial projects are a two-way street, where local elites collaborate and where the colonized are agents, but that this does not always indicate resistance, and that demonstrates that imperialism is

[11] Ngai, *Impossible Subjects*, 94-95, 301n.3. On internal colonialism, see, Mario Barrera, *Race and Class in the Southwest* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979); Tomás Almaguer, "Toward a Study of Chicano Colonialism," *Aztlan* 2, no. 1 (Spring 1971): 7-20; Norma Beatriz Chalout and Yves Chalout, "The Internal Colonialism Concept: Methodological Considerations," *Social and Economic Studies* 28 (December 1979): 85-99; Tomás Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); David Montejano, *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987). For its use in Arizona, see, Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 178-185.

never monolithic, complete, or stable.[12] *The Mining Life* begins to answer this call by examining the U.S.-Mexico case.

The U.S. mining engineering community resembles other groups living abroad from the early twentieth century, including U.S. missionaries, diplomats, and social scientists. Engineers were the foot soldiers of the United States' vision of spreading progressive modernity, science and technology, and U.S. capitalism around the world. It is tempting to use "international" when describing them, but that description would be incomplete. I use transnational instead. In the case of mining in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands, U.S. engineers were sent to Mexico on an imperial mission by corporations, while simultaneously, large numbers of Mexican workers and families moved to the United States to work for the same companies. The mobility was two-way, and multidirectional, as both populations moved back and forth over time. The analytical use of transnationalism emphasizes both migration streams, and in this work, shows that class and race were the primary distinctions between the two mobile groups.

The dissertation works from the premise that all social categories and units of scholarly analysis are culturally constructed in relation to each other, and within specific historical contexts and places.[13] U.S. empire was constructed in relation and comparison

---

[12] Paul A. Kramer, "Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States and the World," *American Historical Review* (December 2011): 1348-1391.

[13] The following works are foundational for understanding the nature of these units of analysis. Ann Laura Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies," in *Haunted by Empire*, 23-67; Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, revised edition (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999); I found Erik Olin Wright's characterizations of middle classes quite useful. "Middle-class locations in the class structure are those that are linked to the process of exploitation and domination in contradictory ways…Families provide another set of social relations that tie people to the class structure." Erik Olin Wright, *Class Counts: Comparative Studies in Class Analysis (*Cambridge: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and Cambridge University Press, 1997), 523-524; Michael Omi, and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States: from the 1960s to the 1990s*, second edition (New York & London: Routledge, 1994).

to what it was not, namely, European colonialism. In borderlands mining camps, ideal mining women were understood in relation to ideal mining men. Being a member of the engineering class was in distinction to both capitalists and working class people. It was also a family affair. The meaning of *Mexicanidad* was in relation to what it meant to be a white American (and indigenous, black or Asian).

The most recent work on race in U.S. history shows how racial categories were socially and culturally constructed, changed over time, and that they were dependent on defining human bodies and cultures by what they were not. This literature also demonstrates how racialized people interacted with each other to claim their own politicized identity.[14] And, some scholars are actively working to excavate historical moments of cross-racial political mobilizations pregnant with the possibilities of roads not taken.[15] Rather than solely focusing on the creation, maintenance, and imposition of racial categories, colonial historians of Mexico have turned to examining how people self-identified within that particular racial system.[16] Scholars of the twentieth-century are

[14] For Anglo, Mexican American, and Mexican relationships, see, David G. Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995); George J. Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1993). For a study of black, brown, and poor white racializations, see, Neil Foley, *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997, 1999). On Mexican, Anglo, and Indigenous relations, see, Eric V. Meeks, *Border Citizens: The Making of Indians, Mexicans, and Anglos in Arizona* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007). For Japanese/Black racializations, see, Scott Kurashige, *The Shifting Grounds of Race: Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of Multiethnic Los Angeles* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008). On Mexican/Japanese, see, Natalia Molina, *Fit to Be Citizens: Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006). For Mexican/Punjabi connections, see, Karen Isaksen Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices: California's Punjabi Mexican Americans* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992). For Black/Brown, see, Luis Alvarez, "From Zoot Suits to Hip Hop: Towards a Relational Chicana/o Studies," *Latino Studies*, 5 (2007): 53-75.

[15] For one instance, see, Gayle T. Johnson, "Constellations of Struggle: Luisa Moreno, Charlotta Bass, and the Legacy for Ethnic Studies," *Aztlàn: A Journal of Chicano Studies* 33:1 (Spring 2008): 155-172.

[16] Susan Deeds, "The 'Enlightened' Colony," *Wiley Blackwell Anthology on Mexico* (forthcoming), 9-14.

beginning to create a body of work that challenges the romantic notion of *mestizaje* (race-mixing) evident in multiple Latin American countries' forms of nationalism.[17] In Mexico, early twentieth-century intellectuals, such as José Vasconcelos and Manuel Gambio, wrote of race-mixture as a beneficial societal development in response to scholars from Europe or the United States and their formulations of scientific racism (which deplored race mixing) common at the time.[18] Recent work suggests that the nationally celebrated notion of a mixed racial Mexican population contrasted with the reality. The lower strata of Mexican society remained those from indigenous, Asian, or black backgrounds regardless of the national hype.[19] *Both U.S. historians and scholars of Mexico's approaches to race inform The Mining Life.*

We have a rich body of work detailing racialization processes by the U.S. state. However, we still know very little about how various groups—particularly in the multiracial West—identified themselves. The first half of the dissertation shows how U.S. capitalism and its agents constructed racial categories about ethnic Mexicans within mining hierarchies, and how this changed over time and geographic place, particularly in the 1930s when ethnic Mexican engineers began to have access to engineering education in the Southwest. The second part of the work emphasizes how ethnic Mexicans lived

[17] Magnus Mörner, *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America* (Boston: Little and Brown, 1967); Peter Wade, *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America* (London and Chicago: Pluto Press, 1997); Nancy P. Appelbaum, Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt, *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Peter Wade, *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America* (London: Pluto, 2010).

[18] José Vasconcelos, *La Raza Cósmica, Mission de la Raza Iberoamericana* (Paris: Agencia Mundial de Libería, 1925); Manuel Gamio, *Forjando Patria: Nacionalismo* (Mexico City: Librería de Porrúa Hermanos, 1916).

[19] Alan Knight, "Racism, Revolution, and *Indigenismo:* Mexico, 1910-1940," in Richard Graham, ed., *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1904* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 71-113; Martha Menchaca, *Recovering History, Constructing Race: The Indian, Black, and White Roots of Mexican Americans* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001); Schiavone Camacho, *Chinese Mexicans*, especially 41-47.

with racism on a daily basis, despite their liminal racial status in Arizona, or idealized notions of *mestizaje* in Mexico. While I do not think race is a biological reality, it certainly is a social, economic, and gendered reality for those who live it.[20]

Historians of the ethnic Mexican population in the United States, Mexican-American historians, or Chicano/a historians have struggled with conceptualizing transnational and mixed borderlands history within a larger U.S. historical narrative. Migration and intermarriage have been, and continue to be, the Achilles' heel of Chicano/a history.[21] The fact of territorial conquest in 1848, the near constant migration of ethnic Mexicans to the United States during the twentieth century, and the high rates of intermarriage with other ethnic groups (around 25% since 1965[22]), makes discussions about Mexican-origin peoples' history in the United States difficult to fit in to previous immigrant models formed from largely European immigration, or fit in with other U.S. ethnic groups' experiences. There are cleavages and sources of unity in the Mexican-origin community that do not exist in other U.S. racial-ethnic populations. Most importantly, ethnic Mexicans in the United States are both an indigenous and a "permanent immigrant group."[23] Further, mining families do not fit easily into Chicano/a studies' conceptual use of the term "generation." Immigrant, second, one and a half, or

---

[20] Barbara Fields, "Whiteness, Racism, and Identity," *International Labor and Working-Class History*, 60 (Fall 2001): 48-56.

[21] David Gutiérrez, "Diaspora, Displacement, and Demographic Change: Reflections and Reorientation of Chicano and Area Studies," (unpublished paper in the author's possession), 13-14.

[22] Saron M. Lee, and Barr Edmonston, "New Marriages, New Families: U.S. Racial and Hispanic Intermarriage," *Population Bulletin*, 60, no. 2 (2005): 3-36; Jenifer Lee, and Frank D. Bean, "Reinventing the Color Line: Immigration and America's New Racial/Ethnic Divide," *Social Forces*, 86, no. 2 (Dec 2007): 571; R. Wright, S. Houston, M. Ellis, et al., "Crossing Racial Lines: Geographies of Mixed-Race Partnering and Multiraciality in the United States," *Progress in Human Geography*, 27, no. 4 (Aug. 2003): 452, 464.

[23] Tomás R. Jiménez, *Replenished Ethnicity: Mexican Americans, Immigration, and Identity* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2010), 21-30.

the "Mexican-American" generation all fail to entirely capture the long history of transnational and multidirectional mobility of ethnic Mexican people in the Mexican north and U.S. southwest. For example, in many mining families siblings were often born in different countries; socialization occurred in multiple culturally distinct places, nations, or regions; citizenship status varied across and within generations; and in the case of mixed families, members of the same kin group might culturally and politically identify in very different ways.

Chicano/a historians have largely taken two approaches to the causes and interpretations of the massive migrations experienced in the borderlands over the last century. At one end of the spectrum, Gilbert González and Raúl Fernandez convincingly argue that U.S. capitalist expansion and exploitation was the root cause of these migration patterns beginning during the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz (1870-1910). As Mexico modernized, Díaz embraced foreign investment and technologies, and the result was massive dispossession of the Mexican peasantry from their land. Common Mexican and indigenous people traveled to cities, to the Mexican north, and often to the United States and back in search of work and subsistence. At the other end of the interpretive spectrum are authors—many influenced by the rise of the Chicano/a Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s—who see ethnic Mexican and indigenous migrations as a form of autonomy, action, and resistance to capitalist exploitation and the U.S. and Mexican states.[24] *The Mining Life* takes a middle road between these two approaches by

[24] Gilbert G. González and Raúl Fernandez, "Empire and the Origins of Twentieth-Century Migration from Mexico to the United States, *The Pacific Historical Review*, 71, no. 1 (Feb. 2002): 19-57. Nestór Rodríguez, "The Battle for the Border: Notes on Autonomous Migration, Transnational Communities, and the State," *Social Justice,* 25 (Fall 1996); Rosas, "Flexible Families"; Alicia Schmidt

emphasizing both the history of capitalism on both sides of the Border (through the example of the mining industry), and by highlighting the spaces of autonomy that ethnic Mexicans (especially women) crafted through their family's migratory histories over generations.

We know very little about ethnic Mexican women's history in the United States.[25] Still, a few pioneering works have contributed to our understanding of the importance of the intersections between race, class, and gender-sex to borderlands history.[26] Unlike recent literature on the history of women in Mexico, which has complicated our views of women during the Revolution,[27] twentieth-century Chicana history tends to remain stuck

---

Camacho, *Migrant Imaginaries: Latino Cultural Politics in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands* (New York & London: New York University Press, 2008).

[25] This is in part because of the severe shortage of ethnic Mexican or Chicana women with a Ph.D. in the field of history. According to Deena González's investigations, as late as 2007 there were only twenty-one in the world. Deena González, *Refusing the Favor: The Spanish American Women of Santa Fe,1820 -1880* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 121, f.47; Deena J. González, "Gender on the Borderlands: Re-textualizing the Classics," in Antonia Castañeda with Susan Armitage, Patricia Hart, and Karen Weathermon, eds., *Gender on the Borderlands: The Frontiers Reader* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 15-29, 26 f.1. On the severe shortage, also see, Adrian Burgos Jr., Donna Gabaccia, Maria Cristina Garcia, Matthew Garcia, Kelly Lytle Hernandez, Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof, Maria E. Montoya, George J. Sanchez, Virginia Sanchez Korrol, Paul Spickard, "Latino History: An Interchange on Present Realities and Future Prospects," *Journal of American History* (September 2010): 427.

[26] Gloria Anzaldúa, Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza (San Francisco: Spinsters-Aunt Lute Book Co., 1987); Ramón A. Gutiérrez, When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991); Antonia I. Castañeda, "Presidarias y Pobladoras: Spanish-Mexican Women in Frontier Monterey Alta California, 1770-1821," (Ph.D. Dissertation: Stanford University, 1990); González, Refusing the Favor; Vicki Ruiz, Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950 (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987). For historiographic mappings of the state of Chicana history, see, Antonia Casteñeda, "Women of Color and the Rewriting of Western History," Pacific Historical Review, 61, no. 4 (Nov. 1992): 501-534; Norma Alarcón, "Chicana's Feminist Literature: A Re-vision through Malintzin/or Malintzin: Putting Flesh Back on the Object," in Moraga and Anzaldúa, eds., This Bridge Called my Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color (New York: Kitchen Table Women of Color Press, 1983),182-190; Rosaura Sánchez, "The History of Chicanas: A Proposal for a Materialist Perspective," in Adelaida R. Del Castillo, ed., Between Borders: Essays on Mexicana/Chicana History (Encino, CA: Floricanto Press, 1990), 1-29; Cordelia Candelaria, "Review: Six Reference Works on Mexican-American Women: A Review Essay," Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies, "Chicanas en el Ambiente Nacional/ Chicanas in the National Landscape," 5, no. 2 (Summer 1980): 75-80; Vicki L. Ruiz, "Morena/o, Blanca/o y Café con Leche: Racial Constructions in Chicana/o Historiography," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, 20, no. 2 (Summer 2004): 343-360.

[27] A. Arbeláz, María Soledad, Concepción Ruiz Funes, Marcela Tostado Gutiérrez, Enriqueta Tuñon Pablos, Julia Tuñon Pablos, *Bibliographía Comentada sobre la Mujer Mexicana,* Cuaderno de

in a perspective that romanticizes *Mexicanas* and reinforces a perception that all border ethnic Mexican women were either brave *soldaderas* (female soldiers), heroic labor organizers, progressive-minded individuals, or, in some cases, *vendidas* (cultural and racial sell-outs).[28] We need to understand the diversity of women in Mexico,—across class, race, nationality, political orientation, region, and age—many of whom would eventually migrate to, and settle in, the United States. For example, we know very little about elite Mexican women who left for the United States during the Revolution, or the many Mexican women who migrated from west-central Mexico due to the Cristero Rebellions in the 1920s and 1930s.[29] Some of the women from these particular migration

---

Trabajo, 55 (México D.F.: Dirección de Estudios Históricos, INAH, 1983); Julia Tuñón Pablos, *Women in Mexico: A Past Unveiled*, translated by Alan Hynds (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999, originally published in Spanish in 1987); Enriqueta Tuñón Pablos, "La Lucha Política de la Mujer Mexicana por el Derecho al Sufragio y sus Repercusiones," in Carmen Ramos Escandón, ed., *Presencia y Transparencia: La Mujer en la Historia de México* (México D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1987); Shirlene Soto, *Emergence of the Modern Mexican Woman: Her Participation in Revolution and Struggle for Equality, 1910-1940* (Denver: Arden Press, Inc., 1990); Ana María Alonso, *Thread of Blood: Colonialism, Revolution, and Gender on Mexico's Northern Frontier* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995); Katherine Elaine Bliss, *Compromised Positions: Prostitution, Public Health, and Gender Politics in Revolutionary Mexico City* (University Park, PA.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001); Susie S. Porter, *Working Women in Mexico City: Public Discourses and Material Conditions, 1879-1931* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003); Jocelyn Olcott, *Revolutionary Women in Postrevolutionary Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); Stephanie J. Smith, *Gender and the Mexican Revolution: Yucatán Women & The Realities of Patriarchy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009); Jocelyn Olcott, Mary Kay Vaughan, and Gabriela Cano, *Sex in Revolution: Gender, Politics, and Power in Modern Mexico*, with a foreward by Carlos Monsiváis (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006); Stephanie Mitchell and Patience A. Schell, *The Women's Revolution in Mexico, 1910-1953* (Lanham, MD.: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2007); Joanne Hershfield, *Imgagining la Chica Moderna: Women, Nation, and Visual Culture in Mexico, 1917-1936* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008); Anna Macías, *Against All Odds: The Feminist Movement in Mexico to 1940* (London: Greenwood Press, 1982).

[28] Of course there are recent exceptions. For examples examining female ethnic Mexican zoot suiters and entrepreneurs, Catherine Ramirez, *The Woman in the Zuit Suit: Gender, Nationalism, and the Cultural Politics of Memory* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); Mary Ann Villarreal, *Creating Capital: The Making of Texas Mexican Family-and-Women owned Businesses, 1930-1955* (forthcoming).

[29] The *Cristero* rebellions were violent upheavals in various regions of Mexico in response to the implementation of anticlerical measures from the 1917 Mexican Constitution, and in the 1930s, reactions to the enactment of President Cárdenas' socialist education. Jean Meyer, *The Cristero Rebellion: The Mexican People between Church and State, 1926-1929,* translated by Richard Southern (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976); David C. Bailey, *Viva Cristo Rey: The Cristero Rebellion and the Church-State Conflict in Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974); Jim Tuck, *The Holy War in Los Altos: A Regional Analysis of Mexico's Cristero Rebellion* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982); Patience A. Schell, *Church and State Education in Revolutionary Mexico City* (Tucson: University of

streams were militant, reactionary, deeply religious, and conservative. One does not learn of these *Mexicanas,* or their possible influence in the United States, by reading the existing literature on Chicana history. Ethnic Mexican women who left Mexico between 1910 and 1930 were certainly not a unified lot, and this has important implications for the rest of twentieth-century Mexican-American history that is generally not reflected in current scholarship. This dissertation follows the experiences of women of Mexican origin across various socioeconomic strata through their ties to borderlands mining. The wives of mining engineers or mine workers held a variety of political, cultural, and economic loyalties. Their experiences were shaped by many different social customs and geographic places due to their transnational mobility. A focus on industrial mining in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands helps scholars to get a more diverse picture of ethnic Mexican women's history on both sides of the international border.

Methods & Sources: A Transnational Community History

> *Objectivity? We distrust an objectivity that reduces us to objects.*
> -Eduardo Galeano[30]

I refer to this dissertation as a transnational community history. By community, I do not limit myself to one geographic location, but rather, see it as a shared identification with a connection to the mining industry. A transnational community study poses obstacles different from a more typical community study. Most notably, it cannot depend

---

Arizona Press, 2003); Kristina A. Boylan, "Gendering Faith and Altering the Nation: Mexican Catholic Women's Activism, 1917-1940," in Olcott, Vaughan, Cano, *Sex in Revolution*, 199-222.

[30] Eduardo Galeano, *We Say No: Chronicles 1963-1991,* translated by mark Fried and others (New York & London: W.W. Norton & Co., 1989, 1992), 211.

upon archival records from a single geographic place (such as a mining town). Solely investigating site-specific source materials—including local newspapers, judicial, church, or government documents from a single place—would exclude many of the transnational processes at work shaping the mining community's history. In response, I have turned to the task of documenting associations amongst the groups that transcend a single geographic place. This includes sources on the various "American Colonies" in Mexico (expatriate groups), records from the largest professional engineering organization and its women's auxiliary (both with branches in Mexico), corporate and academic archives, relevant social club records, extensive oral history, and previous secondary social historical work where necessary. This last strategy will help incorporate place-specific data already collected by a generation of social historians.[31] Moreover, I have avoided using state-generated sources as much as possible. I have chosen not to conduct extensive archival research at the national archives in Washington D.C. or at the *Archivo General de la Nacion* in Mexico City. There are numerous diplomatic historical treatments of the time and places the dissertation covers and extensive research on U.S. investment in Mexico,[32] which gives me the opportunity to excavate under-utilized sources not created by the U.S. or Mexican state, but rather by transnational corporations, organizations, or people.

[31] Such as William French's book on Parral, Chihuahua, Michael Snodgrass' research on Monterrey, Thomas Sheridan's monograph on Tucson, Arizona, Monica Perales' community study on Smeltertown in El Paso, and Katherine Benton-Cohen's work on race and labor in Cochise County, Arizona. French, *A Peaceful and Working* People; Michael Snodgrass, *Deference and Defiance in Monterrey: Workers, Paternalism, and Revolution in Mexico, 1890-1950* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Thomas Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1854-1941* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986); Perales, *Smeltertown*; Benton-Cohen, *Borderline Americans.*

[32] Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico;* John Mason Hart, *Empire and Revolution: The Americans in Mexico since the Civil War* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002).

Oral interviews, collective memory, and family histories articulate one form of transnational life and its endurance over time. Mining families remembered rich details on common themes from their mobile daily existence. Often, the mining profession sustained their families over generations. Their children and grandchildren learned from an early age about moving between mining places and cultures, and this detailed record reveals the endurance and importance of their history. Transnational life is found in the memories, homes, and things of mobile people, and in the archives of various institutions, social, and professional organizations. My claim to the generational longevity of transnational life (amongst mining people in Mexico and the United States) will be of importance to social scientists who continue to debate the existence and meaning of transnationalism amongst post 1965 U.S. immigrant populations.

In recent migration literature, the conversation about transnationalism centers on the endurance, over generations, of "transnational life" for newer migrants in U.S. society. Scholars first noticed a number of practices amongst immigrant communities, which they identified as contributing to their ability to maintain ties with their places of origin. For some migration scholars, the increased scale of sending remittances, getting involved in home-country political and social life, or sustaining mobile livelihoods in both nation-states indicated a form of transnational life. The best definition comes from sociologist Robert Smith. He describes transnational life as the "identities and social structures that help form the life world of immigrants and their children and is constructed in relations among people, institutions, and places." Smith also stresses that transnational life is often only one of many identities that migrants can claim and

employ.[33] For the moment, the debate about transnationalism centers on precise definitions, the endurance of transnational practices over generations, and, most recently, if transnationalism can exist amongst subsequent generations (through media), who never actually visit their family's country of origin. [34] Attempting to answer all of these questions is far beyond the scope of this dissertation. My modest aim is to contribute a historical conceptualization for twentieth-century transnational studies.

Mining families moved frequently throughout Mexico and the West, and for most of the twentieth century mining engineering men considered it a sort of rite of passage to spend time working in the great mines of Mexico. In order to capture this mobility, I began my archival work by listening and reading hundreds of oral histories with mining folk. I used these remembrances to lead me to other sources documenting transnational life and history in the extractive industries. The interviews also shaped my work by emphasizing specific mining camps and multinational corporations. Although the dissertation refers to camps and companies working throughout North America, I had to anchor the narrative to particular camps and companies about which the sources provided the richest details.

---

[33] Robert Smith, *Mexican New York: Transnational Lives of New Immigrants* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006), 7.

[34] Linda G. Basch, Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States* (Langhorne, Pa.: Gordon and Breach, 1994); Peter Kivisto, "Theorizing Transnational Migration: A Critical Review of Current Efforts," *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 24, no. 40 (2001): 569; Thomas Faist, *The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 238; Peggy Levitt, and B. Nadya Jaworsky, "Transnational Migration Studies: Past Development and Future Trends," *Annual Review of Sociology,* 33 (2007): 133-134; Roger Waldinger, and David Fitzgerald, "Transnationalism in Question," *American Journal of Sociology,* 109 (2004): 1187; Roger Waldinger, "Between 'Here' and 'There': Immigrant Cross-Border Activities and Loyalties," *International Migration Review,* 42, no. 1 (March 2008); David Gutierrez and Pierette Hondagneu-Sotelo, *Nation and Migration: Past and Future* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009), introduction; Ruben Gowricharn, "Changing forms of Transnationalism," *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 32, no. 9 (Nov. 2009):1619-1638.

This study uses examples primarily from mining camps and districts near Parral, San Francisco del Oro, Santa Bárbara, Santa Eulalia, in Chihuahua; Pilares and Cananea in Sonora; Charcas, San Luis Potosí; and Tayoltita, Durango in Mexico; Clifton-Morenci, Ajo, Globe-Miami, and Jerome in Arizona; and El Paso, Texas in the United States. These were mining places bound together by mobility, mixing, and memory.

For multinational mining corporations, I rely upon published company records, stockholder reports, official company histories, and for Phelps Dodge, the research materials Robert Glass Cleland collected in the 1940s for his company sponsored history, which are housed at the Huntington Library in San Marino, California. I also use some archival materials from smaller companies operating in Arizona and Chihuahua during my time frame.

During the researching of this dissertation, I visited all of the mining camps mentioned from Arizona, Chihuahua, and Texas, (and others not specifically mentioned from these states, as well as Colorado, Montana, and other parts of Mexico). During these trips, I conducted informal interviews, ethnographic sketches, scouted archives, visited mining museums and public monuments to miners, and conversed with American and Mexican mining families. From 2010 through 2012, I once again lived in Arizona where I was born and raised.

Historical actors living in the present do not completely organize their memories chronologically. I found for transnational mining people this point was particularly salient. Mining people's clearest remembrances attached themselves to specific places and to larger geopolitical events without a strict adherence to linear time. For instance, all of the archived oral history collections I accessed were in close proximity to centers of

mining power; New York City, Phoenix, El Paso, Denver, Los Angeles, and Helena, Montana. With the interviews I conducted, individuals remembered the past based not so much on year, but rather on the various places in which they lived (no matter the duration), or in relation to major historical events such as World War Two or the quasi-nationalization of mining in Mexico. In order to reflect this different notion of historical time, the dissertation is not organized strictly by chronology.

The Mining Life is divided into two parts. Part One, "The View from Above," includes two chapters that take a top-down approach to the mining industry and some of its key actors. Chapter one provides a brief history of the mining industry in Arizona and Chihuahua, including the histories of Asarco and PD, their policies, practices and camps, from 1890 through 1965. I also include a discussion of the social dynamics of borderlands mining camps prior to 1920 because the reader gets a sense of the social dynamics after this time in subsequent chapters. Chapter two is a history of the professionalization of mining engineers. Here, we learn about the class, race, and gender hierarchies within transnational mining engineers. Part Two, "The View from Below," adds the counterpart to part one. Chapter three is a history of ethnic Mexican mining women in Arizona and their reactions and responses to race, class, and gender domination over time. I highlight ethnic Mexican strategies of survival that helped them endure violence and racism prior to World War Two, when more formal avenues of social change were closed. Chapter four focuses on engineering women's community building in Chihuahua during and after World War Two in order to show the ways in which Americans and Mexicans interacted in rural areas of Mexico. I also pay special attention to the importance of ethnic Mexican domestic workers to family formation in

U.S. mining enclaves. Chapter five is an examination of intermarriage and mixed families on both sides of the international border from 1890 to 1965. Here, I demonstrate how intermarriage and mixed family formations made U.S. imperialism's racial dimensions incomplete and unstable. By examining language amongst mixed mining people, I emphasize the contingencies and gendered aspects of identity formation in the borderlands. Finally, a brief conclusion revisits the main arguments and findings of the study with a view to the vast changes that happened in borderlands history in the year 1965—transformations that changed the political economy and family life of mining people on both sides of the line.

Part I

The View from Above:

Mining and the Engineers

Chapter One

A Brief History of Multinational Mining in Arizona and Chihuahua, 1890-1965

This chapter provides a history of mining in Arizona and Chihuahua from 1890 to 1965. I explore technological innovation and specific multinational corporations, with an eye toward the social dynamics of resource extraction in the borderlands. It provides the reader with the broad strokes of the scientific, economic, and social aspects of industrial mining over time. Fostered by technology and monopolization, the mining industry shifted from a field dominated by mostly skilled workers to one that needed large amounts of semi-skilled workers. As the largest multinational corporations expanded, mechanized, and rode the economic waves of booms-and-busts, they quickly learned that profits could be greatly increased by expanding across the international border where laws were more lax and labor was inexpensive. Further, cooperative U.S. and Mexican states allowed a largely ethnic Mexican transnational labor force to move back and forth over the border, greatly facilitating expansion and downsizing in response to the ebbs and flows of a capitalist economy. Capital and people moved.

U.S. capitalists began receiving mineral concessions in Mexico as early as the 1860s, but transportation difficulties and the lack of smelting operations in Mexico kept these forays financially and productively limited. During the 1880s, U.S. smelting facilities began to receive small concessions in Mexico, and with the completion of the Mexican Central and the Mexican National's northern divisions (1883-1885), railroad

networks gave northern Mexican mining operations easy access to the Southwest. When Daniel Guggenheim (the future head of Asarco) received his concession from Porfirio Díaz on October 9, 1890, the technological, political, and transportation system in Mexico and the Southwest was in place for Asarco to begin constructing its bi-national mining and metallurgical empire.[35] The same was true for Phelps Dodge in Arizona and Sonora five years later. By 1920, in both Arizona and Chihuahua, mining corporations had to struggle to find solutions to the widespread problems caused by labor agitation, wartime mineralogical demands and challenges to production, and intense nationalist and xenophobic sentiments amongst local residents in the borderlands during the Mexican Revolution and World War One.

Throughout the 1890 to 1920 period, the social environment in mining hierarchies changed little. Overwhelmingly, white U.S. men served as the managerial class and largely ethnic Mexicans toiled in the mines and smelters. Following World War One and the military phase of the Mexican Revolution (1910-1920) the situation changed from a neo-colonial setting in Mexico to a more challenging and imperialistic version of national exploitation. White U.S. overseers could no longer blatantly abuse the labor force, taxation increased, and companies had to compromise with the forces of Mexican nationalism to succeed. Multinationals such as Asarco met the challenge. By 1920, labor organizations were all but destroyed in Arizona with the help of local government and large mining companies. This freed the industry to continue its economic and social practices in the state.

[35] Bernstein, The Mexican Mining Industry, 31-40.

The post 1920 period was defined but economic recessions (1921, 1929, 1936) until the onslaught of World War Two. Between the first and second World Wars, mining corporations on both sides of the border began a process of vertical and horizontal integration and further monopolization of the industry. During World War Two the demand for industrial metals spiked and a resurgence in mining activity occurred in both Arizona and Chihuahua that lasted well into the 1950s, due in part to the Korean War. During the war, the diplomatic relationships between Mexico and the United States were reestablished following severe tensions during the Mexican Revolution and the expropriation of Mexico's oil in 1938. These political ties allowed the U.S. mining industry to rise from its consolidation practices to dominate borderlands mining as much as during the *Porfiriato*, only more seasoned at navigating the nuances of Mexican nationalism and labor resistance in Arizona. By the end of the WWII, ethnic Mexicans on both sides of the border began to demand more forcefully for civil, social, and economic rights. The imperial project began to break down. In 1965, the mining industry was semi-nationalized in Mexico and its importance for Arizona's economy began to decline with the rise of the new Sunbelt industries.

Pre-1890 Mining in the Borderlands

Mining was one of the driving forces of European and Anglo expansion into the Southwest and northern Mexico. During the colonial era, the Spanish followed precious metals north from Mexico City to the great mining districts of Guanajuato, Pachuca, Sombrerete, and Proaño Hill near Fresnillo, and later, San Luis Potosí, Zacatecas, Aguascalientes, and Chihuahua. From there, it was only a short leap to finding silver in

present-day New Mexico and copper and silver in present-day Arizona. These early ventures were technologically simple affairs imported from Europe. Placer (surface) mining was the dominant method and iron, tools, gunpowder, and beasts of burden (including Indians) facilitated excavation. In 1555, Bartolomé Medina invented the patio amalgamation process, which enabled miners to yield higher extractions from silver ore. The method required grinding the ore finely and then mixing with a variety of chemicals, notably, mercury. Next, a pit was dug whereby men and animals waded in the paste for 20-30 days until the combination of silver and mercury was complete. The patio amalgamation process was in widespread use throughout Mexico and the Southwest until the early twentieth century.[36]

By the first half of the 1800s, fierce raiding and warfare with indigenous groups, such as the Comanches and Apaches, had driven many Spanish settlers out of mining regions in the Southwest and large parts of the Mexican north. Shortly after the United States annexed the northern half of Mexico's territory, California's gold rush in 1849 attracted thousands of miners from throughout the Americas.[37] As soon as the dust settled, mining folk began to move eastward into the Rocky Mountain region searching for the next big bonanza. Strikes in Nevada, Idaho, Arizona, Montana, and Colorado attracted miners of all stripes. Indeed, the political history of indigenous groups throughout these regions teaches us that mineral claims on their land were one of the

[36] Bernstein, *The Mexican Mining Industry*, 8-10.

[37] Susan Lee Johnson, *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush* (New York & London: W.W. Norton & Co., 2000), 12.

main factors that drove Euro Americans to take it—either through violence or deception.[38]

The last three decades of the nineteenth century was a transition period in the history of mining. As surface level placers were exhausted in the West, innovations in "hard rock mining" (first developed at the Comstock in 1860s Nevada) exploded. The "square set" method of timbering (reinforcing mining shafts), multi-stage "differential" pumping devices (which sunk shafts 3-5,000 feet into hard rock), and the invention of compressed air drills (1890s) increased profits and required a small highly trained engineering class along with large amounts of semi-skilled labor.

Facilitating these changes was a number of factors. First, railroad transportation across the North American continent, and down into Mexico, made transporting ore, materials, and labor easier from remote mining regions to centers of manufacturing and markets. Second, the invention of the cyanide process for silver and gold, which replaced the earlier patio amalgamation process, and the flotation process for lead-zinc and copper, proved much cheaper for removing metals from low grade ore. Finally, the implementation of scientific methods of management and large-scale financial investments from absentee owners characterized the period.[39]

The mining camps that were established near these strikes attracted a variety of ethnic groups, including but not limited to, Cornish, Scottish, Greeks, Italians, Chinese,

---

[38] This was also true for various indigenous groups in the Great Plains especially in South Dakota. Dee Brown, *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1970).

[39] Raymond E. Dumett, ed., Mining Tycoons in the Age of Empire, 1870-1945: Entrepreneurship, High Finance, Politics, and Territorial Expansion (Surrey, England & Burlington Vermont: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 5-9; Howard R. Lamar, The Reader's Encyclopedia of the American West (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1977), 735-737.

Serbians, Spanish, Anglo Americans, and Mexicans. In the Southwest, these miners relied heavily upon local Mexican and indigenous people to teach them extractive methods appropriate to the arid region, and early so-called Anglo-origin pioneers found evidence of earlier Spanish and Mexican mine workings. For example, Joseph Walker led the first prospecting expedition into central Arizona and found gold in the Hassayampa Creek on May 1, 1863. Shortly after, Powell (or Paul or Paulino) Weaver, a man with close ties to the Spanish-speaking communities in Arizona, discovered gold in Yavapai County about three weeks after the Walker Party. A Mexican working with Weaver discovered Antelope Hill, a very rich mine near Wickenburg. Mexican *gambusinos,* or miners, helped early Anglo-American prospectors locate claims especially in the Bradshaw Mountains. When William Bradshaw began prospecting near Black Canyon in 1863, Mexicans, who built *arrastras* or circular grooves in the ground lined with flat stones, had already worked the area. It was also noted that Mexicans had worked placers in the Silver Mountain, Humbug, and Oak Creek areas for a few years prior to 1867.[40] Early mining in Arizona was dependent upon the goodwill of local Mexicans, but this was soon forgotten.[41]

[40] Bruce M. Wilson, *Crown King and the Southern Bradshaws: A Complete History* (Chandler, AZ: Crown King Press, 1990), 13-15.

[41] Perhaps deliberately neglected is a better term here. For instance, the first official Arizona state historian, Sharlot Hall, spent her later life collecting and documenting the history of central Arizona. Her efforts are enshrined at the Sharlot Hall Museum in downtown Prescott. Sharlot Hall was extremely prejudiced against Mexican-origin people, and her brother, a mining man, married a Mexican woman from Chihuahua whom Hall hated. She disowned her brother for his intermarriage. Margret F. Maxwell, *A Passion for Freedom: The Life of Sharlot Hall* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982), 103-104, 182. Ms. Hall refused to recognize, collect sources, or document the history of ethnic Mexicans in this region. Today, one is hard pressed to find anything at the Sharlot Hall Museum having to do with ethnic Mexican history in central Arizona, despite Mexicans' obvious presence in this region before Anglo settlement, or in mining areas such as Prescott, Humboldt, or Jerome. Anonymous Native Arizona Historian, interview with author, October 2011, Prescott, Arizona, ethnographic fieldnotes. Hall also refused to promote or publish the historical and anthropological work of an educated Yavapai man, Mike Burns (Hoomothya), who collected oral interviews, folklore, and historical information on the Yavapai near Prescott. The manuscript

Prescott became the new territorial capital of Arizona in 1864 and mining fueled its population growth. Like other western mining camps, the new European-origin residents quickly tried to establish racial borders between themselves and previous residents, as well as other racialized groups new to the area. One of the first ordinances passed for the new capital prohibited "Asiatics and Senorians [Sonorans or Mexicans], from filing mining claims, working, or living in the district." This ordinance was later amended because excluding Mexicans proved to be inconvenient as the Anglo-American miners new to the region needed Mexican laborers and traders/merchants. Later, a committee was established to determine "who are and who are not Mexicans." Desirable Mexicans who were certified as "Spanish" (and therefore white and of European origin) and were more acceptable to the Anglo-American settlers of Prescott. Racism and violence was rampant against Asian, Mexican, Black, and indigenous people. According to one historian, "The attitudes and behavior of the early [Anglo] miners became traditional in Prescott, which well into the twentieth century prided itself, informally, on being the 'only white man's town in Arizona,'" a distinction also claimed by Globe and Bisbee.[42]

The long term threat the Apaches and other indigenous groups posed in Arizona meant that mining developed a bit more slowly than in other Western mining regions.

---

sat in the museum neglected by scholars for a century. The museum finally published this invaluable work on indigenous Prescott people, but failed to address why it had earlier refused to publish this work, and why it took so long to do so. Mike Burns (Hoomothya), *All of My People were Killed: The Memoir of Mike Burns (Hoomothya), A Captive Indian* (Prescott, AZ: Sharlot Hall Museum, 2010).

[42] Bil Gilbert, Westering Man: The Life of Joseph Walker (New York: Atheneum, 1983), 270-274; Nell Murbarger, Ghosts of the Adobe Walls: An Intimate Chronicle of Arizona's Deserted Mining Boom Camps, Stage Stations, Army Posts, Ranches, and Amazing Human Characters (Tucson: Treasure Chest Publications Inc., 1964), 31. On the early history of Arizona, also see, Jay J. Wagoner, Early Arizona: Prehistory to Civil War (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1975); Jay J. Wagoner, Arizona Territory 1863-1912: A Political History (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1970); Sheridan, Los Tucsonenses; Thomas E. Sheridan, Arizona: A History (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995).

Arizona was the last area in the continental United States to be incorporated into the federal state by achieving statehood in 1912, and mining fostered that process. In the late 1880s the state began to see the proliferation of industrialized mining and the corresponding changes that went along with it. Phelps Dodge was not the only operation in town, but it took the lead in politics, practices, and policies that other companies followed in the state.

1890 through 1920: The Creation of a Transnational Industry and Labor Force

PD first entered Arizona mining by hiring and sending James Douglas, an engineer, to explore mineral claims. In 1881 he convinced PD to buy a mine near Bisbee and to invest in the Morenci mines. Both mines eventually produced immense wealth for Dr. Douglas and Phelps Dodge.[43] From these beginnings, the corporation spread across the state and either through the company, or individual stockholders, the majority of the most valuable mines in Arizona fell into the hands of those associated with PD. In addition, the company also entered Mexican mining by first buying Asarco's claims in the Pilares de Nacozari district of northern Sonora in 1895 under the advice of prominent mining engineer Dr. Louis Ricketts.[44] Soon after, PD constructed the smelter at Douglas on the international border, and the corporation eventually owned small railroads and other mines in the area.

It was only in the 1890s that conditions were right for a truly transnational industry to develop. Bi-national transportation and smelting facilities were finished, and

[43] Robert Glass Cleland, A History of Phelps Dodge, 1834-1950 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1952), 96-98, 112-113.

[44] Ibid, 131.

in 1890 historian Fredrick Jackson Turner was proclaiming the closing of the western frontier. Indigenous resistance hit a turning point with the massacre at Wounded Knee, and with the ending of most hostilities with indigenous groups in Arizona, signaled by the surrender of Geronimo in 1886, most of the Southwest was conquered and tamed. Large U.S. mining companies, and other investors, were turning their economic and "civilizing" vision abroad. Promulgating the open-door policy, many argued that the U.S. business sector demanded oversea markets to continue to grow. Whether one argued for direct U.S. military and political control or indirect economic and cultural influence, all agreed access to places and markets outside of the United States was vital.[45]

In Mexico, U.S. investment had begun shortly after the U.S. civil war, and reached wild proportions under the dictator Porfirio Díaz (1876-1910). Díaz was convinced that foreign investment was necessary to the modernization of Mexico. A complicated network of U.S. financiers, industrialists and political allies in Washington D.C. and Mexico D.F., coalesced to build infrastructure (such as railroads), dominate agriculture and land ownership, and most importantly for our purposes, to develop Mexico's natural mineral wealth. In 1884, the Mexican Congress revised its mining code fostering U.S. mining corporations' interest in Mexico. Later revisions in 1887 and 1892 further attracted U.S. extractive industries by lowering taxes, restricting government interference, and giving full subsoil rights to property owners—of any nationality.

[45] Louis Hacker, The Triumph of American Capitalism: The Development of the Nineteenth Century (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947); William A. Williams, The Tragedy of American Diplomacy (New York: Dell Co., 1962); Rosenberg, Spreading the American Dream; Martin J. Sklar, The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism, 1890-1916: The Market, the Law, and Politics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988); Donald Wallace White, The American Century: The Rise and Decline of the United States as a World Power (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996); Oscar Campomañes, "1898 and the Nature of the New Empire," Radical History Review 73, no. 1 (1998): 1-14; Jeffery A. Frieden, Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century (New York: W.W. Norton, 2006).

Combined, these changes produced an increased influx of U.S. citizens into Mexico. Historians estimate that by 1910, 40,000 U.S. citizens resided in the Republic.[46] By the turn of the twentieth century, U.S. investment in Mexican mining totaled approximately $300 million in comparison to $15 million in Mexican capital. More than 130,000 Mexican workers were employed in various mining regions across the Republic.[47]

Partially in response to the McKinley Tariff (1890), which placed a 1.5 cent per pound tax on the lead content of imported ores and was directed at Mexican ore in particular, U.S. corporations also began to construct a smelting industry in Mexico. The American Smelting and Refining Company (Asarco)—soon owned by the Guggenheim family—acquired a concession in 1890 to build three smelters in Mexico, two of which were immediately constructed in Monterrey and in Aguascalientes. By 1897, the Aguascalientes smelter processed 21,000 tons of ore with an estimated value of 619,000 pesos. 869 workers toiled in thirteen established mines in the vicinity to feed the smelter.[48]

Within less than twenty years, Asarco operated ten mines in Mexico, including the Bonanza, Zacatecas, Charcas, Matehuala, Sierra Mojada, Santa Eulalia, Santa Barbara, and Velarderia. It also ran a number of railroads, and had smelters located in Monterrey (capacity 1600 tons), Chihuahua (capacity 900 tons), Velardena (capacity 450 tons), Aguascalientes (capacity 2000 tons), Matehuala (capacity 600 tons), and

[46] Federico Kunz, "Evolución Histórica del Régimen Legal del Beneficio de Minerales en México," in Dolores Avila, Inés Herrera, y Rina Ortiz, coordinadores, *Empresarios y Politica Minera: Primera Reunión de Histoiradores de la Minería Latinoamericana* (México D.F.: Instituto Nacional Anthropología e Historia (hereafter INAH), 1992), 65-76; Hart, *Empire and Revolution,* 73-267, 271-272.

[47] González, The Culture of Empire, 31-32.

[48] Jesús Gómez Serrano, "La Familia Guggenheim y El Desarrollo Minero-Metalúrgico de Aguascalientes, 1894-1911," in Camilo Contreras Delgado, and Moisés Gámex, coordinadores, *Procesos y Espacios Mineros: Fundición y Minería en el Centro y Noreste de México durante el Porfirato* (Tijuana, México: El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, 2004), 71.

Velarderia (capacity 750 tons). By 1916 Asarco was the largest smelting and metallurgical corporation in the world, and it would go on to dominate Mexican mining and smelting for most of the twentieth century.[49] In the state of Chihuahua, Asarco held particular dominance, but it was far from the only U.S. company operating in the state.

Table 1 U.S. Mining Companies Operating in Chihuahua (1916)[50]

The Almoloya Mining Co. (incorporated in AZ)
The Alvarado Mining & Milling Co. (incorporated in Maine)
ASARCO (incorporated in New Jersey)
The American Exploration and Mining Co. (incorporated in Maine)
The Arados Copper Co. (private interest)
The Batopilas Mining Co. (organized in New York)
Chihuahua Mining Co. (incorporated in New York)
The Mines Company of America (incorporated in Maine as a holding company)
The Chihuahua-Esperanza Gold Mining Co.
The Consuelo Mining, Milling & Power Co.
The Dolores Mines Co.
El Rayo Mines Co.

The first large U.S.-owned mining camp in the Mexican north was the Batopilas camp in the southern portion of the state of Chihuahua (established 1860s). Former Washington D.C. governor Alexander Shepherd utilized heavy financial backing from U.S. investors, economies of scale, new technologies, a strict wage system, and employed U.S. engineers and supervisors to oversee Mexican labor and policies in his camp. All

[49] W.K. Weed, "The Mines Handbook," Vol. 12 (New York: 1916): 136-141. On the history of Asarco, see, Harvey O'Conner, *The Guggenheims: The Making of an American Dynasty* (New York: Covici, Friede, 1937); Isaac Marcosson, *Metal Magic: The Story of the American Smelting and Refining Company* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Co., 1949); Mary Antoine Lee, "A Historical Survey of the American Smelting and Refining Company in El Paso, 1887-1950," (Masters Thesis, University of Texas El Paso, 1950); Meynardo Vásquez Esquivel, *Movimiento Obrero en ASARCO* (Monterrey, N. L., Mexico: Gobierno eel Estado de Nuevo León, Secretaría de Administración, Archivo General del Estado, 1987); Daniel Horace Marucci, "The American Smelting and Refining Company in Mexico, 1900-1925" (P.h. Diss., Rutgers University, 1995); "ASARCO INCORPORATED," International Directory of Company Histories, Vol. 4 (St. James Press, 1991), reproduced in Business and Company Resource Center (Farmington Hills, Michigan: Gale Group, 2008), http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/BCRC, accessed, Feb. 6, 2008.

[50] W.K. Weed, "The Mines Handbook," 136-141.

were seen as necessary to change one of the most remote regions of North America into a small industrial complex, which eventually included living areas, a hospital, recreation center, and a school in addition to the mining and smelting facilities. In fact, after Mexico City, Batopilas was the first town to have electricity in Mexico. Shepherd followed his mining contemporaries in Arizona by instilling strict separation between his U.S. skilled technicians and the Mexican labor force through segregated housing, and, taking it a step further, a wage system which paid managers 20 times higher salaries than his Mexican workers. By 1902, Shepherd employed between 1,000 and 1,300 Mexican laborers in the mines, and the town of Batopilas had grown to be a city of between 6,000 and 7,000 people.[51]

Colonel Green's Cananea copper camp in Sonora is the most well-known example of these "American" mining camps in the Mexican north, and these patterns continued throughout mining regions in Mexico.[52] U.S. citizens were in charge of the Mexican workforce, they lived separately in their own areas, and with the help of U.S. companies, maintained strict racial and class segregation from the local residents. In many respects, these American colonies resembled European settler colonialism in their territorial, social, and racial dimensions.[53]

Although historians continue to debate the nature, causes, and outcomes of the Mexican Revolution, most agree resentment toward foreign investors and employees was

[51] "Batopilas," *National Magazine*, vol. 17 (Oct.-March, 1902): 349; Grant Shepherd, *The Silver Magnet: Fifty Years in a Mexican Silver Mine* (New York: E.P. Dutton & Co., 1938); Hart, *Empire and Revolution*, 132-136; Bernstein, *The Mexican Mining Industry*, 22-23.

[52] Most historians point to the 1906 strike at Cananea as one of the most important precursors to the Mexican Revolution of 1910. For a recent treatment of Cananea through a transnational lens, see, Truett, *Fugitive Landscapes*, especially, 78-103.

[53] For discussions of social dynamics in other specific Mexican mining camps, see, González, *Culture of Empire*, 31-43. For Asarco's operations in particular, see, Marucci, "The American Smelting and Refining Company in Mexico," 213-214.

an important driving force.[54] During the initial stages of the uprising Asarco was able to negotiate protection by various factions within the movement and only experienced short-term disruptions in production throughout the conflict. For instance, in 1911 the Mexican Division reported a profit of $10,500,000 for the company, a $3,000,000 gain from 1910.[55] The real impact of the Mexican Revolution for multinational mining corporations, like Asarco, came after 1920 when changes from the 1917 constitution began to be implemented by the federal government.

Just as Mexico was undergoing severe changes in labor/management relations and the role of foreigners in industry, the onslaught of World War One raised similar issues in Arizona. From 1910 to 1917, striking miners rocked Arizona, and race and nationality were defining features of these conflicts. Louis Cates, a PD man, summed up the reasons for the relatively little labor unrest before the Mexican Revolution. "Well—we didn't have a lot of cockeyed laws to respect in those days—we were more or less czars of our own territory. As a matter of fact they used to call me jokingly the King of the Pinals, because I had my own sheriffs and deputies and we just ran this thing the way we thought we should."[56]

Widespread resistance to this kind of control by mining companies began in the lead up to the Mexican Revolution, and due to the transnational mobility of *Mexicanos* in the borderlands, continued in the Southwest during World War One. Cates went on to mention the important role Mexicans later played in the instigation and success, of mine

---

[54] For an introduction to these debates, see Knight, "The Mexican Revolution: Bourgeois? Nationalist? or Just a 'Great Rebellion'?"

[55] Marucci, "The American Smelting and Refining Company in Mexico," 276-279.

[56] Louis Cates, interview by Henry C Carlisle, Aug. 1960, vol. 2, no. 437, "Mining Engineering Project," Oral History Office, Columbia University, New York City, New York (hereafter OHCU), 1.

laborers beginning a strike, and the creation of an I.W.W. union in Ray, Arizona, as early as 1911.[57] Indeed, most of the early strikes in Arizona, such as in Morenci in 1903, were facilitated by Mexican laborers' formal and informal organizing efforts.

Arizona mine workers, and especially of Mexican origin, struggled furiously over their economic exploitation, contesting the racism inherent in wage scales and other segregated accommodations found in mining towns. As one PD official explained during a 1915-1916 strike in the Clifton, Morenci, Metcalf district;

> The Mexican laborers feel very bitterly because they are getting less wages than the "white" labor which is employed with them…..In three or four instances I talked to old Mexicans who have been employed in the district for fourteen years or more and they have told me that what made them especially bitter was the fact that it was customary to put an American in with them who knew nothing about mining and who was getting the same wages, or even more. In a few weeks, after the Mexicans had taught the white man how to mine, the white man's wages were raised above that of the Mexican who had taught him the business and they still continued to work side by side. The first time I spoke to the strikers….the Mexicans brought forward this complaint and asked me if I did not consider it just that men who did the same work should be paid exactly the same wages.[58]

While early unions in Arizona, such as the Western Federation of Miners, refused to organize ethnic Mexican labor, by World War One unions saw the benefits of helping ethnic Mexicans challenge the racism inherent in dual-wage systems to bolster their formal organizing efforts.

John Murray, the Chairman of the Committee on Arrangements for Pan American Confederation of Labor and a member of the Committee of Labor of the Advisory Commission of the Council of National Defense, described the importance of Mexican

---

[57] Ibid., 1-6.

[58] Letter from A.V. Dye, to A.T.T. Phelps Dodge Corporate Headquarters, New York, January 12, 1916, box 6, folder 3, "labor," *Robert Glass Cleland Manuscript Collection: Research Materials related to Phelps Dodge Corporation,* Huntington Library, San Marino, CA (hereafter RGCPD), 1.

labor for unions in state of Arizona during this time. Mr. Murray had worked in organizing Mexican mine labor in Clifton, Metcalf, and Morenci in 1917. "These locals are so well organized and have the situation so well in hand that they potentially control the mining labor organizations in Arizona. This despite the fact that their total membership is only some five thousand out of approximately forty thousand Mexican miners in the State."[59]

The strength of these organizing efforts was so threatening to multinational mining corporations that vigilantes, with the approval of Phelps Dodge, instigated a number of deportations of striking miners from Arizona. This new corporate strategy was first contemplated in Ray, undertaken at a small scale in Mohave county and Jerome, and climaxing with the infamous Bisbee deportation of 1917.[60] Not that these removal efforts were successful in the long term. By the 1920s, ethnic Mexicans comprised 43% of the copper mining labor force in Arizona.[61] Later, the use of widespread expulsion of ethnic Mexicans from the Southwest became a tool of the U.S. government and local agencies during the Great Depression, when approximately half a million *Mexicanos/as* (citizens and non-citizens) were rounded up and repatriated (sent) back to Mexico.

---

[59] Mr. John Murray, interview by Percy Martin, January 19, 1918, Doheny Research Foundation, Special Collections Occidental College, Los Angeles, California (hereafter DRF, SCOC), 1855.

[60] For the deportations in Ray, Mohave county, Jerome, and Bisbee: Telegram from Walter Douglas, to A.C.J., July 13, 1917, box 6, folder 3, "labor," RGCPD; A.B. Peach, interview by Robert Glass Cleland, June 17, 1940, box 5, folder 4 "Verde," RGCPD; Mr. Reese, interview by Robert Cleland, June 17, 1940, box 5, folder 4 "Verde," RGCPD, 2; Telegram from Walter Douglas to E.M. Sawyer, Morenci, Arizona July 12, 1917; Walter Douglas, letter to A.T.T., July 12, 1917; A.T.T. letter to Walter Douglas, July 13, 1917, box 6, folder 3, "labor," RGCPD. On the Bisbee Deportation specifically, see, Byrkit, *Foraging the Copper Collar*, especially 168-172, 176-177, 298; O'Neill, "Domesticity Deployed,198-239; Parrish, "Mexican Workers, Progressives, and Copper: The Failure of Industrial Democracy in Arizona during the Wilson Years"; Benton-Cohen, *Borderline Americans*, 198-238.

[61] Mark Reisler, By the Sweat of Their Brow: Mexican Immigrant Labor in the United States, 1900-1940 (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976), 97.

Transnational U.S. corporations needed to attract a largely rural Mexican and indigenous labor force to their industrial operations in Mexico, and, following Asian immigrant restrictions, the Southwest. Once the combination of dispossession from land under Díaz, and appeals to wage labor by U.S. companies were established in rural Mexico, indigenous and Mexican labor began to migrate to various places for employment. Amongst early social scientists,[62] one fundamental problem with the "Mexican Indian" was a lack of consumerism and little desire to enter the wage labor force to gain "material advantages." For instance, David Hannay's piece in, *Diaz: Makers of the Nineteenth Century Series* (1917) stated, "The problem unsolved by Diaz was the Indian problem, 80% of the population does not care for those material advantages desired by more developed and ambitious races." In fact, Hannay's analysis provides a rationale for having U.S. capitalists and foreman treat their employees poorly. "But a very general experience shows that the discontent born of oppression is more loudly expressed when the sufferers begin to experience some relief. As they gain in strength their fear diminishes, their desires grow, and their claims increase."[63] Hannay revealed the relationship between U.S. corporate welfare policies and creating consumer demand, and suggested these practices encouraged the indigenous work force in Mexico to rebel.

---

[62] In order to more closely examine the social and racial dynamics of borderlands mining camps prior to 1920, I use interviews from a 1918 academic study financed by large oil interests, and conducted by prominent U.S. scholars working from the University of California at Berkeley. In 1918 and 1919 more than eight hundred U.S. and Mexican citizens were interviewed by U.S. social scientists. The scholars interviewed individuals with business or experiential knowledge of Mexico, Mexican business, politics, or people, including more than one-hundred with mining men. The informants were overwhelmingly U.S. citizens, but some were Mexican exiles, diplomats, businessmen, a "Mexican woman of the middle class," and others residing in the United States. The interview transcripts, and other collected materials, provide an invaluable source on social conditions on both sides of the international border before 1918, as most of the informants had long-term ties to Mexico and Mexicans. *The Edward L. Doheny Foundation* collection is held at Occidental College in Los Angeles.

[63] David Hannay, *Diaz: Makers of the Nineteenth Century Series* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1917), 266, 286.

A number of informants emphasized the lack of consumer desire or wages on the part of different ethnic Mexicans, their efforts to "raise their standard of living," to "create necessities," or other attempts to increase demand amongst the peasantry, and thus ensure a wage labor force for U.S. operations.[64]

The connections between transnational U.S. companies operating in Mexico, such as mining or oil corporations, and the opportunities available for work in the United States fostered the migration north not only of unskilled labor, as portrayed in the literature, but also skilled labor. Once opportunity dwindled for jobs in U.S. companies in Mexico due to the Revolution, some Mexican men with industrial experience hoped to translate these skills into opportunities in the United States. Isaac Cox described one such instance on a visit to the mining districts in the state of Aguascalientes, which had just sustained significant job cuts. "Most of the laborers of this type who are entering the United States are skilled mechanics. For instance, in Aguascalientes, machinists, boiler makers, moulders, carpenters and other skilled workmen lost their positions in great numbers."[65] The research notes went on to detail how these men were on their way to the United States until conditions improved in Mexico.

Not only was Mexican skilled and unskilled labor transnational, so were these men's organizing experiences, if not their unions. One U.S. official working for a U.S. mining company in Sonora gave his opinion on the dangers of returning migrants. "Returned Mexicans from the United States are apt to be more of a liability than an asset

---

[64] R.R. Spindola, interview by Percy Martin, April 2, 1918, DRF, SCOC, 1826; Belasario Cicero, interview by Percy Martin, March 2, 1918, DRF, SCOC, 1844; Secretary of Public Instruction in Huerta Cabinet, interview by W.W. Cumberland, n.d., DRF, SCOC, 7; John T. Cave, interview by Percy Martin, June 6, 1918, DRF, SCOC, 2451.

[65] "Transcript 684", interview and observations by Isaac Cox, n.d., DRF, SCOC, 2677.

to their country…when they return to Mexico, they breed dissatisfaction and discontent…Most of these men during their stay north of the border have become more or less imbued with I.W.W. and other radical theories, and they attempt to put into effect these half-baked ideas when they return to Mexico."[66] In a mining district in central Mexico, one mine manager described the publication of a local newspaper, which according to its critics was, "devoted to abuse the managers of the mines of the district and to attacks on foreign OWNERS." This publication apparently printed direct personal attacks on specific mine managers—including the "most ugliest manager contests" or assigning nicknames like "dictator" to specific managers in the area—and advocated "the most violent of the I.W.W. labor polices."[67]

Migration, union experience, and popular culture, were only some of the ways in which working-class ethnic Mexicans sought to resist capitalist exploitation. Mining engineers in particular complained of the various ways in which employees took advantage of their companies. "For example, a man will get drunk and be injured whereupon he will try to crawl into the mine and pretend that the injury occurred there."[68] Misuse of equipment was another common complaint. "The Mexican drivers are found to be very reckless, often overturning the trucks, and at all times driving with such little care that the trucks are battered to pieces."[69] While most of the informants saw these kinds of instances as proof of the inferiority of Mexican people and labor in comparison to U.S. people and labor, the truth may be far simpler. Perhaps, working people entirely

[66] John T. Cave, interview by Percy Martin, June 6, 1918, DRF, SCOC, 2454.

[67] "Transcript 630 no name listed?," interview by H.C. Thompson, May 4, 1918, DRF, SCOC, 11304.

[68] English mining engineer, interview by W.W Cumberland, July 3, 1918, DRF, SCOC, 2750.

[69] "Belgian mining engineer of some prominence," interview by W.W. Cumberland, July 12, 1918, DRF, SCOC, 3699.

realized their exploitation and tried to remedy it the best ways they could. Some "weapons of the weak" transcend race, culture, time, and place. Indeed, feigning ignorance or being neglectful can be seen as small protests against exploitation.[70]

Scientific racism and a long legacy of measuring men by their technological advances inherited from the experiences of European colonialism, shaped U.S. perceptions of Mexicans.[71] Within the American colonies in Mexico, interviewees detailed the emergence of a segmented class system based upon race/nationality. "In the mines, Mexicans serve as bookkeepers and as foreman in shafts and shops, but always under American direction. In the office, they act as intermediaries between peons and American managers."[72] One former employee of Cananea Copper Company described how Mexican-origin men filled the unskilled positions while "Americans were employed as superintendents or in any position requiring much initiative or originality."[73] In most U.S. business operations in Mexico, employees described the managerial or technical class as usually typically composed of U.S. nationals.

> All of the positions of greatest authority are held by Americans or other foreigners. Mexicans rise to shift boss and sometimes to the position of head mechanic, but rarely get into positions of control. Many Mexicans have been educated in the best technical schools, but they seem unable successfully to compete with Americans and other foreigners as Mining Engineers, Managers, etc. This does not imply that some of the Mexicans do not become distinct successes, and there is every reason to believe that more general training for the natives would bring them into a far more favorable position as compared with the whites.[74]

---

[70] James C. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985).

[71] Michael Adas, *Machines as the Measure of Men: Science, Technology, and Ideologies of Western Dominance* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1989), especially see, 343-419.

[72] Robert J. Coleman, interview by H.C. Thompson, February 27, 1918, DRF, SCOC, 2027.

[73] George Mitchell, interview by Robert Cleland, January 14, 1918, DRF, SCOC, 1808-1809.

[74] Official in large machinery enterprise, interview by W.W. Cumberland, February 8, 1918, DRF, SCOC, 1-2.

Despite the technical training some Mexican professionals received, this man could not seem to make sense of why they were "unable to successfully to compete with Americans" for these positions. By also pointing to some of the individual Mexicans who had managed to become "distinct successes," the informant was able to ignore or downplay the race-based segregated labor force hierarchy that was being enacted in Mexico.

The situation was similar in Arizona, where the engineering and managerial class consisted of Anglo U.S. citizens. The main difference in comparison to Mexico was that the working classes included Indians, Mexicans, and various European-origin immigrants. While political radicalism amongst average miners was a primary fear of large mining companies, the racism facing ethnic Mexican miners in Arizona came on two fronts. The hostility came from both their direct supervisors, and, early on, from labor organizations such as the Western Federation of Miners until the World War One era.[75]

For those working in the United States with ethnic Mexicans, a more careful delineation of the complexity of race in the borderlands can be found in their interview transcripts. Professor Madden, a man with experience in the South and someone who "knows the negroes well," explained that Mexican children were *not* the same as black people. The Yaqui and "border Indian children" were the ones who showed the "same kind of mental limitations" as black kids. According to this educator, Mexican youth should be compared to American youth.[76] He continued to highlight ethno-racial diversity and emphasized how language abilities actually confused static categorizations

[75] Byrkit, Forging the Copper Collar, 23-62.
[76] G.H. Madden, interview by H.C. Thompson, April 3, 1918, DRF, SCOC, 1.

like "Mexican" or "American." "Many of the so-called Mexicans are border Indians, some of them are Yaquis. Some of the children are born of American fathers and Mexican mothers. Of these, some are ignorant of English and have to be classed as Mexicans. Pure bred Mexican children, on the other hand, have frequently learned English though association with American children and go immediately into American classes."[77]

Not all informants voiced negative views of Mexicans as a race. The "positive depiction" examples ranged from a condescending paternalistic sentiment (with tangible results), to those with some generally good ideas regarding the status of poor borderland Mexicans during this time. On the one hand, many U.S. informants told the scholars about the prevalence of debt peonage in Mexico. U.S. managers' need for labor resulted in these men's ability to "buy" these workers out of debt and introduce them to wage labor, which they assumed was beneficial.[78] On the other hand, a few educators working with ethnic Mexican populations on or very near the international border, argued that it was mostly language difficulties, the children's forced absences from school due to migrations, racial discrimination, and poverty that hampered *Mexicano/a* kids' abilities in school, and not some type of lesser form of natural intelligence.[79] Even still, the scholars had a hard time believing this view. In one summarized interview, Isaac Cox showed his doubt. "Mr. Krox knows of no characteristic intellectual differences between Mexican and American children. Such differences as he notes are mere matters of degree, and

[77] Ibid.

[78] "Lived in Mexico and worked at mining several years," interview by Theodore Macklin, January 30, 1918, DRF, SCOC, 3049; W.W. Mackie, interview by Theodore Macklin, February 15, 1918, DRF, SCOC.

[79] For two examples, Krox, interview, 10589-10590; "Elementary Educator for Mexican population in San Antonio," interview, 2-4.

minor degree at that. 'At least,' you prompt, 'the brighter ones are the purest Spanish.' 'No,' says Mr. Krox, 'many of my best students are of the darkest types.'"[80]

Unfortunately the researchers only talked to a handful of working-class migrants. One agriculture worker who had migrated to California in 1910 described how he was mostly satisfied with his work conditions and wages. While he personally had not had many problems in the United States, he assured the interviewer he had many friends who had been cheated by their bosses and, due to language differences, had no avenues for redress. The worker's biggest complaint was that he was forced to rent his company home. He felt the money was wasted and only wanted his own home. Like other newly settled *Mexicanos/as,* this man's desire challenged the U.S. idea of a degraded or transitory Mexican labor force, for he sought to establish roots and become part of a community.[81] Finally, the interviewer was interested in this man's perceptions on events in his homeland. "Informant states that he has paid very little attention to them since he left Mexico eight years ago. He is all in favor of the revolution, but he does not see that very much has been done yet to improve the position of the poorer people. On the whole he is glad to be where he is."[82]

1920-1965: Monopolization

> Copper is War: If copper is electricity, it is likewise war. The World War was the most marvelous customer American copper ever had.[83]

---

[80] Krox, interview, 15.

[81] Perales, *Smeltertown.*

[82] "Mexican common laborer in beet sugar factory," interview by E.B. Christie, July 6, 1918, DRF, SCOC, 3039-3041. Interview conducted in Spanish.

[83] "Presbyterian Copper: Phelps Dodge: A Pious Royal Family and a Vertical Integration; A New Mine, A New Man; Tariffs, Curtailments, Copper in Bisbee, and Christians in Beirut," Box 1, Folder 9, RGCPD, 41.

Following World War One and the ending of most military hostilities in Mexico by 1920, the mining industry began a new era. Dealing with a rapidly changing Mexican federal government and economic depressions in 1921 and later in the 1930s, multinational mining corporations began a process of vertical integration, further monopolization of actual mining facilities, and consolidation in both Arizona and Chihuahua. Historians agree that the economic depression of the 1930s was not nearly as devastating to the Mexican economy as it was for the United States. Although the largest U.S.-owned mining companies operating in Mexico were directly impacted by the drop in prices for industrial metals worldwide, their sheer size and access to capital allowed these multinationals to buy up smaller mining operations that could not weather economic downturns. Multinational mining corporations in the borderlands actually emerged financially stronger as most of the world headed toward war.

PD was largely a regional heavyweight in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands, whereas, by the Second World War, Asarco became truly a worldwide player. In 1941 Asarco added to its global empire by acquiring new mining, smelting, and refining interests in Canada, New Foundland, Australia, Peru, Bolivia, Mexico, Nicaragua, Saudi Arabia, and the United States. In 1949, Asarco had employed 30,000 people each year for the previous ten years, and if we include those employees' dependents (an average of four each), then the company supported a population of nearly 150,000 people. Asarco quadruped its total assets between 1900 and 1947.[84]

[84] Marcosson, *Metals Magic*, 287, 292, 296-297.

In Mexico, this process of further monopolization can be clearly seen beginning during the decade of the military phase of the Revolution (1910-1920), and continuing at full throttle during the 1920s and into the 1930s. For example, Asarco took advantage of the political chaos in Mexico during the Revolution, and later economic depressions (1921, 1929), to buy up mines, smelters, and refineries.[85] Even more than before the Revolution, Asarco monopolized the extractive industry in Mexico, and especially in Chihuahua, despite facing serious challenges.

In 1931, the Mexican National Congress enacted the so-called Labor Law, regulating the provision of Article 123 of the Constitution for treatment of labor and social welfare. In response, U.S. mining companies called the laws "socialistic" to cast doubt on the Mexican state's sincerity toward the well-being of its poor and working populations, and to question its democratic credentials. Mining in Chihuahua endured the worst of the Depression from 1929-1934 and again in 1938.[86] With the recovery in 1935, Gustavo L. Talamantes, governor of Chihuahua, backed labor unions in the state and supported a 75-100% wage increase for miners, which they received. He also revised the labor laws to compel the mandatory construction of homes, operation of schools, and medical care for workers of large firms. By 1939 there were 20,000 unionized workers in Chihuahua, mostly miners.[87]

Under Lázaro Cárdenas' administration (1934-1940), the Mexican federal government began a process of incorporating various factions within the Republic under

[85] Historian Mark Wasserman has done the most in documenting this process for the state of Chihuahua. Wasserman, *Persistent Oligarchs,* 8; French, *A Peaceful and Working People*, 172-175; Hart, *Empire and Revolution,* 420.

[86] Wasserman, Persistent Oligarchs, 33.

[87] Ibid., 62.

the overarching framework of a National Revolutionary Party, or the *Partido Nacional Revolucionario* (the PRN, which later became the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* or PRI). Attempting to integrate a corrupt labor movement into a dominant state apparatus, Cárdenas both strengthened and co-opted the Mexican labor movement. Regardless if one sees *Cardenanismo* as fulfilling the progressive goals of the Mexican Revolution, or as a bourgeois taming of the revolutionary potential of the masses, for U.S. multinational mining companies, labor became a force to be reckoned with as it was now backed by the state.[88] Strikes occurred in Asarco mining enclaves throughout the decade disrupting productions. Striking miners threatened to shut down Asarco operations in parts of Mexico, most notably at their smelter in Monterrey.[89] One of Asarco's responses was to threaten to close down all operations, which would result in widespread unemployment with devastating effects for the economy.[90] Even still, by the late 1930s Asarco was the largest private employer in Mexico.[91] Yet, in order for the company to survive the changes that had occurred in Mexico since the Revolution, compromises with union demands were necessary.[92]

Multinational mining companies published reports highlight tensions between the Mexican government and U.S. corporations during this time. For instance, the 1930s annual reports of the U.S.-owned El Potosí Mining Company provide detailed

---

[88] Alan Knight, "Juggernaut or Jalopy?" *Journal of Latin American Studies*, 26, no. 1 (February 1994): 73-107; Adrian Bantjes, *As If Jesus Walked on Earth: Cardenismo, Sonora, and the Mexican Revolution* (Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1998); Marjorie Becker, *Setting the Virgin on Fire: Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán Peasants, and the Redemption of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995).

[89] Snodgrass, Deference and Defiance in Monterrey, 147.

[90] Wasserman, Persistent Oligarchs, 36-37.

[91] Stephen R. Niblo, War, Diplomacy, and Development: The United States and Mexico, 1938-1954 (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1995), 49.

[92] Snodgrass, Deference and Defiance, 148-150.

descriptions of changes in Mexican labor laws. Strikes were reported on with great detail, and law proceedings at the state (Chihuahua) and federal levels were outlined. Asarco did the same in its annual reports for stockholders.[93] Tensions between multinationals and the Mexican government reached a stalemate after President Cárdenas nationalized the oil industry in 1938.

Shortly after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Alan Bateman was asked to join the U.S. State Department's Metals Reserve, a board which oversaw mineral production for the U.S. war effort. Bateman's vast mining engineering experience, especially in Mexico, was of particular interest to the U.S. government at this time. As he remembered with an old friend, "I got down there [Washington D.C.] and they began to ask me questions about Mexico, and if we might increase the production of minerals from Mexico, because Mexico was an area that wasn't subject to submarine attack on its mineral resources."[94]

In 1942, the U.S. government put Dr. Bateman in charge of negotiating an agreement for the purchasing of Mexican minerals. The Bateman-Suarez-Tellez Agreement stated that the United States would purchase $100,000,000 worth of metals from Mexico, mostly copper, lead, and zinc, at a fixed relatively high rate. In exchange, Mexico would stabilize its economy, facilitate increasing mine output, and take a cooperative attitude toward existing labor laws. Duties on imports were temporarily suspended or lowered. The extractive industries went into high gear. By 1944 the

[93] El Potosí Mining Company, "Annual Report: 1931, Parts 1-2," box one, folder 1, 2, El Potosí Mining Company Records (hereafter EPMC), Nettie Benson Library, University of Texas at Austin (hereafter NBL-UTA), 12-13; El Potosí Mining Company, "Annual Report: 1932, Parts 1-2," box one, folder 3, EPMC, NBL-UTA, 12-13; El Potosí Mining Company, "Annual Report: 1933," box one, folder 5, EPMC, NBL-UTA, 13; El Potosí Mining Company, "Annual Report: 1934," box one, folder 8, EPMC, NBL-UTA, 124; Asarco, Asarco Annual Report, 1929-1931(New York: Asarco, 1932), UTA; Asarco, Asarco Annual Report, 1933-1946 (New York: Asarco, 1947), UTA.

[94] Alan Bateman, interview by Henry C. Carlisle, CUOH.

registration of mining claims, concessions, and contracts in Mexico reached record highs. Labor was also successful at increasing wages during this time of prosperity and Mexican miners were some of the highest paid workers in the Republic, though wage increases did not keep up with rapid inflation or the cost of living in Mexico.

Despite U.S. multinational mining companies complaining about Mexico's labor movement, tax burden, and other progressive measures, by World War Two respected mining engineers were arguing for the importance and expansion of the industry in Chihuahua to their employers and potential investors. By then, Chihuahua was "the richest and largest mining state in Mexico," receiving the most mining concessions, and with the largest number of companies in operation. The state industry extracted and refined the most tonnage and paid the largest total of salaries in mining and metallurgy.[95]

After 1940, the Mexican mining industry was dependent upon the United States' economy due to it being the largest importer of Mexico's metals. The relationship only strengthened during the spike in demand for metals during the Korean War. [96] In 1949, nearly 73% of total mineral production throughout Mexico was exported. According to the Organization of American States, as of 1952, "The principal marked during World War II and since has been the United States."[97] U.S. State department communications in the 1950s discuss both the growing closeness of the relationship between the U.S. and Mexican states, as well as continuous difficulties and fears caused by organized labor and

[95] John H. Pope, report entitled, "Compania Minera Unida de Chihuahua S.A.: Chihuahua United Mining Company Ltd.," n.d., box 10, folder 1, Papers of Harley A. Sill, 1901-1964: Mexico Mining Papers, Huntington Library and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, CA, 4.

[96] Bernstein, The Mexican Mining Industry, 226-228, 240.

[97] Organization of American States, Pan American Union, "Mexico" (Washington D.C.: 1952), 29.

some factions within the Mexican government and populace.[98] By the 1940s and 1950s, Asarco employed 19,000 people and was the largest exporter of Mexican minerals.[99] Demographic data in the post-World War Two era show these larger trends. The 1940 Mexican census estimated the North American population in residence at a little under 10,000. By 1950 this number jumped to more than 80,000, an increase of 800%. In 1947, Mexico D.F. claimed the most U.S. citizens in residence (3,839), but Chihuahua was in second place (1,410). In the mining, oil, and natural gas industries 212 "foreigners" were employed in Chihuahua, and 1,215 throughout Mexico.[100] By 1960, there were forty-nine mining regions throughout Chihuahua, including San Francisco del Oro, Santa Barbara, Hidalgo del Parral, Chihuahua City, Aquiles Serdan (Santa Eulalia), Ciudad Juarez, and others. Forty-nine active mining companies employed 9,281 people in the state. Chihuahua had a total of 23,117 "foreign" residents and of these 17,470 were U.S. citizens. Mineral extraction contributed 20.6% of industrial production in the state. The

[98] For examples see, Stephen Aguirre, American Consul General, Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, to Department of State, Washington D.C., September 28, 1950, U.S. Department of State, *Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, Mexico, 1950-1963, internal affairs* (Maryland: University Publication of America, 1987) microfilm, University of Arizona; Charley L. Rice, American Vice Consul, Chihuahua, Mexico, to Department of State, Washington D.C., October 5, 1950, U.S. Department of State, *Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, Mexico, 1950-1963, internal affairs* (Maryland: University Publication of America, 1987) microfilm; Ruth Mason Hughes, Chief Political Section, AM Embassy, Mexico, D.F., to Department of State, Washington D.C., April 11, 1951, U.S. Department of State, *Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, Mexico, 1950-1963, internal affairs* (Maryland: University Publication of America, 1987) microfilm; Franklin C. Gowen, Counselor of Embassy, AM Embassy, Mexico, D.F., to Department of State, Washington D.C., November 15, 1951, U.S. Department of State, *Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, Mexico, 1950-1963, internal affairs* (Maryland: University Publication of America, 1987) microfilm; Franklin Gowen, Counselor of Embassy, Mexico, D.F., to Department of State, Washington D.C., July 15, 1952, U.S. Department of State, *Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, Mexico, 1950-1963, internal affairs* (Maryland: University Publication of America, 1987) microfilm.

[99] Niblo, War, Diplomacy, and Development, 40.

[100] Secretaria de la Economia Nacional, Direccion General de Estadistica, Mexico Direccion General De Estadistica: Compendio Estadistico (Mexico D.F.: 1947), 14, 49.

census concluded that mining in Chihuahua had experienced "substantial increases" from 1955 to 1960.[101]

Table 2 Población Norteamericana en México 1900-1970[102]

1900	15,242
1910	20,639
1920	11,090
1930	12,396
1940	9,585
1950	83,391
1960	97,902
1970	97,246

Similar to Asarco, Phelps Dodge began its corporate restructuring in Arizona during the 1920s, beginning with the buying of the Morenci mine in the recession of 1921. By 1931 the Company bought out the holdings of the Calumet & Arizona Mining Company, including its adjoining properties near PD's Copper Queen mine in Bisbee, and the New Cornelia mine in Ajo, Arizona. The accumulation continued with the procurement of the United Verde Stock in the Jerome-Clarkdale mining district of northern Arizona in 1935. In March of 1937 PD enterprises included 11,000 employees.[103]

[101] Estados Unidos Mexicanos Secretaria de Industria y Comercio Direcction General de Estadistica, VII. Censo General de Poblacion, 1960: Estado de Chihuahua (Mexico D.F.: 1963), 288, 9.

[102] The Mexican census changed its criteria for "North American" frequently, and the category's definition was never uniform over time or place. These figures should be taken with caution, especially when considering transnationally mobile, undocumented, or mixed racial/ethnic/national populations in Mexico (or the United States). For instance, historian John Mason Hart estimates the U.S. population in Mexico was 40,000 in 1910. Source: Figures taken from the Mexican Census and reproduced in, Carmen Icazuriaga, *El Enclave Sociocultural Norteamericano y el Papel de los Empresarios Norteamericanos en Mexico* (Mexico D.F.: Centro de Investigaciones Superiores del INAH, 1980), 19.

[103]"Presbyterian Copper," RGCPD, 42; Cleveland Dodge, "Memorandum Regarding Purchase of United Verde Stock," written to Mr. Louis S. Cates, February 14, 1935, folder 5, box 4 , RGCPD; "Memo: To: the Board of Directors of Phelps Dodge Corporation: RE: United Verde Copper Company, dated March 4, 1935, folder 5, box 4, RGCPD; Robert Glass Cleland, "Verde Notes," box 5, folder 3 "Verde," RGCPD, 10-11; Robert Glass Cleland, "Research PD, 1918-1940," box 6, folder 2 "Expansion," RGCPD.

Prior to the crash of 1929, Arizona was the leading copper producer in the United States. Sixty-eight mines produced copper ore worth $113,980,541, and smelting and refining added another $10,400,779 in value. The copper industry was the single largest employer in the state. Between 1930 and 1933 the industry collapsed. Copper dropped to 5.6 cents a pound and by 1932 total production in the state was only $14.7 million. Of the 165,304 people gainfully employed, 17,566 worked in the mining industry, or close to ten percent of the population; by 1933 this number shrank to approximately 3,300. Mines shut down and demographic data shows many fled rural mining towns to metropolitan areas like Phoenix and Tucson. At this time, ethnic Mexicans (citizens and non-citizens) comprised 26.2% of Arizona's population.[104]

To help increase the production of industrial minerals needed by the U.S. war machine during World War Two, mining underwent more widespread technological changes. Between 1940 and the 1950s, Arizona mining shifted from large-scale underground mining to open pit mining. In 1940 only one open pit mine operated in the state and its contribution to total copper output was less than 30%. By 1953 there were six behemoth pits in the state, and the proportion of ore mined to total production was more than 84%. Jerome, Bisbee, Ajo, Morenci, Globe-Miami, Ray, Inspiration, Bagdad, and others, all began open-pit operations during this time.[105] Between 1953 and 1964, the Arizona mining industry produced more than half of the United States' copper, and its

[104] Figures from the 1930 Census and reproduced in, William S. Collins, *The New Deal In Arizona* (Phoenix: Arizona State Parks Board, 1999), 18-22, 123, 125.

[105] R.I.C. Manning, "Arizona District," *Mining Engineering*, vol. 6 (February 1954): 160-161. Today, the Morenci mine (the second largest open-pit mine in the world after Chuquicamata, Chile) is still operating and beyond visually magnificent in its sheer size and impact on the surrounding landscape.

total productive output increased 68% over the same time period. In 1963 the gross value of Arizona copper products was $481,392,000.[106]

The End of an Era:

In 1955 the United Nations' Department of Economic and Social Affairs published a report entitled "Non-Ferrous Metals in Under-developed Countries." In this document, the members of the committee examined patterns of consumption, production, and trade in non-ferrous metals in the world economy; the exploitation of these minerals through mining, smelting and refining; the influence of foreign capital in mining ventures in the economies of underdeveloped countries; and the effects of these relationships between the industry and the country where they operate. In the discussion of the relationships between the United States and Latin America, the report highlights the importance of the region's economic ties to the United States, and that these relationships were imbalanced. The account described how the United States receives "more than 90 per cent of its aluminum, zinc, and cadmium imports, more than 80 per cent of its copper and bauxite imports, more than 70 percent of its lead and antimony imports, and more than 20 per cent of its tin imports," from the Western Hemisphere.[107]

According to the report, a factor in these unequal economic ties was the presence of U.S. companies undertaking the extraction of metals from specific countries, including Mexico. The United States gained access to the raw materials necessary for economic expansion and paid its highest wages to its own citizens for the exploitation of these

[106] "New from Mine and Mill," *Mining Engineering*, vol. 15, no. 11 (Nov. 1964): 36.
[107] United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, "Non-ferrous Metals in Under-developed Countries," (New York: United Nations Publication, 1955), 37.

resources. The United Nations suggested ways in which underdeveloped countries could negotiate these unfavorable economic and political power relationships, mainly through proper taxation and the developing of their own internal needs for raw materials (industrialization).[108] The United States needed raw materials, and in Mexico, U.S. companies such as Asarco were already in place to monopolize the mining industry.

The United Nations report encouraged Latin American countries to take measures to protect their economies that Mexico had been struggling to implement since the Mexican Revolution. Unlike during the *Porfiriato*, compromises with Mexican nationalism were necessary if multinational mining corporations wanted to be successful in the post World War Two era. Indeed, it is revealing that this report came out the same time that Bolivia was nationalizing its mining industry, and U.S. mining engineers later pointed to Bolivia as an example of the failure of these types of economic protectionist measures.[109]

One development that resulted from the increased demand for industrial metals brought on by World War II was the incorporation of a measure promulgated by the foreign secretary of Mexico, Ezequiel Padilla. Attempting to mitigate foreign influence, this law required any mining company owned by foreign capital to have a Mexican ownership of 51%. This stipulation opened a long drawn out process of including

[108] Ibid., 37, 99-117.

[109] DeWitt C. Deringer, "Can Bolivia Stand Our Foreign Aid?" *Mines Magazine* (January 1962), 15-17; Anthony W. Worcester, "A Tour of Potosi, Bolivia," *Mines Magazine* (September 1964), 29-31.

Mexican interests in foreign enterprises that was not totally codified in Mexican law until 1973.[110]

The Mexicanization law (1941) was originally written shortly after the nationalization of the oil industry in Mexico under President Cárdenas (1938).[111] The law was written in an atmosphere of intense economic nationalism within Mexico. During the 1940s and 1950s, as the Mexican government shifted more to the Right, enforcing this law was not a priority for the state. Mexicanization for foreign-owned mining corporations operating in Mexico came erratically. By 1965 the prices for lead and zinc continued to decline and Asarco began to emphasize copper production more than it had in the past. Copper mines in Chile, Australia, and southern Arizona, became much more profitable than their operations in Mexico, and the company reorganized as ASARCO Mexicana, S.A. and a majority interest was sold to Mexican investors.[112]

The quasi nationalization of the Mexican mining industry instigated a slow, drawn out process that resulted in the departure of many U.S. skilled employees from Mexico. Many moved to Asarco's operations in other parts of the world or to the U.S. southwest. Some U.S. citizens did remain in Mexico; they either continued to work for the new Mexicanized company, or other mining companies in Mexico, or they retired. While Mexicanization was being implemented for Asarco, the Mexican state initiated its Border Industrialization Program (1965), which lowered tariffs in the border region and led to

---

[110] Jorge A. Vargas, ed., *Mexican Law: A Treatise For Legal Practitioners and International Investors*, vol. 1, chps. 1-15 (St. Paul, Minnesota: West Group, 1998), 111-116; Bruce E. Kilpatrick, "Mexico's Mining Legislation," *Mines Magazine* (March 1965), 21-22; Hart, *Empire and Revolution*, 415.

[111] Lázaro Cárdenas, *Mexico's Oil*, Mexico, 1940, reprinted in *Keen's Latin American Civilization: History and Society, 1492-Present*, 8th ed., Benjamin Keen, Robert Buffington, and Lila Caimari, eds. (Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 2004), 878-879.

[112] "ASARCO INCORPORATED," 6; American Smelting and Refining Company, *American Smelting and Refining Company, Annual Report, 1953-1963* (New York: American Smelting and Refining Company, 1954-1964), University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.

the rise of *maquiladoras.* As the U.S. mining engineering class dispersed, a new class of American technicians, engineers, and managers accompanied the U.S.-owned manufacturing firms into the U.S.-Mexico borderlands.[113]

Conclusion

The history of mineral extraction in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands, from the turn of the nineteenth century until the mid-1960s is defined by scientific breakthroughs, changes in the capitalist economy, larger geopolitical events, the development of a transnational labor force, and the social dynamics of mining towns. The most financially successful corporations, such as Asarco and PD, used these transformations to their advantage. By doing so, they were able to help incorporate the frontier regions of Arizona and Chihuahua into the orbit of the federal governments in both nation-states, and to vastly increase profits for their stockholders. Their need for different classes of workers spurred migrations, and race, class, and national exploitation were crucial to controlling the labor force.

After 1920, U.S. multinational mining corporations underwent a process of monopolization, vertical integration, and in Mexico, they had to learn how to navigate a new nationalistic Mexican state. Because of their sheer size and access to capital, and their already long-term engagement with Mexican mining, neo-colonialism began to morph into a new imperial project. With the increased demand for industrial metals during World War Two, the United States and Mexican federal governments worked together to allow U.S. mining companies to continue to dominate mining on both sides of

[113] Carlos Luis González Ochoa, "Selection and Orientation of American Expatriates Working in the Maquiladora Industry in Mexico" (MA Thesis: University of Texas at El Paso, 1995).

the international border, beginning with the signing of the Bateman-Suarez-Tellez agreement. In addition, the migration of Mexican labor was facilitated through the *Bracero* program. Throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s, the principal market for Mexican minerals and workers was the United States.

Chapter Two

The Transnational Mining Engineering Family: Race, Class, and Gender Hierarchies, 1890-1965

Anyone who is familiar with the popular or scholarly work on U.S. mining will recognize the prevalence of family within the industry. Ethnic Mexican and Euro Americans, both in the past and in the present, assert a strong identification to their occupation and lifestyle. They refer to themselves as "mining families." For them, daily life in rural locations, the dangers of industrial mining, and living with the economic instability of resource extraction, and in the borderlands transnational mobility, binds these communities together. It is a mining culture. And, just like all families there are tensions, hierarchies, and a thin line between love and hate. Multinational mining corporations tapped into this culture and infused it with a corporate paternal ideology to attempt to bolster racial, class, and gender hierarchies.

The history of mining engineering families in the U.S.-Mexico borderlands provides one window to examine the social and cultural atmosphere of resource extraction. This focus can help explain how relationships between Mexicans and Americans developed over time. U.S. mining engineers held a middle-class position in industrial mining corporations. They negotiated and mediated between capitalists and the working classes. After the field went through professionalization, engineers were more frequently found in managerial positions. Engineers, geologists, metallurgists, superintendents, and managers danced between these class positions and were at the

center of a discriminatory system used to exploit the workforce. In borderlands industrial mining, engineers enforced racial discrimination on both sides of the line. During the 1930s, both Mexican nationals and Mexican-American men began to have access to engineering education in the Southwest and this helped push the boundaries of certain hierarchies within the industry. Scholars have often overlooked this shift in the engineering profession because most histories of mining engineers end during the 1920s.

Chapter two provides a history of mining engineers from the middle of the nineteenth century until the 1960s. It examines the culture of U.S. engineers with a particular emphasis on the role of geographic mobility to the profession. I explore the race, class, and gender hierarchies found in industrial mining. The final section examines the importance of paternalism to industrial mining. On the one hand, paternalism as a corporate ideology proved to be practically beneficial to the transnational working classes, who were neglected by both the Mexican and U.S. states. Multinationals stepped in and fulfilled a need by providing tangible material benefits, such as schools, hospitals, and other non-wage benefits. On the other hand, for workers who identified with a corporate familial culture and social atmosphere, it made it much harder to imagine the possibility of creating widespread alliances with the engineering class in their resistance to mining corporations.

A History of U.S. Mining Engineers:

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the occupation of mining engineer underwent profound changes. Prior to 1850, the work of mineral excavation did not

require much specialized college training. It was more likely to be learned on the job and by apprenticeship, usually within families. Men with local knowledge of the landscape, practical skills, and experience dominated the field. The rise in demand for mining engineering know-how in the United States began with the establishment of Geological Surveys beginning in the 1830s and 1840s. Increasingly the U.S. state, and later federal, governments sought the scientific study of its natural resources. Geological surveys were conducted in Massachusetts in 1830; in Tennessee and Maryland in 1831; in New Jersey, Connecticut, and Virginia in 1835; in Maine, New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania in 1836; in Delaware, Indiana, and Michigan in 1837; and in New Hampshire and Rhode Island in 1839.[114]

Schools of Mines, which taught mining, metallurgy, chemistry, geology, and other technical training, began to proliferate across the United States. Prior to the passage of the Morrill Land Grant Act (1862), which granted states federal lands to establish public universities, most men who wanted a formal education in mining traveled to Europe, especially Germany, to study. For instance, between 1800 and 1865 approximately seventy-five U.S. men studied at the Bergakademie in Freiberg, Germany and early engineering education in the United States was deeply influenced by European pedagogy.[115] In 1864 the first School of Mines was founded at Columbia University of New York and it educated the first wave of elite mining engineers found throughout the

[114] Thomas Thornton Read, with a foreword by Herbert Hoover, *The Development of the Mineral Industry Education in the United States,* Seeley W. Mudd Series (N.Y.: American Institute of Mining Engineers, 1941), 15.

[115] Ibid., 27.

U.S. west, northern Mexico, and the Americas for the next half century.[116] Between 1865-1867 at least eight different schools established mining-specific courses, hired mining professors, or set up their own Schools of Mines, including, M.I.T, the University of Michigan, Harvard, Yale, Lafayette College, Washington College, Lehigh University, and Rensselaer Polytechnic. Adding to these early institutions the University of California, the Missouri School of Mines, Washington University, the University of Illinois, the University of Wisconsin, the Michigan College of Mines, the Iowa State College, the South Dakota School of Mines, the University of Alabama, and the University of Ohio all awarded mining engineering degrees prior to 1890. Finally, the prestigious Colorado School of Mines gave its first E.M. degree in 1882. Despite the numbers, Columbia University was the dominant institution granting annually about as many degrees as all of the other colleges combined.[117]

In addition to the U.S. state's investment in Geological Surveys and the proliferation of mining engineering education, the first professional mining association was established in 1871. The founding of the American Institute of Mining Engineers—later the American Institute of Mining Metallurgical and Petroleum Engineers (AIMME)—was part of a larger process of professionalization of several U.S. occupations, including the social sciences and the medical profession.[118] It was one of the original four engineering societies founded during this time. Unlike its sister organizations, AIMME did not strictly enforce membership standards (common mine

[116] Ibid., 47. For the world travels of these early engineering men tied to Columbia University's School of Mines, see the twenty one interviews conducted by Henry C. Carlisle entitled, "Mining Engineering Project," vol. 1 & 2, 1959-1962, OHCU.

[117] Read, The Development of the Mineral Industry Education in the United States, 54-55, 57.

[118] Emily Rosenberg, Spreading the American Dream.

laborers could join), attendance at meetings was dismal, and professional achievements were lacking well into the early twentieth century. Their main accomplishment before 1900 was their function as a publication venue through journals such as *Mining and Metallurgy* and *The Engineering and Mining Journal*. The weakness of AIMME as a professional organization, in comparison to other engineering associations, was largely due to the undemocratic nature of its ruling officer, Rossiter W. Raymond, and the group's antiquated constitution. Even still, AIMME grew to be the largest professional association of mining engineers with branches worldwide. Any U.S. engineer worth his salt was eventually a member of AIMME.[119]

With the founding of the Comstock in Nevada (1859), its large-scale operations, deep-level intrusions into the earth, and use of hydraulic methods, scientific approaches and technological innovations created a demand for a more technically trained mining expert in the newly acquired Southwest and Rocky Mountain West. The extractive industries demanded more capital investment to make mining profitable. East Coast capitalists wanted less room for error, and the guarantee of science to protect their cash outlays in far off mining regions. Engineers were in high demand and eagerly sought during this time. Census data reflects the answer of the newly emergent engineering profession to this demand. Between 1870 and 1950 the number of U.S engineers grew seventeen times faster than the rest of the U.S. labor force. Further, the occupation underwent serious reclassifications. By 1935, there were 2,518 different categories under

[119]A.B. Parsons, Edward H. Robie, and Joe B. Alford, Centennial History of the American Institute of Mining, Metallurgical, and Petroleum Engineers, 1871-1970 (New York: AIME, 1971); Edwin T. Layton Jr., The Revolt of the Engineers: Social Responsibility and the American Engineering Profession (Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press, 1971, 1986), 94-101.

the rubric of engineers.[120] For mining engineers, these new categories specialized their profession, and jobs they once had claimed—such as assayer, geologist, or machinist—now had their own occupational categories. The mainstream of the field, as represented by the AIMME, supported these reclassifications, and encouraged the division between "technical" men from "non-technical engineers."[121]

Meanwhile in Mexico, the organization of the mining industry was in shambles comparatively speaking. Due to the war for Independence (1810-1821), the struggles between centralists and federalists, the war for Texas and with the United States (1836-1848), the war of Reform (1858-1861), and French intervention (1862-1867), the Mexican State was not able to invest in a similar program of rationalization of the industry, or instilling widespread mining engineering education, as did the United States. The state was too busy trying to survive. The Mexican countryside was in chaos, and the mining industry was in severe economic decline for most of the nineteenth century.[122] When AIMME men organized a group composed of both American and Mexican engineers to foster professional development in Mexico, the Minister of *Fomento*, Minister Molina, embraced the idea.[123] During the reign of Porfirio Díaz Mexican business and political elites encouraged U.S. involvement in the scientific and professional exploitation of Mexico's natural resources.

---

[120] Ruth Oldenziel, Making Technology Masculine: Men, Women, and Modern Machines in America, 1870-1945(Neno Ontwerpers: Amsterdam University Press, 1999), 12; Layton, Revolt of the Engineers, 3.

[121] "Engineers in the United States Census," *Mining and Metallurgy: AIMME Bulletin*, no. 156 (Dec. 1919): xxvii.

[122] Bernstein, The Mexican Mining Industry, 12-14.

[123] AIMME, "Informes y Memorias del Instituto Mexicano de Minas y Metalurgia," *Transactions of the Mexican Institute of Mining and Metallurgy*, no 1 (Mexico D.F.: Mexicano de Minas y Metalurgia, 1909), xii.

U.S. engineers and industrial capitalists were aware of the glorious past of Mexican mining during the heyday of Spanish colonialism. And to be sure, Mexico had a long tradition of technical education, including the establishment of the first mining university in the New World, *Seminario Metalico*, in 1777.[124] By 1910, prominent mining universities could be found in Mexico City, Hidalgo, and Guanajuato. The reason U.S. corporations, then dominating the extraction of Mexico's mineral resources, did not hire many Mexican engineers was because during the late nineteenth, and well into the twentieth century, U.S. mining corporations and engineers tended to look down upon Mexican, and even European, mining education. They thought it more theoretical, rather than practical, in orientation. At least, this was the rational most multinational mining corporations gave for not hiring local engineers in Mexico because admitting racism was not practical outside of the United States' borders. U.S. corporations preferred to hire U.S. engineering men to oversee their operations, and particularly in Mexico.[125]

The result of the specialization of U.S. mining professions was a segmentation of the field by class and race. In general mining engineering was a profession dominated by white and middle to upper class men. While women did occupy engineering positions much more often than is generally recognized, mining was still one of the most masculine of all the engineering professions.[126] The 1900 U.S. Census listed only three women as

---

[124] F.R. Morral, "The Beginning of Mining and Metallurgical Education in the New World," *Mining Engineering*, vol. 15, no. 1 (Jan. 1963): 40.

[125] Arthur Jarman, "Discussion of the Paper of Albert R. Ledoux on 'The American Mining Engineer," *Bi-monthly Bulletin of the American Institute of Mining Engineers*, no. 3 (May 1905): 641-641; S.B. Christy, "Present Problems in the Training of Mining Engineers," *Bi-monthly Bulletin of the American Institute of Mining Engineers*, no. 5 (Sept. 1905): 979-1008. In the western hemisphere there were exceptions to this point. For instance, Asarco employed many Chilean engineers—trained at their vast industrial holdings in Chile—in their Bolivian mining ventures before the 1950s. Thanks to Nancy Egan for pointing this out to me.

[126] Oldenziel, Making Technology Masculine, 10-11.

mining engineers, although if we include the categories surveyors, chemists, assayers, and metallurgists, the total rises to 262.[127] Black men were rarely found as mining engineers in the West or Mexico, but there were a handful of exceptions. Cornish, English, U.S. and especially German-descended men dominated the field, and like before, sons often followed their fathers into the profession.[128] Spanish-surnamed engineers with technical training in the United States were extremely rare during the nineteenth and into the twentieth century, despite their long history with mining. For instance at the University of California at Berkeley, between the years 1877 and 1936 one thousand and thirty mining engineering degrees were awarded. Of these, only seven had Spanish surnames and four of these men returned to work in their countries of origin (Mexico and Columbia). The most famous of these mining men, of course, was Francisco I. Madero future president of Mexico.[129] By the end of the nineteenth century engineers trained in the United States followed U.S. corporations internationally.

In 1900, AIMME's membership directories listed 832 men abroad. Regions with AIMME engineers in residence included; Canada*, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, Mexico*, Central America (Costa Rica, Honduras, Nicaragua), Cuba, South America (Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, British Guiana, Chile, Columbia, Dutch Guiana, Ecuador, Peru), Europe (England*, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Norway, Portugal, Russia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland), Asia and the South Pacific

[127] Clark C. Spence, Mining Engineers and the American West: The Lace-Boot Brigade, 1849-1933 (Moscow, ID: Idaho University Press, 1993), 6.

[128] Ibid., 5-17. For oral histories conducted with some of these early elite engineers, which detail their families' class and ethnic-racial backgrounds see, T.A. Rickard, *Interviews with Mining Engineers* (San Francisco: Mining and Scientific Press, 1922); and see, Carlisle, "Mining Engineering Project," vol. 1 & 2, OHCU.

[129] E.T.H. Bunje, F.J. Schmitz, and D.T. Wainwright, *Careers of University of California Mining Engineers: 1865-1936*, California Cultural Research sponsored by the University of California, Berkeley, Written under the auspices of the Works Progress Administration (Berkeley: 1936), 125.

(China, India, Japan, Java, Malay Peninsula, Netherlands India, Australia*, New Zealand), and South Africa, and Tasmania.[130] By 1919, the total AIMME membership outside the United States had more than doubled with 1776 men counted. At this time, fifty-seven countries had AIMME men amongst them. They were on every continent except Antarctica.[131] The spread of U.S. engineering men around the world was gradual, with increases during times of war when industrial metals and oil were in high demand. For instance, U.S. men from the extractive industries presence in the Middle East was not truly felt until after World War II, though, U.S. geologists and oil corporations were in Saudi Arabia in the early 1930s.[132] The chart below provides the average number of AIMME members in Mexico, Chihuahua, and Arizona (our geographic focus) in comparison to the total number, for various years.

Table 3 Average Number of AIMME Members

Years	Average in Mexico	Average in Chihuahua	Average in Arizona	Average Total AIMME Members
1887-1900	47.23	5	29.69	2291
1901-1905	226.75	25.50	53	3357.50
1906-1910	333.40	42.40	84.40	4130
1911-1915	226.20	25.80	114.40	4404.80
1916-1920	167.60	12.20	306	6665.20

Mexico, Chihuahua, and Arizona, 1887-1920[133]

[130] * Denotes areas with the largest presence of U.S. engineering men. AIMME, *Officers Members, Rules* (Philadelphia: Sherman & Co. Printers, 1900).

[131] AIMME, *Yearbook of the AIMME* (New York: AIMME, 1919).

[132] Vitalis, *American's Kingdom*, especially, 1-26; Rashid Khalidi, *Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America's Perilous Path in the Middle East* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004), 33, 102-111.

[133] Data Compiled from the following sources: AIME, *Officers Members, Rules* (Philadelphia: Sherman & Co. Printers, 1887-1907); AIME, *Yearbook of the AIME* (New York: American Institute of Mining Engineers, 1908-1913); AIMME, *List of Officers of the AIMME* (New York: AIMME, 1914-1918); AIMME, *Yearbook of the AIMME* (New York: AIMME, 1919-1920), Linda Hall Library of Science and Technology, Kansas City, Missouri.

The largest professional mining organization in the world had, from almost the beginning, taken a keen interest in Mexican mining. In 1903, AIMME held its annual meeting in Mexico City and published its meeting agenda, notes, and cultural tidbits in its annual *Officers Members, Rules* from that year. Between 1910 and 1916, the English-language periodical *The Mexican Mining Journal* provided full coverage of the industry for its U.S. audience. From 1905 to 1919, AIMME published the *Bi-Monthly Bulletin of the American Institute of Mining Engineers* and most issues had at least one article dealing with Mexican mining. AIMME first established a branch in Mexico in 1910, but a longstanding organized group attached to the main AIMME in New York did not occur until the 1950s.[134] During the 1920s, oil drew many U.S. engineering men to the Mexican Gulf Coast, and the Tampico section of the AIMME directories for the decade explode with names, profession, and place of employment for these U.S. men until after the 1938 nationalization of Mexican oil.[135] Early engineering men considered a stint in Mexico a sort of rite of passage in the mining and oil engineering field. Working in Mexico was that tied to the culture of the U.S. extractive industries.

At its heart, early twentieth-century mining engineering culture was a celebration of cosmopolitan hyper-masculinity. A mixture of romance, science, and muscle characterized it. U.S. mining engineers and corporations created and embraced a gender ideology that combined the mastery of the mind through scientific knowledge, with the

[134]American Institute of Mining Engineers, *Officers Members, Rules* (Sherman & Co. Printers, Philadelphia, 1903); AIMME, "Informes y Memorias del Instituto Mexicano de Minas y Metalurgia," *Transactions of the Mexican Institute of Mining and Metallurgy* (Mexico D.F.: Mexicano de Minas y Metalurgia, 1910-1913); Edward H. Robie, *A History of the Institute—II, 1947-1961* (AIMME: New York, 1961), 23; AIMME, *Bi-monthly Bulletin of the American Institute of Mining Engineers* (New York: AIMME, 1905-1919).

[135] AIMME, *Yearbook of the AIMME* (New York: AIMME, 1920-1940).

physical demands of industrial mining. According to one author the field was "Interesting because of its variety, fascinating because of its romance, thrilling because of its achievements, mining will always attract strong men."[136] James Douglas—arguably one of the most infamous of early twentieth-century mining engineering men, excluding Herbert Hoover—gave the keynote speech at an annual AIMME meeting in Toronto in 1906. The tone gives the historian a picture of the engineering profession's cosmopolitan and optimistic vision of itself, and also, its sense of geographic entitlement.

> And now we, the members of the AIME, meet as though we were at home in a neighboring country. For whether we meet in Canada, in England, or elsewhere, the Institute is always received as though no political or geographical divisions separated its members from those of congenial associations in the land of its host. In truth, the title which we have assumed claims for the sphere of our activities the whole American continent, regardless of such trifling details as boundary-lines.[137]

Frequent geographic mobility has always been a part of the profession. Mining engineers, interviewed by one of their own in the early 1920s, affirmed and reaffirmed the importance and appeal of mobility for mining engineers. Dr. Lewis Rickets believed foreign travel and experience were "essential" for the technical and professional life of the mining engineer, as he explained, "Most of our leading mining engineers have been men that have travelled widely." Many of his interviewees agreed, and since the early twentieth century Mexico was seen as the "post graduate" school for mining engineers. About two years was the consensus on how long one should stay in a single camp before

---

[136] A.C. Terrill, "Romance and Opportunity in Mining," *The Colorado School of Mines Magazine*, vol. VI, no. 4 (April 1916): 81.

[137] James Douglas, "Secrecy in the Arts," Bi-monthly Bulletin of the American Institute of Mining Engineers, no. 18 (Nov. 1907): 1001.

moving on to learn elsewhere.[138] After a life-long career in the field throughout Latin America, John Humphreys remembered that world travel was one of his initial attractions to engineering.[139] In summarizing his career and life abroad, one engineer concluded "The glamour and adventure were certainly present on many occasions, some beautiful, some humorous, some hazardous and hair-raising, but all taken together, I have lived a very interesting life, traveling to and living in many regions in the United States and Mexico."[140] International travel added to the romantic culture of engineering.

The self-image of U.S. mining engineers as hyper-masculine, romantic, and adventurous was especially pronounced during the Mexican Revolution. Remembrances and letters are filled with anecdotes of U.S. engineering men encountering Mexican bandits and their various adventures outwitting their potential captors. "We had to leave the Hacienda on about five minutes notice, and we no sooner got out of the upper gate than the mob, thirsty for our scalps, reached the street gate, yelling and throwing rocks."[141] One engineer described his early days navigating revolutionary Chihuahua. "I asked him what the commotion was, outside, and what "*Mata los Gringos*" meant. He said: 'Oh, that means kill the foreigners.'…Everywhere I went in Mexico from that time on, I got in trouble in that I was too hot on the trail of the *bandidos*."[142] The anti-

---

[138] T.A. Rickard, *Interviews with Mining Engineers* (San Francisco: Mining and Scientific Press, 1922), 54, 271, 316.

[139] John T. Humphreys, interview by W. Noel McAnulty, Jr., August 25, 1995, "Mining in Mexico" Oral History Collection, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections, University of Texas at El Paso, (hereafter OHUTEP), 1.

[140] Fred W. Bailey, interview by Robert H. Novak, OHUTEP, 2-3.

[141] M.V. Andre Jr., "Dear Mr. Harrington," *The Colorado School of Mines Magazine,* vol. 4, no. 6 (June 1914): 141.

[142] Henry Dewitt Smith, interview by Henry C. Carlisle, Aug. 1960, vol. 1, no. 437, OHCU, 11-12.

American sentiment in Mexico driving much of these adventure-filled anecdotes led some mining men to pretend they are British or German.[143]

Mining institutions, such as universities, kept careful records of their engineers who were abused or killed in Mexico. A 1905 report from the Colorado School of Mines alumni magazine, *Mines Magazine,* detailed the death of an alumni who "was murdered in cold blood by a Mexican policeman" in Pilares de Nacozari, Sonora. These deaths of engineers—the most notorious coming later in 1916 with the execution of sixteen U.S. engineers working for Asarco in Santa Isabel, Chihuahua—added to the notion of engineering as a dangerous profession filled with brave men.[144]

The Mexican Revolution of 1910 was the first time U.S multinational mining corporations ran smack dab into nationalist resistance to their economic expansion, and to James Douglas' boundary-less vision of the Americas as the playground of engineers. President Wilson faced intense pressures to intervene in Mexico to protect U.S. economic interests especially in the extractive industries. He did so in 1914 and again in 1917, but after 1898 when the United States was forced to deal with fierce resistance against further territorial empire from Filipinos and Cubans in particular; the country was in no mood for further territorial expansion to benefit U.S. capitalists. One mining man published a joke

---

[143] Henry Carlisle, interview by Mary Carlisle, 1959, vol. 2 no. 437, OHCU, 20-21; S.M. Soupcoff, "Mines Graduate Tells of Mexico Situation," *The Colorado School of Mines Magazine,* vol. 3, no. 8 (Aug. 1913): 194-195; "No Reason for Haste in Dealing with Mexico," *The Colorado School of Mines Magazine,* vol. 3, no. 8 (Aug. 1913): 194-195; Charles A. Filteau, "Some observations on the Revolution in Mexico," *The Colorado School of Mines Magazine,* vol. 1, no. 10 (July 1911): 9; William Magenau, "Story of the Mexican War," *The Colorado School of Mines Magazine,* vol. 2, no. 10 (Nov. 1912): 319-325; "Conditions of Trade in Mexico: Americans in Mexico not Game," *The Mexican Mining Journal* (Nov. 1913): 557-558; J.B. Bisland, "Dear Classmates," *The Colorado School of Mines Magazine,* vol. IV, no. 4 (April 1914): 97-98.

[144] "In Regard to the Murder of George Putnam, '05, in Mexico," *The Colorado School of Mines Magazine,* vol. 2, no. 10 (Dec. 1911): 190. On the death of the sixteen engineers in Chihuahua, see, Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa,* 557-560.

circulating at the time, which shows this ambivalence amongst mining engineers. "The Mexican Situation in a Nutshell: 'D'ye think we'll take Mexico?' asked Mr. Hennessy. 'I don't know," said Mr. Dooley, 'but as Hogan says, with a country like Mexico is so contagious to us we're liable to get it whether we want it or not.'"[145] Wilson took a more nuanced approach in Mexico, and U.S. engineers fell on both sides of the imperialist debate.

Of course these unsure views on territorial empire were not limited to just U.S. mining engineers during the Gilded age and the Progressive era; however, their belief in their own objectivity, importance as experts in technology, and their mediating role between capital and labor, science and business, and differing cultures, distinguished them from U.S. missionaries, educators, or government officials who were also traveling the world at this time. Indeed, during the first three decades of the twentieth century, others noted this unique positionality of engineers and intellectuals, such as Thorestein Veblen, imagined the engineers as potential social revolutionaries. This perspective came to be attached to the "technocracy movement," which saw the rational organization of economic systems and societies as a solution to the many ills of the world. It held sway through the 1930s.[146]

A widespread social movement amongst U.S. engineers never materialized. Scholars point to too much division within the larger field and a profound professional

[145] L.G. Trueheart, "A Letter from Mexico," *The Colorado School of Mines Magazine*, vol. IV, no. 1 (Jan. 1914): 18-19.

[146] Thorstein Veblen, *The Engineers and the Price System* (New York: B.W. Huebsch, Inc., 1921); Layton Jr., *The Revolt of the Engineers*, 226-230; Gene D. Lewis, "Review: The Revolt of the Engineers," *Journal of American History*, 58 (1972): 1037-1038; David F. Noble, *America by Design: Science, Technology, and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism* (New York: Knopf Press, 1977); James C. Scott, *Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1998); Ronald R. Kline, "From Progressivism to Engineering Studies," *Technology and Culture*, 49 (Oct. 2008): 1018-1024.

confusion following the mass destruction of World War One, and during the Depression, as to why.[147] Plus, mining engineers were the most conservative of all branches of the engineering profession and generally sided with capitalists in any disputes with labor. However, most historians have not captured the tensions mining engineers experienced or expressed in regard to their position; being pulled between their commitments to science and their need to please their bosses; or the development of a real affinity toward another culture; or any possible real affections felt toward their laborers. This scholarly oversight is in part because most historical accounts of U.S. engineers only focus on the early twentieth century.

Mexican Americans were a very small minority of the larger mining engineering community working at midcentury. In the Southwest, ethnic Mexican miners were often quite skilled, even if formally uneducated, due to long experience with industrial work in both Mexico and the United States. In my total sample of oral histories, college-educated ethnic Mexican engineers were usually from El Paso or Chihuahua and attended the Texas School of Mines (now the University of Texas at El Paso, hereafter UTEP). Beginning in the 1930s, UTEP offered Mexican nationals the opportunity to study engineering in El Paso at the same tuition rates as local residents. Students had to initially pay twenty-five dollars a semester and both Mexicans and Mexican Americans attended the institution.[148] According to one alumni, Mexicans from Chihuahua made up about

[147] Frederick Laist, "Has the Engineer Done Too Much for the World?" *Mining and Metallurgy*, vol. 13, no. 310 (October 1932): 439-440; Layton, *Revolt of the Engineers*, 229.

[148] Luis A. Jáuregui, interview by W. Noel McAnulty, Jr., March 6, 1996, OHUTEP, 1-2; Arturo M. Morales Domínguez, interview by W. Noel McAnulty, Jr., October 14, 1995, OHUTEP, 1; Salvador F. Treviño, interview by Dr. Charles H. Martin, October 10, 1989, OHUTEP, 1-9; Cesar Arroyo (Schaefer is also used in the transcript), interview by Dr. Charles H. Martin and Dr. Cheryl Martin, June 25, 1989, OHUTEP, 10-13; Rodolfo Candelaria, interview by Oscar J Martínez, August 5, 1976, OHUTEP, 13; Gaspar Cordero, interview by Richard Estrada, July 3, 1975, OHUTEP, 9-11.

15% of the incoming classes, but made up 80% of the graduating class in the late thirties and early forties. He went on to describe how the Mexican national students were more committed to their studies than their poorer Mexican-American peers from the *barrio* in south El Paso. As he put it, "The best students in this school are Mexicans, and the worst are Mexicans (laughter). There is nothing in between."[149]

Because they were technically U.S. citizens, and due to the fact that the engineering community used the language of nationality to racialize and differentiate between themselves and local Mexican peoples, Mexican Americans were usually allowed a place within the American mining communities in Mexico, albeit an inferior position within that place. With specific questioning, Gasper Cordero, a Mexican-American engineer, remembered a three-tiered hierarchy where citizenship, social class, and race mattered very much in the corporate structure and the wage system on the Mexican side of the border.

We—like myself, a graduate of an American school and having lived here, and being an American citizen—were better received than a native Mexican engineer working for them in México.

> [Interviewer] And yet, do you think that you, as a Mexican American, were *discriminated* against while you were working down there?
>
> [Interviewee] *There was a little difference between the Anglo American engineer and the Mexican American engineer, as far as preference is concerned.*
>
> [Interviewer] What about pay scales?
>
> [Interviewee] *Well, they got the best jobs, of course.* [Interviewer] For instance, if there was an Anglo and a Mexican American working at the

[149] Treviño, interview, OHUTEP, 9.

> same job, would they get the same wages? [Interviewee] *In many instances, they did not.*
>
> [Interviewer] The Mexican American would get a lesser wage?
>
> [Interviewee] Yes.[150]

During the Great Depression, U.S. engineers continued to distinguish between the "white collar class" of engineers and the "idle laborer." One went so far as to argue that the educated engineer was even more desperate in hard economic times because he was used to a certain lifestyle, guaranteed by his salary, which he now was struggling to do without. While criticizing "the greedy rush for profits in 1928 and 1929" by U.S. capitalists, he went on to assure the audience that business leaders should be lauded for working as hard as possible to ensure wages for as many men as possible. "Business, by and large, had revealed a heart in the past two years."[151] In the midst of the economic calamity, another engineer argued, "By approaching our social problems earnestly and honestly, we can surely devise means to do away with, or at least to mitigate, the ups and downs, the poverty and idleness, the heartbreak and despair, that accompany our economic cycles."[152] These publications highlight how engineers grappled with the questions that surrounded science and technology's role in a U.S. capitalist system that appeared to have had failed miserably in the 1930s.

Despite the entrance requirements, high cost, and low occupational demand during the Depression, enrollment in higher education in the mining engineering professions boomed at 10,000 in 1939. Yet, one did not need certification to obtain a managerial position within mining company hierarchies, and a practical education was

---

[150] Gasper Cordero, interview, OHUTEP, 18-19. Emphases mine.
[151] "Unemployment," *Mining and Metallurgy*, Vol. 12, no. 300 (Dec. 1931): 516.
[152] Laist, "Has the Engineer Done Too Much for the World?," 439.

still preferable than a theoretical orientation.[153] As late as 1939, the mining engineering profession still counted many men who did not have a college degree despite organizations, such as AIMME, which always sought to emphasize the difference.

Because of the improved price of silver by 1934, Mexican mining resumed and expanded. Mining companies looked to employ U.S. engineers to attend to their ventures in Mexico once again, but complained of new stringent immigration laws in the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution. Even still, visas were available in three ways. First, one could receive a non-working tourist passport for six months, though evasion of the employment clause was cause for immediate deportation from Mexico. Second, a technical-expert visa for one year was obtainable but with restrictions and difficulty. Mexican engineers were registered with the state and a U.S. applicant had to show there was no native-born technician competent for the work. U.S. engineers were required to train a Mexican national for the specific work so he could take over the job after the year time period. Finally, investment passports were available to individuals who were going to invest at least 20,000 pesos in a new enterprise in "productive industry." One author admitted the laws were tough, but pointed out that similar restrictions had been in effect in Canada for several years. [154]

Engineering publications about conditions in Mexico on the eve of World War Two emphasize the chaos of social change under the Cárdenas administration, the expropriations of land and oil, and organized labor unrest. Asarco, hoping to appease the

---

[153] W.B. Plank, "Enrollment in U.S. Mineral Technology Schools Nears 10,000, *Mining and Metallurgy* (June 1939): 133-134.

[154] "Employment in Mexico," *Mining and Metallurgy,* Vol. 15, no. 328 (April 1934): 166: Also on engineers in Mexico during the Depression, "Labor's Privileges in Mexico," *Mining and Metallurgy,* Vol. 19, no. 383 (Nov. 1938): 485.

Mexican government under the Cárdenas administration, began hiring Mexican workers for managerial positions during the 1930s, but it was not a widespread practice. Issues of nationality, race, and class continued to complicate the social atmosphere of borderland mining enclaves.[155]

With the onslaught of World War Two the international market for industrial metals recovered. As the United States began to prepare for war, the government argued access to oil and minerals was crucial for the war effort and a matter of national security. Engineers, geologists, and metallurgists were sent to mining regions around the world. U.S. mining engineers were called upon by their government to see their work as critical to the security interests of their country, and for saving the world from totalitarianism. Engineers answered this call and often saw themselves as the technical and scientific foot soldiers of the war. As the U.S. home front geared up for an industrial worldwide conflict, patriotism infused the social and professional worlds of all mining engineers, geologists, metallurgists, and their families. It took on an almost religious tone in the name of preserving the United States' "way of life."

> Finally, the greatest barriers to man's progress are those raised by the Red and Black Fascists. Call them Communists, Nazis, or by any other name, all are of the same totalitarian stripe and all are equally dangerous. Make no mistake, the Black Fascists still are a threat to our way of life. Their insidious maneuvers, like those of the Red Fascists or Communists, are a major peril to the fundamental freedoms of workers and employers alike and can only be destroyed by the strong light of truth.[156]

In the middle of the Second World War, AIMME celebrated its seventy-fifth anniversary. The subject of the keynote address was the necessity of access to minerals in foreign nations. A mining engineer and foreign diplomat delivered the talk. His name was Braden

[155] Snodgrass, Defiance and Deference in Monterrey, 148.
[156] Parsons, ed., Seventy-Five Years of Progress in the Mineral Industry, 797.

Spruille, and the speech was "American Mining Enterprise in Foreign Countries" (1946). In the address, Spruille describes why U.S. multinationals were best suited for exploiting the undeveloped mineral resources of the world. "Private American mining enterprise, with its splendid tradition of pioneering, building and operation, is competent and ready to venture abroad and assume the heavy obligations involved, provided it is assured just treatment." [157] He went on to explain that most of the world did not have the financial resources, technology, or skilled workers to invest in the modernization of mining. And, hinting to previous trouble corporations had encountered in their foreign ventures, "There must be equitable treatment of foreign enterprises, and no discrimination in such matters as the use of American managerial and technical employees."[158]

Engineers who worked abroad could have a direct impact on people in other countries, thus helping secure U.S. access to foreign natural resources. For instance, in the initial years of World War II the Colorado School of Mines' monthly alumni publication, *The Mines Magazine,* ran numerous articles on the role engineers could play in the war effort, especially outside U.S. borders. Examples included "The American Engineer: The Modern Pioneer" (1939), "Working in Foreign Countries" (1940), and "Raw Materials and Foreign Policies of Nations: International Importance of Raw Materials," a three part series published in October, November, and December of 1944.[159]

---

[157] Speech reprinted in its entirety in, Parsons, Seventy-Five Years of Progress in the Mineral Industry, 795.

[158] Ibid., 796.

[159] Lewis H. Boyd, "The American Engineer: The Modern Pioneer," *Mines Magazine* (August 1939): 422; Harry F. McFarland, "Working in Foreign Countries" *Mines Magazine* (February 1940): 71, 74; Meherwan Cavasji Irani, "Raw Materials and Foreign Policies of Nations: International Importance of Raw Materials," *Mines Magazine* (Oct., Nov., Dec. 1944): 551-553, 597-598, 641-646.

In “The American Engineer: The Modern Pioneer,” the author described the important political and cultural role mining men and their wives could play around the world. “At this time, when our ideals of democracy are being threatened by the steadily demands of the totalitarian states, it is our duty to uphold these ideals and preserve the sanity and peace of the world. Our engineers in foreign countries can do much to educate the peoples of those lands to the true idea of democracy.” The author continued to describe the physical and social characteristics that made U.S. engineering men such a “race of big men, strong, and hardy.” The Colorado Schools of Mines author likened the “romance of engineering” to a “modern crusade.” The essay concluded by reiterating the connection between the “pioneering spirit” of engineers abroad to their crucial work of “taking our ideals and our standards of living to all people.” Yet, even this alumnus-turned-author recognized that “these men not only take [U.S.] culture to other races but bring their culture to us.”[160]

This last point causes pause. Considering the implementation of the *Bracero* Program around this time (1942-1964), which was a work program for Mexican men to migrate to the United States to fulfill labor shortages, the idea of these cross cultural/national contacts being a two-way street is insightful because it highlights exchange between the cultures and races. While U.S. engineers were heading abroad (especially throughout the Americas), *Mexicano* labor was legally allowed into the United States. While it is very difficult to know exact numbers, the United States legally sponsored close to 4.5 million border crossings during the program’s lifetime. Mexican-American historians are only now examining the impact this population shift had for

---

160

families in Mexico and the United States.[161] With the help (or neglect) of the U.S. and Mexican states, mining corporations shifted their employed populations across class and across the international border.

As mentioned in chapter one, between 1940 and 1950 the U.S. population in Mexico jumped by more than 800%.[162] Of course the Mexican census did not count all U.S. citizens because many went without legal authorization to work in Mexico. As one U.S. citizen explained "…the year I spent in Mexico, not so much as a consultant, but as an actual mine operator. I was down there as a 'wet-back' in reverse."[163] The mass migrations experienced in the borderlands during the WWII era were transnational, multidirectional, and multiracial.

By the 1950s U.S. engineers began writing about the increased opportunities in Mexican mining due to the continuing demand for industrial metals fostered by the Korean War. Howard Strouth explained how U.S. companies now approached the issue of personnel in Mexico in contrast to earlier times. First, he explained the costs of using only U.S. engineers to begin operations, and how "gradually such control" passed into the hands of trained Mexican nationals. According to Strouth, Mexican engineers and administrators were proving to be competent and satisfactory with "a certain amount of supervision."[164] Historians of mining in Mexico argue U.S. multinationals continued to

---

[161] Please see the groundbreaking work of historian Ana Elizabeth Rosas. Rosas, "Flexible Families."

[162] By the year 2000 this number was over a million. Mexico Departamento de la Estadistica Nacional, *Anuario Estadistico De Los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, 1942* (Mexico, D.F.: 1948), 65.

[163] Philip Read Bradley Jr., "A Mining Engineer in Alaska, Canada, The Western United States, Latin America, and Southeast Asia," interview by Eleanor Swent, 1986, 1988, OHCSM, 181.

[164] Howard S. Strouth, "Mining in Mexico," *Mining Engineering*, vol. 5, no. 6 (June 1953): 591-592.

resist hiring Mexican nationals as engineers or managers as late as the 1950s.[165] Oral interviews with engineers support these claims. Strouth went on to inform his colleagues in the field that pay raises did not improve the efficiency, productive ability, or attendance of Mexican mine workers. Instead, he explained, companies were trying to permanently settle the labor force in mining regions. Mining corporations did this by providing inexpensive housing, school buildings, and in some cases free land. Mining men did not mention, at least in a positive light, the Mexican's state's role in promoting similar measures for labor during the 1920s and 1930s.[166]

During and after World War Two, U.S. mining engineers expanded their technical and geographic reach around the world exponentially. By 1957, Mexico had over three hundred AIMME members, Arizona counted five-hundred and fifty seven, and the state of Chihuahua was home to forty-five engineering men half of whom were employed by Asarco.[167] Until full Mexicanization of Asarco in 1965, U.S. mining technical staff continued to have a significant presence in Mexican mining.

Between 1920 and 1965 total membership in AIMME more than quadrupled. Arizona's expanding copper industry employed many AIMME members and their average totals in the state increase consistently since the Depression. AIMME membership in Mexico generally decreased after 1920, but remained steady in Chihuahua. The average AIMME membership in the state spiked in the early 1950s,

---

[165] Bernstein, *The Mexican Mining Industry*, 273. For Asarco in particular, see, Snodgrass, *Defiance and Deference in Monterrey*, 148.

[166] Strouth, "Mining in Mexico," 591-592. And also see, Albert G. Ross, "Mining Industry in Mexico," *Mines Magazine* (March 1965), 18-19.

[167] AIMME, *Directory of the AIMME* (New York: AIMME, 1957).

which is the time period many of the "Mining in Mexico" interviewees, held at the University of Texas at El Paso, describe.

Table 4 Average AIMME Membership Mexico, Arizona, Chihuahua, 1920-1965[168]

Years	Average in Mexico	Average in Arizona	Average in Chihuahua	Average Total Membership
1920-1925	308.40	358	33	9159.20
1926-1930*	303	215	36.50	8731.80
1931-1935	182.40	145.60	26.60	8064.60
1936-1940**	230.25	191	36.75	11905
1941-1945	221.20	233.60	39.60	13767
1946-1950	227.20	294.80	40.40	17832.20
1951-1955***	287	415	47.50	18310
1957	301	557	45	n/a
1962-1965	n/a	n/a	n/a	37742.50

*Data by country and state not available for 1930.
**No data available for 1936.
***Data only available for 1952 and 1955.

It is difficult to exactly gage the amount and frequency of mobility amongst mining engineering families working in the borderlands during the post-World War Two era. Some families lived in one camp and worked for one company their entire working life. Others moved localities and corporations far more frequently. Amongst the managerial and engineering class, detailed job histories found in oral and life histories and in individual engineers' manuscript collections give us an idea. Bob Limón, an ethnic Mexican engineer, worked for Asarco first in El Paso, Texas, then in Silver City district New Mexico, then the Prieta Mine in Parral, Chihuahua, also briefly in Taxco, and then onto higher management in Mexico City—all this between the years 1942 and 1962. Roger Stern, a U.S. engineer, worked for Asarco between 1941 and 1955 in the Parral

[168] After 1957 the AIMME split into three different associations; mining, metallurgy, and oil engineers, and complete runs of membership directories were not available. Data compiled from the following: AIMME, *Yearbook* (New York: AIMME, 1920-1930); AIMME, *Directory of the AIMME* (New York: AIMME, 1931-1957); A.B. Parsons, Edward H. Robie, and Joe B. Alford, *Centennial History of the American Institute of Mining, Metallurgical, and Petroleum Engineers, 1871-1970* (New York: AIME, 1971), 190.

and Santa Eulalia Units in Chihuahua, in Xichu, Gunajuato, in Taxco, Guerrero, in Anganueo, Michoacan, and in Cosala, Sinaloa. In 1955 Stern resigned from Asarco and went to work as Chief Metallurgist for the Cananea Consolidated Copper Company in Sonora, Mexico. Finally, in 1977 Stern took a hiatus from multinationals to become a consultant for the Inter-American Development Bank in Boliva.[169] Just like ethnic Mexican mine workers, engineers were very mobile even if the causes and quality of that geographic mobility were vastly different.

The wives and families of engineers played their part in bringing a particular U.S. vision of civilization to the worlds in which they traveled. "These women also have a great influence in bringing peace and culture to the far off corners of the earth."[170] Considering most engineers at this time were Euro American and Americanness was tied to whiteness, the wives of engineers were assumed to also be white U.S. citizens. Civilizing the world was tied to white masculinity and femininity as other authors have shown.[171]

In the midst of World War One, a number of engineering wives had joined together with the hopes of being of service to those fighting in Europe. With a beginning membership of fifty, these women formed the Women's Auxiliary to the AIMME

---

[169] Robert F. Limón, interview by W. Noel McAnulty, Jr., November 6, 1995, OHUTEP, 1-3. Roger Stern, "Work History," box 1, folder 1, Roger Stern Manuscript Collection, Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson Arizona (hereafter SCUA), 1-3.

[170] Boyd, "The American Engineer: The Modern Pioneer," 422.

[171] Kaplan, The Anarchy of Empire in the Making of U.S. Culture; Kaplan and Pease, eds., Cultures of United States Imperialism; Kristin L. Hoganson, Consumers' Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007); Paul A. Kramer, The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States and the Philippines (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2006); Paul A. Kramer, "The Military-Sexual Complex: Prostitution, Disease, and the Boundaries of Empire during the Philippine-American War," The Asia-Pacific Journal (July 25, 2011); Mary A. Renda, Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915-1940 (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2001).

(WAAIME) in 1917. Wives, sisters, daughters, or mothers of AIMME members were able to join the Auxiliary. Within two months of its founding, WAAIME raised $12,000 to provide relief to the people and children of Belgium, sent gifts of tobacco and candy to U.S. soldiers for Christmas, and bought a flock of sheep to help devastated regions in France. By the next year, WAAIME had a total membership of three hundred and as the War ended, the group shifted its priorities to focus on education and philanthropy in the United States.

WAAIME tailored its philanthropic projects to particular localities and their specific needs. For instance, in 1928 the group worked with the Bureau of Mines providing relief for families of miners, especially in the coal fields of Oklahoma. In Tucson they helped finance a hospital for Tuberculosis. Along with granting scholarships to students of fields related to mining and establishing libraries in rural mining towns, in 1919 the New York section of the WAAIME established a vocational scholarship for 14 to 16 year old youths. [172] Under the leadership of WAAIME's Central Americanization Committee, the scholarship was part of a concentrated effort by WAAIME to help assimilate and Americanize the fresh wave of new immigrants to the United States during the 1920s. The scholarship in New York emphasized the organization's commitment to "help the immigrants to help themselves." WAAIME's work with immigrant populations was not without its controversies. During initial discussion on the newly formed

[172] Mrs. Hillary W. St. Clair, President of WAAIME, "History: The Woman's Auxiliary to the AIMME Report, 1964," October 18, 1964, box 1, folder FF20, *The Women's Auxiliary to the American Institute of Mining Metallurgical and Petroleum Engineers Records* (hereafter WAAIME), Western History Collection, The Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado, 2; "Minutes of WAAIMME," March 19, 1917, box 1, folder FFI 1917-1920, WAAIME; "Minutes of WAAIME," June 5, 1918, box 1, folder FFI 1917-1920, WAAIME; "Minutes of WAAIME," October 8, 1919, box 1, folder FF1 1917-1920, WAAIME; "Look How WAAIME has Grown," announcement in *Mining Engineering*, AIMME 50th anniversary meeting, (Dec. 1965) issue, box 1, folder FF27, WAAIME; "The National History of the Woman's Auxiliary to the AIME, 1917-1973," n.d., box 5, folder FF14, WAAIME..

Americanization Committee, WAAIME members decided on "…the advisability of adopting the word 'Americanism' instead of Americanization as being a less offensive word- It was agreed that "Americanism" would be a better word to use where possible."[173] The women knew Americanizing immigrants was a delicate balancing act.

Similar to the reach of AIMME, the women's Auxiliary eventually included branches throughout mining regions in the United States, and by 1965 had grown to forty sections (including Mexico and Peru) with 2501 members.[174] WAAIME had a well-established branch operating in Mexico City. In 1962 they had a total membership of seventy-seven with 36 of those being women with Spanish surnames. This group focused its work on scholarships for ethnic Mexicans who wanted to study engineering either in the United States, or at the engineering universities in Guanajuato or Mexico D.F.[175] Because the WAAIME section in Mexico had restrictions that WAAIME groups in the United States did not have, such as language differences and it did not have tax-exempt status, the Mexico section found itself working with other U.S.-dominant philanthropic agencies working in the Republic. For instance, WAAIME gave the Mexican Mining Wives—a group with sections in each mining city, town, and district in Mexico—clothes, records, and magazines for distribution. They also donated books and magazines on mining, college math, physics, geology and engineering textbooks to the American

[173] "Minutes of WAAIME," April 2, 1919, box 1, folder FF1 1917-1920, WAAIME; "The National History of the Woman's Auxiliary to the AIME, 1917-1973," n.d., box 5, folder FF14, WAAIME, 8.

[174] "Look How WAAIME has Grown," WAAIME.

[175] Mrs Georges Ordonez, letter to Mr. Carl Doerr, March 18, 1963, box 13, folder FF1 Mexico City Section 1963-1965, WAAIME; Mrs. John G. Oliver, letter to Connie, May 10, 1963, box 13, folder FF1 Mexico City Section 1963-1965, WAAIME; Connie, letter written to Chunga, Nov. 16, 1963, box 13, folder FF1 Mexico City Section 1963-1965, WAAIME.

Benevolent Society of Mexico.[176] This brief history of the WAAIME shows the types of philanthropic activities mining engineering women were involved with during the twentieth century. Beginning in the 1940s, U.S. and Mexican citizens constructed a huge transnational civil society, stretching between the United States and Mexico, through various institutions.

By 1970, The American Society of Mexico's newsletter, *Bulletin,* published a Directory of American Organizations operating in Mexico for that year. It gives one the sense of how large and diverse the transnational civil society was between the United States and Mexico beginning in the post-World War Two years.

[176] Frances Carty, letter written to Mrs. George Kruger, December 2, 1971, box 13, folder FF2 Mexico City Section 1971-2000, WAAIME.

Table 5 1970 Directory of American Organizations in Mexico:

ABC Hospital; Alcoholics Anonymous; American Benevolent Society; American Bible Society; American Chamber of Commerce; American Club; American Embassy; American Friends Service Committee; American Institute of Mining, Metallurgical, and Petroleum Engineers; American Legion Post Home; American School; American Society of Mechanical Engineers; American Society of Mexico, A.C.; American Society of Tool and Manufacturing Engineers; Anezeh Shrine Temple; Asociacion de Caza y Pesca del D.F.; Asociacion Pro-Entendimiento Internacional, A.C.; Asociacion Pro-Salud Maternal; Aztec Bridge Club; Aztec Little League; Benjamin Franklin Library; Beth Israel Community Center; Boy Scouts of America; Capital City Baptist Church; Casa Hogar Amparo; Christ Church (Episcopal); Churubusco Garden Club; Club de Cana y Caza de Mexico, A.C.; Comite Americano Pro-Infancia; Comite Internacional Pro-ciegos, A.C.; Cornell Club; Cosmopolitan Club; Dartmouth Club of Mexico; Daughters of the American Revolution; Democrats Abroad; First church of Christ Scientist; Flower Arrangement Club; Flower Circle; Foreign Correspondents Association (Press club); Friendship Club; Georgetown University Club; Girl Guides; Golf clubs; Goodwill of Mexico; Harvard Club; Humane Societies; Instituto Mexicano de Rehabilitacion; International Women's Club; Jockey Club; Junior League of Mexico; Kiwanis International; Knights of Columbus, St. Patrick's; Lions Club of D.F.; Lomas Hipodromo Garden Club; Lutheran Church of Good Shepard; Masonic Temple; Mexican North American Cultural Relations Institute; Mexico City Garden Club; Michigan State Club; M.I.T. Club of Mexico; Navy League of the United States; Order de Molay; Order of the Eastern Star Aztec Chapter 2; Pan American Round Table; Panhellenic (Mexico City chapter); Parents Council; Reforma Athletic Club; Republican Club of Mexico; Rotary Clubs; St. Cecilia Chorus; St. Patricks Church (Catholic); Sales Executive Club; Salvation Army; Skal International Club; Soroptimists Club; the Church of Latter Day Saints; The Holy Trinity Methodist Church; Theatre Workshop, A.C.; Toastmasters Club o Mexico; Toastmistress Club of Mexico; Union Evangelical Church; United Nations Information Center; University Club; University of Pennsylvania Club; University of the Americas, A.C.; Villa Jones International Cultural Center, A.C.; White Friars Club; Yale Club; YMCA; YWCA; Zonta Club of Mexico City; English Language Reading and Listening (Newspaper: The News); Radio XEVIP; Radio Capital (broadcast in English 10:30-12:30).[177]

After more than seventy years, the American expatriate community in Mexico was both large and well-established with a dynamic social and professional milieu

[177] American Society of Mexico, *Bulletin* vol. 34, no. 3 (March 1970): 11-18.

created between Mexican and American cultures and societies. Though the population of this community changed over time, mining engineers, geologists, metallurgists, or superintendents have always made up a significant portion of this group—a fact that is most easily explained as a result of Mexico's mineral and human wealth, and the United States' interest in turning both into commodities.

Corporate Paternalism in the Mining Industry

Multinational mining corporations infused industrial mining with corporate paternal welfare practices and fostered a cultural identification with resource extraction. On the one hand, this ideology helped mask hierarchies from employees, particularly between engineers and workers. In this vision, all employees were working for the benefit of the company and each other. On the other hand, working class employees co-opted this family metaphor and used it as a source of pride. It brought their communities together during strikes and other forms of resistance to company hierarchies. When examining sources based upon memory, it is important to keep both these larger trends in mind.

From the beginning of the industrialization of mining in the Southwest and Rocky Mountain West, Mexico was tied to the United States—like family. Phelps Dodge was founded on family, including marital ties between PD founders Anson Phillips and William Dodge and amongst their descendants. For PD, and other multinational mining corporations, mining was a corporate family affair.[178] Multinational extractive companies embraced corporate paternalistic practices and sentiments toward their ethnic Mexican

[178] "Presbyterian Copper," RGCPD, 40.

employees on both sides of the border.[179] Before Phelps Dodge was even involved in western mining, its leaders practiced widespread philanthropy. From this early time, William E. Dodge's founding of the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut (later the American University in Beirut) is worthy of note. As the official company historian wrote, Dodge believed he had a "profound obligation for the religious, moral and physical well-being of his employees," even if this did not include the right for laborers to join unions.[180] After it began widespread mining operations in Arizona, the company involved itself in the social and cultural life of its workers by building churches, hospitals, schools, libraries, and recreation facilities.[181] It also regulated morality. In a photograph collected in 1940, a sign is depicted from Bisbee which states, "Following Regulations: Do Not Shimmy, Do not Dance Cheek to Cheek: -The Dance Committee." The caption underneath the photograph reads, "Miners May Dance: …but in Bisbee, where miners gather under the protection of Phelps Dodge paternalism, they must dance as Dodge might dance, decorously."[182]

Scholars of the working classes argue that industrial paternalistic policies throughout Latin America and the United States, while at times beneficial, were also used as a means to manipulate and control workers for the company's own purposes. Exploitation occurred through the abuses at company stores, the regulation of morality and family, depressed and dual wage systems, and the indoctrination of the capitalist

[179] My idea of industrial paternalism comes from Michael Snodgrass' use as "institutionalized system of industrial relations that seek to extend non-wage benefits to create corporate culture." In the case of multinational mining corporations, a corporate culture infused with familial sentiments. Snodgrass also gives a vivid portrayal of Asarco's paternalistic policies at its smelter in Monterrey during the early twentieth century. Snodgrass, *Deference and Defiance in Monterrey*, 4, 147-166.

[180] Cleland, A History of Phelps Dodge, 72-73.

[181] Ibid., 108-109.

[182] Bisbee Photograph, box 1, folder 9, RGCPD, 48.

work ethic, all existing under the guise of company paternalism.[183] Despite Phelps Dodge or Asarco's claims of being the earliest and premiere corporations for implementing benefits for their employees, workers' reactions to the working and living conditions reflected the ways in which these policies were contested and sometimes reconciled.[184] Paternalism denoted struggle.

Under Porfirio Díaz's rule, most mining operations did not concern themselves too much with the welfare of their Mexican employees, and the inexpensiveness of labor in Mexico compared with the United States was one of the attractions. One mining engineer from the Guanajuato district explained how there were 200-300 Mexican workers and the average wage was from 1-1.5 pesos per day. Elderly men, women, and children were also employed extensively in the sorting of ore and received 37.5 centavos a day. "This assorting of the ore took place in open patios, and what with the glare and the dust blindness frequently resulted."[185]

Once labor unrest hit serious proportions in Mexico during the Revolution and in Arizona during World War One, it became necessary for the heads of mining

---

[183] This body of work is extensive. For examples influential on my thinking; French, *A Peaceful and Working People*, 88; Thomas Klubock, "From Welfare Capitalism to the Free Market in Chile: Gender, Culture, and Politics in the Copper Mines," in *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations*, eds. Joseph Gilbert, Catherine Legrand, and Richard Salvatore (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 369-380; Snodgrass, *Deference and Defiance in Monterrey*, 4-7; Ann Farnsworth-Alvear, *Dulcinea in the Factory: Myths, Morals, Men, and Women in Columbia's Industrial Experiment, 1905-1960* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2000); Lizabeth Cohen, *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939*, second edition (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 1990). For a recent treatment on the debate regarding U.S. companies' paternal practices at home versus abroad, see, S. Yacob, "Model of Welfare Capitalism? The United States Rubber Company in Southeast Asia, 1910-1942," *Enterprise and Society*, vol. 8, no. 1 (Jan. 2007): 136-174.

[184] For one example, evidence of the working classes' discontentment in Mexico can be found in the numerous strikes against Asarco throughout the twentieth century. Please see, Snodgrass, *Deference and Defiance in Monterrey*, 147-148; Stephen R. Niblo, *War, Diplomacy, and Development*, 40; French, *A Peaceful and Working People*, 173-175; Bernstein, *The Mexican Mining Industry*, 194-198, 269.

[185] James Hyde, interview by Percy Martin, January 3, 1918 and January 7, 1918, DRF, SCOC, 1.

corporations to defend their labor practices publically. Daniel Guggenheim of Asarco testified before the Federal Commission on Industrial Relations in 1915 emphasizing his company's longstanding practices of ensuring safety, philanthropy, and even the right for labor to organize. One admirer described Dr. Douglas as a "friend of labor," and that "one cannot conceive of Dr. Douglas remaining the technical head of an enterprise tainted in any way with stock jobbing, unfair treatment of employees, or double dealing of any sort."[186] Because of the implementation of aspects of Mexico's 1917 constitution, multinational mining corporations continued their paternal welfare policies. Corporate welfare policies never stopped for U.S. companies working abroad. Indeed, because of Mexican nationalism they only increased and became more nuanced.[187]

A brief look at the U.S. corporate schools in one camp in Chihuahua can highlight the slippages between current memory and its portrayal of paternalism with archival records. Asarco reopened their Santa Eulalia mines in 1932.[188] Soon after, the Mexican state embarked upon President Lázaro Cárdenas' controversial but effective implementation of compulsory education for all of Mexico. First begun under the Calles administration in the 1920s, socialist education was the name for what can only be called a massive nation-building project in Mexico. Public education was to inculcate the meanings of the Revolution that the institutionalizing political party wanted the public to

[186] United States Commission on Industrial Relations, Industrial Relations: Final Report and Testimony: Submitted to Congress by the Commission on Industrial Relations Created by the Act of August 23, 1912 (Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916), microfilm, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University; Albert R. Ledoux, "Biographical Sketches and Clippings," Papers of Lewis W. Douglas, 1859-1974, box 1, folder 3, SCUA.

[187] In the second edition of her classic text on industrial labor in the United States Lizabeth Cohen admits her underestimation of the survival (revival) of corporate welfare in the post-World War Two era. Cohen, *Making a New Deal*, xxxii-xxxiii.

[188] Bernstein, The Mexican Mining Industry, 181.

adopt.[189] Cárdenas' socialist education invaded rural mining districts in Chihuahua through agents of the state government beginning in 1934. The largest impact Mexico's educational reforms had on U.S. corporations was its requirement that any industrial operation existing three kilometers outside of a designated town was required to provide and maintain school buildings, supplies, and pay the salaries of state appointed teachers. Companies had no say in the curriculum.[190]

[189] The Spanish-language literature on post-revolutionary education in Mexico is large. For studies available in English; for Puebla and Sonora, see, Mary Kay Vaughn, *Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants, and Schools, 1930-1940* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997); for Tlaxcala, see, Elsie Rockwell, "Schools of Revolution: Enacting and Contesting State Forms in Tlaxcala, 1910-1930," in Gilbert M. Joseph and Daniel Nugent, eds., with a foreword by James C. Scott, *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1994), 170-208; for Yucatán, see, Stephanis J. Smith, "Educating the Mothers of the Nation: The Project of Revolutionary Education in Yucatán," in Stephanie Mitchell, Patience A. Schell, eds., *The Women's Revolution in Mexico, 1910-1953* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Inc., 2007), 37-52; for Mexico City, Patience A. Schell, "Gender, Class, and Anxiety at the Gabriela Minstral Vocational School, Revolutionary Mexico City," in Jocelyn Olcott, Mary Kay Vaughn, and Gabriela Cano, eds., *Sex in Revolution: Gender, Politics, and Power in Modern Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 112-126. Also see Engracia Loyo, "Popular Reactions to the Educational Reforms of Cardenismo," in William H. Beezley, Cheryl English Martin, and William E. French, eds., *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico* (Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1994), 247-260; and Stephen E. Lewis, "The Nation, Education, and the "Indian Problem" in Mexico, 1920-1940," in May Kay Vaughan and Stephen E. Lewis, eds., *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 176-195; Mary Kay Vaughn, *The State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico, 1880-1928* (Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1982); Andrae M. Marak, *From Many, One: Indians, Peasants, Borders, and Education in Callista Mexico, 1924-1935* (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009). For Spanish language studies of education in the state of Chihuahua, see, Armando B Chávez M., *Historia de la Educación en el Estado de Chihuahua* **(**Cd. Juárez, Chihuahua, México: Gobierno del Estado de Chihuahua, 1986); Zacarías Márquez Terrazas, *Introducción a la Historia de la Educación en Chihuahua* (Chihuahua, México: Ediciones del Gobierno del Estado de Chihuahua, 1984); Fernando Sandoval Gutiérrez, *La Escuela Modelo: Microhistoria de un Centro Escolar* (Chihuahua, Chihuahua, México: Instituto Chihuahuense de la Cultura, 2003); Ernestine Hatch, *Academia Juarez A.C., 1901-1976* (Juárez, Chihuahua, México: Academia Juarez A.C., 1977); María Edmée Alvarez Z., *La Educación en Chihuahua: Estudio Histórico que para las Bodas de Oro de la Normal de Chihuahua* (México: 1960); Jorge Carrera Robles y Armida Akoshima F., eds., *Voces de Siempre: Historia Oral del Magisterio Chihuahuense* (Chihuahua, México: Ediciones del Azar, 1995); Silvia Margarita Martínez Meraz, *Educación y Género: Docencia Femenina en Hidalgo del Parral, Chihuahua, 1631-1900* (Chihuahua, Mexico: Doble Hélice Ediciones, 2006); Jesus Vargas Valdez, *Mariano Irigoyen Escontrías: Una Vida por la Educación* (Chihuahua, Mexico: Gobierno del Estado de Chihuahua, Secretaría de Educación y Cultura, Coordinación de Publicaciones y Proyectos Especiales, 2002).

[190] There are numerous correspondences between the director of education, the inspector de la zona in Chihuahua City, and other Mexican state officials, with the superintendent of the El Potosí Company beginning in 1934. These letters detail the requirements of industrial corporations in relation to the Constitution of 1917, the new schooling reforms, and document supply orders and the introduction of

In Santa Eulalia, the U.S.-owned El Potosí company and Asarco bickered with each other over their new required financial responsibilities for schooling. As the two largest employers in the region, the Mexican government held them responsible for the upkeep of the schools near Santa Eulalia. Who paid for what was the central issue between the two superintendents. Their arguments were based upon the number of unskilled employees each company employed, and the numbers of their children who needed to be educated. Asarco insisted their Mexican employees' school-aged children were much less in number than El Potosí's, and thus they should pay less for upkeep of El Potosí's school building, and a lesser percentage of the teacher salaries. The Superintendent at El Potosí disagreed and wrote to corporate headquarters in New York about his fears that El Potosí would end up responsible for educating all of the children in the area.[191] The manager of El Potosí watched Asarco file *"amparo"* proceedings against the orders of the Director of Education to build schools at their Parral and Santa Eulalia operations. After paying severe fines (that doubled every five days) for wasting the lower court (which threw the injunction out) and the Mexican Supreme Court's time, Asarco finally gave up its fight and built the schools. El Potosí knew resistance against the Revolutionary Mexican state

---

new teachers with their salary requirements. Please see the five Cajas de Escuela from the *Fondos de El Potosí Mining Company y de Minerales Nacionales de Mexico, S.A.* collection held at, Centro de Fondos Documentales de la ENAH-Chihuahua, Chihuahua City, Chihuahua, Mexico (hereafter ENAH). On these changes in public schooling also see, "Los Requisitos Que Deben Reunir los planteles educativos" *El Heraldo* (February 28, 1934); "Proyecto de reformas al Articulo III: Se Establece que la Orientacion de la Ensenanza sera socialista y de solidaridad humana" *Excelsior* (January 19, 1934).

[191] R.C. Johnson, ASARCO Superintendent, letter to, H.H. Sharp, Asst. general mgr El Potosí, September 5, 1934; Asst. General Manager El Potosí, letter to Mr. Johnson (ASARCO), August 25, 1934; Asst general manager El Potosí, letter to, E.P. Ryan, General Manager El Potosi Ocean City, New Jersey, August 15, 1934; Asst. General Manager El Potosí, letter to, W.J. Quigly President El Potosí New York, June 6, 1934; L.B. Harrison, letter to, J.R. Woodul, Mexico D.F., September 7, 1934; Escuela, Caja 1, Exp.4, ENAH; Letter to W.J. Quigly, President El Potosí New York, September 19, 1934, Escuela Caja 1, Exp. 6; Prof. Jesus Coello, Education inspector zona II, to the Superintendent de la American Smelting, August 13, 1934, Escuela, Caja 1, Exp. 6; Herminia Aizpuru, P.A. Director Federal Educación Secretaria, letter to, Sr. Gerente de la Cia. Minera El Potosí Mining Co. Chihuahua, December 3, 1934, Esceula Caja 1, Exp. 1, ENAH.

bureaucracy was a lost cause. Indeed, he even pointed to the growing relationship between the state and labor soon after the *amparo* proceedings, as the union in Santa Eulalia added schools to its list of demands.[192]

The 1930s brought a dramatic change in Mexican pedagogy and schooling. As the state sought to provide compulsory public education to all of Mexico and her people, U.S. corporations were forced to negotiate with a strong Mexican state, not only in terms of taxes, labor law, or the courts, but also in the everyday realm of public education. Yet, U.S. capitalists (especially in the extractive industries) were adept at learning how to manipulate public perceptions. In later years, Asarco continued to highlight their schools as part of a social welfare package that helped bring modernity, progress, and development to the Mexican people.[193] The company and many of its former employees (Mexican, American, and Mexican American), continue to stress Asarco's willingness to provide such positive benefits to Mexico willingly. In collective memory there are no traces of U.S. mining companies' pettiness, in terms of nickel and diming each other to avoid responsibility for public schools outside of established Mexican towns, or their endless struggles to resist the changes implemented by the Mexican state in the 1930s. El Potosí's archive told a different story.

---

[192] Superintendent El Potosí, letter to Mr. W.J. Quigly, New York, September 14, 1934, Escuela Caja 1, Exp. 6, ENAH.

[193] American Smelting and Refining Company, *Asarco, 1899-1999: Celebrating a Century of Accomplishment* (New York: Asarco Inc., 1999); American Smelting and Refining Company, *ASARCO Digest*, Volumes 1- 2 (New York: American Smelting and Refining Company, 1959-1960); American Smelting and Refining Company, *ASARCO Digest.* Volumes 7-10. New York: American Smelting and Refining Company, 1966-1969); American Smelting and Refining Company, *American Smelting and Refining Co. Annual Report* (New York: American Smelting and Refining Company, 1920s-1970s). In the 1962 Annual Report to the company's stockholders there is a great example. In mentions the number of jobs Asarco provides to the Mexican people in juxtaposition with references to their on-going legal troubles with the Mexican government. American Smelting and Refining Company, *American Smelting and Refining Co. Annual Report, 1962-1970* (New York: American Smelting and Refining Company, 1963-1970), 14.

These patterns continued in Arizona after World War II. Multinational mining corporations like the Kennecott Copper Corporation in Ray, Arizona, published monthly community newsletters. By reading these periodicals one can gain a sense of the paternalistic sentiment amongst mining management. For instance in a 1961 retirement celebration, A.P. Morris the general manager gave a speech reassuring the newly retired that "You are still members of the Kennecott family and if the company can help you in any way in the future, please feel free to call on us."[194] Ethnic Mexican folks also identified with the mining industry through familial language by priding themselves on being "mining families."[195] In Janet Finn's study on the Anaconda Copper Company in Butte, Montana and in Chuquicamata, Chile, mining folk consistently refer to themselves as "mining families" in both locations. In her introduction, Finn describes her own background in Butte by admitting she is not from a "mining family."[196] Some ethnic Mexican workers and engineers working for Asarco or Phelps Dodge appreciated the industrial paternal programs and relationships multinationals developed with their employees.[197]

During the post-WWII era Asarco portrayed and emphasized its relationships with its employees and the Mexican state, as progressive and responsible. Isaac Marcosson's 1949 history of the company describes paternalistic policies in Mexico as a "revolution in

[194] A.P. Morris, "75 years of Service," *Kennezonian: Ray Mines Division*, vol. 2, no. 7 (December 1961): 18.

[195] For one example, Mike Casillas, "One Man's Story: A Short Biography of Ignacio Villaverde," undergraduate paper, November 21, 1975, Chicano Research Collection, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona (hereafter CRCASU), 6, 9.

[196] Finn, Tracing the Veins: Of Copper, Culture, and Community, 2.

[197] This is a frequent trope in the collective memory of the engineering community. For this perception among working-class employees, see, Kathy Stehn, "Family History of Erminda Hicks," unpublished paper, n.d., CRCASU, 11; Monica Perales, "Fighting to Stay in Smeltertown: Lead Contamination and Environmental Justice in a Mexican American Community," *Western Historical Quarterly* 39, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 41-64.

living and working conditions."[198] Pamphlets published between 1959 and 1969, entitled *ASARCO Digest,* underline the scientific breakthroughs and importance of the materials mined. These magazines are bright colorful and are infused with optimistic, forward-reaching, and progressive language. Each booklet also includes a section highlighting the company's philanthropic endeavors, such as college scholarships offered by the company to American students of various fields relating to mining.[199]

One U.S. engineer in Mexico during the post War era described this paternal sentiment well.

> I think that was one of the big reasons why I got along so well as general manager in negotiating contracts and everything is *because they trusted me*. *I built up trust*. Took me a long time to do it, but I did it. I did it as a *disciplinarian,* too. But that's one thing they just don't believe in. They don't believe in trust. I've had so many incidents that showed me that…The thirty-five or forty years that I was there it wasn't [sic] changed. They're like *children* like that.[200]

This U.S. man saw his relationship with Mexican workers like a father to a son (paternalism). It was why he believed he was so successful in his relationships with Mexicans. He established "trust," through "discipline," in spite of his belief in the innate suspiciousness of the childlike "Mexican."

In a publication commemorating Asarco's one hundred year anniversary (1999), two quotations of retired employees speak to the celebratory emphasis placed on Asarco's paternalistic policies in Mexico. C.W. Campbell, a retired manager of the western mining department, proclaimed "The Company provided several generations of Mexican miners employment, wages, and fringe benefits which included primary

---

[198] Marcosson, *Metal Magic,* 279.

[199] American Smelting and Refining Company, *ASARCO Digest,* vols. 1-2, 7-10 (New York: American Smelting and Refining Company, 1959-1969).

[200] John T. Humphreys, interview, OHUTEP, 40-42. Emphases are mine.

schools, medical care, and, in some instances, housing." Arthur Hall, a retired assistant manager of the southwest mining department explained. "The company supported the Mexican miners union in many ways: schooling for its members' children, transportation of employees to and from the village, maintenance of the Union Hall, and uniforms and equipment for various sports, including *beisbol*."[201] These narratives stress the importance that Asarco has had in bringing "progress" to ethnic Mexican working people, via the construction of homes, utilities, promoting hygiene, education, healthcare, and jobs, but fail to mention the company's long-standing struggles with the Mexican state about implementing some of the same benefits to local Mexican people in Mexico.[202]

U.S. capitalists required segregation, dual and tripartite wage scales, and other race-based discrimination in their camps, and companies used a paternal ideology to shift the accusation of racism onto the engineering class. For instance, one ethnic Mexican mine worker from Chihuahua and long-time resident of Jerome, described various labor troubles in the district and his membership in a multi-ethnic union. In the 1940 interview, the man went on to describe how despite labor-management troubles, his personal relationship with the head of PD in Arizona (James Douglas) was built upon a personal relationship and personal favors in contrast to the local superintendents who did nothing for him. To examine this dynamic it is important to read the informants own words and the transcript is worth quoting at length.

---

[201] ASARCO Inc., *ASARCO 1899-1999: ASARCO Centennial Report: Celebrating a Century of Accomplishment* (New York: ASARCO Inc., 1999), 22, Minneapolis Public Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota, 36. Beisbol is the Spanish word for American baseball.

[202] Marcosson, *Metal Magic*, 183-245, 261-281.

> Jim Douglas: Did me many a good favor. One time my house fell down, and the Manager wouldn't do anything about it. I would be out there working, trying to keep it up. I took 18 bars to move my house back up. One day Mr. Douglas come by and he asked (in Spanish)"What are you doing, Santiago," and I say "I am just fixing my house", and he go away, and every few days he come by and say again "What are you doing, Santiago" and laugh when I tell him "I am just fixing my house, so it won't fall down." One day I hurt my hand real bad when I am fixing my house, and they take me to the hospital. Jim Douglas was a good friend, but I didn't bother him, and find out I am sick, and he asked what is the matter, and they tell him I am pretty bad hurt, will have to stay in the hospital for 2 or 3 months. He came up the next Sunday to see me, and I said I had to have somebody to stay in the house to keep it from falling. He came back in a few days and had told them to move me out of that house, and told me to come down and pick out a house that I want. I said I can't do that, I have no money and am not working, and he said that is all right. He give me 3 or 4 times better house than I have the first time. I still there. I buy it.[203]

Of course pitting miners against local managers was not a totally successful strategy to ensure a compliant workforce as the history of strikes and struggles against Phelps Dodge and Asarco demonstrate, but it did make it much more difficult to organize labor with the engineering class. If that had happened, the companies would have been in serious trouble. After World War Two, as Mexican and Mexican Americans began to agitate more and more for social and racial equality in U.S. society, oral history suggests some engineers grew far more uncomfortable with blatant racism and discrimination. Further, as we shall see in subsequent chapters, engineers on the Mexican side of the border increasingly forged family ties with Mexicans, which further complicated their allegiances.

When social scientists were interviewing mining men in Mexico and the Southwest in 1918, more often than not, U.S. citizens held overwhelmingly negative

[203] Tisnado, interview by Robert Cleland, June 18, 1940, RGCPD.

views on the biological and psychological racial characteristics of Mexicans. After World War Two, a few Euro-American mining engineers grew more uncomfortable with blatant racial discrimination and blamed its continuance among mining companies on their bosses. In one example, an engineer described his initial "anxiety" about working with a dominantly Mexican mining workforce in southern Arizona, but after using his beginning Spanish-language skills and spending time with the laborers, he concluded that Mexicans were competent at work, fun-loving, devoted to family, and patriotic to the United States. The engineer was soon informed by upper management that he should refrain from fraternizing with the workers. "Such blatant intolerance caught me completely off guard and thoroughly dismayed me." He went on to describe how similar prejudice could be found in Central America, South America and in the Philippines.[204]

Euro-American engineers in the Southwest took individual actions to support the ethnic Mexican community's fight against segregation and prejudice in the post-World War Two years. John Havard described first hiring a "Hispanic" man as foreman in a camp just north of Blythe, Arizona on the California-Arizona border. Amongst a racially diverse workforce, he said employees had no problem with this action. He said it "broke the ice." Havard was unable to find a black employee to hire in a leadership position because "These people had come directly out of the cotton fields of the South and didn't have enough education to handle even the simplest kind of book work that a shift boss

[204] J. Ward Downey, "Mining and Construction Engineer, Industrial Management Consultant, 1936-1990s," interview by Eleanor Swent, 1991, and J. Ward Downey, "Mucker, Miner, and Mule Skinner," unpublished autobiographical essay included with interview transcript, "Western Mining in the Twentieth Century Oral History Series," Colorado School of Mines, Golden, Colorado (hereafter OHCSM), 108-111.

would have to handle."[205] It is probable by the 1940s the *Mexicano* transnational working classes had more industrial experience working on both sides of the Border, and especially in industrial mining, than their newly arriving U.S.-born black counterparts. Or, it is also possible that this man's racial tolerance stopped at the black-white line, and Hispanics were too fuzzy to determine their racial place for certain. Perhaps, technical skill could move you across the most severe racial divide.

Conclusion:

The history of U.S. mining engineers, over time, fluctuated with changes in the international political economy. Their particular class, gender, and culture was deeply tied to transnational mobility, and constructed in relation to their early experiences in Mexico at the turn of the nineteenth century. From their middle position in corporate hierarchies we gain a better understanding of class, race, and gender hierarchies between U.S. Euro American industrial capitalists and ethnic Mexican mine workers. Once industrial mining resumed, education boomed, and ethnic Mexicans had access to U.S. engineering education starting in the 1930s, engineers began to challenge multinationals' racial practices on a small scale.

Fostering identifications and pride with the mining industry amongst employees was colored in corporate paternalism. While multinationals did provide real tangible benefits to their employees, especially important when either the U.S. or Mexican state failed to provide the working classes with a social safety net, it also allowed economic

[205] John F. Havard, "Mining Engineer and Executive, 1935-1981, interview by Eleanor Swent, 1991, OHCSM, 61.

exploitation and racism to exist. This paternal ideology prevalent in borderlands mining helped shift the complaints of some workers onto their local managers or engineers instead of the mining companies or capitalists in charge. It was a strategy used by mining corporations to mollify the impact of labor unions and it prevented engineers and workers from organizing together.

Part II

The View from Below:

Ethnic Mexicans, Engineering Women, and Intermarriage

Chapter Three

The Informal Politics of Survival:

Racial Violence, Historical Trauma, and Ethnic Mexican Mining Families in Rural Arizona, 1910-1940

In 1931 the Moctezuma Copper Company, a subsidiary of Phelps Dodge Corporation, decided to shut down its Pilares mine due to the low price of copper. The company appealed to the Regional Board of Conciliation at Guaymas, Sonora asking for the legal right to suspend its operations. Various groups, including the Mexican workmen of the mining camps and local chambers of commerce, contested and organized against the shutdown. The Pilares mining district included the two towns of Nacozari and Pilares and the cessation of PD's operations would put more than 13,000 Mexican mining families out of work and with no way to sustain themselves. Phelps Dodge was allowed to stop its operations in the Pilares mining district in exchange for providing relief and transporting its Mexican mining employees elsewhere. Just where exactly the Mexican workforce was to go was not clear at first.

PD agreed to provide free transportation on its railroads near the workmen's former homes, assumed to be in the Mexican countryside and to provide each employee with a cash amount depending upon his family status. Single men received twenty pesos, men with families of five or less thirty five pesos, and men with more than five family members received fifty. Shortly after the contract, there was an exodus with hundreds of families taking all of their worldly possessions away from the two mining camps. Some

went south to Cajeme, where the governor promised free land and agricultural opportunity, but most of the mining families chose to head north to Agua Prieta, on the international border and at the heart of PD's transnational copper empire. Mining was what they knew.

As the migration got under way, a few young workmen told local government officials about their plans to marry and their fears of being separated from their *novias,* whose families were headed in a different direction. A local judge began marrying the workmen quickly thus helping them to avoid the usual costs incurred from having a typical Mexican wedding. Company officials soon began to suspect that these workmen were cheating the system because they would now receive the extra pesos given to a married man versus a single employee, an increase guaranteed in the original contract for resettlement. At least fifty new marriages were officiated during the exodus.[206]

The evacuation of Nacozari and Pilares in the early 1930s underscores the important impact multinational mining companies had on the family life of their employees. While Sonoran mining workers moved north as economic refugees, new families were created. In contrast, in the Globe-Miami mining camps a few hundred miles north of the Pilares district, Mexican-origin mining folk were being deported south, from Arizona back to Mexico, often tearing their families apart.[207] Since the late nineteenth century, multinational mining companies working in northern Mexico and in the U.S. southwest did all in their power to attract labor to their mining camps, and during economic downturns used multiple strategies to disperse the workforce.

---

[206] Horton, "Copper's Children," RGCPD, 1-8, 14-16, 19-20; "Presbyterian Copper," RGCPD, 104.

[207] Marin, "Always a Struggle," 61-94.

This chapter uses mining sources and ethnic Mexican family history to examine racial violence in rural mining areas of Arizona, and ethnic Mexican's responses within their families and communities prior to World War Two. Labor unions were essentially unable to operate in Arizona after the 1917 Bisbee Deportation, and they would not re-emerge in mining camps until the Second World War. While *mutualistas* and the Catholic Church provided some form of security to ethnic Mexican communities, I am more interested in the everyday practices of ethnic Mexican women as a sort of informal politics of survival. I ask the question, how did ethnic Mexicans survive racism, violence, and forced removals when more formal avenues for social change were closed?

The history of repatriation campaigns,[208] segregation, and other racial violence in mining towns in Arizona—from the perspective of ethnic Mexicans—remains largely untold in print. Labor historians have missed a large part of the story about deportations in Arizona's history because of this lack of sources or access to a *Mexicano/a* historical perspective. The historical literature, and some Mexican-American testimony, views deportation as voluntary repatriations by ethnic Mexicans arguing once the work ran out mining families preferred to return to Mexico. The problem with this interpretation is that there is no evidence of this from the actual Mexicans who left, though, historian Christine Marin found that amongst employees who did leave, PD officials would "promise" them jobs once the market recovered, guarantees that were often false.[209] Why would ethnic Mexicans work so hard to build and join communities to just leave, unless they had to do so because of racial intolerance and pure economic survival (as there was no social safety

[208] In this chapter I use deportation and repatriation campaigns interchangeably for the reasons explained below.

[209] Electronic communication with the author, April 2013.

net by the state or companies because of their race and citizenship status)? Historians also argue that the brown/white racial line, which had once been flexible, hardened in the state simultaneously as the labor/management tensions bolstering the idea that it was both racial and economic pressures.[210] Even still, historians do not have a good sense of how ethnic Mexicans experienced these racial dynamics in Arizona. We do know that by the end of World War Two, returning ethnic Mexican veterans began to organize and struggle more forcefully for civil rights, but we know much less about their struggles, especially Arizona women's, before the late 1940s.[211]

PD's internal documents, oral history, and ethnic Mexican family history are revealing.[212] In the first few decades of the twentieth century, deportations were far more widespread, occurred for a longer period of time, and signs of resistance to these measures were a constant. If we believe *Mexicano/a* testimony, forced removals occurred in mining communities in Arizona from at least 1914 until at least 1936. Deportation was

[210] Eric L. Clements, *After the Boom in Tombstone and Jerome, Arizona: Decline in Western Resource Towns* (Reno & Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2003), 141-144. For a Mexican American who recognized the racial element, but believed the repatriations were entirely economically motivated and voluntary, see, Maximo Alonzo, interview by Rita Magdaleno, March 18, 1995, CRCASU, 4. For a study that highlights ethnic Mexicans' community formation as a challenge to the notion of a transitory and degraded labor force in the mining borderlands, see, Perrales, *Smeltertown*. On the hardening of racial lines in southern Arizona at this time, see, Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*; Benton-Cohen, *Borderline Americans*, 198-239.

[211] For pre World War Two Arizona, *mutualistas*, such as the Latin American Club, the *Alianza Hispano Americana*, and the *Liga Protectora*, did provide aide for ethnic Mexican women to fight school segregation and address civil rights issues.

[212] For references from PD's internal documents on the deportations in Bisbee, Mohave County (near Kingman), Ray, and Jerome in the years leading up to 1918, see, Telegram from Walter Douglas, to A.C.J., July 13, 1917, box 6, folder 3, "labor," RGCPD; Elmer McFarland and Thomas Jacobs, interview by Robert G. Cleland, June 18, 1940, RGCPD, 2; Interview with Mr. Fairfield, interview by Robert Cleland, June 18, 1940; A.B. Peach, interview by Robert Glass Cleland, June 17, 1940, box 5, folder 4 "Verde," RGCPD; Mr. Reese, interview by Robert Cleland, June 17, 1940, box 5, folder 4 "Verde," RGCPD, 2; Telegram from Walter Douglas to E.M. Sawyer, Morenci, Arizona July 12, 1917; Walter Douglas, letter to A.T.T., July 12, 1917; A.T.T. letter to Walter Douglas, July 13, 1917, box 6, folder 3, "labor," RGCPD. For references to deportations after Bisbee, in Morenci see, Mr. Williams, interview by Robert Cleland, June 12, 1940, RGCPD, 2. For the Globe-Miami region, Marin, "Always a Struggle," 61-94.

a tool utilized by multinational mining corporations to release labor tensions during economic downturns. Local vigilantes, sometimes supported by government officials, played their part in forced removals, and often the frenzy that resulted in these communities was fed by anxiety over citizenship.[213]

The ways in which human beings survive and share historical trauma, such as when an entire community faces genocide, racial cleansings, or mass deportations, is culturally specific. Most scholars agree that traces of trauma and resilience are also passed down within families regardless of the specific context.[214] Subsequent generations share an ability to interpret their ancestor's aftershocks; the denial; the silences; the uncontrollable bursts of tears; the spurts of rage; and for those that migrated elsewhere, the pressures from their parents to live and succeed at all costs. Talking openly and frankly about one's experiences with trauma is a largely western idea shaped by the rise of psychiatry as an academic discipline, and by Freudian psychoanalysis in the early twentieth century. We can see this with the huge scholarship produced by scholars working with survivors and descendants of the Jewish Holocaust in Europe. In contrast, in non-western societies where religion or spiritual beliefs hold sway alternative notions about how one heals from trauma do not necessarily value communicating frankly about the events surrounding the trauma. For instance, many ethnic Japanese survivors of

[213] The dynamic between race and citizenship also played a role amongst Mexican vigilantes who ran ethnic Chinese out of Sonora, Mexico during this time. Schiavone Camacho, *Chinese Mexicans.*

[214] Melissa L. Walls and Les B. Whitbeck, "The Intergenerational Effects of Relocation Policies on Indigenous Families," *Journal of Family Issues* 33, no. 9 (2002): 1-23; Aaron R. Denham, "Rethinking Historical Trauma: Narratives of Resilience," *Transcultural Psychiatry* 42 (September 2008): 391-414; Jessica R. Goodkind, Julia Meredith Hess, Beverly Gorman, and Danielle P. Parker, "'We're Still in a Struggle': Diné Resilience, Survival, Historical Trauma, Healing," *Qualitative Health Research* 22, no. 8 (2002) 9-36; Robert M. Prince, "Second Generation Effects of Historical Trauma," *Psychoanalytical Review,* 72, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 9-30; Carol A. Kidron, "Alterity and the Particular Limits of Universalism: Comparing Jewish-Israeli Holocaust and Canadian-Cambodian Genocide Legacies," *Current Anthropology* 53, no. 6 (December 2012): 723-754.

internment during World War Two, still will not speak of the events and historians are limited to examining sources produced by U.S. state officials from that time.[215] In a recent comparative study between Jewish-Israeli survivors and Canadian-Cambodian survivors of the Khmer Rouge regime, the importance of Buddhist notions about suffering and the instance upon only sharing with their families the lessons survivors learned from their experiences (rather than an emphasis on the violence), demonstrated vast differences from the more publicly prominent displays of keeping the memory of the Jewish Holocaust alive in Israel.[216] Indigenous responses to the genocidal practices in U.S. history, and the ongoing effects of poverty, racism, and environmental devastation for Indian communities, share similarities with the Cambodian community's response and its emphasis on survival and resilience.[217]

What ethnic Mexicans have experienced in Arizona during the twentieth century in NO WAY resembles the scope or severity of the Jewish Holocaust, Cambodia under the Khmer Rouge, or U.S. genocide against indigenous groups. I raise the subjects only because those experiences, and the knowledge that has come after, can help guide in an analysis of another ethnic minority who faced racial violence and mass deportations.[218] It can also help to interpret the family history, lore, and interviews by ethnic Mexican descendants and community members, which is about all historians have to access the perspective of the victims of such abuse in rural Arizona. Placing ethnic Mexicans'

---

[215] Chew, "Race, Gender, and Citizenship."

[216] Kidron, "Alterity and the Particular Limits of Universalism," 723-754.

[217] Denham, "Rethinking Historical Trauma," 391-414; Jessica R. Goodkind, Julia Meredith Hess, Beverly Gorman, and Danielle P. Parker, "'We're Still in a Struggle,' 9-36.

[218] Comparisons between vigilante action and deportations in Arizona mining towns with what author Elliot Jaspin has called the "racial cleansings" of black folk in certain counties of the South during this same time period could be worthwhile. Elliot Jaspin, *Buried in the Bitter Waters: The Hidden History of Racial Cleansing in America* (New York: Basic Books, 2007).

stories of survival and resilience must pay attention to cross-cultural perspectives due to the importance of folk Catholicism, intermarriage with indigenous people, migration, time in the United States, and their impacts on the community under study.

Understanding ethnic Mexicans' memories of prejudice and terror, and reclaiming moments of courage and humanity in a racial society, requires an understanding of historical trauma. Even without a strong documentary record, ethnic Mexican, Mexican-American, and mixed mining families found ways to share the devastation and triumphs of forced removals, segregation, and other racial violence—usually within their families. Amongst later interviewees, both their own interpretations of these events and the interpretations provided by their descendants reveal the long-term ramifications of societal violence and the resilience of humanity.

Denial, and later reclamation, of one's racial background was one characteristic. For example, when Frank Chavez and his mother were interviewed the seventy-eight year old woman refused to give her maiden name or the name of her father, but "she did say he was Irish."[219] She wanted to convey that she was a little white. Clara Urbano's paternal family was from Sonora and came to Arizona in the 1870s. While her aunt said that Ms. Urbano's grandfather was Yaqui, he always "denied it." However, when the man "was drinking, he would go into this other language" that the family did not understand. Clara concluded that he was Yaqui and she claimed a partial Yaqui identity in the 1990s.[220] It is understandable how a Yaqui man from Sonora might want to deny his heritage to his ethnic Mexican family considering the extermination campaigns,

[219] Frank Chavez, interview by Jack Burnett, n.d., CRCASU, 3.

[220] Clara Urbano, interview by Scott Solliday, March 28, 1992, "Barrios Tempe Oral History Project," Tempe Historical Society, Tempe, Arizona (hereafter BTOH), 16.

deportations, and wars the Yaqui experienced at the hands of the Mexican State in the nineteenth through early twentieth century.[221] It could also have been a social stigma in Arizona to claim an Indian or mixed identity.

Descendants of people who experienced violence on both sides of the border often do not provide specific historical details. They provide something more valuable, that is, the endurance of the affects and sentiments from these types of events over time. Joaquin Bustoz did not know the proper name of the indigenous people he was descended from on his mother's side. He referred to his mother's kin in the Sierra Madres of Chihuahua as "Eahuarame," instead of Tarahumara. His grandmother had experienced first-hand the attempts of the Mexican state to incorporate the Tarahumara, and later when his parents moved to Arizona, Joaquin showed intimate knowledge about the people that came from the women in his family and their perspective. He described how the Tarahumara were productive, "not violent," and that because they refused to join any faction during the Mexican Revolution, the "tribe" was growing and this compelled ethnic Mexicans to terrorize them. "They just wanted to be left alone. They wouldn't let them alone, and they RUINED them, they robbed them, they took everything away from them." According to Mr. Bustoz, ethnic Mexicans devastated the Tarahumara, and now, "they won't fight and they would not work because they took everything away from them. They think there's no reason. No use. That's why they are that way. That's where my grandmother came from."[222]

[221] Evelyn Hu-Dehart, Yaqui Resistance and Survival: The Struggle for Land and Autonomy, 1821-1910 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).

[222] Joaquin Bustoz, interview by Helen Harter, May 1976, BTOH, 11-12. Emphasis in original.

Racial Violence in Rural Arizona, 1900-1940:

There is a well-known story in PD lore about how when James Douglas first arrived in Bisbee in 1895 he saw the body of a "Mexican desperado" hanging from a tree. The lynching so disgusted him that he decided right then to establish "those cultural and ameliorating agencies which he believed the development of a self-respecting, law-abiding community required."[223] The leaders of Phelps Dodge wanted a more civilized strategy to deal with their racial working populations, and along with corporate paternalism, segregation and forced deportation was it.

Ana Maria Escalante Garcia de Chavez's grandmother described deportations as early as the Mexican Revolution, and hinted at the fear some *Mexicanos/as* felt toward their Anglo neighbors.

> Throughout her life she viewed the Anglos with a skeptical eye; that they weren't as heroic as history painted them out to be. This was because she'd seen how badly they treated the Indians when she was a little girl. Then as a young woman she saw how the Anglos treated Mexicans in the border towns when it looked as though the Mexican Revolution was getting to close to the United States. Men, women, and children were thrown in box-cars and deported to Mexico. Nana had vivid memories of seeing families tarred and feathered and dragged through town before getting to the depot.[224]

Deborah Gonzales' family history reveals their sheer terror of the Arizona Rangers while traveling between Globe and Morenci during this time, and describes an

---

[223] Cleland, *Phelps Dodge,* 109-110; Benton-Cohen, *Borderline Americans,* 105.

[224] Ana Maria Escalante Garcia de Chavez, by Antonio Chavez Acosta, unpublished paper, n.d. CRCASU, 2.

incident in which her grandmother was almost raped while sleeping in a tent alone.[225] The Arizona territorial government created the Arizona Rangers, who became notorious for their terrorizing tactics, including framing ethnic Mexican landowners for punishable crimes (like horse stealing) to get rights to their land for Anglos or mining interests, and lynchings.[226] Irene Gomez Hormell recalled how her grandparents had to flee Metcalf (near Morenci) in the middle of the night with just "what they were wearing" because of the unions in the district. She explained it was dangerous for them "because they were blocking or making waves for the people that were still there, and it was either you work or you die…" Mrs. Hornell prefaced the story by saying "the family might not like me to say this, though, it's part of the story [laughter]." The family fled to rural Tempe where she said *los mineros* took up small farming or sharecropping.[227] Her family anecdote, and her caveat, suggests tensions between unionized labor and undocumented labor, Euro Americans with ethnic Mexicans, and the memories of earlier generations of ethnic Mexicans' experiences contrasted with later unionized and Mexican-American generations within the same family.

Olivia Arrieta, a native of Morenci, conducted an ethnographic study using family histories of ethnic Mexicans. She described how her informants said there was a constant flux of people in and out of the area—from Mexico and from other mining camps—during the early twentieth century. "In 1921, many Mexicans moved to Mexico during a 'repatriation' campaign initiated by the company…During the 1930s…the mining

[225] Deborah Gonzales, "Family History: Lupe Gonzales," undergraduate paper, April 1990, CRCASU, 9.

[226] Frank Escalante, interview by Patricia Preciado Martin, in Patricia Preciado Martin, *Images and Conversations: Mexican Americans Recall a Southwestern Past* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000), 95.

[227] Irene Gomez Hormell, interview by Scott Solliday, March 28, 1992, BTOH, 8-9.

company instituted major lay-offs, and again many people returned to Mexico." Indeed, in 1932 Nicolas Olmos wrote the *corrido* "las Mananitas del Mineral de Morenci" to commemorate these lay-offs.[228] Francisca Hinojos Franco affirmed to her descendant that the lay-offs in Morenci were not entirely voluntary repatriations. "In 1930 the mine closed and PD forced all the men to go back to Mexico. Lots of Simon's friends were forced to leave."[229] One mining man, on the eve of his retirement from the industry, told his son, "I saw it in Miami with my own eyes. And these are guys who had worked like pack mules for a long time. They were just sent back…It was bad Mac, it was bad. They used to take them in bunches."[230] Esteban Torres' father was deported from Miami in 1936 for his union organizing activities.[231]

During the Great Depression, ethnic Mexicans in the Miami area were rounded up, put in trains, and ordered to the nearest border. As mining companies and local officials did not discriminate based upon citizenship status, mixed families were torn apart and many deportees tried to come back. In the desert without provisions many died on the return trip. Concha Herrera was one of the lucky ones who remained in Miami. With the exception of her children, her entire family was deported. She was a widow with two small boys, but with odd jobs and bootlegging, she helped her surviving family members return to Arizona. In 1934 she married Ramon Hernandez, a U.S. citizen, and apparently held no resentment toward the people that "betrayed" her family. She's was

---

[228] Olivia Arrieta, "The Mexicano Community of the Clifton-Morenci Mining District: Organizational Life in the Context of Change," in Mary Romero and Cordelia Candelaria, eds., *Community Empowerment and Chicano Scholarship* (Selected proceedings from the 1989 National Association for Chicano Studies Conference, 1992), CRCASU, 129, ft. 6.

[229] Francisca Hinojos Franco, interview by Virgie Franco, Nov. 8, 1993, CRCASU, 7.

[230] Casillas, "One Man's Story," CRCASU, 7.

[231] Matt Meier, ed., *Mexican American Biographies: A Historical Dictionary,* "Biography of Esteban Torres," (NY: Greenwood Press, 1988), 221-222.

also the lone survivor of an earlier deportation in 1914.[232] Her silence, but acknowledgment of the betrayal, is worthy of note.

One man left Miami before the deportations began. In 1931 his family returned to Arizona. He described the sense of desolation of an area that once had a vibrant ethic Mexican and working class community. "So we came back and this was a deserted place (Miami/Claypool)—there was nobody left here. The government brought trains to haul people away—at that time there was mainly Mexican people here—and they were loading them box cars and trains, putting them back out to El Paso to the frontier."[233] One ethnic Mexican woman in Globe, near Miami, opened a boarding house to shelter the women and children of the deportees until they could be reunited with their husbands and fathers.[234]

In addition to living with the terror of deportations, ethnic Mexican mining folks remembered racial segregation and the inequalities that surrounded them in their daily lives from an early age. In Douglas, Ceci Boatner's tía Luisa remembered segregation of Blacks, Anglos, and Mexican students until 1948. She said students were not allowed to speak Spanish, so she "kept quiet a lot."[235] In the Miami schools bathroom facilities were vastly different leading one woman to describe in great detail how the Anglo students had indoor bathrooms with smaller toilets for the kindergarteners, clean white and blue tiling, and porcelain sinks, whereas the Mexican bathrooms were quite a distance from the

---

[232] Biography of Concha Herrera, "Discrimination: A Portrait," 5th Radio Broadcast by Ricardo M. Lucero, Dec 28, 1998, CRCASU; On mining companies' roles in the deportations in Miami, see, Franco, interview, CRCASU, 7; Mixed mining man, anonymous interview with author, October 2010, Miami, Arizona, fieldnotes.

[233] Alonzo, interview, 4.

[234] Esperanza Montoya Padilla, interview by Patricia Precido Martin, *Songs my Mother Sang to Me: An Oral History of Mexican American Women* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998), 113.

[235] Ceci Boatner, "My Family History," undergraduate paper, n.d. CRCASU, 6.

school building, outside, had raised toilets, plain green cement walls, and instead of individual porcelain sinks "…ours were just black, they looked like water troughs, like the kind used for cows."[236] Mexican children were also prevented from participating in the extracurricular activities. For instance musical instruments and recitals were reserved for Anglo students only.[237] The Bullion Plaza in Miami held segregated dances. The movie theater in town was segregated, as was the skating ring. Even the local Catholic Church separated its members because some of the managerial officials of the mining companies were Catholic. "The Mexicans sat on the left side; the Anglos sat on the right." Similar to Tempe (at that time a rural area near Phoenix), Jerome's public pool was reserved for Mexicans only on Saturdays because on Sundays they changed the water. [238] As one man helped explain, "We were all dirty, we weren't like the white people, you see; so they had to separate us [says this in a sarcastic tone]. They had different classes."[239]

Segregation could also slip into physical abuse. One ethnic Mexican Miami resident described being kicked in the stomach by her kindergarten teacher. The transgression gave the young girl an injury to her intestines, which bothered her for years after the fact. "The general attitude was that you could do anything to the children: beat them; kick them, cuss [at] them. If [we] spoke Spanish on the playground, they had the authority to take us to their office and paddle us. They had wooden paddles to paddle the

[236] Rosario Blanco, interview by Rita Magdaleno, July 22, 1995, CRCASU, 4-5.
[237] Ibid., 5.
[238] Miguel Pastor, interview by Rita Magdaleno, Aug. 24, 1994, CRCASU, 11; Damiana "tita" Rascon Lopez and her sister Betty Rascon de Arcos, interview by Rita Magdaleno, February 11, 1995, CRCASU, 6; Manuel Campos, interview by Rita Magdaleno, August 25, 1993, CRCASU, 4-9; Alonzo, interview, CRCASU, 14; Teresa Hernandez, "Family History: Maria Guadalupe Gonzalez," undergraduate paper, May 1990, CRCASU, 7; Mary Barriga, interview by Sarah Pont, July 23, 1996, BTOH, tape 1, side B.
[239] Alonzo, interview, 12.

Mexican children."[240] When one young man asked his father about discrimination in Hayden, Arizona, his father told him it was because he was an "alien." Realizing there were other foreign ethnic groups in the region, the boy continued to pester his father about the issue, and finally his father said the only thing the boy could do was "become better educated."[241] In order to fight discrimination young *Mexicanos* were directed toward the schools, some of the most racist and violent institutions around.

After reflecting on a history of racial segregation and physical and emotional abuse at the hands of Anglo educational workers, Ms. Blanco emphasized the powerlessness of Mexican parents and the lack of leaders from the community. Yet, she also kept pointing to examples of individuals who fought back against the powerlessness. "Mexican parents, even though my dad could speak English and my mother [knew a little English], didn't have the courage to protect their children. They let the teachers do whatever they wanted. None of the other parents did that [protect their children]." There were a few exceptions, and one that Ms. Blanco recalled with admiration.

> She hit one little girl because she didn't know her lesson. She kept her home from lunch. She hit her with a rubber hose. She kept that [rubber hose] for discipline. She used that. And she would whip the children so badly that she would raise bloody welts on their legs. Especially [on the] little girls: they didn't wear pants [like the boys did]. This one little girl, [went home] with bloody welts on her legs. And her father was one of the few Mexicans who did stand up to the teachers. And he went down [to the school] that afternoon. And we were sitting in class and he opened the door. And he told the teacher, 'Miss Mellinger, I left my child at home, sick, because you beat her with that hose. And her little legs are bloody and blue. If you ever do that again, I'm going to come back here and whip you with that black hose!' He told her this in front of us, the class. So, he

[240] Blanco, interview, 4.

[241] Mr. and Mrs. Ramon Monroy Ramirez, interview by Larry Placencio, March 20, 1977, CRCASU, 1.

> spoke enough English to say that. And she never whipped that child again.[242]

While many of the interviewees from Arizona who experienced racial violence—in its myriad forms—emphasized the failure of their parents' abilities to stand up for them before World War Two (or later in the 1960s and 1970s during the Chicano/a movement), notable examples of resistance by ethnic Mexicans in this earlier time did stand out. In the Tempe area, Irene Gomez Hormell's uncle, Adolfo Romo, sued Tempe School District No. 3 in 1925 and won a judgment allowing his relatives to attend the Anglo-only school, also known as the Tenth Street School.[243]

By the time Irene Gomez began school in Arizona, the most severe violence and segregation was waning—she came of age in the 1960s—but she had heard stories from her mother and her aunt. When describing the ridicule and abuse her mother received at the "Mexican School" in rural Tempe, she used the word "tortured" four times. She assured the interviewer, "so I know the horror stories that a lot of people have talked about, that they were tortured." She went on to detail how her mother said that when she was young "if there was some young boys at the ASU [Arizona State University] that wanted to rape them, they raped them, they never did nothing about it, because it was a Mexican girl anyway, and that didn't matter." She went on to describe how this type of abuse resulted in many ethnic Mexicans referring to themselves as "Spanish" rather than "Mexican" because they did not want to "get the bad treatment." Irene helped explain

---

[242] Blanco, interview, 3-4.

[243] Hormell, interview, 6. Also see, Laura K. Muñoz, "Desert Dreams: Mexican American Education in Arizona, 1840-1930," (Ph.D. Dissertation: Arizona State University, 2006).

that the prior generation did not fight so much because "they would have gotten killed, probably, if they did."[244]

This type of environment and community knowledge about racism and violence had long-term impacts. In 1988, when Irene brought her aunt to Phoenix to die, she described how when her aunt was asked by the medical personnel if she was "Mexican" her aunt said "no, I'm Italian." Irene believed this was because of the Anglo woman in the next bed, and because her aunt "wanted to be Italian at that time so that she was taken care of, too." Her aunt had moved from Arizona to California because she felt that although there was "prejudice" in California it was not as bad as it was in Arizona. "And so she never wanted to come back to Arizona. She had that hate for Arizona." Finally, Irene admitted several times in her interview that she tried to pass herself off as Anglo, and now she felt ashamed of this fact, which helps explain why she was so adamant in her interview about helping others to understand how bad it was before her generation.[245]

Ethnic Mexican Survival Strategies: Family and Community

From 1900 to 1930 the Mexican-born population in Arizona rose from 14,172 to 47,855. During the same time period, ethnic Mexicans comprised between 30% and 45% of the mining labor force in the state.[246] In southern Arizona, the Mexican-American community was established prior to the annexation of the Southwest in 1848. For instance, Harry Soza who was born in Tempe in 1914 was the sixth generation of an

---

[244] Ibid., 29-34.

[245] Ibid., 34. Of course, historians have shown that ethnic minority groups did fight for civil rights in Phoenix before 1950. Bradford Luckingham, *Minorities in Phoenix: A Profile of Mexican American, Chinese American, and African American Communities, 1860-1992* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994).

[246] Reisler, By the Sweat of their Brow, 97, 270.

ethnic Mexican pioneering family in southern Arizona.[247] By the twentieth century, ethnic Mexicans and Mexican Americans resided throughout Arizona mining towns as migration and industrialization increased.[248] In central Arizona mining towns, the Mexican-American community was smaller in relation to the foreign-born population. Statistics taken from employee cards in one mining camp can give us an idea of the general make-up of the Mexican-origin mining labor force in that region. At the United Verde Copper Company in Jerome, Arizona, between 1900 and 1935, 45% of employees were Mexican nationals, 34% were U.S. citizens, and 4% were Mexican Americans.[249] During the first few decades of the twentieth century, the ethnic Mexican population throughout Arizona contained overlapping generations.

In the first half of the twentieth century, ethnic Mexican families had a history of transnational migration between mining camps in Mexico and the Southwest and children often followed their fathers into the profession. [250] For one example, "Ignacio M. Romero, retired from Ray Mines Division May 31, 1962, after completing 35 years, 10 months, and 10 days of service...Romero and his wife, Elvira, are the parents of two sons and a daughter. They have 13 grandchildren. Both sons, Manuel and Ramon, work for

[247] Harry Soza, interview by Sally Cummins, November 18, 1980, BTOH, 1.

[248] Sheridan, Los Tucsonenses; Martin, Songs My Mother Sang to Me.

[249] Gilbert Gonzales, "Working the Mines: Place and Employment at the United Verde Copper Company, Jerome, Arizona, 1900-1935," unpublished paper, spring 1993, CRCASU, 23, 29; Gilbert Gonzales, "Strategy and Stopes: Mines, Management, and Community in Superior and Jerome, 1900-1955," (Ph.D. Dissertation: Arizona State University, 2004).

[250] Kennecott Copper Corporation, "Retirement Comes to W.L. Cluff," *Kennezonian: Ray Mines Division*, vol. 4, no. 1 (Feb./March 1963): 15; Kennecott Copper Corporation, *Kennezonian: Ray Mines Division*, vol. 11, no.2 (Summer 1971): 18; Kennecott Copper Corporation, *Kennezonian: Ray Mines Division*, vol. 11, no. 3 (Winter 1970): 14; Kennecott Copper Corporation, *Kennezonian: Ray Mines Division*, vol. 11, no.1 (Spring 1970): 12; Kennecott Copper Corporation, *Kennezonian: Ray Mines Division*, vol. 12, no. 3 (June/July 1971): 11.

Ray Mines Division."[251] Anthropologist, Roberto Alvarez's ethnographic study documents similar chain migrations amongst mining families in Baja, California and San Diego County over generations.[252] Rosario Blanco's mother had lived in Clifton, Arizona, in 1915 as a child, only to return to Mexico, meet her husband in the state of Aguascalientes, and settle in Miami in the 1920s.[253] My own ethnic Mexican family in Arizona shows these transnational and generational movements between the countries. During the Mexican Revolution, my great grandmother was first brought to the smelter in Humboldt, Arizona, from Mexico by her German-descended husband from Clifton. They left in 1914 when her first-born son was medically misdiagnosed and died in Prescott. She swore to never live in the United States again. Later, her Mexican-born daughter married a U.S. geologist and moved back and forth until finally settling in Prescott in 1978.[254]

Although from the perspective of their children, ethnic Mexican women were in many ways powerless to change the violence and racism found in Arizona mining towns, they did find ways to fight back. *Mexicanas* were often at the center of extended kinship groups helping their local and non-local family members; they worked to create community celebrations and fostered cultural awareness; and they socialized amongst each other.

---

[251] Kennecott Copper Corporation, "After 35 years 10 months and 10 days," *Kennezonian: Ray Mines Division*, vol. 3, no. 5 (August 1962): 18.

[252] Roberto R. Alvarez, Jr. *Familia: Migration and Adaptation in Baja and Alta California, 1800-1975* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987).

[253] Blanco, interview, CRCASU, 9, 11.

[254] Juliette Maiorana, "An American Mexican Family: Cross Cultural Marriage, Transnationalism, and Identity Formations in the Twentieth Century" (Master's Thesis: Northern Arizona University, 2003), 30-66, 176-177.

Scholars have explored how early U.S. social science disciplines racialized and pathologized the Mexican family. In these early portrayals, U.S. scholars tied domestic violence and poverty to supposed cultural deficiencies and psychological weaknesses inherent to Mexican culture, including, machismo (heightened masculinity), marianismo (the long suffering and abnegate, or violated betrayer woman), or amoral familism (putting the family above all else to the detriment of society). Early Chicano revisions of these problematic depictions of Mexican families in the United States aimed to reclaim *la familia* as a tool of political empowerment and cultural pride.[255] Before the end of *el Movimiento,* feminist Chicanas challenged a unified, celebratory, or unproblematic notion of the Mexican-American family. Gloria Anzaldúa is the most prominent published Chicana who has forcefully critiqued *Chicano/a* culture in this regard.[256] Despite this type of work, the notion of *the* Mexican family, or *la familia* (usually nuclear, with a woman at the center, and maintaining strong connections to three generations of extended kin) remains deeply embedded in the U.S. academy.[257]

In many ways, ethnic Mexicans were well prepared to use their own conceptions of family to respond to the changes multinational mining companies had on their kinship groups. Ethnic Mexican mining families were flexible; they varied in size; had strong multigenerational and horizontal ties; diverse notions of childrearing responsibilities and

---

[255] For two examples from history and anthropology respectively, Richard Griswold del Castillo, *La Familia: Chicano Families in the Urban Southwest, 1848 to the Present* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984); Alvarez, Jr. *Familia.*

[256] Anzaldúa, Borderlands/La Frontera, 38-45.

[257] Even some Chicano scholars utilize these well-worn stereotypes about Mexican families in their scholarly arguments. For one extreme example, where single mothers and lesbians' supposed transgressions against "*La Familia"* are held responsible for the demise of the Chicano/a movement, Ignacio Garcia, "Juncture in the Road: Chicano Studies since El Plan de Santa Bárbara," in David R. Maciel and Isidro D. Ortiz, eds., *Chicanas/Chicanos at the Crossroads: Social, Economic, and Political Change* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), 181-203.

functions of family members; kinship groups that had descendants and ancestors who worked for the mining industry on both sides of the border; they allowed for adoption; and had a long history with migration. Antonio Chavez Acosta asserted that "both my grandparents had a hand in raising the children."[258] Older children also helped raise younger children. Ceci Boatner's grandmother Francisca never attended school because she had to help her mother with the younger children while growing up in Cananea, Sonora. "As she remembered these difficult times she started to cry, and said that her brothers and sisters considered her more a mother figure and as much as head of the household as her parents."[259] Esperanza Montoya Padilla, who grew up in Mascot in Cochise County, described her large family and how her oldest brother was "more like a second father to me than a brother."[260] Dahlia Moraga Bennett said she lived with her grandmother all her life "'till I got married."[261] Maria Elena Coronado summed up the importance of intergenerational transmissions and relationships for ethnic Mexican women nicely. "In conclusion, I have been taught what my grandmother taught my mother, from how to party to how to make flour tortillas."[262]

Taking in children not biologically related to mothers was another common feature of Mexican families. For instance, in a laudatory speech on the qualities of Mexicans, one borderlands educator explained that these benefits commonly extended beyond biological ties. "Not only do they think of their own, but you will find in nearly

---

[258] Escalante Garcia de Chavez, interview, CRCASU, 10.
[259] Boatner, "My Family History," CRCASU, 2.
[260] Padilla, interview, Songs my Mother Sang to Me, 98.
[261] Dahlia Moraga Bennett, interview by Scott Solliday, March 25, 1992, BTOH, 1.
[262] Maria Elena Cornado, "Rosa Maria Luna Cornado: The Untold Story, A Biography," undergraduate paper, April 15, 1992, CRCASU, 21-22.

every family some orphan who receives the same consideration as their own child."[263] Francisco Noreiga, a Kennecott man, had nine children, 46 grandchildren, and after thirty years with the company in Ray, Arizona, he still had two adopted children ages six and eight whom he was raising with his wife Carmen.[264]

Strong familial ties and flexible notions of kinship stretched and rooted themselves within ethnic Mexican communities, which were built by both men and women in Arizona, but *Mexicanas* maintained them on a daily basis. In Sonora, Arizona, local ethnic Mexican children attended a cultural school, at a cost, that "taught Mexican history, classical music, religion, needlepoint, and crochet."[265] The *Mexicano/a* community in Miami used to get together and spend time at a local creek. "We used to have beautiful picnics. There was a place when, on the 4th of July, or Easter Sundays, all the families would gather and go down to Wheatfields [sic]."[266] Morenci also had a very active and public Mexicano/a community with a robust *mutualista* tradition, including the *Alianza Hispano Americana* (1896), *Sociedad Saragoza* (1902), *Socieada Morelos* (1913), *Logia Central of the Sociedad Mutualista Jose Maria Morelos* (1914), *Logia Melchor Ocampo* No. 12 (1914), and later, in the mid-1940s the *El Beneficio Propio* was organized. Morenci and Sonora, Arizona, both had *juntas patrioticas* (patriotic committees organizing festivals celebrating Mexican history) from the late nineteenth century until the mid-1940s. *Dos Cabezas*, the *barrio* in the small mining town of

[263] W.J. Krox, "Teaching Foreigners," address delivered at State Teachers' Convention, Corpus Christi, Texas, November 1915 (G.F. Sigmund Press, 1915), 9.

[264] Kennecott Copper Corporation, "30 Years with KCC," *Kennezonian: Ray Mines Division*, vol. 3, no. 2 (March 1962): 15.

[265] Paula J. Adams, "Empowerment and Upward Mobility of 20th Century Mexican American Women in Arizona Mining Communities," undergraduate research paper, May 6, 2004, CRCASU, 11-12.

[266] Alonzo, interview, 14-15.

Mascot, Arizona, had a robust ethnic Mexican community. According to one informant, it was home to "the party machine."[267] Carlotta Silvas Martin belonged to a women's group, "Las Mexicanitas," in Superior, Arizona. They raised money for scholarships, helped fix up the local church, fundraised for the community center, and put on plays.[268] Mexican-origin communities helped sustain stability, cultural familiarity, and family in a hostile environment.

Ethnic Mexican women not only relied upon community to foster a sense of pride in a Mexican heritage, but also created community where there were few other ethnic Mexicans around. Ceci Boatner grew up in Scottsdale, a suburb of Phoenix, amongst mostly Anglos. She said,

> I never really thought much of it until one day a boy in my 5th grade class called me a 'Wap'. I had no idea what a Wap was. I came home and told my mom and she said to tell him that I was Mexican-American and proud of it. So I did, and he didn't believe me. I thought everyone ate beans and that everyone called their grandma's 'Nana.' I felt like an alien, like I didn't belong. That led me to be ashamed of my nationality. My mom refused to give up though, I remember there was a Spanish class taught after school, and she made both Eddie and me take it. During the summer time we had neighbors that each mom taught something different. My mom taught Spanish, another mom taught math and the other taught art.[269]

Paula Adams' grandmother Eva explained how this sense of an ethnic Mexican community gave her and her siblings "a sense of cultural identity as they attended church activities, fiestas, and dances" in Sonora, Arizona. Although Eva said she "did not understand prejudice, but a feeling of 'not being good enough' haunted her self-

---

[267] Padilla, interview, Songs my Mother Sang to Me, 98.

[268] Carlotta Silvas Martin, interview by Patricia Precido Martin, *Songs My mother Sang to Me*, 210-211.

[269] Ceci Boatner, "My Family History," CRCASU, 27.

confidence inside and outside the comfortable safety net of Sonora."[270] For others, light skin color allowed one to avoid segregation in the Euro American world, but it was well-known in the ethnic Mexican community who these families were, and this caused mixed feelings for both those that could "pass" and those that could not.[271]

Perhaps because of this ambivalent sense of self, some people of Mexican-origin made fun of Anglos as a way to combat the prejudices they faced. While describing segregation at the local dance hall in the Superior area, one woman explained, "Mexicans didn't question the arrangement because they reasoned that they always felt comfortable around their own type of people and also that the 'gringos' didn't know how to have as much fun. According to the Pinal Street population the 'gringos' didn't know how to dance either. Can you imagine anyone not knowing how to dance a *corrieda* [sic] or a Mexican polka!"[272]

Mexicana/Chicana Practical Feminism

> [Interviewer] I am writing a paper about this perception in the United States that Mexican women are better wives and mothers than U.S. women.
>
> [Interviewee] Well, they are.
>
> Ethnic Mexican mining woman, interview by author, central Arizona, August 2010.

---

[270] Adams, "Empowerment and Upward Mobility of 20th Century Mexican American Women in Arizona Mining Communities," 13-15.

[271] Barriga, interview, tape 1, side b; Hormell, interview, 34.

[272] Escalante Garcia de Chavez, interview, CRCASU.

Family and oral history conducted by descendants, or community members, give us a private view of ethnic Mexican women in Arizona. In these remembrances, *Mexicanas* enacted and passed down a form of non-western feminism that was deeply religious and rooted in Mexico, but also that was constantly interacting with Anglo-American notions of gender and sexuality. It is a form of feminism that was practical in its nature, and dynamic, as the ebbs and flows of migration from Mexico to the Southwest and back remained constant for most of the early twentieth century. Women's dialogues about themselves and their conditions have always been in conversation with women coming from Mexico. It is a *Mexicana*-Chicana feminism that is passed down in families and adapts to overlapping generations. Practical feminism is not sexy. It does not take place in unions (although many ethnic Mexican mining women supported union men), nor is it radical in regard to questioning gender roles.[273] This form of feminism walks a middle ground and, in the face of racism and violence in Arizona, its main concern was survival. Indeed, survival is a common theme amongst indigenous and ethnic Mexican women on both sides of the border. Teresa Urrea, the infamous border saint, *la Santa de Cabora*, who practiced healing amongst the poor in both Sonora and Arizona at the turn of the twentieth century, emphasized the importance of survival. According to the most extensive account of her life, written and researched by one of her

[273] For the foundational text on Mexican women's feminism in the early twentieth-century Mexico in English, see, Soto, *Emergence of the Modern Mexican Woman.* For a more recent take that connects *Mexicana* and Chicana feminisms, Emma Pérez, *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicana into History* (Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999). Vicki Ruiz's work laid the foundation for Mexican American women's history. Ruiz, *Cannery Women, Cannery Lives*; Vicki Ruiz, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1998).

family members, when Teresita gave her first birth prayer, she told the infant, "Your job is to survive."[274]

The strength of religious folk beliefs cannot be overemphasized in the lives of *Mexicanas,* and these beliefs impacted their views of life in the United States, though, they changed over time.[275] Rosario Blanco described her mother's views on modern birth control methods through the lens of religion. Rosario's mother migrated from Aguascalientes in the 1920s and had two brothers living in Los Angeles with two children each (their wives used some form of family planning). According to Rosario, the brothers used to say to her mother, "'Oh, Maria, why do you have so many children?' And my mother would say, 'Dios me los Mandan [God sends them to me].'…She would say, 'They're my children; God sends them to me.'"[276] Liva León Montiel's family history highlights the changing nature of religious practices and beliefs once in the United States and over one's lifetime. As Liva explained, her parents "were very, very religious," and she called herself a "cradle Catholic…because with my religion there is just no question; it's inbred in you." But, she continued, as you age "you realize that there are some things you can control and some things you can't…" for her, religion helped her accept those things in the latter category.[277]

Over time, exposure to life in the United States also changed more traditional notions of birth and child raising. One woman described how her mother, originally from

---

[274] Luis Alberto Urrea, *The Hummingbird's Daughter* (New York: Back Bay Books, 2005), 272.

[275] Paul Vanderwood, *Juan Soldado: Rapist, Murderer, Martyr, Saint* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Patricia Preciado Martin, *El Milagro and Other Stories* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998); James S. Griffith, *Victims, Bandits, and Healers: Folk Saints of the Borderlands* (Tucson: Rio Nuevo Publishers, 2003); James S. Griffith, *A Shared Space: Folklife in the Arizona-Sonora Borderlands* (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1995).

[276] Blanco, interview, CRCASU, 11-12.

[277] Livia León Montiel, interview, in *Songs My Mother Sang to Me,* 5-6, 9-20.

a small town near Cananea, Sonora, was a well-respected mid-wife and mother of thirteen, but that when it was time for her to have her children conflict arose. "I remember when I had my babies, I went by the book. Everything the book said, I did." When her mother suggested giving tea to the children when they were ill, Esperanza said, "'No, no, no! I don't want to start your medications!' And she would get upset with me and say, 'How do you think that all of you were raised?' 'Well, I'm going to bring mine up different,' I would tell her. 'I'm going to be the modern one!'" Yet, by the time of her interview, Mrs. Padilla greatly admired her mother as a mother.[278] Ana Maria Escalante Garcia de Chavez had all of her children at home in Superior, Arizona, with the aid of a mid-wife. During the birth of his tía Chuey in 1931, Antonio Chavez Acosta was later told that a gypsy woman put a curse on his nana and she became paralyzed. The family summoned a *curandera* (folk healer) who removed the curse by making his nana lay by a pillow case filled with fresh eggs in it. When the *curandera* arrived at the home "it seemed that the entire female population of Pinal Street [the Mexican *barrio* in Superior] came down upon the house, according to my dad's sister Aurora."[279] Initially the family had called a medical doctor, but he could do nothing for her. Indeed, Kathy Stehn, a descendant from a Comanche and Mexican mixed marriage, described how you only went to medical doctors to die. "The family's medical problems were taken care of by family members."[280]

Despite fierce resistance by the Catholic Church and devout people in Mexico, the new Revolutionary State passed a divorce law in 1914, and the 1917 Law of Family

[278] Padilla, interview, Songs my Mother Sang to Me, 107.
[279] Garcia de Chavez, interview, CRCASU, 5.
[280] Kathy Stehn, "Family History of Erminda Hicks," undergraduate paper, n.d., CRCASU, 4.

Relations Act established by President Carranza helped to rationalize domestic households in Mexico. One interviewee mentioned how unusual separations were at this time, and how much unhappiness an elite married Mexican woman would endure. Prior to the Divorce law, free consensual unions amongst the poor were common. When the same informant spoke of the masses of Mexican women, she said, "They do not want to be married legally, feeling that if they do they cannot get away if unkindly treated."[281] Conservative elite Mexicans who argued vehemently against the course of the Revolution, and blamed all things bad on the breakdown of Mexican morality, inadvertently mentioned this strategy of survival among poor ethnic Mexican women. "He [the informant] gave point to his comment on the increase of illegitimacy by quoting the reply of a woman who was asked why she had never married the father of her children. She answered 'I do not wish to give my husband any legal rights over me.'"[282] As such, many Mexican feminists argued against divorce claiming it left women vulnerable because their economic and social circumstances had not been improved enough for them to be able to take care of themselves without a husband. In fact, in some regions after the divorce law was passed more men than women sought dissolutions of their marriages.[283] Early Mexican women activists concerned themselves far more with poverty and domestic violence, rather than issues at the center of U.S. or European feminism such as suffrage. Poor *Mexicanas* wanted practical results rather than western feminist platitudes, and migration did not change these desires.

---

[281] Mrs. Paul Hudson, interview by Ida Tourtellot, January 19, 1918, DRF, SCOC, 2912.

[282] Belasario Cicero, interview by Percy Martin, March 2, 1918, DRF, SCOC, 1845-1846.

[283] Stephanie Smith, "'If Love enslaves…Love be Damned!': Divorce and Revolutionary State Formation in Yucatàn," in Olcott, Vaughn, Cano, *Sex in Revolution*, 100.

Once in Arizona, ethnic Mexican mining women not only struggled against Anglo racism, but continued to face sexism and violence from within the *Mexicano/a* community. Women had many responses, but a reliance on the help of other women was common. One woman described how her great grandmother left her abusive Mexican husband in Sonora, Mexico, by moving to Sonora, Arizona. She used family networks to migrate slowly up through the state and over the international border to escape.[284] A Morenci resident described leaving an abusive relationship with her children in the 1930s. When the judge heard of the horrible abuse she suffered in her marriage he said she needed a divorce and financial help from her spouse, she said, "yes, I'll take one of those."[285] Irene Gomez's parents divorced in about 1947, and while the father stayed in the countryside with the only son, the mother and four daughters moved to the "Mickey Mouse" barrio in Tempe to be near the maternal grandmother. Irene admitted that divorce, at that time, gave one a feeling of having a "black mark" against your family, and that many of her friends did not know about the divorce because "it just was not talked about."[286] Not only did her *abuelita* watch the children while Irene's mother worked to support the family, but she also helped other ethnic Mexican women in the area. She loaned money and let women stay at her house "while their husbands went on the drunk and wanted to beat them up. She would kind of like, you know, protect them. She was always the little protector there in the neighborhood."[287]

In addition to using family-chain migration, U.S. divorce laws, or other women's help, *Mexicanas* asserted and took pride in their gendered roles as wives and mothers. For

[284] Adams, "Empowerment and Upward Mobility", CRCASU, 5-7.
[285] Franco, interview, CRCASU, 14-15.
[286] Gomez-Hormell, interview, BTOH, 3, 10.
[287] Ibid., 1-3, 8.

instance, middle-class women in Mexico saw themselves as much better in these roles than American women. According to one informant living in exile in the United States, Mexican women consider marriage as their only "career," which lasts through "eternity." She continued, "That an American girl can be engaged several times and have many love affairs without dying of a broken heart impresses the Mexican woman as being essentially cold and business like. As her own ideal is one single romance, supreme and unsullied, she looks on the American woman as entirely lacking in real sentiment."[288] *Mexicanas* of privilege found small spaces within their prescriptive roles to exercise their "gender right," which allowed them to endure and resist patriarchy with a soft touch.[289] In this case, a middle-class woman used her gender right to highlight the faults with American women's femininity, sincerity, and sexuality.

The importance of motherhood to ethnic Mexican women can be found in the experiences of single parent households. For one example, the son of an ethnic Mexican mother remembered the struggles and strength of these early migrant women. Maximo Alonzo was born in Miami, Arizona, in 1914. The son of a Spanish father and a Mexican mother who migrated from Zacatecas in 1910, his mother became a widow when Maximo was five when the father died from "miner's consumption." He remembered how his father's five brothers left Arizona shortly after the death, and that they wanted to take the young boy back to Spain with them. He said, "My mamma had to hide me or they were going to kidnap me and take me with them." Later, one of his uncles sent money for Maximo to come and live with him in Argentina, but he said "I didn't want to

[288] "Mexican woman of the middle class," interview by H.C. Thompson, January 7, 1918, DRF, SCOC, 2854.

[289] Steve J. Stern, *The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 3-41.

leave my mom there, so I didn't go. But I spent the money." Alonzo recounted his mother working as a dishwasher in a boarding house, and later as a maid in the mine managers houses in order "to survive."[290] The lengths in which Maximo's mother went to for her family to endure and her strong assertion of her role as his mother despite the poverty and struggle after her husband's death, are woven throughout the now older man's memory.

Finally, Frances Arrington's grandmother was Mexican American and an Arizona native, and she explained that her roles as wife and mother were her primary concern. She also described her critique of the "Women's Liberation Movement of the early 1970s." At that time she was in her 50's. She said she thought the movement "may have done more harm than good. She thinks women have more work to do because they now have jobs as well as being responsible for their housework and children…Women today, she feels, are too loose."[291] Dahlia Moraga Bennett articulated what scholars of women call the "double work day" that women face when men do not change their traditional gender roles to help more with child raising and housework. Bennett's critique was practical. Why would women want more work?

Conclusions:

Emboldened by their service in the Second World War, and their personal sacrifices on the home front, Mexican Americans and ethnic Mexicans began to more forcefully and more publically challenge the racial discrimination, violence, and economic exploitation their communities had faced for decades in Arizona, but it shifted

[290] Alonzo, interview, CRCASU, 1-4, 9.
[291] Arrington, "A Life History of Dahlia Moraga Bennett," CRCASU, 1-2.

to more formal avenues like labor unions. According to long-time Miami resident and mining man Miguel Pastor (worked in mining from 1946-1986), the unions came back into the district in 1940 or 1941 when he joined.[292] In 1946, Mexican mine workers "met in cemeteries and other secret locations" to form a chapter of the International Union of Mine Mill Smelter Workers (IUMMSW), referred to as the "Mexican Union," and successfully struck to end the dual-wage system in the Clifton-Morenci district.

Meanwhile, a group of Anglo-American veterans formed the Veteran's Right To Work Committee. Tying their cause to the fight against communism, this group helped successfully pass a constitutional amendment (1946) guaranteeing open shops in Arizona and wielded a powerful new weapon against unions in the state. By 1958, of the 450,000 workers in the state, only 33,000 were unionized. The result of the new amendment was to severely mitigate the power of unions, and to keep Arizona's wage structure 10-25% lower than in other industrial centers in the United States.[293] Arizona remains a "Right to Work" state.

Multinational mining corporations impacted the family lives of ethnic Mexicans in the borderlands by requiring a mobile workforce. They needed employees who could be moved to and from rural mining camps to gel with the boom and bust cycles of a capitalist extractive economy. In rural Arizona, racial violence—through discrimination, segregation, and deportation—became one strategy for compelling ethnic Mexican families to move. Ethnic Mexican women had a variety of responses to these acts, including community building, flexible notions of family, transregional and transnational

[292] Pastor, interview, CRCASU, 1-2, 5-6; Alonzo, interview, CRCASU, 5-7. For unions in Miami, also see, Casillas, "One Man's Story: A Short Biography of Ignacio Villaverde," CRCASU, 6.
[293] Sheridan, *Arizona,* 276-278.

migration, and individual acts of resistance. The experiences of women of Mexican origin were passed down in families and amongst close friends. These oral and family histories can be interpreted to help us understand better the trauma and resilience Arizona Mexicans demonstrated in the first half of the twentieth century. *Mexicana/*Chicana feminism was practical in the face of such violence, and concerned itself with survival and resilience. It was an assertion of femininity, motherhood, and *Mexicanidad,* and combined it provided small political spaces to claim rights as women existing in and between Mexico and the United States. Practical feminism adapted from place to place and from generation to generation.

Chapter Four

Phoenix from the Ashes:

American Enclaves, Engineering Women, and a Mining Renaissance in Rural Chihuahua, 1940-1965

The onslaught of World War Two brought a resurgence in mining activity throughout Mexico, but as we saw in chapter one the state of Chihuahua experienced particularly significant increases in mineral exploration and production. The largest U.S.-owned companies, like Asarco, were already in place in Mexico to profit from this new demand for industrial metals. Despite the economic downturns of the 1920s and 1930s, Asarco was able to consolidate and expand its reach in Mexico. The 1940s was a time of increased cooperation between the U.S. and Mexican federal governments, and a huge influx of U.S. citizens once again moved to Mexico and began to re-establish professional, personal, and social ties between the two countries on a much broader scale than during the *Porfiriato.* World War Two was an especially important moment in U.S.-Mexican relations, but also on the ground because the U.S. population in Mexico dramatically increased (800%) between 1940-1950, and continued to rise in subsequent decades. [294]

While there is a small Spanish-language literature (and a few Anglophone texts) about the "American Colonies" in Mexico before the Mexican Revolution, historians know virtually nothing of the U.S. enclaves in other parts of Mexico (which there were), or

[294] Please see chapter one.

their history after 1920.[295] This expatriate community was largest and developed the strongest ties amongst themselves and Mexican elites in Mexico City however, there were also numerous colonies in the Mexican north such as in Guadalajara, Monterrey, and Chihuahua City. The community included students, scholars, retirees, adventurers, missionaries, artists, but most were U.S. businessmen and their families. In mining regions, most engineering families were involved with the American Colonies and their activities.

"Phoenix from the Ashes" describes the resurgence of mining during and after the Second World War. Focusing on the state of Chihuahua, I examine more closely the racial composition of mining camps, women's social worlds, and the impact this new demographic shift had for mining engineering families. Mexican mining in the North was the product of a new imperialistic vision of U.S.-Mexican relationships, which for the extractive industries, was codified by the Bateman-Suarez-Tellez Agreement (see chapter one). This new vision was still filtered through U.S. corporate-sponsored racism, but engineering families' day-to-day experiences reveal that attempts to segregate the population entirely from local influences began to break down, especially in the realm of family.

[295] Edward Mc Caughan, *Golden Ghetto: The American Colony in Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974); William Schell, Jr., *Integral Outsiders: The American Colony in Mexico City, 1876-1911* (Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 2001); Ethelyn Clara Davis, "The American Colony in Mexico City," (Ph.D. diss. University of Missouri, 1942); Icazuriaga, "El Enclave Sociocultural Norteamericano y el Papel de los Empresarios Norteamericanos en Mexico"; Kathy Denman, "Análisis Estadístico de los Norteamericanos en México," informe inédito (Mexico, D.F.: CIS-INAH, 1980); Kathy Denman, "La Elite Norteamericana en la Ciudad de México," *Cuadernos de la Casa Chata* (34) (Mexico, D.F.: CIS-INAH, 1980); Stella Quan Rosell, "Los Ghetos Rubios de la Provincia: El Caso de San Miguel de Allende," informe inédito (CIS-INAH, 1979); Patricia Scanlon, "Un Enclave Cultural: Poder y Etnicidad en el Contexto de una Escuela Norteamericana en la Ciudad de México" (Tesis, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F., 1978); Georgeanne Weller, "Medición del Grado de Bilinguismo y Biculturalismo de Adolescents Norteamericanos Residents en México," informe inédito, (CIS-INAH, 1977).

Because of the dramatic changes Mexico experienced due to its long revolution (1910-1940), both at the federal level through its 1917 constitution and other laws, and at the local level including national sentiments amongst labor and common people, U.S. multinational corporations had to re-shape how they would exploit Mexico's natural resources. In order to attract U.S. mining engineering families to work in Mexico, companies once again constructed American enclaves, which were segregated and they created three-tiered racial hierarchies (Euro American, Mexican American, and Mexican), but when we turn our focus to everyday life, culture, and family, we see that these boundaries were unstable. As Ann Stoler has pointed out, paying attention to the "tense and tender ties" of empire helps highlight the importance and intersections of race and intimate life in imperial encounters.[296] Further, U.S. enclaves associated with the extractive industries abroad[297] can be seen as an early model of how the United States emerged as a global power in the Post World War Two era with its reliance on dominating transnational organizations (such as the World Bank), and more specifically, in comparison to the spread of its military bases around the world.

Mexico's American Mining Places:

> I got off the train and on the horizon is this mountain over Charcas. And I looked at this mountain and there was this sort of script on it, or some sort of legend, that I could see had been worn away over the years. You know, in my mind, I just pictured some wonderful ancient Indian ritual going on up there, so I was fascinated by this mountain. We got into Charcas. We were met, of course, at the station- I don't remember who met us now but

[296] Ann Laura Stoler, "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies," *The Journal of American History* 8, no. 3 (December 2001): 829-865.

[297] A good contemporaneous comparison here is the American enclaves constructed in Saudi Arabia to oversee oil operations. Vitalis, *American's Kingdom.*

> my first question was, "I have to know about that mountain—it is so intriguing to me—and about the legend that's inscribed on it, and the significance of it all…the ceremonies that must have been involved." And he said, "What mountain are you talking about?" And I said, "Well, that mountain. That mountain right there." "Oh," he said, "You mean Pepsi-Cola Mountain." And I said, "Pepsi-Cola Mountain?" He said, "Yea, that says Pepsi-Cola on it, but it's been raining a lot lately and they haven't repainted it this year." So that was my first really big disappointment. From then on I learned not to expect things to be too exotic or uncivilized. They certainly weren't. Kathryn Bryd, wife on an American mining engineer in Mexico in 1952.[298]

This vignette vividly portrays a U.S. woman's assumptions as to what constituted exotic and traditional Mexico. These presumptions were sharply contrasted with the reality; Mexico felt much more familiar and modern than many Americans anticipated. By the middle of the twentieth century, U.S. multinationals had already left a long-standing imprint on landscapes throughout Mexico and the Southwest. Mining corporations did this by building communities and company housing in rural mining enclaves on both sides of the border. The physical layout and spacing of many borderlands mining enclaves demonstrate the corporate desire to segregate skilled employees and their families (who were overwhelmingly Anglo) from the largely Mexican or indigenous working force and community. Implementing physical demarcations between Anglo and Mexican (or local) workers in mining towns throughout the Americas was a common practice in the twentieth century.[299]

---

[298] Kathryn Bryd, interview by Michelle G. Benavides, May 9, 14, 1996, OHUTEP, 9-10.

[299] A great deal of the historical literature on U.S.-based companies mining throughout the world describes the rise of company towns and their policies of segregation. For particularly relevant works on the mining areas of the U.S. southwest see, Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*; Meeks, *Border Citizens*; Montoya Jiménez, *Political Domination in the Labor Market*; Mellinger, *Race and Labor in Western Copper*; Parrish, *Mexican Workers, Progressives, and Copper*; Gunther Peck, *Reinventing Free Labor: Padrones and Immigrant Workers in the North American West, 1880-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Byrkit, *Foraging the Copper Collar*; For the Mexican north, see, French, *A Peaceful and Working People*; Ramón Eduardo Ruiz *The People of Sonora and Yankee Capitalists* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988); Snodgrass, *Deference and Defiance in Monterrey;* Miguel

In the context of mining colonies, economic exploitation and racialization occurred in relation to each other through both company support and in the everyday interactions between the American and Mexican mining communities. The convergence of these processes and associated meanings were produced in space, and more specifically, in places such as the San Antonio and San Luis colonies in Chihuahua.

The oral historical record is contradictory regarding San Antonio and San Luis (combined known as the San Francisco colony); here, space held multiple meanings. For most of the engineering community, these two camps were the only strictly segregated camps distinguishing between the U.S. managerial class (San Antonio) and their Mexican counterparts (San Luis) in the state of Chihuahua. The local Mexican working class lived in a small *pueblo* a few miles from the mines. This fact made the camps exceptional in that no other colonies in Mexico appear to have segregated—with a physical border—Americans and Mexicans of the same education and class position.[300] Because the San Francisco colony was notorious many mining folk commented on its racial composition. According to a small minority, this was not segregation based upon racial designations, but rather, reflected the class position within the company hierarchy.

Tinker Salas, *In the Shadow of the Eagles: Sonora and the Transformation of the Border during the Porfiriato* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997); Wasserman, *Capitalists, Caciques, and Revolution*; Wasserman, *Persistent Oligarchs*; Sariego, *El Estado y La Mineria Mexicana: Politica, Trabajo y Sociedad Durante El Siglo XX*; Sariego, *Enclaves y Minerales en el Norte de Mexico: Historia Social de los Mineros de Cananea y Nueva Rosita, 1900*-1970; Sariego, "Minería y el Trabajo Minero en Chihuahua," 221-339. For examples from U.S. corporations in Chilean mining, see, Finn, *Tracing the Veins: Of Copper, Culture, and Community*; Thomas Miller Klubock, "Nationalism, Race and the Politics of Imperialism: Workers and North American Capital in the Chilean Copper Industry," in Gilbert M. Joseph, ed. *Reclaiming the Political in Latin American History* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2001), 231-267; Thomas Miller Klubock, *Contested Communities. Class, Gender, And Politics in Chile's El Teniente Copper Mine, 1904-1951* (Durham, Nc.: Duke University Press, 1998).

[300] This assertion is based upon oral interviews.

When Jóse Garcia was asked if the colony was segregated, he immediately pointed to Asarco's camp in Santa Bárbara, which he said also had two camps,

> …they were separated more so than ours. Ours was separated by a fence. They were separated by areas…Whether that was for convenience or segregation, nobody knows…As far as our camp, yes, I'll agree that they were separate and the higher echelon, or higher staff employees, were in the San Antonio Camp. We had a closed gate with a guard at the door.

He continued to explain that the residents of the Mexican San Luis camp were mostly junior engineers and office staff, and that they did not want to have a guard or a closed gate in their camp.[301] Mr. Garcia's recollections suggest, first, that segregation was prevalent throughout mining camps in Chihuahua in a number of ways. But also, that the Mexican engineering class did not feel the need to strictly enforce separation from the working classes. The latter point is important because as the conflicting testimony suggests, often racial segregation was blamed on those seen as inferior, or cultural or class difference. Although she loved the other mining camps she had lived in before, when one engineering woman's Mexican mother moved to the San Francisco camp she "did not like it."[302]

What is clear was that the Union Corporation of South Africa owned these two camps from 1949-1962, and this leads me to believe that foreign-owned mining corporations constructed their camps in Mexico in ways that reflected the racial and class compositions of their home countries.[303] The engineering and managerial class at San

---

[301] Jóse Garcia, interview by W. Noel McAnulty Jr., January 23, 1996, OHUTEP, 15-16.

[302] Carolina Moriel de Garza, interview by Michelle G. Benavides, November 30, 1996, OHUTEP, 24.

[303] Prior to these years, an English company called San Francisco Mines of Mexico Limited operated the mines and camps. Considering the descriptions of mining camps in South Africa that I have come across, it helps to explain the more obvious racial segregation of the San Antonio and San Luis camps.

Francisco was majority U.S. citizens with a few British, Mexican, and Canadian nationals. The collective memory of the American mining community also agreed that the San Francisco colony was unique in its spatial composition. It is because of this exceptionalism that makes a brief discussion of the camp so important. In San Luis and San Antonio, the meanings of segregation and racialization could not be completely moderated through paternalism. In this place, racial meanings were too palpable in the atmosphere.

The most detailed descriptions come from long-term residents of the San Antonio camp. Dr. Anthony José Quintana was the company doctor and lived in the colony for over thirty years. "You know that they had two colonies: San Antonio for the Americans and the…*they called it confidential employees.* And the San Luis was for the, I can't say exactly workers, but *the first-class workers* and their families. In certain ways it was the same, but San Antonio *had more class than the other one,* including the hotel." Dr. Quintana's statement that corporations ("they") used the term "confidential employees" to describe the American engineering class is the only such reference I have found in oral histories or mining sources. To my mind, it suggests secrecy, and, perhaps, an attempt to downplay the role of Americans existing in a privileged place within corporate hierarchies in Mexico. The term "first-class workers," points to the difficulties and ambiguities between class and racial designations in describing Mexican employees. The doctor continued in his interview by describing the modern and sophisticated hospital facility in San Antonio, "We had the hospital equipped with thirty-five beds: ten that were private beds and the rest were in wards. The private beds were used especially for the American employees, their families or some private persons, or in case, *if necessary,*

even the workers." The smaller and less sophisticated "La Clinica" was used especially for the laborers and their families.[304]

Not only were the medical facilities different, but the testimony of one Mexican-American engineer who visited the camp suggested most of the facilities were indeed separate and unequal. Arturo Domínguez explained to the interviewer that he usually stayed at the "foreigners' camp" but on many occasions asked to stay in the San Luis camp. In these instances his friend, the Anglo-American superintendent, appeared to stammer when explaining why that was not possible. "…Henry would always say, 'Oh, the facilities are not…[pause] we don't have any facilities outside of the people that are already there'." Despite his inability to stay in the San Luis camp, Mr. Domínguez, an American citizen, remarked that the camps were "very different."[305]

Amidst the conflicting interpretations—as to why there were two different camps for engineers at the San Francisco operation—the response of Mexican people to this atmosphere can be found in engineers' references to the camps. Bob Límon stated it most clearly. "That was contrary to the Frisco colony. They had two colonies in Frisco: one was strictly for Americans, the other one for Mexicans. And there was some cause of resentment there for quite some years until they integrated the whole thing [in approximately 1965]."[306] Indeed one interviewee mentioned that during the Mexicanization of the San Francisco colonies Mexicans tore down the fencing between

[304] Dr. José Anthony Quintana, interview by W. Noel McAnulty, Jr., December 15, 1995, OHUTEP, 4-8. Emphases are mine.
[305] Arturo M. Morales Domínguez, interview, OHUTEP, 10.
[306] Límon, interview, OHUTEP, 9.

the two camps.[307] These multiple sets of meanings associated with the spatial composition of San Luis and San Antonio point to community tensions.[308] Indeed, U.S. citizens were not always so welcomed in Mexico by their peers. Helen Henshaw recalled how Mexican children threw stones at her daughter, who attended the local Mexican school in Taylotita, Durango, after their history lecture on the annexation of the Southwest. Mrs. Henshaw herself had been spit on at least on one occasion.[309] Proximity was important. Because the proper distance could not be maintained during working hours (skilled technicians and miners were in constant contact within the confines of the mine), they were more stringently enforced in the domestic and social life and place of the community. The question became how effective were these borders?

The residents of camps in Mexico worked hard to create places where U.S. cultural traditions could be performed and celebrated in Mexico, but hints of the influences of local customs, entrenched in these depictions, indicate that these demarcations were not ever clear-cut. The engineering community celebrated holidays popular in the United States, like the Fourth of July, Thanksgiving, and Halloween, with much fanfare. Although these communities observed U.S. holidays, Americans in association with their Mexican neighbors also celebrated on September 16th (Mexican

[307] For references to the discontent and controversy over the San Antonio and San Luis colonies see Ibid.; Arturo M. Morales Domínguez, interview, 9-11; Dr. José Anthony Quintana, interview; José J. García, interview, 5; Louise Ferrari de Petrucci, interview by W. Noel McAnulty, Jr., September 23, 1995, OHUTEP, 1-19; Margaret Humphreys, interview by Michelle G. Benavides, April 23, 1996, OHUTEP, 6-15.

[308] As of 2010, there was still a private fenced colony with an armed guard in the San Francisco del Oro region. One must know Spanish and be very charming to get inside to have a look around. It also helps if you can honestly say your grandfather used to work in the area.

[309] Helen R. Henshaw, "Recollections of Life with Paul Henshaw: Latin America, Homestake Mining Company," interview by Eleanor Swent, 1987, OHCSM, 64.

Independence Day) and Cinco de Mayo.[310] Young women had "debutante" balls at the age of fifteen, rather than the more common age of sixteen in the United States, echoing the Mexican tradition of *quinceañeras*.

Camps in Mexico imported American movies, books, magazines, and newspapers (like *Time*, *McCall's*, or the *Los Angeles Times*) for their libraries and entertainment. Yet, especially during the 1950s and 1960s, some members of the skilled mining community showed an engagement with books, music, and movies especially associated with Mexican cultural production of the time. For example, music like "Tango Azul" and Pedro Infante movies were mentioned with appreciation in correspondences from the time.[311] Many male and female residents played U.S.-style sports like baseball, football, and tennis. Asarco encouraged these types of activities by constructing the necessary fields/courts for these games on their properties. Women made periodic trips to the states to shop for American clothing. U.S. residents held dinner parties, especially for visiting company VIPs. These social gatherings consisted of imported American foods, women showing off the latest fashions, orchestras playing U.S. music, and the use of fine china and crystal. In more urban settings social clubs for Americans, such as the "Chihuahua City Foreign Club," some of which were established as early as the *Porfirato,* continued to function. People imported American foods for special occasions, yet Mexican foods predominated on a daily basis due to lack of access to American foods or ingredients, or

[310] A Mexican national holiday that celebrates the winning of a military battle during the French invasion of Mexico in 1862.

[311] Edward Spalding, Est. Picachos, Chihuahua, letter to Genoveva Heinrichs, Chihuahua City, Chihuahua, Sept. 3, 1952, GSFC; Edward Spalding, Chihuahua City, Chihuahua, letter to Genoveva Heinrichs, Mixcoac, D.F., July 21, 1952; GSFC; Edward Spalding, Est. Picachos, Chihuahua, letter to Genoveva Heinrichs, Chihuahua City, Chihuahua, March 21, 1955, Genoveva Spalding Family Collection, in possession of the author with permission.

to the presence of a Mexican female cook.[312] The constant thread running through both contemporary descriptions and depictions from memory is the tension between how much energy was put into establishing, performing, and enacting what American meant in these places and the inability to completely keep local Mexican influences and meanings out of that Americaness. These types of cultural blendings suggest the instability of an "American" identity in Mexico.[313]

The distinctly American places that foreign-owned corporations and mining families attempted to create in Mexico were never entirely insulated from local social and cultural influences. Boundaries were permeable and transgressed. The presence of Mexican domestic workers in nearly all of the homes of the American mining families, the large Mexican labor force that shared daily work experiences and culture with their American *jefes*, and in some places, lack of U.S. necessities and luxuries of everyday life required dealings with local peoples and institutions. These points of interaction show quantitatively (amount of time) and qualitatively (allowing someone to help raise your children or trusting your safety to another human being) the significance of these relationships and interactions between Americans and Mexicans. These blendings of

[312] For material cultural productions and social activities see Louise Ferrari de Petrucci, interview, OHUTEP, 1-19; José J. García, interview, OHUTEP, 8-10; Robert Bryd, interview by W. Noel McAnulty, Jr., Jan 22, 1996, OHUTEP, 5; Robert Límon, interview, OHUTEP, 16-17; Margaret Humphreys, interview, OHUTEP, 42-52; Moriel de Garza, interview, OHUTEP, 1-45; Kathryn Bryd, interview, OHUTEP, 11-30; Salvador F. Treviño, interview by Dr. Charles H. Martin, October 13, 1989, OHUTEP, 22-23; EC Spalding, Chihuahua City, Chihuahua, letter to, Genoveva Heinrichs, Mixcoac, D.F., July 21, 1952, GSFC; EC Spalding, Est. Picachos, Chihuahua, letter to Genoveva Heinrichs, Chihuahua City, Chihuahua, Sept. 3, 1952, GSFC. For sports see Límon, interview, OHUTEP, 8-9; Bryd, interview, OHUTEP, 5-6. For Asarco's building of sports facilities see Isaac Marcosson, *Metal Magic: The Story of the American Smelting and Refining Company* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1949), 280. For food see Robert Bryd, interview, OHUTEP, 6-8; Bailey, interview, OHUTEP, 16-17; Margaret Humphreys, interview, OHUTEP, 6-15; E.C. Spalding, Est. Picachos, Chihuahua, letter to, Genoveva Heinrichs, Chihuahua City, Chihuahua, Dec. 1, 1952, GSFC.

[313] This section, although extensively expanded, is based upon the author's Master's thesis, and the two paragraphs above come directly from that work. Maiorana, "An American Mexican Family," 121-122.

social and cultural norms, and material things, through daily life experiences of work, home, and community, are revealing sites of inquiry. These mixings show despite how careful and systematic multinationals and the mining community were in their attempts to create structures of difference, based upon race and class albeit masked by the language of nationality or culture, conditions were created that undermined these efforts at separation.[314]

Women in the Mining Camps:

In Mexico, the majority of Anglo-American mining women were housewives and mothers, and many also worked in community-based, local, social, and voluntary associations. Many U.S. women attempted to inculcate ideas of medicine, child rearing, and education among their Mexican neighbors.[315] In terms of women's proper activities and spaces, intersections of class and race complicated the notion of a monolithic group of women who did not work for wages. Middle-class Mexican women (or women of mixed racial, ethnic, or national status) worked as secretarial staff in the rural mining camps. This practice increased frequently as time went on especially after World War Two when women first entered the corporate world of mining in significant numbers. Additionally, working-class Mexican women worked in American households as domestics. Part of these national and class distinctions between women's work can

[314] For this argument in a colonial context, see, Ann Laura Stoler, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Los Angeles & Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 80.

[315] For medical care see Dr. José Anthony Quintana, interview, OHUTEP, 1-19; Kathryn Bryd, interview, OHUTEP, 14-15; Fred Bailey, interview, OHUTEP, 31. For child rearing and education see Límon, interview, OHUTEP, 9; José J. García, interview, OHUTEP, 13; Margaret Humphreys, interview, OHUTEP, 53-54; Guadalupe Baca de Ibarra, interview by Michelle G. Benavides, Nov. 25, 1996, OHUTEP,10-11; Moriel de Garza, interview, OHUTEP, 2, 6, 9.

possibly be explained by difficulties obtaining Mexican work visas for U.S. women; however by the 1940s Asarco, for instance, had a great deal of experience working within the Mexican bureaucracy. There is ample evidence that, in theory, multinational mining companies could have obtained work visas for the U.S. wives of its employees just as it did for the men.[316] What this suggests is that this transnational community's experience of class formation included gendered ideas about the proper roles and places for men and women, which dictated Anglo women did not work for wages, but ethnic Mexican women could.

A woman's standing in the community derived directly from her husband's position in the company hierarchy. When Margaret Humphreys was asked if "…it was still a man's world there [in the mines of southern Chihuahua]?" she replied in the affirmative. "Oh, it was there, yes. I say it was really a man's world because everything you did revolved around his job, although they wouldn't have made it without the women doing what they were doing."[317] An ethnic Mexican woman described how envy and competition could fuel tensions amongst the women, especially the older women. "They say that the women handled their position like if it was them [their husbands] and

[316] For an understanding of ASARCO's efforts of gaining passports and work visas for its U.S. employees in Mexico, see the following documents regarding individual engineers and their families, W.C. Faith, El Paso, Tx, letter to, Mr. A. J. Yaeger, General Manager, Mexico City, May 23, 1962,; B. Fernandez, no location listed, memorandum to, "G.G. Gunther and W.C. Faith, May 17, 1962; Thomas P. Clendenin, El Paso, Tx., letter to W. P. Hewitt, Salt Lake City, Ut, January 19, 1962; B. Fernandez, El Paso, Tx., memorandum for, Mr. McKinney, Mexican Mining Department, Mexico, City, Dec. 1, 1961; Lic. Horacio Terán, Dir. Gral. de poblacion depto., demografico, letter to, Señor John F. Davis, no location listed, Abril 11 de 1949; L. Vega Lavin, Mexico City, letter marked "personal and confidential" to, Mr. C. H. Bush, Supt., Santa Eulalia Unit, Chihuahua, July 6, 1962; G.G. Gunther, no location listed, letter to, Mr. H.K. Spilsbury, Chihuahua City, Chihuahua, Mexico, July 17, 1962; H.K. Spilsbury, Chihuahua City, Chihuahua, Mexico, letter to G.G. Gunther, El Paso, Tx., July 10, 1962; all letters above come from, *The Sidney Adams Manuscript Collection*, box 1 (unorganized, no folders) UTEP. Also see, Roger Stern, Cananea, Sonora, Mexico, letter to Personnel Services, New York, N.Y., May 18, 1957; Roger Stern, Douglas, AZ., letter to, "Gentlemen," The Wall Street Journal, New York, N.Y., July 25, 1977; *Roger Stern Papers, 1955-1978*, box 1, folder 1, SCUA.

[317] Margaret Humphreys, interview, OHUTEP, 42-43.

according to how much power he had…they felt that they had."[318] Engineering women were linked to corporations through their husband, and wielded some power in the realm of everyday life within local mining communities.

This social structure determined housing arrangements, influenced social circles, and affected the creation of community values. The wives of men in the higher echelons of management received important social roles within the mining camps. These women were often in charge of organizing group functions. Women entertained their husbands' bosses, and brought fun and excitement in a normally monotonous lifestyle. The women in charge of such occasions held a great deal of cultural capital where others looked to them for new fashion trends, proper social interactions (manners), and culinary choices.[319] For example, one former mine manager's wife recalled a camp where there was a "manager's wife who ran everybody's life." In contrast, her approach was to "show leadership in times of need" and to "just set a good example."[320] The following interchange between interviewer and interviewee, describing the wife of the main superintendent at a mining camp in central Mexico, depicts this social atmosphere well.

> [Interviewer] So did she *write the social calendar* for the mining camp?
>
> [Interviewee] Well *her influence was great. Everybody cared a lot*- I'm talking about the women-about what Helen Hall *thought of them.*
>
> [Interviewer] Why? Because she was the mine manager's wife?
>
> [Interviewee] Yes, exactly. That was why. There was a *hierarchy* there as I told you. There was a *definite hierarchy… Everybody cared a lot.* It was *very important to be invited* to their house for dinner. You know, that was

[318] Carolina Moriel de Garza, interview, OHUTEP, 14.

[319] Carolina Moriel de Garza, interview, OHUTEP, 14-15; Margaret M. Humphreys, interview, OHUTEP, 49; Louise Ferrari de Petrucci, interview, OHUTEP, 16-18; Kathryn Bryd, interview, OHUTEP, 11. For a man's perception on this pecking order see, Kelly Spilsbury, interview by W. Noel McAnulty, Jr., Jan. 21, 1996, OHUTEP, 16.

[320] Humphreys, interview, OHUTEP, 49.

> very important. As far as setting the mores for the whole colony, the club, we had the president and all of that. But she was very influential in the lives of the women. I've heard tales about mine managers' wives. Some took it upon themselves to dictate things that the women did from the time when they woke up until the time they went back to sleep. You know, I don't think that she did. She was quiet, but her presence was known and felt, definitely."[321]

The type of social relationships that developed within the community and their connection to actual upward mobility within the corporate structure is difficult to gage. It can be speculated that having the proper sense of a variety of social mores certainly would not have hurt. This points to the intertwined roles men and women had in both class formation, and upward mobility within the corporate structure because managers' wives had input that could affect the career of one of her husband's subordinates. Conversely, a wife with perceived poor mores could inhibit the ascension of her husband within the company.

Mining Families Abroad:

Kathryn Byrd described what the closeness U.S. citizens' living in American mining enclaves was like. "The fun about living in a colony like that is that everybody is your friend, whether you like it or not, whether they like you or not. You would do anything for each other. You live very close to each other. You would take care of each others' children. It's a very, very close-knit community."[322] Moreover, mobility ensured mining families kept running into one another. Carolina Moriel de Garza (a *Mexicana* who grew up in mining towns, and later married a Mexican-American engineer)

---

[321] Kathryn Bryd, interview, OHUTEP, 21-22. Emphases mine.
[322] Byrd, interview, OHUTEP, 12-13.

described this experience. “You kept moving sometimes, you know, from one place to another and you kept seeing your friends that you made,” and “…it was like a big family. Everybody took care of everybody.”[323]

Because of the size and rural location of most industrial mining districts, and the industry’s influence on population shifts, mining corporations had a great deal of power in shaping transnational mining families, as we saw in chapter three. In the 1950s and 1960s, U.S. multinational mining companies sent more engineering families to Mexico, but also continued to send large numbers of young recently college-graduated mining engineers. Many of these men were bachelors and Asarco’s camp in Charcas, San Luis Potosí, for instance, housed the young men in a local company hotel.[324] Carolina Moriel de Garza said all of “these camps had a hotel for the bachelors.”[325] Many of these single U.S. men ended up marrying local Mexican women, as we shall see in chapter five. For now, the point is that these population shifts had impacts on ethnic Mexican families, Anglo-American families, and combinations of the two who were moving throughout the mining borderlands.

American mining women, especially those that had been raised abroad, reflected on what this constant mobility and exposure to different cultures meant for their children. One interviewee grew up in an American mining colony in Honduras. While there, she met her future husband, a mining engineer, and they travelled throughout Latin America before ending up in Chihuahua. She explained her ideas and the concerns she had about her children while growing up in different cultures. She decided to send them to be

[323] Moriel de Garza, interview, OHUTEP, 3, 9.
[324] Byrd, interview, OHUTEP, 13.
[325] Carolina Moriel de Garza, interview, OHUTEP, 17.

educated in the United States for high school, as there was no English-language high school where she was in residence at the time.

> When you live in a foreign country like that your children—and I knew this from my own experience—just grow up feeling like they're both, but you're neither one. And, I think, you have to reach a point where you identify with something…I just think there is a time when a child has to learn to become an American…so we wanted them to make the break and become adjusted and become American citizens one hundred percent. They still love Mexico; they go back there on trips, they love the music, and they love the food.[326]

According to this Anglo-American mother, the confusion resulting from her children (and herself) being raised in two distinct cultures required her to provide a way for her children to identify strongly with an American identity. But, this did not necessarily mean that the children lost their strong affinities with, and to, Mexico and Mexican culture. The women from the American mining colonies as consumers, as targets of advertising, and as promoters of products, helped introduce, facilitated, and participated in the penetration of U.S. (and other European) multinational companies into Latin American markets, especially in regard to consumer culture such as packaged food. For transnational mining families food was a source of cultural and familial identification, but also revealed their larger connections with the United States' economic and cultural attempts at hegemony over the rest of Latin America.

The topic of food in mining folks' remembrances shows both the importance of Mexican-origin women's role in shaping children's sense of self, and the larger economic inequities that were a part of their transnational social world. Most mining engineering women, and a few men, remembered mining food in their interviews. A number of

[326] Margaret Humphreys, interview, OHUTEP, 45-46.

scholars have recognized the importance of food in ethnic cultural identity,[327] in familial relationships,[328] and in the creation of a Mexican national identity.[329] Because of gender ideologies in both the U.S. and Mexico, women were primarily called upon to feed their families. For transnational mining engineering families, familiarity with Mexican culinary traditions was a result of geographic locality (availability of goods), Mexican origin women's positions as cooks for their families, and interactions with cuisines from different regions in Mexico and the Southwest. To my mind, Mexican-origin women passed down their Mexican culinary cultural traditions and heritage to mining children through their kitchens on a daily basis.

Other contemporaneous sources—generated from Anglo or European emigrant communities throughout Latin America—hint at the larger socioeconomic dynamics shaping the cultural world of transnational mining. The "American Institute of Wine and Food Culinary Collection," held at the University of California in San Diego, began with half of the extensive cookbook collection Julia Child amassed over her lifetime. Interspersed within the larger collection are cookbooks that were published by local expatriate women's associations (religious, voluntary, or social) and by multinational companies, from the 1930s through the 1970s. These texts highlight the growing influence of U.S. consumer culture in Latin America. Many cookbooks in this genre were financed through selling advertising space. Intermingled with recipes one could find ads for numerous consumer merchandise produced by U.S. and European multinational

---

[327] Lucy Long, ed., *Culinary Tourism* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004).

[328] Miriam Meyers, A Bite off Mama's Plate: Mothers and Daughters' Connections through Food (Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey, 2001).

[329] Jeffrey M. Pilcher, *"Que vivan los tamales": Food and the Making of Mexican Identity* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998).

companies. Nescafe, Canada dry, General Electric, Goodrich tires, Nestlé's condensed milk, Frigidaire, Chevrolet, Ford, and Hoover were all represented.[330]

Many of these advertisements include directions or explanations of their products to their potential customers. For instance, in an announcement for Nestlé's condensed milk the text explained how their product was "the perfect food for children," that it "retains all of the food value of fresh milk," and that it was "wholesome, nutritious, and very economical."[331] The text of this specific announcement reveals the ways in which corporations were trying to change (through explanations of their products) the cooking ingredients used by local Latin American women and reassuring them of their products' worth. These advertising tactics also suggest that Latin American women (and mothers in particular) might not have eagerly adopted these new modern and packaged products, and needed convincing. For our purposes they show the important relationship between multinational companies working in Latin America, and the expatriate Anglo and European groups associated with U.S. corporations.[332]

---

[330] Una manera de aprovechar su Frigidaire con ventajas: Nueva recetario Frigidaire para la confeccion de helados, postres, ensaladas (Mexico D.F.: General Motors de Mexico, 1937-1938), "American Institute of Wine and Food Culinary Collection," Special Collections, University of California San Diego, La Jolla, CA, (hereafter referred to as AFWUCSD); United Fruit Company, United Fruit Company, Its Activities at Home and in the Tropics (Boston?: s.n., 1937), AFWUCSD; American Design for Cooking in Mexico (Mexico D.F.: The Women's association of Union church of Mexico City, 1951), AFWUCSD; American-British Club for Women, Cocinado en el Ecuador = Cooking in Ecuador (Guayaquil, Ecuador, The Club, 1958, 1961), AFWUCSD; Cooking in the Clouds (Quito, Ecuador: Women's Volunteer Association, 1953), AFWUCSD; American Women's Literary Club of Lima, Peru, Cookbook = Libro de Cocina, (Lima: The Club, 1954), AFWUCSD; Damas de la Sociedad Norteamericana, Buen Prevecho (Managua, Nicaragua: Editorial Union, 1972), AFWUCSD; The Embassy Wives Group of the Embassy of the United States of America, Recetas Potpourri (Mexico, D.F.: Published for the benefit of the U.S. Embassy Wives' Nurse's Scholarship Fund, 1967), 254-298; Sra. Elena O. De Sanz, Dele Vida Al Sabor de sus Platillos con Carnation Clavel: Entremeses, sopas, huevos, carnes, pescados, platillos regionales, alimetación infantile, helados, gelatinas, ect., (Mexico: Carnation de Mexico, S.A., no date listed), in author's possession.

[331] American Design for Cooking in Mexico, 14.

[332] Julio Moreno, Yankee Don't Go Home: Mexican Nationalism, American Business Culture, and the Shaping of Modern Mexico, 1920-1950 (Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).

Domestic Workers and Mining Families:

The figure and presence of local *Mexicana* domestic help in all of the American households in Mexico shows the significance of local women for transnational mining families.[333] All U.S. engineering families in Mexico were able to afford domestic workers. The result was engineering wives had more freedom during the day because their domestic and child raising duties were performed largely by the labor of local *Mexicanas.* Helen R. Henshaw, a mother of two young children, described how when her husband was offered a job in Mexico, the boss told her, "I can promise you four in help." Her response was, "when do we leave?" She said she was thrilled to have "brown hands [native maids] again."[334] Although she said she was ashamed to admit it, Mrs. Henshaw also shared a joke about the ease of life in the typical day of a wife of a mining engineer. "The only thing to be better than being a rich man's dog would be the wife of a mining engineer in Mexico. (laughter)"[335]

Despite the absence of domestic workers' historical voice in my source material, they were widely discussed amongst interviewees and in other forms of collective memory. Many mining people emphasized the difficulties of finding good "help," including a great deal of discussion about "stealing." In regions of the Mexican north remembrances about domestic workers tended to shift more toward their importance *to* mining families. Multinational mining companies had strict definitions of what

[333] This was often the case in mining regions in the United States close to the Border, such as El Paso, Texas. The presence of domestic workers in U.S. homes and families has only increased in scale and geography with various Mexican and Latin American migrations to the United States.

[334] Henshaw, interview, OHCSM, 52-53.

[335] Ibid., 13.

constituted a family (in terms of their social welfare benefits for employees), but there is evidence that other conceptions of family circulated and were practiced in the mining enclaves—as the case of domestic workers and their employers revealed. Strong familial-type relationships developed between local women and the mining households they worked for—so much so that some families faced legal punishments in order to maintain their relationships with specific women. One woman described how she "gave" her domestic worker to her cousin when they moved to Africa. Her cousin became so attached to this domestic worker that she brought the Mexican-origin woman to the United States, and then back to Mexico. When asked how they were able to bring a domestic worker into the United States, the woman responded, "they probably lied and bribed." According to the interviewee, her cousin was very sick during pregnancies and wanted this "good" domestic worker to accompany her during this hard time.[336] Arthur Hall, a mixed *Tejano* engineering man, wrote of moving several times throughout northern and central Mexico with a domestic worker, her younger sister, and their mother. Mr. Hall described how attached his family had become to all these *Mexicanas* who, over time, became part of "our family." These women were the relatives of one of Arthur's mining employees from the Hall family's first mining camp in the Mexican state of San Luis Potosí.[337]

Transnational mining families, and women especially, were attached to *Mexicana* domestic workers because they played important roles in comforting, healing, and child raising. Reminiscent of "mammies" in the U.S. South, and infused with ideologies of the

[336]Kathryn Bryd, interview, OHUTEP, 16.

[337] Arthur Hall, *Those Wonderful Years in Mexico* (Tucson: Sundance Press, 1997), especially see, 33-34, 56.

corporate family ideal, the quality of these types of relationships is difficult to measure. What can be reasonably assumed is that these women interacted with mining children on a day-to-day basis in the home. In fact, one 1942 sociological study—based upon extensive ethnography conducted in the 1930s—found the significance of domestics on these children's development (both mixed racial people and Anglo Americans). The sociologist argued, "…the most important result of this contact is the knowledge of Spanish acquired by the child."[338] For mining children, especially those close to the international boundary, domestic workers and Mexican-origin populations settled throughout the borderlands supported their Spanish acquisition.

While it is not clear from the sources what ethnic Mexican domestic workers thought or felt about these familial relationships with the engineering community, it is clear that these women held an important place within mining families and they affected the children. It is also reasonable to assume that with a lack of better financial or social opportunities in rural Mexico, poor *Mexicanas* did receive tangible benefits through these relationships.

Conclusion:

Beginning with World War Two, the U.S. and Mexican federal governments were able to reestablish close working relationships in the aftermath of the Mexican Revolution and the nationalization of Mexico's oil. The United States' ability to ensure that these contacts were exploitive, especially within the extractive industries, was contingent upon U.S. multinational corporations being able to navigate strong Mexican

[338] Davis, "The American Colony in Mexico City," 139.

national laws and sentiment. Because of mining companies' size and previous history in Mexico, such as in the example of Asarco, they were able to do so, and thus, they created a more nuanced form of imperialism. On a day-to-day basis, these inequitable economic relationships were facilitated in Mexico by the U.S. engineering class within their American colonies and mining enclaves. By the end of the 1960s, a huge transnational civil society had developed between the two nation-states. In the mining-intensive state of Chihuahua segregation and racism permeated these localities.

Multinationals and their U.S. employees worked hard to maintain racial segregation and to reinforce their own American cultural traditions and identity. However, Mexican cultural traditions and people had their impact and a distinct sense of Americaness or *Mexicanidad* became blurry for all ethnic groups within the engineering class. We can see its extent within the context of mining families. The concerns and efforts of Anglo-American mothers to ensure their children had an American identity was one response. Yet, even those women who sought to foster a sense of an American identity admit that their children continued to feel an affinity for all things Mexican. Regardless of the lack of sources on their perspective, it is important to acknowledged the role Mexican domestic workers played in the raising of mining children. Engineering families, for better or worse, incorporated Mexican women as motherly examples.

Chapter Five

Deference and Defiance:

Intermarriage, Mexicanas, and Subsequent Generations Spanning the Border, 1890-1965

The U.S.-Mexico borderlands had a long history of interracial sex and intermarriage by the time of industrialization in the late nineteenth century. Scholars of colonial Mexico, of course, have examined race mixing in-depth. Once Jóse Vasconcelos pronounced his celebratory and nationalistic vision of Mexicans as a "cosmic race" in the 1920s, an honest and national recognition of the continuing effects and affects of race or mixed race in Mexican society were downplayed or ignored, and this had consequences for ethnic Mexicans residing in the United States.[339] In contrast, there is a tendency in U.S. history circles to conveniently forget just how much interracial sex and marriage shaped the history of the United States since the nation's founding.[340] Historians know even less about interracial sex or marriages during the United States' colonial, neo-colonial, or imperial adventures outside its own current borders (empire, another inconvenient fact that many U.S. Americans like to try to forget).

"Deference and Defiance" documents the prevalence of Anglo-Mexican intermarriage in the borderlands and shows how these relationships made U.S. mining imperialism's racial dimensions unstable. Segregating Mexicans from Americans became harder and harder to accomplish because over the twentieth century more and more

[339] Benjamin H. Johnson, "The Cosmic Race in Texas: Racial Fusion, White Supremacy, and Civil Rights Politics," *Journal of American History* 98, no. 2 (September 2011): 404-419.

[340] Gary Nash, "The Hidden History of Mestizo American," *Journal of American History* 82, no. 3 (December 1995): 941-964.

individuals and families were both. Having a large industry operating in the Southwest and in Mexico for so long brought Americans and Mexicans together in rural areas, and often they intermarried. Despite the racism so prevalent in borderlands mining and in corporations, many mixed mining children still identified strongly with a Mexican heritage, and this was largely because of their ethnic Mexican mothers. For mixed mining families on either side of the international border, race, class, and gender intersected in different ways effecting how others viewed these families and individuals.

First, this chapter provides a history of interracial mixing in Arizona and Chihuahua from the time of industrialization to 1965. For the pre-World War Two era, anecdotal evidence, social history, and family lineages provide us with evidence of its frequency on both sides of the border, despite the lack of census data in Mexico before 1920, or Arizona's anti-miscegenation laws. During the 1930s, racial lines hardened in Arizona and race mixing became more unacceptable and illegal. By 1931, a white person could not marry "Negros, Hindus, Mongolians, members of the Malay race, or Indians, and their descendants." While ethnic Mexicans were not named, many could be classified as Indian if their skin was too dark.[341] For ethnic Mexicans in Arizona, skin color, socioeconomic class, and community standing determined if one was "Mexican" (brown and more indigenous) or "Spanish" (white and European). After the Second World War, rates of intermarriage between Euro American mining engineers and ethnic Mexican women residing in Mexico can be documented with more certainty. The Anglo-American Colony of Mexico compiled community directories that contain documentation of mixed marriages, and self-identified mixed adults, beginning in the 1940s. These latter unions

[341] Peggy Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2008), 118, 121-122.

were a legacy of earlier mining imperialism in Mexico, and demonstrate its continuation in the post-World War Two era. Capitalist expansion created the conditions for mixed marriages and the ongoing creation of mixed families.

The second part of "Deference and Defiance" uses oral and family histories to investigate subsequent generations of mixed families. These more qualitative sources suggest that ethnic Mexican mothers were quite influential on their children's future sense of self. By examining discussions of language, we learn that mixed and transnationally mobile people acquired strong and diverse language skills. I conclude that adult children from the mining community identified with their multiple heritages depending on place, local ideas about race and nationality, and context.

On the one hand, for ethnically mixed families associated with industrial mining in the borderlands, both mobility between the countries and a gendered culture where women had the primary task of child raising, helped reinforce an American and a Mexican identity in private. How this dual identity was expressed in public was shaped by local racial contexts. Mixed people's sense of self was shifting and circumstantially enacted. Comparisons with this community to other mixed race populations in U.S. history show that while power always shaped women of color and their children's experiences of being a racial other, having claims to a white racial identity also gave one's family a bit of protection.

Interracial Sex and Intermarriage

Interracial sex, reproduction, and marriage are well-explored themes in the history of Mexico, and the history of the United States' western territorial expansion and conquest. Western and Mexican mining camps brought diverse groups of workers, and resident indigenous and ethnic Mexican women together in small spaces. And, largely due to the gender imbalances in early twentieth century migration patterns to Mexico and the United States—especially of Asian origin—most of these immigrant men found local indigenous or ethnic Mexican women to marry in the Southwest or northern Mexico.[342] Borderlands and Chicano/a historians have documented the prevalence of intermarriage between Anglo settlers and elite Mexican-origin women prior to 1910. Early treatments saw these marriages largely as a strategy of Anglo-American men to gain economic and social ties with resident Spanish-speaking communities, and for elite *Mexicano* families to gain material advantages in trade relations with the eastern Anglo-American community.[343] By the 1990s, *Chicana* historians, such as Deena González and Antonia Casteñeda, forcefully implored historians to complicate these views of intermarriage and to "look at them from a southern perspective, through a Mexican, but not European, focus, and from a gendered perspective, through the eyes of resident women but not

[342] The most recent and best work on intermarriage in the borderlands emphasizes the long-overlooked role of Asian-origin immigration to family formation during this time. Leonard, *Making Ethnic Choices*: Robert Chao Romero, "El Destierro de los Chinos: Popular Perspectives on Chinese-Mexican Intermarriage in the Early Twentieth Century," *Aztlan*, 32:1 (Spring 2007): 113-144; Schiavone Camacho, *Chinese Mexicans*; Rudy P. Guevarra Jr., "Mexipino: A History of Multiethnic Identity and the Formation of the Mexican and Filipino Communities of San Diego, 1900-1965," (Ph.D. Diss., University of California Santa Barbara, 2007); Castillo-Muñoz, "Divided Communities."

[343] Leonard Pitt, *The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966); Jane Dysart, "Mexican Women in San Antonio, 1830-1860: The Assimilation Process," *Western Historical Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (Oct. 1976): 365-375; Rebecca McDowell Craver, *The Impact of Intimacy: Mexican-Anglo Intermarriage in New Mexico, 1821-1846* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, University of Texas at El Paso, 1982), 46-47; Albert Hurtado, *Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999), 6, 25, 42-43.

sojourning men."[344] Research since that time has begun to tease out a variety of motives for these unions, though, most historians recognize the lack of archival sources needed to help shed light on the *Mexicana* perspective.[345]

On the Mexican side of the border information on intermarriage is even more lacking. Despite the frequency of Anglo-Americans mentioning their own marriages to Mexican-origin women—in oral histories, literature, and published memoirs—empirically documenting these early unions is nearly impossible. The Mexican state did not begin to keep track of Mexican women who married foreigners until 1920. Yet, early Mexican feminists pointed to this practice and claimed non-Mexicans "came to this land to make a real industry of the Mexican woman, taking advantage of her abnegation and ignorance."[346] In fact, during the Mexican Constitutional Congress of 1917, one of the only times the male members discussed women's citizenship status was in reference to those *Mexicanas* who married foreigners. During the rest of the convention the men, with a few exceptions, assumed women were dependents and ineligible for full citizenship. The Congress was concerned with the nationality of the children from these mixed unions, as the Constitution would ban them from office if they were considered non-

[344] González, Refusing the Favor, 113; Castañeda, Presidarias y Pobladoras.

[345] Sheridan, *Los Tuconenenses*, 115, 145-150; Mitchell, *Coyote Nation*,102-103; Andrés Reséndez, *Changing National Identities at the Frontier: Texas and New Mexico, 1800-1850* (Cambridge, U.K. & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005),124-142; Raul Ramos, *Beyond the Alamo: Forging Mexican Ethnicity in San Antonio, 1821-1861* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2008), 192-196; Benton-Cohen, *Borderline Americans*, 36-37. For two important exceptions, Miroslava Chávez-García, *Negotiating Conquest: Gender and Power in California, 17702 to 1880s* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2006); Raquel Casas, *Married to a Daughter of the Land: Spanish-Mexican Women and Interethnic Marriage in California, 1820-1880* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 2009).

[346] Quotation taken from a speech given by Hermila Galindo de Topete, the personal secretary to Venustiano Carranza and a radical feminist. It was reproduced in *El Primer Congresso Feminsta de Yucatán*, 197-198, as cited in Jocelyn Olcott, *Revolutionary Women in Postrevolutionary Mexico* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2005), 31, f. 10.

Mexican citizens.[347] In large part, the Mexican Revolutionary state emerging at this time was terrified of the influence of the Catholic Church over women, and this largely was why they were denied suffrage until the 1950s.

Intermarriage is notoriously difficult to document. Cenus data can give us a flawed picture. Spanish-speaking women changed their maiden names when they married, and as we shall see, many evenutally considered themselves "American." Further, for those who were in either country without documents, census takers were to be avoided at all costs. Anecdotal evidence suggests the practice had a long history and was common as shown by comments from early Euro American explorers, social scientists, U.S. residents of Mexico, and mixed mining children's life histories.

There is a great deal of evidence highlighting the practice of U.S. men engaging in interracial sex and intermarrying with indigenous women and *Mexicanas* in the mining borderlands. Indeed, nearly all travelogues and published memoirs from the first Euro-American settlers/explorers of Arizona mention these types of relationships.[348] James O. Pattie, one of the first Anglo trappers in territorial Arizona, described how leaders of the Cocopah Indians gave his party young naked indigenous women to admire and use for the evening. "Many of the women were not over sixteen, and the most perfect figures I have ever seen, perfectly straight and symmetrical…The night which we passed with

[347] Ibid., 33. A woman lost her U.S. citizenship if she married a foreign national in the United States until the passage of the Cable Act in 1922.

[348] For a few examples, Sylvester Mowery, *Arizona and Sonora* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1864); Hiram C. Hodge, *Arizona as it was 1877*(Chicago: The Rio Grande Press Inc., 1877); Charles D. Poston, *Apache-Land* (San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft & Co., 1878); James O. Pattie, *Personal Narrative* (Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1930); J. Ross Browne, *Adventures in Apache County: A Tour through Arizona and Sonora, 1864,* reprint edition (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974); Sally Munds Williams, *History of Valuable Pioneers of the State of Arizona* (Sally Munds publisher, 1979); Raphael Pumpelly, *Pumpelly's Arizona: An Excerpt from Across America and Asia,* Andrew Wallace ed. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986).

them, passed away pleasantly, and to the satisfaction of all parties."[349] J. Ross Browne's early travels through Arizona and Sonora first published in *Harper's Monthly* between October 1864 and March 1865 and later published in book form as *Adventures in the Apache Country: A tour through Arizona and Sonora with Notes on the Silver Regions of Nevada* (1869), detailed one view on these early Borderlands mixed unions.

> Owing to the climate, perhaps, and idleness, which is the father of all mischief and many mixed breeds of babies, these mongrel little humans abound to an amazing extent in the small towns of Sonora. Nearly all of them have Indian blood in them, and many denote a growing proclivity toward the American race. Hence you often see in one family a remarkable variety of races. A mother with white-headed and blue-eyed children, and black-headed and black-eyed children, and children with straight hair, and curly hair, and thin lips, and thick lips, and noses long and noses short, all bearing a strong family resemblance, is a very common kind of mother in this latitude…Miscegenation has prevailed in this country for three centuries. Every generation the population grows worse; and the Sonoranians may now be ranked with their natural compadres—Indians, burros, and coyotes…Mexican, Indian, and American blood concentrated in one individual makes the very finest specimen of murderer, thief, or gambler ever seen on the face of the earth.[350]

Ira Joralman, a well-known mining man in turn of the century southern Arizona and author of *Romantic Copper: Its Lure and Lore* (1934), described European-origin men intermarrying with indigenous women in a better light. "Tom Childs and Rube Daniels were among the best of them. They had little plots of land and ran a few cattle over the desert, had Papago wives and large families and were, honest, and self-respecting."[351] Joralman's more positive depiction of intermarriages in this case was probably influenced by Anglo Americans' notion that the Papago (Tohono O'odham)

---

[349] Edwin Corle, *The Gila: River of the Southwest* (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 1951), 120-121.

[350] Browne, Adventures in the Apache County, 171-172.

[351] Ira B. Joralemon, "Arizona Characters and Ajo Mine," interview by Henry C Carlisle, Nov. 1959, vol. 1, no. 437, OHCU, 6.

were more sedentary and less threatening than their Apache neighbors in southeastern Arizona.

Social scientists studying conditions in Mexico during the Revolution noticed the trend in Mexico. One researcher paraphrased Judge Julio Guerrero's text, *La Genesis del Crimen en Mexico: Studio de Psiquiatría Social* (1901), on the point. "The highest class of foreigners are the Americans." These Guerrero placed in two classes, the adventurers and the business men. The "honest" Americans were railroad officials, bank employees, and those interested in industries. He found them intelligent, cold and reserved, but stated that they "often marry Mexican girls."[352] Noted anthropologist Fredrick Starr wrote of thousands of young men in the Southwest, born from mixed marriages, traveling to Mexico during its centennial celebrations in 1910, but he did not provide data supporting his estimates.[353]

Oscar Braniff was from one of the most prominent and wealthy Irish/German/American/Mexican families associated with the American Colony in Mexico City during the *Porfiriato.* Later, he was a member of Porfirio Díaz's administration and acted as one of his representatives in peace settlements with Francisco Madero in the initial stages of the Mexican Revolution.[354] At the time of the interview, Mr. Braniff was part owner in four *haciendas*. Among the Braniff family's vast and diverse economic interests in Mexico was his operation in the Mexican state of

[352] Doheny Research Foundation, "Life of the [Mexican] People: Final Report," DRF, SCOC, 55.

[353] Thank you to Jorge Leal for sharing this reference with me. Frederick Starr, "Mexico in her centennial celebration," September 18, 19?? (Very Possibly 1910), unpublished and incomplete article originally intended for the United Press International Agency, in *Frederick Starr, Collection of Material Relating to Mexico*, 1860, box 13, folder 18, Charles E. Young Research Library, University of California, Los Angeles, 1.

[354] On the Braniff family in Mexico, see, Schell, Integral Outsiders, 6-8; Knight, The Mexican Revolution: Volume One, 202; María de Carmen Collado, La Burguesía Mexicana: El Emporio Braniff y su Participación Politica, 1865-1920 (México, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1987).

Guanajuato, which he described as one hundred and thirty square miles in size, with 32,000 acres in production of wheat, corn, and other grains and 10,000 head of cattle. Approximately 5,200 people lived and worked on the land.[355] Oscar Braniff's family had experienced significant intermarriage (by ethnicity and nationality) after a few generations residing in Mexico. Due to his own family's extensive mixing with Mexican nationals and their long residence in Mexico, Mr. Braniff had been a particularly rich informant for U.S. scholars.

> Women are the controlling influence. There is a proverb in Spanish much used in Mexico. Translation: "If your wife asks you to jump out of the window, pray god that the window is near the street." A Mexican woman's influence over a man is very great, so great that she can alter his whole relation to his family and business. This is more true of mistresses than of wives. When a man is legally married to a woman her influence is not so great.[356]

Ida Tourtellot was able to question Mr. Braniff about his experiences and beliefs about Mexican women in 1918. Oscar Braniff asserted a perception of Mexican women that gave them almost superhuman powers over men—all men. That a Mexican elite citizen of German/Irish/American/Mexican descent would share these particular views of ethnic Mexican women to U.S. social scientists involved in educating Americans in the United States about Mexicans, means Mr. Braniff was not likely being disingenuous in his descriptions of Mexican women. His testimony regarding Mexican women gives the historian a glimpse of commonly held views by inclusion of the proverb, and Braniff's own ideas, which include a picture of ethnic Mexican women as influential actors in both "family and business." The tone suggests a potent form of female Mexican sexuality, which is apparently only slightly restrained through marriage. Slightly, because despite

[355] Oscar Braniff, interview by A. Noel, May 31, 1919, DRF, SCOC.
[356] Oscar Braniff, interview by Ida Tourtellot, February 21, 1918, DRF, SCOC.

Mr. Braniff's claims about marriage, others have explored the power of married women in, especially, elite Mexican families' business and social affairs during this time.[357] Braniff's statements show the contradictory perceptions elites and U.S. citizens had of *Mexicanas* (sexually exciting, or objectified and exploited, or powerful actors within certain limits).

Considering what we know about Oscar Braniff's socioeconomic position, a bit about his ethnic and racial background, and the fact that he was enmeshed in Mexican society most of his early life together with his marriage to an elite *Mexicana*, his understandings of Mexican women were especially salient to researchers. He had a lifetime of firsthand "insider" knowledge. Indeed, U.S. scholars found other members of the American colonies in Mexico particularly rich informants for their studies.

One U.S. colonist from Mexico City admitted in the late 1930s, "…the more the American and Mexican children go to school and grow up together, it is natural there will be more marriages, but in most cases it is an American man that marries a Mexican girl. The Mexican girl is inclined that way."[358] By the mid 1950s, after more than seventy years in operation, the American School in Mexico City had an enrollment of over 1500 students, with approximately 40% being Anglo Americans and 40% being of Mexican nationality. The Mexican students came largely from the middle and elite clases as it was a private school.[359]

---

[357] Larissa Alder Lomnitz and Marisol Perez-Lizaur, *A Mexican Elite Family, 1820-1980* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987), 118-138. Especially see the anthropologists' notion of "centralizing women" discussed on pages 34-36.

[358] Davis, "The American Colony in Mexico City," 275.

[359] James G. Maddox, "The American School in Mexico City: A Letter from James G. Maddox," September 5, 1956, Land Tenure Center Library, University of Wisconsin at Madison, 1-3.

The most colorful mining intermarrier I can point to is *el Lobo.* The self-proclaimed *el Lobo*—the wolf—was an Anglo-Texan geologist who worked in Mexican mining during the 1930s. Over time, he was serially married to a Yaqui woman from Sonora, a Texas-American woman, and a Mexican woman from Mexico City. According to legend, these official unions were in addition to his relationships with women from various regions in Mexico and Costa Rica.[360] In Tayoltita, Durango, Mexico, an engineer described Chinese-Mexican families from the 1940s. "…Juanillo Ley became engaged to and married Chencho Bastida's daughter. Chencho was furious over this and refused to speak to his daughter any more."[361] Although the Mexican state had promoted a celebratory notion of *mestizaje* since the 1920s, some racialized groups were not fit for *Mexicanas* to marry into—especially ethnic Chinese in the North—not that they always listened.[362]

It would be a mistake to assume these intermarriages necessarily promoted more tolerance between the races or cultures. James Daly, a Southwest mining man, was supposed to have lived with a Mexican woman as his common-law wife even though he had another wife somewhere else. She was paid a small sum to give up her land claims to valuable mineral territory and The Calumet and Arizona Mining Company bought the claim later in 1899.[363] In another instance, one railroad man described how he had married a Mexican woman in Mexico, but that this did not prevent him from leaving

[360] C. E. (Rick) Ricketts, *El Lobo and Spanish Gold: A Texas Maverick in Mexico* (Austin, TX: Madrona Press, Inc., 1974), especially see, 150-155.

[361] Langan W. Swent, "Working for Safety and Health in Underground Mines, San Luis and Homestake Mining Companies, 1946-1988, Vol. I," interview by Malca Chall, 1987-1988 and Eleanor Swent, 1994, CSM, 58-59.

[362] *Mestizaje* means racial mixing, and in its national variants, with an emphasis on whitening. Chao Romero, "El Destierro de los Chinos," 113-144; Schiavone Camacho, *Chinese Mexicans.*

[363] Paper titled, "James Daley, April 10, 1890," box 2, folder 1 "Bisbee XII," RGCPD, 1, xa1, xa5-xa6.

during the Revolution. He explained that although he would have preferred to stay in Mexico, he could not as he would have had to join the new "Mexican Union." This thought was unacceptable to him because it did not distinguish amongst employees based upon race. "And I would not stay and have to call a man my brother whom I had always treated like a nigger, almost like a slave."[364] And yet, he was able to call a Mexican woman his wife. This last example shows how despised Mexicans were by some Americans during this time by this man's own statements, but also that this racism could be reshaped enough to engage in sexual, and significantly, marital relationships with Mexican women.[365] One can only imagine what this *Mexicana* thought of her spouse or her marriage.

In the U.S. southwest, ethnic Mexicans held a liminal racial status and this has been most clearly demonstrated in the realm of miscegenation law. [366] Although in Arizona, ethnic Mexicans were legally considered white and could intermarry with Euro Americans, by 1931 it was illegal for an Anglo-American person and an indigenous person to marry. This meant that sometimes ethnic Mexicans could be denied marriage licenses due to perceived Indian ancestry. Marriages between Mexican Americans and various indigenous groups were also challenged and annulled in court.

---

[364] Robert Steuber, interview by Chester Jones, June 10, 1918, DRF SCOC, 2538.

[365] I am alluding to the fact that in the United States under slavery, white masters owned their slave women and took all sexual privileges that entailed without real consequences. In contrast to the case here, under U.S. black slavery state-sanctioned marriage across the racial divide was never a widely accepted practice until most recently. In 1967 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that anti-miscegenation laws were unconstitutional in the *Loving v. Virginia* case. U.S. understandings (and some community acceptance) of *Mexicanas* and their family practices in Mexico were more similar to those of indigenous women and their intermarriages with Euro Americans from earlier times.

[366] Dara Orenstein, "Void for Vagueness: Mexicans and the Collapse of Miscegenation Law in California," *Pacific Historical Review* (74) (3) (2005): 367-407; Pascoe, *What Comes Naturally;* Allison Varzally, "Romantic Crossings: Making Love, Family, and Non-Whiteness in California, 1925-1950," *Journal of American Ethnic History* (23) (1) (Fall, 2003): 3-54.

Historian Katherine Benton-Cohen found that for Pima County, Arizona between 1876 and 1879 one fourth of all marriages were between Spanish-surnamed individuals and Euro-Americans.[367] Intermarriage in central Arizona mining towns also occurred in significant numbers.[368] Ethnic Mexican life histories from Arizona also show a great deal of ethnic and racial mixing at the turn of the century. Arizona-born Joaquin Bustoz had a "half-Spaniard and half-French" grandfather and a Tarahumara Indian mother.[369] Floyd Gomez had a Mexican grandmother and related a story of how his Anglo grandfather had been stolen in southern Arizona by the Apache shaman, Geronimo. Apparently the young man stayed with the Apaches learning the language until he ran away after six years.[370] Pete Estrada, who was born in Tempe, Arizona in 1891, had an ancestor from Germany.[371]

Olivia Arrieta grew up in the Clifton-Morenci mining district and her scholarly study was based upon extensive ethnographic and archival research during the 1990s. Her informants were her family, her friends, their family and friends, and her community. According to her findings, inter-ethnic mixing between ethnic Mexicans and southern Europeans (Spaniards and Italians) was common in the early twentieth century, and photographs from the mid-1930s show *Mexicanos/as* and Italians together. One interviewee remembered this time by explaining, *"la gente estaba muy unida"* (the people were very united). According to another long-time resident, various ethnic groups

[367] Benton-Cohen, *Borderline Americans*, 36. For southern Arizona's intermarriages also see, Sheridan, *Los Tuconenenses*, 149.

[368] Susan L. Johnson, "Women's Household and Relationships in the Mining West: Central Arizona, 1863-1873," (MA Thesis: Arizona State University, 1984).

[369] Joaquin Bustoz, interview, BTOH, 3, 8.

[370] Floyd Gomez, interview by Scott Solliday, September 26, 1993, BTOH, 7-8.

[371] Pete Estrada, interview by Helen Harter, June 7, 1973, BTOH, 2.

in Clifton-Morenci began to distance themselves more from each other sometime in the mid-1920s.[372] Historians conclude that rates of ethnic Mexican and Anglo-American marriages declined rapidly after 1910.

After the decline in Anglo-Mexican intermarriages, it became far more frequent for various indigenous groups and ethnic Mexicans to intermarry, as they were the two largest racialized populations in Arizona and often lived together in the *barrios.* [373] Rates of intermarriage between Anglo-Americans and ethnic Mexicans would not really begin to recover until the 1960s when anti-miscegenation laws were struck down by the Supreme Court. In the post-World War Two period, the practice of widespread Anglo-Mexican intermarriage amongst mining families shifted more to couples in Mexico.

Beginning with the influx of U.S. residents into Mexico in the decade of the 1940s, intermarriages between Anglo Americans and ethnic Mexicans rose exponentially. The *Anglo American Directories of Mexico* was the largest attempt to document this population excluding the Mexican census. Its listings include the name and nationality of husbands and wives, children's names, profession, club memberships, and addresses for all Anglo-American residents in Mexico who chose to fill out the information. Unlike census data or other state-generated sources, these directories were totally voluntary, information was provided by each resident to the editors, and many participated in order to foster and sustain social and professional contacts in Mexico.[374] In the 1960 Anglo

[372] Arrieta, "The Mexicano Community of the Clifton-Morenci Mining District: Organizational Life in the Context of Change," CRCASU, 1-3, 140 f.76.

[373] Meeks, Border Citizens, 81-83.

[374] *The Anglo American Directories* as historical sources raise their own problems. To give one small instance, my grandfather is listed in the 1958 edition as a resident in Taxco, a famous mining district in southern Mexico. At the time, he was married to a Mexican woman and had one daughter however, neither my grandmother nor my mother are listed in his entry.

American directory the editor pointed to substantial population changes and highlighted how the total resident population had doubled between 1950 and 1960. She also noted that the 1940 directory was only one-quarter the size of the 1960 edition.[375]

While historians have done much to explain the Mexican State's revolutionary program's conservative shift after the nationalization of Mexico's oil in 1938 and the close diplomatic relationship established with the United States during World War Two, they have done far less to examine how intimate familial relationships developed between U.S. and Mexican citizens during this time of increased transnational migration. The graph below details a sampling of Anglo-Mexican intermarriage rates in Mexico from 1946 through 1965. It shows that of all Anglo-American households residing in Mexico and listed in the directory, 27.85% were self-identified mixed national families (from all nations). Further, the average rate of documented intermarriage amongst Anglo Americans and people of Mexican origin living in Mexico was 22.48%.

[375] Ruth Poyo, ed., *Anglo American Directory of Mexico* (Mexico D.F.: Imprenta Aldina, 1960-61), ix.

Table 6 Anglo-Mexican Intermarriage: Mexico, 1946-1965[376]

Year	Total Anglo Households in Mexico	Total % Anglos in mix families	Total % with Mexican Women	Total % with Mexican Men	Total % mix Marriages w/ Mex + Anglos
1946	2085	17.9	9.3	3.7	13.0
1951-52	3818	20.3	9.3	6.6	15.9
1955-56	4473	25.6	11.0	9.5	20.5
1956-57	4197	27.1	12.1	9.6	21.7
1958-59	4814	28.3	12.0	10.8	22.8
1959-60	5161	30.0	12.6	11.7	24.3
1960-61	5359	31.6	13.0	12.5	25.5
1961-62	5507	31.9	13.7	12.7	26.4
1962-63	5495	33.3	14.2	13.4	27.6
1964-65	5724	32.5	13.6	13.5	27.1
Average		27.85%	12.08%	10.4%	22.48%

Unlike other "American colonies" abroad, the expatriate communities in Mexico married local people. For instance, members of the American colonies in Panama, Saudi Arabia, Chile, and the Philippines rarely intermarried with local people because of U.S. racism, and probably also because of local resistance to marrying U.S. citizens.[377] Skewed sex ratios (available partners) partially explains the frequency of intermarriage in Mexico, as the 1940 census listed 5122 U.S. men and 4463 U.S. women residing in the Republic. Of these immigrants, the census listed a total of 941 in marriages with Mexican citizens, roughly ten percent, or about the difference between female and male residents.[378] In the mining-intensive state of Chihuahua, by the 1960 census there were 17,470 U.S. citizens counted with the male and female population split almost exactly in

[376] Source: Anglo American Directories of Mexico, 1946, 1951-1965.

[377] David McCullough, The Path Between the Seas: The Creation of the Panama Canal, 1870-1914 (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1977); Vitalis, America's Kingdom; Finn, Tracing the Veins; Klubock, Contested Communities; Kramer, The Blood of Government. The closest comparison would probably be the frequency of U.S. military men marrying Asian-origin women during World War Two and in its aftermath, although there is no hard data documenting actual rates.

[378] Mexico Departamento de la Estadistica Nacional, *Anuario Estadistico De Los Estados Unidos Mexicanos, 1942* (Mexico, D.F.: 1948), 65, 145-146.

half.[379] In Chihuahua the average rate of national intermarriage was 22.75%, and between Anglo Americans and ethnic Mexicans 17.73%. The data suggests skewed sex ratios may have been more salient in the earlier time, and less so later, especially in northern Mexican mining states. Either way, intermarriage remained statistically significant and constant during our time frame.

Table 7 Anglo-Mexican Intermarriages: Chihuahua, Mexico 1946-1965[380]

Year	Total Anglo household in Chihuahua	Total % Anglos in mix families	Total % With Mexican Women	Total % With Mexican Men	Total % Mix Marriages Mex + Anglos
1946	63	20.63	15.87	0	15.87
1951-52	132	17.42	9.84	2.27	12.11
1955-56	140	17.14	11.42	2.14	13.56
1956-57	106	23.58	15.09	4.71	19.80
1958-59	106	32.07	18.86	3.77	22.63
1959-60	114	26.31	14.03	6.14	20.17
1960-61	105	22.85	12.38	3.80	16.18
1961-62	108	23.14	13.88	3.70	17.58
1962-63	83	22.89	15.66	4.81	20.47
1964-65	79	21.51	13.92	5.06	18.98
Average:	**103.6**	**22.75**	**14.09**	**3.64**	**17.73**

When looking at the charts above, what is most striking about the data is the amount of Mexican men married to Anglo-American women. Throughout Mexico on average, these couples comprised 10.4% of the total, compared to 12.08% of Anglo-American men in families with Mexican women. The data shows that during our time frame there was a decisive shift from these mixed marriages mostly involving ethnic Mexican women; by 1965 ethnic Mexican men married Anglo-American women at much higher rates than they had previously. By the 1964 edition, the editor pointed directly to intermarriage as a

[379] Estados Unidos Mexicanos Secretaria de Industria y Comercio Direcction General de Estadistica, *VII. Censo General de Poblacion, 1960: Estado de Chihuahua* (Mexico D.F.: 1963), 288.

[380]Source: Anglo American Directories of Mexico, 1946, 1951-1965.

main factor in this population increase and the nature of its mixing, "But perhaps the basic reason for the Directory's growth is the ever-increasing number of mixed marriages the book contains: Mexican men married to American or British women and—slightly less number—Americans and members of the British Commonwealth with Mexican wives. Which all makes for increasing good international relations and a pleasingly plump Directory!"[381] Mexican men marrying Anglo women was rarely mentioned in the available sources before 1946, and considering racial taboos surrounding miscegenation amongst the U.S. citizenry at this time, leads me to believe these particular marriages were not as common during an earlier time period. Unfortunately, there are no similar sets of data for the previous forty years (1900-1940s).

In contrast, in Chihuahua, where many U.S. mining engineers were sent during World War II, despite a relatively equal U.S. male and female population, Anglo men continued to marry ethnic Mexican women at much higher rates, rather than the reversed trend seen country wide. This can be explained in part by the longer history of the American Colony in Mexico City, which had by World War II established strong connections to Mexican elites and could boast more U.S. and/or Anglo female citizens who were raised in Mexico and thus more likely to intermarry.

In addition, U.S. engineers had their own unique culture, which sexualized and romanticized certain *Mexicanas.* This tendency to highlight ethnic Mexican women's sexuality and gender roles as desireable amongst U.S. men was prevalent in the

[381] Ruth Poyo, ed., *Anglo American Directory of Mexico* (Mexico D.F.: Imprenta Aldina, 1964-65), ix.

Southwest since Euro Americans first moved into the area in large numbers.[382] Social scientists played a role in the constructing and perpetuating this perception of ethnic Mexican women during the twentieth century. Helge Instad, a Norwegian self-taught anthropologist, went searching for the so-called "lost" Apache tribe in the Sierra Madre. During his travels in Sonora in the 1930s, he described his arrival in the *Valle de las Caverneas* (Valley of the Caves). Inside of one of the caves, Instad discovered a large apartment and encountered a "very young Mexican girl" by a campfire. She was "frying corn tortillas," and a small child played around her, it "was all such an idyllic Mexican scene." He goes on to explain how "astounded" he was when he heard from deeper inside the cave clear English.

> A young American stepped into the light and, smiling, he reached out his hand and gave me a handshake. How he ever landed down here in a cave in the middle of the wilderness was his business and nobody else's. Whatever the reason, he now ruled over a small domain that anyone would have envied. A beautiful, fertile valley with a rippling stream, wild vineyards along the hillsides, as well as a spacious cave with a young,dark-eyed girl. What more could anyone want?[383]

After World War Two and the migration of U.S. men with technological skills to Mexico, this tendency to view *Mexicanas* as domestically and sexually appealing

---

[382] For detailed discussions of these forms of popular stereotypes, which sexualized indigenous ethnic Mexican women in the borderlands, see, Antonia I. Castañeda, "Gender, Race, and Culture: Spanish-Mexican Women in the Historiography of Frontier California," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies* (11) (1) Las Chicanas (1990): 8-20; Antonia I. Castañeda, "The Political Economy of Nineteenth-Century Stereotypes of Californianas," in Adelaida R. Del Castillo, ed., *Between Borders: Essays on Mexicana/Chicana History* (Encino, CA.: Floricanto Press, 1990); Almaguer, *Racial Fault Lines*, 57-62; Deena J. González, "La Tules of Image and Reality: Euro-American Attitudes and Legend Formation on a Spanish-Mexican Frontier," in Adela de la Torre and Beatríz Pesquera, eds., *Building with Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); González, *Refusing the Favor*, 68-69. For a study from the twentieth century, see, Leo R. Chavez, "A Glass Half Empty: Latina Reproduction and Public Discourse," in Denise A. Segura and Patricia Zavella, eds., *Women and Migration in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands: A Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007).

[383] Helge Instad, *The Apache Indians: In Search of the Missing Tribe*, translated by Janine K. Stenehjem (Lincoln & London: University of Nebraska Press, 2004, originally published by Gyldendal NOrsk Forland in 1945), 92-93.

continued. In fact, as the fight against facism and nazism promoted anti-racism in some U.S. circles and blatant racial prejudice was more and more looked down upon, it became even more possible for U.S. engineers to imagine a life in the United States with an ethnic Mexican woman by one's side.

Mining engineers could be quite poignant in writing about their relationships with Mexican-origin women, and often equated them with the geography of Mexico. One alumnus from the Colorado School of Mines published a poem *Hasta Luego* (1936). It articulates some of the deep and contradictory sentiments many mining engineers expressed toward Mexico (religious, dirty, and morally lax), Mexican women (sexual), and possibilities for return migrations (retirement?). Notice the underlying tone of temptation weaved through these two verses.

For harshly rung cathedral bells,
For fleas, and vice, and mire;
For blazing skies—and women's eyes
that turned your blood to fire…

You say you're through with all that now?
Ah, *si? Muy bien*, we'll wait.
The North—is cold, before you're old…[384]

Another mining man wrote to his *Mexicana* fianceé, "Many times during the day and evening, I look off across the fields of maiz and to the distant hills, and I find myself thinking of you, of us, of the future. This desert country gives one the chance to dream about such things---maybe that's why I love the desert country of Chihuahua so much."[385] These examples show Mexico's geography was used as one frame of reference in the repertoire available to this community for communicating intimacies. Anyone who

[384] W.A.A. class of 1927, "Hasta Luego," *Mines Magazine* (May 1936), 28.
[385] Edward Spalding, letter to Genoveva Heinrichs, Aug. 25, 1952, GSFC.

has seen the environmental and aesthetic consequences of industrial mining to the landscape—can gain an appreciation for the significance of land in the daily life of mining engineers. Mexico as a place, and feelings toward Mexican-origin women were deeply intertwined for these men: Place and the heart.[386]

W.M.A. Austin Jr. published his article "So, You Want a Foriegn Job" in 1947 during a time of great transnational mobility in the U.S.-Mexican borderlands. It was an essay chock-full of advice for those engineering famlies contemplating working and living abroad. By the end of the article, Austin shared his own biases, explaining how he had developed a fondness for another culture, including its women. He went "native" so to speak. "Once you accept a foreign job, and carry thru [sic] your first contract sucessfully,--maybe you form a special mentality which is no longer useful in the continental U.S., maybe you just don't want to go back, maybe you marry a señorita, but the fact remains—YOU CAN'T GO BACK! Me? All three happened to me!"[387] In Chihuahua, mining engineers remembered elaborate courting rituals especially in Parral, which had a bit of a reputation regarding the attractiveness of its local women. Fred Bailey described the evening rituals on the plaza in Parral—where chaperones abounded and young people walked in circles around each other hoping to get the much desired response to their *Adiós*—with much detail and fondness. "In this way many young ladies and young men would pair off, and probably the pairs would work into groups, and the amorous spirit of love, mixed with music would be in the air. After the band concert, the

[386] Here, I am thinking of geographer Tim Cresswell's definition of place. "Place, at a basic level, is space invested with meaning in the context of power." An excellent way to describe mining camps where place was also a "meaningful location." Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 12, 7, respectively.

[387] W.M.A. Austin Jr., "So, You Want a Foreign Job," *Mines Magazine* (May 1947): 18-22.

groups would either gather at a place for refreshments or perhaps gather at the home of one of the girls…"[388]

Despite romantic sentiment, for *Mexicanas* and their mixed families acceptance in the corporate engineering community in Mexico was predicated on a certain amount of Americanization to fit in with a tight-knit group. Families frequently relocated to different geographic regions, however being American abroad was about recreating a sense of familiarity in a foreign place. U.S. citizens in Mexico established countless "American" clubs, associations, schools, hospitals, and other organizations found throughout Mexico as we saw in earlier chapters.

When an ethnic Mexican woman decided to marry a U.S. mining engineer while residing in Mexico, she faced a segregated and prejudiced community of peers, but also other elite ethnic Mexicans who were part of the same community. If the couple decided to move to the United States, she faced even harsher racial discrimination. How did *Mexicanas* navigate this racially and politically charged transnational world? How would they raise their children? Would their family become Mexican, American, Mexican American, or something else altogether?

Mexicanas and the Second Generation:

Margaret Candelaria descended from an Anglo father and a Mexican mother. She was born in Mexico, but by the 1920s, her family settled in El Paso because, as she said, "we were an American family." Like other mining families, Margaret Candelaria continued the pattern of cultural and national intermarriage and continued her life in the

[388] Bailey, interview, OHUTEP, 21-22.

industry. She married a Mexican-American mining man. She told her interviewer that her intermarriage did not raise much community concerns in the World War Two era, and she attributed this to her and her spouse's bilingualism, and the fact that she lived in north El Paso rather than in the poorer and more Mexican Southside. This was unlike the situation her parents faced, "They did get along fine, but there was the language problem. They understood each other, naturally, but they didn't speak fluently." In Margaret Candelaria's estimation, these linguistic and cultural differences between her parents resulted in them engaging in different social worlds while living in Mexico. Her mother's friends were "usually Mexican," while her father's were mostly Anglo American, and he socialized with them through institutions associated with the American Colonies in Mexico such as the Jockey Club. By the time of Margaret's intermarriage, at least in El Paso, cross cultural marriage did not raise any issues for the couple, most likely due to their socioeconomic status.

Ceci Boatner's great grandmother Francisca, a *Mexicana*, met her future husband, Lewis Boatner an Anglo of German descent, in Nacozari, Sonora. Lewis was madly in love with Francisca despite her indifference. Eventually, she agreed to marry him and his wealthy family disinherited him for doing so. Lewis and Francisca never spoke the same language, yet "they communicated somehow and there was a lot of love between them. When Frances talked about him she began to cry." Francisca's children spoke only Spanish before attending school "because they spent more time with their mother." [389] Ceci grew up in the Scottsdale and Tempe area. After explaining her uneasiness with

[389] Boatner, "My Family History," CRCASU, 3-7.

different ethnic groups, but also her ability to make friends with the same people, she explained, "I've had a confusing childhood."[390]

Carolina Moreil de Garza, a woman who grew up in the mining camps of Chihuahua, suggested why *Mexicanas* might be interested in marrying U.S. men. After explaining how "traditional Mexcian" her parents were, and that her "mother did everything for her dad," she noted that she had grown up with a lot of "Americans." This exposure gave her "that little feeling that women do not have to put up so much with men." She said she "got the little American thing that you could be independent." [391] Some *Mexicanas* believed U.S. men were more egalitarian in regard to gender and that this made them better marriage partners. Indeed, as early as the Mexican Revolution, ethnic Mexican men were complaining about the differences in gender roles and expectations for women in Mexico compared to the United States. In fact, one man said he would never, even for "fun," marry a "gringa."[392]

The Anglo and *Mexicano* communitites were not always accepting of these mixed marriages. Eva, an ethnic Mexican woman married to an Anglo of Irish and German descent, described tensions in Ray and in Sonora, Arizona.

> Together they enjoyed activities, but soon after her marriage, Eva found that she did not fit either into the Hispanic or Anglo culture, and felt discrimination from both sides. Mexicans made snide remarks about her marriage to an Anglo, and Anglos would make suggestive comments. Her husband did not speak Spanish, he was not Catholic, and he was

[390] Ibid., 26.
[391] de Garza, interview, 26.
[392] This *testimonio* was published in Mario Gambio's ethnography *The Mexican Immigrant: His Life Story* (1931). For a gendered and textual analysis of these interviews, including the direct quotation above, see, Arturo J. Aldama, *Disrupting Savagism: Intersecting Chicana/o, Mexican Immigrant, and Native American Struggles for Self-Representation* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 64.

> unaccustomed to the Mexican value system of parental respect and consideration, or family sharing and assistance.[393]

Maria Guadalupe Gonzalez, an ethnic Mexican woman from Jerome, Arizona, described how the local man in charge of relief during the Depression was "half Mexican half German." Because of his authority and is questionable racial status, she said "most of the Mexicans didn't trust him."[394] Irene Gomez Hormell described these complicated notions of acceptance within her own family.

> …my dad's side, my great great grandfather was an Anglo, but he wasn't THAT kind of Anglo. He loved Mexican people and he married one. And he was very nice to her, good to her…Nana Alcaria was from Yuma, but my grandmother Gomez was born here in Tempe. But even I see HER family, my dad's side of the family, they had that little—they didn't want to mix with the Mexican people. When I was young, I used to hate them for that, but then when I grew up, I was like ashamed of being Mexican…[395]

One longtime resident of Miami gave a more positive view of intermarriage. When describing the segregated dances held in the main plaza, the interviewer asked if Anglos ever showed up on the Mexican nights. The respondent's reply was "Yes, the ones who were married to the Mexican people. It was nice."[396] In Morenci during the 1920s, a *Mexicana* of the middle class married to an Englishman began the Club Azul, which promoted Mexican culture and organized patriotic events.[397] Community acceptance, or hostility, toward mixed marriages in mining towns was varied, dependent upon individual families, local contexts, and one's status with the corporate mining

---

[393] Adams, "Empowerment and Upward Mobility of 20th Century Mexican American Women in Arizona Mining Communities," CRCASU, 15-16.

[394] Teresa Hernandez, "Family History: Maria Guadalupe Gonzalez," undergraduate paper, May 1990, 4.

[395] Irene Gomez Hormell, interview, BTOH, 34. Emphasis in original.

[396] Damiana "tita" Rascon Lopez and her sister Betty Rascon de Arcos, interview by Rita Magdaleno, February 11, 1995, CRCASU, 6.

[397] Arrieta, "The Mexicano Community of the Clifton-Morenci Mining District," 133.

industry. Mining camps in the borderlands, where engineering families lived, worked, and raised families transnationally, brought into relief race, class, and gender dynamics—Anglo Americanism, capitalism, and patriarchy—for all to see and remember.

On the one hand, this social and cultural atmosphere resulted in what can be thought of as pressures to assimilate, or, risk the real consequences of racial and class hostility. On the other hand, by examining remembrances from (at least) second generation mining families we will see that in spite of intense social pressures, any type of assimilative process for mixed mining children was not so clear-cut. For ethnic Mexican women who married or were born into mixed mining families passing down a sense of *Mexicanidad* to their children turned into a private and subversive affair. We can find evidence of this resistance to full Americanization (or assimilation) in mixed mining people's recollections concerning language.

Lenguas:

Bilingual children held a significant amount of power in mixed transnational families.[398] In Graham County, Arizona (near Safford), one engineer described a Mexican-Irish family and pointed to this dynamic between *Mexicanas* and their mixed children. "But her mischievousness was with her mother because her mother only spoke Spanish. We would find out sometimes that when she interpreted, she didn't always tell her mother the same story as she had been told or something a bit different than fact

[398] Joanne Dreby, "Children and Power in Mexican Transnational Families," *Journal of Marriage and Family* 69 (November 2007): 1050-1064.

about our household. It was nothing that was serious. It was amusing."[399] One wonders if the mother found it so fun. Most mixed mining people emphasized their acquisition of both English and Spanish.

In addition to bilingualism for these families, speaking Spanish or English in specific geographic places held particular and contradictory meanings. On the one hand, bicultural interviewees spoke about how English usage could call into question their authenticity as Mexicans while in Mexico. "But I was a Mexican national even though, I think, I wasn't considered too much of a Mexican because I could talk English."[400] Another mixed mining woman spoke of how much she "suffered" when she was forced to transfer from her bilingual American school in Chihuahua to the monolingual Mexican state schools.[401]

In other cases, English abilities benefited expatriates in Mexico. One Mexican-American engineering man (who married a U.S. white woman he met in Mexico City) recalled how he was treated "with much respect" in Mexico because of the fact that he spoke English, had "American" mannerisms, and light skin color.[402] Joseph de Bastiani, a Canadian national married to a Mexican woman from Parral, stressed the benefits his children received from his mixed marriage. "…the thing is my three kids are living in Mexico now and not only are they completely bilingual, they are bicultural, which helps a lot…but he understands the Mexican as well as he understands his own, the Americans,

[399] John Robert Clarkson, "Building the Clarkson Company, Making Reagent Feeders and Valves for the Mining Industry, 1935-1998," interview by Eleanor Swent, 1997-1998, 121, CSM.

[400] Robert F. Limon, interview, 19.

[401] Mixed mining woman, anonymous interview with author, Aug. 2010, Chihuahua City, Mexico fieldnotes.

[402] Joseph Orozco, interview by A. Dean Tatom, April 25, 1971, "Mexican American Collection," Oral History Department, California State University Fullerton.

which makes it pretty good."[403] Further, U.S. multinational mining companies working in Mexico helped foster a prejudice against ethnic Mexicans in the industry who did not speak English. José Garcia, a long time engineer in Mexico and Texas, told his interviewer that a lack of English absolutely hampered some Mexicans' ability to rise in company hierarchies. Yet, he also stated most U.S. engineers sent to Mexico struggled with Spanish, so it was a bias in favor of the English language.[404]

On the other hand, using the Spanish language in the United States could have negative consequences as we saw in chapter three. Jenny Spalding, a bilingual mixed mining woman, explained how even having a Spanish accent in the U.S. southwest could bring social ostracism. This woman moved to Tucson, Arizona from Mexico City. Despite the fact that she was visibly white, had an Anglo-American father, held U.S. citizenship, and was fluent in both languages, a public school teacher (in front of the entire class) pointed to Jenny and said, "don't speak English like *she* does."[405] As late as the 1970s bicultural children moving back to the United States experienced public humiliations due to expressions of their linguistic *Mexicanidad*. In Miami, Arizona a woman described how speaking Spanish in school became a means of resistance to Americanization. "We spoke Spanish [in secrecy]. They couldn't keep it from us! That was our language…But the teachers wanted us to learn English."[406] One middle-aged mixed mining woman shared recently, *"I use my Spanish as a weapon,"* against everyone

[403] Joseph de Bastiani, interview, OHUTEP, 9.
[404] José J. García, interview by W. Noel McAnulty, Jr., January 23, 1996, OHUTEP, 7.
[405] Jenny Spalding, interview by author, March 16, 2004, Mesa, Arizona, tape recording.
[406] Blanco, interview, CRCASU, 6.

but family.[407] For this *Mexicana*, demonstrating or hiding Spanish language abilities was a survival strategy to combat racism and prejudice, useful while in either country.

Descriptions and remembrances about Spanish and English usage emphasize interrelated themes. First, for mixed transnational children Spanish was a familiar part of home life. Oral history shows that bicultural children received a *Mexicana* cultural identity supported by a range of Spanish-language abilities. Communication skills that were learned from their mothers, interactions with *Mexicana* domestic workers, and time spent in Mexico. In addition, through remembrances about language we can see how geographically contingent displays of either Americaness or *Mexicanidad* were for mixed members of the mining community. Place held particular salience in shaping mixed transnational identities. It is not surprising that geography had such an impact. As twentieth century Chicano/a and Borderlands historiography has shown, high stakes were involved in being seen by others as either Mexican or American.

Conclusion

One cannot help but be struck by the long biological, cultural, and racial *mestizaje* experienced by families in the Arizona and Chihuahua mining borderlands. So, what of their children? One historian of the American Colony in Mexico City found in the early twentieth century among children from these mixed unions, identifications depended on locality. When they were in Mexico, they identified more as an (U.S.) American. When in the United States they identified more as a Mexican. He also says that Mexican society viewed these children as Mexican only if their father was Mexican, highlighting the

[407] Mixed mining woman, anonymous interview with author, 2010, Arizona fieldnotes. Emphasis, or attitude, in original.

importance of gender to others' perceptions of ethnic, national, or racial identity.[408] This is an interesting contrast to U.S. society where the children from black-white sexual unions, particularly in the South, were considered to follow the racial status of their mothers under slavery. In my sources, gender was influential in how mixed people identified themselves. Transnational mixed mining people were sometimes brown, sometimes white; American in this place, but Mexican in this other place; *Mexicana* at home, but *gringa* at work. Their identifications with their multiple heritages were contextual and shifting.

> [Interviewer] I'm curious to know what you have considered yourself all your life, *Mexican or American*? [Interviewee] *I have considered myself both, depending on the circumstances.* For instance, if somebody speaks ill or hurts Mexican people, I'm aroused; same with the other side, *because I feel both ways.* And, naturally, I want to be fair. When I see that things are not fair, than I am concerned…[409]

What are the exact "circumstances" that bring out Margaret Candelaria's *Mexicanidad*? Does it begin with family or place? How does her concern translate politically? While there is a great deal to suggest the assimilation (or Americanization) of many transnational mining families into an Anglophone U.S. society, evidence of a persistent sense of *Mexicanidad* found within this population over generations underscores the need for U.S. historians of mixed and transnational peoples to pay particular attention to domesticity and family in the future. Maybe, it is as Ceci Boatner a mixed mining woman explained. "…since most of my family is fair skinned and light eyed, we've never been

---

[408] Schell, *Integral Outsiders,* xvii-xviii.

[409] Margaret Candelaria, interview by Oscar J. Martínez, Aug. 5, 1975, OHUTEP, 12. Emphases are mine.

classified as this or that, but people never believe me when I told them I was Mexican-American [sic], so I learned to say it on the inside."[410]

According to analysts of the 2000 U.S. census, 1 in 40 persons marked a multiracial category, and two thirds of multiracial individuals reside in ten western states. Demographers project that by 2025 multiracial peoples in the United States could be as high as 1 in 5.[411] Nearly 15% of all new marriages in the United States in 2010 were between spouses of a different race or ethnicity doubling since 1980. Amongst Hispanics, 26% of new marriages are cross ethnic or racial, and unlike blacks or Asians, these marriages do not vary by gender. Thirty five percent of the U.S. population says that a member of their close family is married to someone from a different race. More than nine million claimed a mixed racial identity on the 2010 census.[412]

If, in fifteen years the self-identified mixed-race population is as large as demographers project, *or* migration *or* intermarriage rates remain the same, it benefits policy makers and grassroots movements to learn more about the history of mobile people and mixed race in the United States.[413] In the case here, *Mexicanas* taught their children and grandchildren different ways in which to navigate a racially, sexually, and politically-charged Mexican and American transnational world. The creation of these

---

[410] Boatner, "My Family History,"8.

[411] Saron M. Lee, and Barr Edmonston, "New Marriages, New Families: U.S. Racial and Hispanic Intermarriage," *Population Bulletin* (60) (2) (2005): 3-36; Jenifer Lee, and Frank D. Bean, "Reinventing the Color Line: Immigration and America's New Racial/Ethnic Divide," *Social Forces* (86) (2) (Dec 2007): 571; Qian, Zhenchao "Options: Racial/Ethnic Identification of Children of Intermarried Couples," *Social Science Quarterly* (85) (2004): 746; R. Wright, S. Houston, M. Ellis, et al., "Crossing Racial Lines: Geographies of Mixed-Race Partnering and Multiraciality in the United States," 452, 464.

[412] Wendy Wang, "The Rise of Intermarriage: Rates, Characteristics Vary by Race and Gender," *Social and Demographic Trends* (Washington D.C.: Pew Research Center, 2012), 1-56; D'Vera Cohn, "Multi-Race and the 2010 Census" (Washington D.C.: Pew Research Center, 2011).

[413] This is in addition to the field of "Chicano/a Studies." Gutiérrez, "Diaspora, Displacement, and Demographic Change: Reflections and Reorientation of Chicano and Area Studies," 13-14.

mixed-status families is one of the most significant legacies of the long history of U.S. capitalist expansion, and the tenacity in which ethnic Mexicans moved and made families in order to better their lives.

Conclusion

Across the Walls and Through the Mirrors, 1965:

Borderlands Families Then and Now

In the early twentieth century, American managers preferred to hire Mexican workers with families because it was believed that the presence of women and children would end workers' transience and stop interruptions to production. Asarco and PD, like other mining companies operating on both sides of the border, had a long-standing policy of wanting to hire "family men." This perspective could (and did) change any time nativist sentiments moved into the center of political discourse in the United States. Especially around the turn of the century, leaders from the industry would argue that Mexican laborers would migrate back to Mexico in order to be with their families and thus they were not a cultural or racial threat to the United States.[414]

Over the course of the twentieth century, U.S.-owned multinational corporations dominated industrial mining on both sides of the border. Scientific breakthroughs, monopolization of capital investment, the professionalization of mining engineers, the adoption of corporate paternalism, and the creation and maintenance of a transnational and transregional labor force enabled the industry to continue to have a huge impact of borderlands families. Mining companies created working and living environments that

[414] Reisler, *By the Sweat of their Brow,* 3-76; Gutiérrez, *Walls and Mirrors,* 39-68; French, *A Peaceful and Working People,* 46. For an excellent study of how a U.S. mining company encouraged marriage and helped shape conceptions of the "family" in a Latin American context, see, Thomas Klubock, "From Welfare Capitalism to the Free Market in Chile: Gender, Culture, and Politics in the Copper Mines," Gilbert, Legrand, and Salvatore, *Close Encounters of Empire,* 369-399.

both encouraged ethnic Mexican families to settle in mining regions on both sides of the border, and that were friendly to (white) domestic households through the construction of segregated schools, housing, social clubs, and actual towns. Lobbying for unrestricted migration, and the bureaucratic role the companies played in terms of international travel for U.S. engineers or managers, facilitated the ability of ethnic Mexicans to bring families to the United States and for U.S. men who were already married to bring their American families down to Mexico.[415]

Women were at the center of both mining communities and familial arrangements because they maintained community every day, raised children, helped or hired other women, and they supported mining men. In Arizona, ethnic Mexicans faced untold violence and racism before World War Two. In addition to more formal avenues of community survival, such as *mutualistas*, women also moved, instilled a strong affiliation and pride with a Mexican identity in their children, and relied upon each other for help. They used small and informal political spaces to endure. In Chihuahua, engineering wives helped create American enclaves in rural Mexico. Here, they worked hard to foster an American social environment and identity in their children, but boundaries between *Mexicanidad* and Americaness were unstable and fuzzy. This was particularly true for second-generation mining people and middle-class ethnic Mexican members of the engineering class. The long-term and prevalent practice of intermarriage on both sides of the international line further challenged strict demarcations. Cultural forms, such as food or language, reveal how complicated clear categorizations could be.

[415] I have found a variety of documents, passports, and internal company records that document Asarco's role in facilitating the red tape of international travel for families. For one example see the Ginther Family Papers at UTEP.

U.S. capitalist expansion deeply impacted mining families and mining towns on both sides of the current international border beginning in the late nineteenth century through at least 1965. Despite corporations' diligent attempts to keep U.S. citizens and ethnic Mexicans racially and nationally segregated, human agency, whether through migration or forging family and kinship ties, undermined mining companies' own intentions. U.S. empire was both powerful and delicate. This contradiction inherent in modern colonial and neo-colonial relationships between nation-states is especially pronounced when one looks at U.S.-Mexican transnational history with an eye toward gender, culture, and family. In response to the companies' impacts on their lives, both ethnic Mexicans and Euro Americans moved and made their own families. These kinship groups—either through biological or cultural ties—crossed geographic and, sometimes, ethnic or racial lines.

By the mid-1960s, U.S. mining corporations had to include at least 51% ownership by Mexican nationals, and this changed the nature of mining in Mexico. Discussions about the Mexicanization of the mines in the 1960s are abundant in the interviews conducted with members of the engineering community in the 1990s held at the University of Texas in El Paso. When asked about the Mexicanization process, the interviewees had mixed opinions. One woman believed Mexicanization was the result of "…the communistic influence [that] hit Mexico…"[416] Most of the men explained it in business or technical terms. They complained that the Mexican people who were brought in as skilled technicians or as management, acted as if they were "entitled to their job" and did not perform up to the American standards. As one engineer remembered, "They

[416] Margaret Humphreys, interview, OHUTEP, 42.

[Mexican nationals] came in with a title more than anything else, you know, and demanding right off benefits from the title, but they learned that they had to get their hands dirty first. But some wonderful, great, great, people…wonderful engineers and smart guys. They had to learn, first, that they had to work."[417] Some described their new Mexican colleagues as lazy, arrogant, and incompetent. These men believed that this process overall was very bad for the mining industry as a whole. In contrast, a small number of men did appreciate the need for Mexicanization and discussed the merits of Mexican technicians. Mexicanization, in many respects, empowered Mexican citizens and workers. In this empowerment attitudes toward their experiences of discrimination and exploitation emerged. José García's discussion of Mexicanization, in the controversial San Francisco camps mentioned in chapter four, is a good example.

> Well, the sindicato, the union, was a little rougher. It was a little stricter. It was hard to convince when you wanted to get your point across. The work force wasn't easy to get along with. They were a little bit against having Americans working at the company even though we got along real well and the rest of the staff got along real well, but you could see the trend, the change, and it got a little tougher.[418]

When reminiscing about changes after Mexicanization there was a sense of loss and nostalgia in many of the testimonials. The U.S. engineering community used terms like "integration" and how the language barrier, in many cases, resulted in tearing apart the social aspects of their communities. Bob Límon perhaps most eloquently framed this change. "And, I know, as far as the Industria Minera Mexico, which was the name of the company after it was Mexicanized from ASARCO, a lot of the people were out there to

[417] Kelly Spilsbury, interview, OHUTEP, 11.
[418] José J. García, interview, OHUTEP, 10.

see how much they could get for themselves and not for the company. *Previously, all of us had the interest of the company ahead of anything else*."[419]

In the United States, Asarco began to encounter legal troubles in the 1970s as the environmental movement blossomed. The company faced serious lawsuits from cities and families due to long-term pollution and lead poisonings in places such as El Paso, Texas, Denver, Colorado, and East Helena, Montana. In Montana, the company actually replaced all workers' lawns and topsoil in an attempt to mitigate the damage. A similar thing happened in Grand Junction, Colorado by Uranium companies who faced legal challenges for the environmental devastation they caused on the Navajo Reservation and the four corners region. What is striking is that in both places (East Helena, Montana and Grand Junction, Colorado) the community was largely Euro American, and in other nearby areas where the companies' working population was ethnic Mexican or Navajo, the companies did not take similar measures.[420] The interesting aspect of these legal challenges amongst Asarco employees is that ethnic Mexican mining folk often sided with the company and resisted municipalities' desires to destroy their *barrios* in the name of environmental safety.[421] In rural areas, often, ethnic-racial mining families are forced into the option of being able to earn a wage now with a mining company, and to later face serious health risks to their communities and families. Starvation kills much faster than cancer. Without better options their choice to work today is both rational and pragmatic.

After decades of multinational mining corporations promoting and celebrating their own welfare programs, as late as the 1980s ethnic Mexican mine workers

---

[419] Bob Límon, interview, OHUTEP, 18. Emphasis mine.

[420] Judy Pasternak, Yellow Dirt: An American Story of a Poisoned Land and a People Betrayed (New York: Free Press, 2010).

[421] Perales, "Fighting to Stay in Smeltertown,"41-63.

contradicted this perception. In 1979 approximately 5,400 miners went on strike at the Mexicanized version of Asarco's *La Caridad* mine in Nacozari, Sonora. Members of the strike described their living conditions as being similar to Nazi concentration camps. The "paper shack town colony," where the Mexican workers resided, consisted of 8-10 people living in two or three rooms of shacks made from paper and wood. These homes had no utilities and disease was rampant. This depiction was contrasted to the living conditions of the managerial staff, which, as usual, had good homes, full services, and its own police force.[422]

In 1983, miners held an eighteen month-long strike against Phelps Dodge in the Clifton-Morenci, Ajo, and Douglas areas in southern Arizona. At a time when labor activism was at a serious low under the Reagan Administration, the strike was noteworthy for both its length, and the fact that mining women played a prominent role. In Barbara Kingsolver's account, *Holding the Line: Women in the Great Arizona Mine Strike of 1983* (1989) she argues that the mostly ethnic Mexican women underwent a profound transformation during the strike. Moving from an economic and social world that was largely segregated by sex, the women put their homemaking skills to work for the cause of the unions. Facing a hostile Democratic governor (Bruce Babbitt), tear-gas, occupation by outside police forces and National Guardsmen, scabs, a devastating flood, and an unapologetic PD management, these women held the picket line and kept the strike active even after the men were legally barred from doing so, or were forced to look outside for other work. It was reminiscent of the strike depicted in the 1950s film "Salt of

[422] Miguel Angel Castillo, Solidarity with Nacozari Miners!: American Smelting, Anaconda, Phelps Dodge and other U.S. Copper Companies in Mexico, 1979, CRCASU.

the Earth" where ethnic Mexican women also held the line.[423] The women, and their children, became far more radical than their husbands or union officials, both in terms of their politics and their gender roles. In the many interviews Kingsolver recorded, the women argued it was just as important to maintain safety standards and wages as it was to uphold the unions, which they saw as the legacy their fathers and grandfathers had left them since the Second World War.[424]

1965 and Beyond:

1965 was a busy year in the U.S.-Mexican borderlands. Shortly after the *Bracero* Program ended (1964), the Mexican government began its Border Industrialization Program leading to the dominance of *maquiladoras* (light manufacturing firms) in the region. Simultaneously, the U.S. government passed the Immigration and Nationality Act abolishing the national origins formulas from the Immigration Act of 1924. The latter act had effectively institutionalized racism into the United States' modern immigration law.[425] The 1965 reform set numerical restrictions of visas at 170,000 per year for every country. In addition, the act stressed a preference for immigrants with certain skills and emphasized family relationships with U.S. citizens or residents. Immediate relatives of U.S. citizens or "special immigrants" (those born in independent nations in the Western Hemisphere, former citizens, ministers, employees of the U.S. government abroad, in

[423] Ellen Baker, On Strike and On Film: Mexican American Families and Blacklisted Filmmakers in Cold War America (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2007).

[424] Barbara Kingsolver, *Holding the Line: Women in the Great Arizona Mine Strike of 1983* (New York: ILR Press, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, 1989).

[425] Ngai, Impossible Subjects.

other words, members of U.S. expatriate communities) were not to be included in the numerical restrictions and hence given a special status within the law. The law had the unintended consequence of increasing immigration from Mediterranean Europe, Latin America, and Asia, adding large doses of new colors to America's population.

The Mining Life puts into a historical context two interrelated topics that have had a tendency to re-emerge in U.S. political discourse several times over the course of the twentieth century. The first is the contentiousness and difficulty of implementing fair and just immigration reform in the United States. In March of 2010, as I moved back home to Arizona for research, the state legislature passed Senate Bill 1070, at the time the harshest anti-immigration law in the United States. Shortly after, House Bill 2281 also passed, effectively dismantling the very successful Mexican-American studies program in the Tucson Unified School District. Both measures set off waves of protest and created a racially hostile environment for all ethnic Mexicans in the state (my family included). As the dissertation highlights, family ties between ethnic Mexicans and Anglo Americans existed in Arizona and across the border since industrialization—and continue to do so. It is not uncommon to find families of both Anglo and Mexican origin with members holding a variety of immigration statuses and ethnic-racial backgrounds. This makes immigration in the Southwest very complicated under current law. The second issue I hope to raise is an honest look at how, why, and where the United States chooses to intervene around the world. Often we think of U.S. empire or intervention only in terms of military action. As the example of the extractive industries demonstrates, the economic interventions have much longer consequences both here and abroad. To my mind, what unites immigration reform and U.S. intervention is the importance of examining race,

gender, and the politics of the family to immigration, diplomatic, and economic history.[426]

It is time to rescue family from the Conservative Right. I realize the dangers "family" and "home" invoke for many committed to social justice. "Family values," home as a "haven in a heartless world," or simply "go home" have connotations of fear, violence, and ignorance for many. The dissertation emphasizes that the history of mixed race and mobile people's experiences (good and bad) with different forms of family and domesticity, challenge biological ideas of a "nuclear," state-bound, or U.S. middle-class ideal of family. A challenge needed in our current political moment; A time when the civil rights of queer families are fiercely debated across the country; migrant families are terrorized from Central to North America; mixed national families are being torn apart in Arizona and elsewhere; and economic recession and drug wars disrupts kinship networks throughout the borderlands.

[426] Laura Briggs, *Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico* (Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002).

Appendix A

Total Oral Interviews Examined: 1143

Doheny Research Foundation (DRF), Occidental College in Los Angeles. These interviews were conducted by U.S. social scientists from 1917-1919. Most were conducted in the United States although some were done in Mexico. They were conducted with mostly U.S. elites who had any business or personal experience with Mexico, or who had experience working with ethnic Mexican immigrants in the Southwest. Interviewees also include a number of Mexican exiles who were residing in the United States at this time. The interviews are not entire transcripts, but rather fragments of the interviews including direct quotations.
Total: 855
Total conducted with Mining Folk: 92*

*The total is those that that can be definitely identified as tied to the mining industry (engineers, foreman, geologists, etc.). Many of these interviewees had diverse holdings in Mexico and it is probable that the number with mining folks was much higher. This total also does not include civil, oil, or railroad engineers of which there were also many amongst the informants.

T.A. Rickard, *Interviews with Mining Engineers* (San Francisco: Mining and Scientific Press, 1922), Huntington Library. This is a published work of interviews with U.S. mining engineers.
Total: 24

Robert Cleland Collection, Huntington Library (RGC, HL). These interviews were conducted in 1940 by Robert Glass Cleland and Mr. Arthur Train, and recorded by a stenographer. They were a part of the research Cleland conducted to write his book on Phelps Dodge (1950) and were conducted in various PD mining camps throughout Arizona.
Total: 21

Mining Engineering Project, Columbia University in New York City (OHCU). These interviews were conducted by Mr. Henry C. Carlisle with “noted mining engineers” between 1959-1962. Most of the interviewees were friends or acquaintances of Mr. Carlisle.
Total: 21

Metals Manufacturing in Four Montana Communities Oral History Project (MHSOH), Montana Historical Society in Helena, Montana. These interviews were conducted with mining folk associated with Asarco and Anaconda in the state of Montana from 1980-1987.
Total: 80

Western Mining in the Twentieth Century Oral History Series, Colorado School of Mines in Golden, Colorado and also held at the Bancroft Library (OHCSM). These interviews were conducted between 1986 and1988. They include mostly members of the engineering class.
Total: 52

Mining in Mexico Oral History Project, University of Texas at El Paso (OHUTEP). These interviews were conducted by professors and students at the University mostly during the 1990s. The interviewees include Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Anglo Americans with previous experience working in the mining industry in Mexico. Interviews were conducted in the Southwest and in Mexico in both English and Spanish.
Total: 50+

Arizona State University (ASU), *Chicano Research Collection*, Tempe, Arizona (CRCASU). These interviews, family histories, and biographical sketches were collected by various ethnic Mexicans in Arizona, and organized by Christine Marin while working on her dissertation on the Globe-Miami region in central Arizona. The family histories were collected and written up as unpublished undergraduate papers written for various Chicano/a classes at ASU. It is the only archive on Chicano/a history in the state and therefore a vital resource.
Total: Approximately 20 interviews, family histories, and biographical sketches.

Tempe Barrios Oral History Project, Tempe Historical Society, Tempe, Arizona (BTOH).
This is an oral history collection with a focus on the barrios and history of Tempe: an attempt to begin to document the history of "Hispanics" in central Arizona. I also examined a few interviews from their larger oral history collection based upon Spanish-surnames found in their finding aide.
Total: 16+

Author conducted Interviews, in the author's possession. These bulk of these interviews were conducted in 2004, and were tape-recorded in Arizona and Chihuahua. They were conducted with mixed (Anglo and Mexican) mining families and are documented in the author's Master's Thesis (NAU 2006).
Total: 24

Gastelum, Cecilia. Interview by author, July 23, 2004, Chihuahua City, Mexico. Tape recording.
Heinrichs, Alfred. Interview by author, July 22, 2004, Chihuahua City, Mexico. Tape recording.
Heinrichs, Ernesto. Interview by author, July 23, 2004, Chihuahua City, Mexico. Tape recording.

Spalding, Genoveva. Interview by author, Dec. 10, 2003, Prescott, Arizona. Tape recording.
Spalding, Genoveva. Interview by author, January 5, 2004, Prescott, Arizona. Tape recording.
Spalding, Genoveva. Interview by author, January 17, 2004, Prescott, Arizona. Tape recording.
Spalding, Jenny. Interview by author, March 16, 2004, Mesa, Arizona. Tape recording.
Torres, Sylvia. Interview by author. July 23, 2004, Chihuahua City, Mexico. Tape recording.
White, Sylvia. Interview by author. July 16, 2005, Ramona, California. Conversation.

The remaining interviews were anonymous for two main reasons. One, the participant requested anonymity at the time of our discussion or interaction. Secondly, I do not list names because some participants were under legal age, but in the presence and with permission from their guardians/family during our engagements.

Mexico City, Mexico: 3 interviews, 2004.
Chihuahua City & Santa Eulalia, Chihuahua, Mexico: 12 interviews, 2004.

Ethnographic Fieldnotes, Arizona and Chihuahua 2010-2012: U.C. San Diego I.R.B. Project Number One 100339. One 300 page notebook including ethnographic fieldnotes, interviews, and direct quotations from informants.

Archives And Materials Consulted

Special Collections, Occidental College, Los Angeles, California (SCOC)

E. L. Doheny Research Foundation Collection
Arthur Young Manuscript Collection
Arthur Young interview by Frank William Peterson, May 14, 1965, tape and transcript.
Faculty and Alumni Files:
Robert G. Cleland
Arthur Young
W.W. Cumberland

Los Angeles Public Library, Los Angeles, California

Doheny Research Foundation. *Mexico: An Impartial Survey.* Report prepared by G.W. Scott. Doheny Research Foundation, auspices of the University of California Berkeley. Unpublished manuscript, n.d. listed.

Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, Berkeley, California (BL)

University of California, Office of the President Records, 1914-1958
Benjamin Ida Wheeler Papers, 1854-1927
Herbert Eugene Bolton Papers, 1870-1953

Escuela Particular Bilingue, "ESPABI," Chihuahua, Mexico

Various documents in the author's possession
Interview with Director and field notes from observations at the school.

Centro de Fondos Documentales de la ENAH-Chihuahua, Chihuahua City, Mexico

Fondos de El Potosi Mining Company y de Minerales Nacionales de Mexico, S.A. Cajas de Escuela

C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections, University of Texas, El Paso (UTEP)

University of Texas El Paso Archival Collection
The Sidney Adams Manuscript Collection
Ginther Family Papers

Western History Collection, Denver Public Library, Denver, Colorado (WHC)

Women's Auxiliary for the American Institute of Mining Engineers Records (WAIME), 1917-2005

Linda Hall Library of Science and Technology, Kansas City, Missouri

The American Institute of Mining, Metallurgical, and Petroleum Engineers Papers (AIMME), 1870s-2000s

Nettie Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas Austin

El Potosí Mining Company Records

Montana Historical Society: Helena, Montana

Anaconda Copper Co. Papers

Special Collections, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona (SCUA)

Papers of Lewis W. Douglas, 1859-1974
Roger Stern Manuscript Collection

The Huntington Library and Botanical Gardens, San Marino, California (HL)

E.T.H. Bunje, F.J. Schmitz, and D.T. Wainwright. *Careers of University of California Mining Engineers, 1865-1936.* California cultural research sponsored by the University of California, Berkeley (WPA, 1936)

The Research Materials of Robert G. Cleland, 1809-1950
Collection of research materials related to the Phelps Dodge Corporation, 1880-1940
Doheny Research Foundation Materials.

Papers of John Daniell, 1868-1945
Papers of Morris B. Parker, 1886-1947
Diaries of Fred G. Bulkley, 1883-1908
Papers of John F. Duling, 1855-1958
Papers of Ralph Arnold, 1836-1961
Papers of Harley A. Sill, 1901-1964

Hayden Library, Arizona State University, Tempe, Arizona

Chicano Research Collection (CRCASU)

Newspapers, Magazines, and Journals

Hispanic American Historical Review (1918-1920)

Los Angeles Times (1917-1920)
San Francisco Chronicle (1918)
Mines Magazine (1910-1970)
Mexican Mining Journal (1909-1916)
Amistad (Mexico D.F.)
Bulletin (Mexico D.F.)
Mexican American (Mexico D.F.)
Mining and Metallurgy
Transactions of the Mexican Institute of Mining and Metallurgy
Mining Engineering
Directory of the AIMME
Bulletin of the AIMME
Yearbook of the AIMME
The Colorado School of Mines Magazine
Mining Congress Journal
Kennezonian: Ray Mines Division

Published Memoirs

Browne, J. Ross. Adventures in Apache County: A Tour through Arizona and Sonora, *1864.* Reprint edition. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1974.

Hall, Arthur C. *Those Wonderful Years in Mexico.* Tucson: Sundance Press, 1997.

Herr, Robert Woodmansee, in collaboration with Richard Herr. *An American Family in the Mexican Revolution.* Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1999.

Hodge, Hiram C. *Arizona as it was 1877*. Chicago: The Rio Grande Press Inc., 1877.

Ingersoll, Ralph McA. *In and Under Mexico.* New York: Century Co., 1924.

Mowery, Sylvester. *Arizona and Sonora.* New York: Harper & Brothers, 1864.

O'Shaugnessy, Edith. *A Diplomat's Wife in Mexico.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1916.

Parker, Morris B. *Mules Mines & Me in Mexico, 1895-1932*. James M. Day, ed. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1979.

Pattie, James O. *Personal Narrative.* Chicago: Lakeside Press, 1930.

Poston, Charles D. *Apache-Land.* San Francisco: A.L. Bancroft & Co., 1878.

Pumpelly, Raphael. Pumpelly's Arizona: An Excerpt from Across America and Asia. Andrew Wallace ed. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986.

Ricketts, C. E. (Rick). El Lobo and Spanish Gold: A Texas Maverick in Mexico. Austin, Tx: Madrona Press, Inc., 1974.

Shepard, Grant. The Silver Magnet: Fifty years in a Mexican Silver Mine. New York E.P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1938.

Williams, Sally Munds. History of Valuable Pioneers of the State of Arizona. Sally Munds publisher, 1979.

Family Archives in Possession of the Author

Heinrichs Family Archive

MacDonald Family Archive

Spalding Family Archive

Published Primary Sources

American-British Club for Women. Cocinado en el Ecuador = Cooking in Ecuador.Guayaquil, Ecuador, The Club, 1958, 1961.

American Design for Cooking in Mexico. Mexico D.F.: The Women's association of Union church of Mexico City, 1951.

American Smelting and Refining Company. *ASARCO Digest.* Volumes 1, 2, New York:

American Smelting and Refining Company, 1959-1960. Crerar, Dewey Collection. Main Library, University of Chicago. Chicago, Illinois.

_____. *ASARCO Digest.* Volumes 7-10. New York: American Smelting and Refining

Company, 1966-1969.Transmitted by the Canadian Scientific Liaison Office, Washington, D.C. Canada Institute for Scientific and Technical Information. Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

_____. American Smelting and Refining Company, Annual Reports: 1917-1970. New

York: American Smelting and Refining Company, various years.

American Women's Literary Club of Lima, Peru. *Cookbook = Libro de Cocina.* Lima: The Club, 1954.

"ASARCO INCORPORATED," International Directory of Company Histories, Vol. 4 (St. James Press, 1991), reproduced in Business and Company Resource Center (Farmington Hills, Michigan: Gale Group, 2008), http://galenet.galegroup.com/servlet/BCRC, accessed, Feb. 6, 2008.

ASARCO Inc., ASARCO 1899-1999: ASARCO Centennial Report: Celebrating a *Century of Accomplishment.* New York: ASARCO Inc., 1999. Minneapolis Public Library, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Cooking in the Clouds. Quito, Ecuador: Women's Volunteer Association, 1953.

Damas de la Sociedad Norteamericana. *Buen Prevecho.* Managua, Nicaragua: Editorial Union, 1972.

Estados Unidos Mexicanos Secretaria de Industria y Comercio Direcction General de Estadistica, VII. Censo General de Poblacion, 1960: Estado de Chihuahua (Mexico D.F.: 1963).

Marcosson, Isaac. Metal Magic: The Story of the American Smelting and Refining*Company.* New York: Farrar, Straus and Company, 1949.

Martin, Patricia Preciado. Images and Conversations: Mexican Americans Recall a Southwestern Past. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2000.

_____. Songs my Mother Sang to Me: An Oral History of Mexican American Women.Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998.

Meier, Matt. Ed., Mexican American Biographies: A Historical Dictionary. NY: Greenwood Press, 1988.

Poyo, Ruth. ed. *Anglo-American Directory of Mexico.* Mexico D.F.: Imprenta Aldina, various years.

Starr-Hunt, Jack. ed. *Anglo-American Directory of Mexico.* Mexico D.F.: Editorial Intercontinental, 1946.

Secretaria de la Economia Nacional, Direccion General de Estadistica. *Mexico Direccion* General De Estadistica: Compendio Estadistico. Mexico D.F.: 1947.

Stone, R.G. *Mexico: Economic and Commercial Conditions in Mexico.* Compiled from Overseas Economic Surveys. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1956.

Una manera de aprovechar su Frigidaire con ventajas: Nueva recetario Frigidaire parala confeccion de helados, postres, ensaladas. Mexico D.F.: General Motors de Mexico, 1937-1938.

United Fruit Company. United Fruit Company, Its Activities at Home and in the Tropics.Boston?: s.n., 1937.

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs. "Non-ferrous Metals in Under-developed Countries." New York: United Nations Publication, 1955.

United States Commission on Industrial Relations. *Industrial Relations: Final Report and* Testimony: Submitted to Congress by the Commission on Industrial Relations Created by the Act of August 23, 1912. Washington D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1916. Microfilm, Cline Library, Northern Arizona University.

U.S. State Department Records

Confidential U.S. State Department Central Files, Mexico, 1950-1963, internal affairs.Maryland: University Publication of America, 1987. Microfilm, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.

Secondary Sources

Alarcón, Norma. "Chicana's Feminist Literature: A Re-vision through Malintzin/or Malintzin: Putting Flesh Back on the Object," in Moraga and Anzaldúa, eds. *This Bridge Called my Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color.* New York: Kitchen Table Women of Color Press, 1983. 182-190.

Aldama, Arturo J. Disrupting Savagism: Intersecting Chicana/o, Mexican Immigrant, and Native American Struggles for Self-Representation. Durham: Duke University Press, 2001.

Almaguer,Tomás. Racial Fault Lines: The Historical Origins of White Supremacy in California. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.

_____. "Toward a Study of Chicano Colonialism." *Aztlan.* Vol. 2. No. 1 (Spring 1971): 7-20.

Alonso, Ana María. Thread of Blood: Colonialism, Revolution, and Gender on Mexico's Northern Frontier. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995.

Alvarez, Luis. "From Zoot Suits to Hip Hop: Towards a Relational Chicana/o Studies." *Latino Studies.* Vol. 5 (2007): 53-75.

Alvarez Jr., Roberto R. *Familia: Migration and Adaptation in Baja and Alta California, 1800-1975.* Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1987.

Alvarez Z., María Edmée. La Educación en Chihuahua: Estudio Histórico que para las Bodas de Oro de la Normal de Chihuahua. México: 1960.

Anguiano Flores, José Trinidad. *Todo Cabe en una Vida, Sabiéndose Acomodar: El "Chueco" Mariano: Obrero, Líder Sindical, Político y Empresario Minero.* Chihuahua, Mexico: Secretaría de Educacíon y Cultura del Gobierno del Estado de Chihuahua, 2009.

Anzaldúa, Gloria. *Borderlands/La Frontera: The New Mestiza.* San Francisco: Spinsters-Aunt Lute Book Co., 1987.

Appelbaum, Nancy P., Anne S. Macpherson, and Karin Alejandra Rosemblatt. *Race and Nation in Modern Latin America.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Arbeláz, A., María Soledad, Concepción Ruiz Funes, Marcela Tostado Gutiérrez, Enriqueta Tuñon Pablos, Julia Tuñon Pablos. *Bibliographía Comentada sobre la Mujer Mexicana.* Cuaderno de Trabajo. Vol. 55. México D.F.: Dirección de Estudios Históricos, INAH, 1983.

Avila, Dolores, Inés Herrera, y Rina Ortiz, Coordinadores. *Empresarios y Politica Minera: Primera Reunión de Histoiradores de la Minería Latinoamericana.* México D.F.: Instituto Nacional Anthropología e Historia, 1992).

Bailey, David C. Viva Cristo Rey: The Cristero Rebellion and the Church-State Conflict in Mexico. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1974.

Baker, Ellen. On Strike and On Film: Mexican American Families and Blacklisted Filmmakers in Cold War America. Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2007.

Bantjes, Adrian. As If Jesus Walked on Earth: Cardenismo, Sonora, and the Mexican Revolution. Wilmington, Del.: Scholarly Resources, 1998.

Barrera, Mario. *Race and Class in the Southwest.* Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979.

Basch, Linda G., Nina Glick Schiller and Cristina Szanton Blanc. Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-States. Langhorne, Pa.: Gordon and Breach, 1994.

Becker, Marjorie. Setting the Virgin on Fire: Lázaro Cárdenas, Michoacán Peasants, and the Redemption of the Mexican Revolution. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995.

Beezley, William H., Cheryl English Martin, and William E. French. Eds. *Rituals of Rule, Rituals of Resistance: Public Celebrations and Popular Culture in Mexico.* Wilmington: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1994.

Benton Cohen, Katherine. Borderline Americans: Racial Division and Labor War in the Arizona Borderlands. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009.

Bernstein, Marvin. *The Mexican Mining Industry, 1890-1950.* New York: State University of New York, 1965.

Bliss, Katherine Elaine. Compromised Positions: Prostitution, Public Health, and Gender Politics in Revolutionary Mexico City. University Park, PA.: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2001.

Briggs, Laura. Reproducing Empire: Race, Sex, Science, and U.S. Imperialism in Puerto Rico. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002.

Brown, Dee. Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee: An Indian History of the American West. New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1970.

Burgos Jr., Adrian, Donna Gabaccia, Maria Cristina Garcia, Matthew Garcia, Kelly Lytle Hernandez, Jesse Hoffnung-Garskof, Maria E. Montoya, George J. Sanchez, Virginia Sanchez Korrol, Paul Spickard. "Latino History: An Interchange on Present Realities and Future Prospects." *Journal of American History.* (September 2010).

Burns (Hoomothya), Mike. All of My People were Killed: The Memoir of Mike Burns (Hoomothya), A Captive Indian. Prescott, AZ: Sharlot Hall Museum, 2010.

Bykrit, James W. Forging the Copper Collar: Arizona's Labor-Management War of 1901-1921. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982.

Camacho, Alicia Schmidt. Migrant Imaginaries: Latino Cultural Politics in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands. New York & London: New York University Press, 2008.

Campomañes, Oscar. "1898 and the Nature of the New Empire." *Radical History Review.* Vol. 73. No. 1 (1998): 1-14.

Candelaria, Cordelia. "Review: Six Reference Works on Mexican-American Women: A Review Essay." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies.* "Chicanas en el Ambiente Nacional/ Chicanas in the National Landscape." Vol. 5. No. 2 (Summer 1980): 75-80.

Cárdenas, Lázaro. *Mexico's Oil.* Mexico. 1940. Reprinted in *Keen's Latin American Civilization: History and Society, 1492-Present,* 8th ed., Benjamin Keen, Robert Buffington, and Lila Caimari. Eds. Boulder, Co.: Westview Press, 2004. 878-879.

Castañeda, Antonia, with Susan Armitage, Patricia Hart, and Karen Weathermon, eds. *Gender on the Borderlands: The Frontiers Reader*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007.

Castañeda, Antonia I. "Gender, Race, and Culture: Spanish-Mexican Women in the Historiography of Frontier California." *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies.* Vol. 11. No. 1. Las Chicanas (1990): 8-20.

_____. "Presidarias y Pobladoras: Spanish-Mexican Women in Frontier Monterey Alta California, 1770-1821." Ph.D. Dissertation: Stanford University, 1990.

_____. "Women of Color and the Rewriting of Western History." *Pacific Historical Review.* Vol. 61. No. 4 (Nov. 1992): 501-534.

Castillo-Muñoz, Veronica. "Divided Communities: Agrarian Struggles, Migration, and Family in Northern Mexico, 1910-1952." Ph.D. diss., University of California at Irvine, 2009.

Chalout, Norma Beatriz and Yves Chalout. "The Internal Colonialism Concept: Methodological Considerations." *Social and Economic Studies.* Vol. 28 (December 1979): 85-99.

Chávez M. Armando B. *Historia de la Educación en el Estado de Chihuahua.* Cd. Juárez, Chihuahua, México: Gobierno del Estado de Chihuahua, 1986.

Chew, Selfa. "Race, Gender, and Citizenship: The Removal of Japanese and Japanese Mexicans from the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands during World War Two." Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at El Paso, 2010.

Cleland, Robert Glass. *A History of Phelps Dodge, 1834-1950.* New York: Alfred A. Knopf Inc., 1952.

Clements, Eric L. After the Boom in Tombstone and Jerome, Arizona: Decline in Western Resource Towns. Reno & Las Vegas: University of Nevada Press, 2003.

Cohen, Lizabeth. *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939.* Second edition. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008, 1990.

Cohn, D'Vera. "Multi-Race and the 2010 Census." Washington D.C.: Pew Research Center, 2011.

Collado, María de Carmen. La Burguesía Mexicana: El Emporio Braniff y su Participación Politica, 1865-1920. México, D.F.: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1987.

Collins, William S. *The New Deal In Arizona.* Phoenix: Arizona State Parks Board, 1999.

Craver, Rebecca McDowell. *The Impact of Intimacy: Mexican-Anglo Intermarriage in New Mexico, 1821-1846.* El Paso: Texas Western Press, University of Texas at El Paso, 1982.

Cresswell, Tim. *Place: A Short Introduction.* Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2004.

Davis, Ethelyn Clara. "The American Colony in Mexico City." Ph.D. diss. University of Missouri, 1942.

de la Torre, Adela and Beatríz Pesquera. Eds., *Building with Our Hands: New Directions in Chicana Studies.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

Delgado, Camilo Contreras and Moisés Gámex. Coordinadores. *Procesos y Espacios Mineros: Fundición y Minería en el Centro y Noreste de México durante el Porfirato.* Tijuana, México: El Colegio de la Frontera Norte, 2004.

Del Castillo, Adelaida R. Ed. *Between Borders: Essays on Mexicana/Chicana History.* Encino, CA.: Floricanto Press, 1990.

Denham, Aaron R. "Rethinking Historical Trauma: Narratives of Resilience." *Transcultural Psychiatry.* Vol. 42 (September 2008): 391-414.

Denman, Kathy. "Análisis Estadístico de los Norteamericanos en México." Informe inédito. Mexico, D.F.: CIS-INAH, 1980.

_____."La Elite Norteamericana en la Ciudad de México." *Cuadernos de la Casa Chata.* Vol. 34. Mexico, D.F.: CIS-INAH, 1980.

Dreby, Joanne. "Children and Power in Mexican Transnational Families." *Journal of Marriage and Family.* Vol. 69 (November 2007): 1050-1064.

Dysart, Jane. "Mexican Women in San Antonio, 1830-1860: The Assimilation Process." *Western Historical Quarterly.* Vol. 7. No. 4 (Oct. 1976): 365-375.

Faist, Thomas. The Volume and Dynamics of International Migration and Transnational Social Spaces. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Farnsworth-Alvear, Ann. Dulcinea in the Factory: Myths, Morals, Men, and Women in Columbia's Industrial Experiment, 1905-1960. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2000.

Fields, Barbara. "Whiteness, Racism, and Identity." *International Labor and Working-Class History.* Vol. 60 (Fall 2001): 48-56.

Finn, Janet. Tracing the Veins: Of Copper, Culture, and Community from Butte to Chuquicamata. Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1998.

Foley, Neil. *The White Scourge: Mexicans, Blacks, and Poor Whites in Texas Cotton Culture.* Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1997, 1999.

French, William. A Peaceful and Working People: Manners, Morals, and Class Formation in Northern Mexico. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1996.

Frieden, Jeffery A. Global Capitalism: Its Fall and Rise in the Twentieth Century. New York: W.W. Norton, 2006.

Galeano, Eduardo. *We Say No: Chronicles 1963-1991.* Translated by mark Fried and others. New York & London: W.W. Norton & Co., 1989, 1992.

Gamio, Manuel. *Forjando Patria: Nacionalismo.* Mexico City: Librería de Porrúa Hermanos, 1916.

Garcia, Ignacio. "Juncture in the Road: Chicano Studies since El Plan de Santa Bárbara," in David R. Maciel and Isidro D. Ortiz. Eds. *Chicanas/Chicanos at the Crossroads: Social, Economic, and Political Change.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996. 181-203.

González, Deena. Refusing the Favor: The Spanish American Women of Santa Fe,1820 - 1880. New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

González, Gilbert. The Culture of Empire: American Writers, Mexico, and Mexican Immigrants, 1880-1930. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004.

González, Gilbert G. and Raúl Fernandez. "Empire and the Origins of Twentieth-Century Migration from Mexico to the United States." *The Pacific Historical Review.* Vol. 71. No. 1 (Feb. 2002): 19-57.

Gonzalez, Gilbert. "Strategy and Stopes: Mines, Management, and Community in Superior and Jerome, 1900-1955." Ph.D. Dissertation: Arizona State University, 2004.

González Ochoa, Carlos Luis. "Selection and Orientation of American Expatriates Working in the Maquiladora Industry in Mexico." MA Thesis: University of Texas at El Paso, 1995.

Goodkind, Jessica R., Julia Meredith Hess, Beverly Gorman, and Danielle P. Parker, "'We're Still in a Struggle': Diné Resilience, Survival, Historical Trauma, Healing." *Qualitative Health Research.* Vol. 22. No. 8 (2002) 9-36.

Gordon, Linda. *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999.

Gowricharn, Ruben. "Changing forms of Transnationalism." *Ethnic and Racial Studies.* Vol. 32. No. 9 (Nov. 2009):1619-1638.

Graham, Richard, ed. *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870-1904.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990.

Griffith, James S. *A Shared Space: Folklife in the Arizona-Sonora Borderlands.* Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1995.

_____. Victims, Bandits, and Healers: Folk Saints of the Borderlands. Tucson: Rio Nuevo Publishers, 2003.

Griswold del Castillo, Richard. *La Familia: Chicano Families in the Urban Southwest, 1848 to the Present.* Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984.

Guevarra Jr., Rudy P. "Mexipino: A History of Multiethnic Identity and the Formation of the Mexican and Filipino Communities of San Diego, 1900-1965." Ph.D. Diss., University of California Santa Barbara, 2007.

Gutierrez, David and Pierette Hondagneu-Sotelo. *Nation and Migration: Past and Future.* Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2009.

Gutiérrez, David G. "Diaspora, Displacement, and Demographic Change: Reflections and Reorientation of Chicano and Area Studies." Unpublished paper in the author's possession. 13-14.

_____. *Walls and Mirrors: Mexican Americans, Mexican Immigrants, and the Politics of Ethnicity.* Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1995.

Gutiérrez, Fernando Sandoval. *La Escuela Modelo: Microhistoria de un Centro Escolar*. Chihuahua, Chihuahua, México: Instituto Chihuahuense de la Cultura, 2003.

Gutiérrez, Ramón A. When Jesus Came the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.

Hacker, Louis. The Triumph of American Capitalism: The Development of the Nineteenth Century. New York: Columbia University Press, 1947.

Hannay, David. *Diaz: Makers of the Nineteenth Century Series.* New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1917.

Hart, John Mason. *Empire and Revolution: The Americans in Mexico since the Civil War.* Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2002.

_____. Revolutionary Mexico: The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution. Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1997.

Hatch, Ernestine. *Academia Juarez A.C., 1901-1976.* Juárez, Chihuahua, México: Academia Juarez A.C., 1977.

Hershfield, Joanne. Imgagining la Chica Moderna: Women, Nation, and Visual Culture in Mexico, 1917-1936. Durham: Duke University Press, 2008.

Hoganson, Kristin L. Consumers' Imperium: The Global Production of American Domesticity, 1865-1920. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007.

Hu-Dehart, Evelyn. Yaqui Resistance and Survival: The Struggle for Land and Autonomy, 1821-1910. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1984.

Hurtado, Albert. *Sex, Gender, and Culture in Old California.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1999.

Icazuriaga, Carmen. El Enclave Sociocultural Norteamericano y el Papel de los Empresarios Norteamericanos en Mexico. Mexico D.F.: Centro de Investigaciones Superiores del INAH, 1980.

Jaspin, Elliot. Buried in the Bitter Waters: The Hidden History of Racial Cleansing in America. New York: Basic Books, 2007.

Jiménez Montoya, Andrés E. Political Domination in the Labor Market: Racial Division in the Arizona Copper Industry. Berkeley: Institute for the Study of Social Change, 1977.

Jiménez, Tomás R. *Replenished Ethnicity: Mexican Americans, Immigration, and Identity.* Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2010.

Johnson, Benjamin H. "The Cosmic Race in Texas: Racial Fusion, White Supremacy, and Civil Rights Politics." *Journal of American History.* Vol. 98. No. 2 (September 2011): 404-419.

Johnson, Gayle T. “Constellations of Struggle: Luisa Moreno, Charlotta Bass, and the Legacy for Ethnic Studies.” *Aztlàn: A Journal of Chicano Studies.* Vol. 33. No. 1 (Spring 2008): 155-172.

Johnson, Susan Lee. *Roaring Camp: The Social World of the California Gold Rush.* New York & London: W.W. Norton & Co., 2000.

_____.“Women’s Household and Relationships in the Mining West: Central Arizona, 1863-1873.” MA Thesis: Arizona State University, 1984.

Joseph, Gilbert, Catherine Legrand, and Richard Salvatore. Eds. *Close Encounters of Empire: Writing the Cultural History of U.S.-Latin American Relations.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1998.

Joseph, Gilbert M. and Daniel Nugent. Eds. With a foreword by James C. Scott. *Everyday Forms of State Formation: Revolution and the Negotiation of Rule in Modern Mexico.* Durham & London: Duke University Press, 1994.

Kaplan, Amy. *The Anarchy of Empire in U.S. Culture.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002.

Kaplan, Amy, and Donald E. Pease, eds. *Cultures of United States Imperialism.* Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.

Katz, Friedrich. *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa.* Stanford: Stanford University, 1999.

Khalidi, Rashid. Resurrecting Empire: Western Footprints and America’s Perilous Path in the Middle East. Boston: Beacon Press, 2004.

Kidron, Carol A. “Alterity and the Particular Limits of Universalism: Comparing Jewish-Israeli Holocaust and Canadian-Cambodian Genocide Legacies.” *Current Anthropology.* Vol. 53. No. 6 (December 2012): 723-754.

Kingsolver, Barbara. *Holding the Line: Women in the Great Arizona Mine Strike of 1983.* New York: ILR Press, New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, Cornell University, 1989.

Kivisto, Peter. “Theorizing Transnational Migration: A Critical Review of Current Efforts.” *Ethnic and Racial Studies.* Vol. 24. No. 40 (2001).

Kline, Ronald R. “From Progressivism to Engineering Studies.” *Technology and Culture*. Vol. 49 (Oct. 2008): 1018-1024.

Klubock, Thomas Miller. Contested Communities. Class, Gender, And Politics in Chile’s El Teniente Copper Mine, 1904-1951. Durham, Nc.: Duke University Press, 1998.

Knight, Alan. “Juggernaut or Jalopy?” *Journal of Latin American Studies.* Vol. 26. No. 1 (February 1994): 73-107.

_____. “The Mexican Revolution: Bourgeois? Nationalist? or Just a 'Great Rebellion'?” *Bulletin of Latin American Research*. Vol. 4.No. 2 (1985): 1-37.

_____. *The Mexican Revolution*: *Porfirians, Liberals, and Peasant.*, Vol. 1. University of Nebraska Press, reprint ed., 1990.

_____. *The Mexican Revolution*: *Counter-Revolution and Reconstruction.* Vol. 2. University of Nebraska Press, reprint ed., 2007.

Kramer, Paul A. The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States and the Philippines. Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2006.

_____. “The Military-Sexual Complex: Prostitution, Disease, and the Boundaries of Empire during the Philippine-American War.” *The Asia-Pacific Journal* (July 25, 2011).

_____. “Power and Connection: Imperial Histories of the United States and the World.” *American Historical Review* (December 2011): 1348-1391.

Kurashige, Scott. The Shifting Grounds of Race: Black and Japanese Americans in the Making of Multiethnic Los Angeles. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008.

Layton Jr., Edwin T. *The Revolt of the Engineers: Social Responsibility and the American Engineering Profession.* Baltimore & London: John Hopkins University Press, 1971, 1986.

Lee, Jenifer and Frank D. Bean. “Reinventing the Color Line: Immigration and America’s New Racial/Ethnic Divide.” *Social Forces.* Vol. 86. No. 2 (Dec 2007).

Lee, Mary Antoine. “A Historical Survey of the American Smelting and RefiningCompany in El Paso, 1887-1950.” Masters Thesis, University of Texas El Paso, 1950.

Lee, Saron M. and Barr Edmonston. “New Marriages, New Families: U.S. Racial and Hispanic Intermarriage.” *Population Bulletin.* Vol. 60. No. 2 (2005): 3-36.

Leonard, Karen Isaksen. *Making Ethnic Choices: California’s Punjabi Mexican Americans.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1992.

Levitt, Peggy and B. Nadya Jaworsky. “Transnational Migration Studies: Past Development and Future Trends.” *Annual Review of Sociology.* Vol. 33 (2007).

Lewis, Gene D. “Review: The Revolt of the Engineers.” *Journal of American History.* Vol. 58 (1972).

Lomnitz, Larissa Alder and Marisol Perez-Lizaur, *A Mexican Elite Family, 1820-1980.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1987.

Long, Lucy. Ed. *Culinary Tourism.* Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 2004.

Luckingham, Bradford. Minorities in Phoenix: A Profile of Mexican American, Chinese American, and African American Communities, 1860-1992. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1994.

Macías, Anna. Against All Odds: The Feminist Movement in Mexico to 1940. London: Greenwood Press, 1982.

Maiorana, Juliette. "An American Mexican Family: Cross Cultural Marriage, Transnationalism, and Identity Formations in the Twentieth Century." Master's Thesis: Northern Arizona University, 2006.

Marak, Andrae M. From Many, One: Indians, Peasants, Borders, and Education in Callista Mexico, 1924-1935. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2009.

Marcosson, Isaac. *Metal Magic: The Story of the American Smelting and Refining Company.* New York: Farrar, Straus, and Co., 1949.

Marin, Christine. "Always a Struggle: Mexican Americans in Miami, Arizona, 1909-1951." Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 2005.

Martin, Patricia Preciado. *El Milagro and Other Stories.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998.

Marucci, Daniel Horace. "The American Smelting and Refining Company in Mexico, 1900-1925." P.h. Diss., Rutgers University, 1995.

Maxwell, Margret F. *A Passion for Freedom: The Life of Sharlot Hall.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982.

Mc Caughan, Edward. *Golden Ghetto: The American Colony in Mexico.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974.

McCullough, David. The Path Between the Seas: The Creation of the Panama Canal, 1870-1914. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1977.

Meeks, Eric V. *Border Citizens: The Making of Indians, Mexicans, and Anglos in Arizona.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007.

Mellinger, Phillip. Race and Labor in Western Copper: The Fight for Equality, 1869-1918. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995.

_____. "'The Men Have Become Organizers': Labor Conflict and Unionization in the Mexican Mining Communities of Arizona, 1900-1915." *Western Historical Quarterly* (August 1992).

Menchaca, Martha. Recovering History, Constructing Race: The Indian, Black, and White Roots of Mexican Americans. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001.

Meraz, Silvia Margarita Martínez. Educación y Género: Docencia Femenina en Hidalgo del Parral, Chihuahua, 1631-1900. Chihuahua, Mexico: Doble Hélice Ediciones, 2006.

Meyer, Jean. *The Cristero Rebellion: The Mexican People between Church and State, 1926-1929.* Translated by Richard Southern. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976.

Meyers, Miriam. A Bite off Mama's Plate: Mothers and Daughters' Connections through Food. Westport, Connecticut: Bergin & Garvey, 2001.

Mitchell, Pablo. Coyote Nation: Sexuality, Race, and Conquest in Modernizing New Mexico, 1880-1920. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005.

Mitchell Stephanie and Patience A. Schell. *The Women's Revolution in Mexico, 1910-1953.* Lanham, MD.: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers Inc., 2007.

Molina, Natalia. *Fit to Be Citizens: Public Health and Race in Los Angeles, 1879-1939.* Berkeley & Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006.

Montejano, David. *Anglos and Mexicans in the Making of Texas, 1836-1986.* Austin: University of Texas Press, 1987.

Moreno, Julio. Yankee Don't Go Home: Mexican Nationalism, American Business Culture, and the Shaping of Modern Mexico, 1920-1950. Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.

Mörner, Magnus. *Race Mixture in the History of Latin America.* Boston: Little and Brown, 1967.

Muñoz, Laura K. "Desert Dreams: Mexican American Education in Arizona, 1840-1930." Ph.D. Dissertation: Arizona State University, 2006.

Nash, Gary. "The Hidden History of Mestizo American." *Journal of American History.* Vol. 82. No. 3 (December 1995): 941-964.

Ngai, Mae M. Impossible Subjects: Illegal Aliens and the Making of Modern America. Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2004.

Niblo, Stephen R. War, Diplomacy, and Development: The United States and Mexico, 1938-1954. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1995.

Noble, David F. America by Design: Science, Technology, and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism. New York: Knopf Press, 1977.

O'Conner, Harvey. The Guggenheims: The Making of an American Dynasty. New York: Covici, Friede, 1937.

Olcott, Jocelyn. *Revolutionary Women in Postrevolutionary Mexico.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2005.

Olcott, Jocelyn, Mary Kay Vaughan, and Gabriela Cano. *Sex in Revolution: Gender, Politics, and Power in Modern Mexico.* With a foreward by Carlos Monsiváis. Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

Oldenziel, Ruth. Making Technology Masculine: Men, Women, and Modern Machines in America, 1870-1945. Neno Ontwerpers: Amsterdam University Press, 1999.

Omi, Michael and Howard Winant. *Racial Formation in the United States: from the 1960s to the 1990s,* second edition. New York & London: Routledge, 1994.

O'Neill, Colleen. "Domesticity Deployed: Gender, Race, and the Construction of Class-Struggle in the Bisbee Deportation." *Labor History.* Vol. 34, No. 2-3. (Spring-Summer 1993): 256-273.

Orenstein, Dara. "Void for Vagueness: Mexicans and the Collapse of Miscegenation Law in California." *Pacific Historical Review.* Vol. 74, No. 3 (2005): 367-407.

Parrish, Michael E. "Mexican Workers, Progressives, and Copper: The Failure of Industrial Democracy in Arizona during the Wilson Years." *Southwest Border Series.* La Jolla: Chicano Research Publications, University of California, San Diego, 1979.

Parsons, A.B., Edward H. Robie, and Joe B. Alford. *Centennial History of the American Institute of Mining, Metallurgical, and Petroleum Engineers, 1871-1970.* New York: AIME, 1971.

Pascoe, Peggy. What Comes Naturally: Miscegenation Law and the Making of Race in America. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 2008.

Pasternak, Judy. Yellow Dirt: An American Story of a Poisoned Land and a People Betrayed. New York: Free Press, 2010.

Peck, Gunther. Reinventing Free Labor: Padrones and Immigrant Workers in the North American West, 1880-1930. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Perales, Monica. "Fighting to Stay in Smeltertown: Lead Contamination and Environmental Justice in a Mexican American Community." *Western Historical Quarterly.* Vol. 39. No. 1 (Spring 2008): 41-64.

_____. *Smeltertown: Making and Remembering a Border Community.* Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2010.

Pérez, Emma. *The Decolonial Imaginary: Writing Chicana into History.* Bloomington & Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1999.

Pilcher, Jeffrey M. "*Que vivan los tamales": Food and the Making of Mexican Identity.* Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998.

Pitt, Leonard. The Decline of the Californios: A Social History of the Spanish-Speaking Californians, 1846-1890. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966.

Porter, Susie S. Working Women in Mexico City: Public Discourses and Material Conditions, 1879-1931. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003.

Prince, Robert M. "Second Generation Effects of Historical Trauma." *Psychoanalytical Review.* Vol. 72. No. 1 (Spring 1985): 9-30.

Ramirez, Catherine. The Woman in the Zuit Suit: Gender, Nationalism, and the Cultural Politics of Memory. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.

Ramos Escandón, Carmen. Ed. *Presencia y Transparencia: La Mujer en la Historia de México.* México D.F.: El Colegio de México, 1987.

Read, Thomas Thornton. With a foreword by Herbert Hoover. *The Development of the Mineral Industry Education in the United States.* Seeley W. Mudd Series. N.Y.: American Institute of Mining Engineers, 1941.

Reisler, Mark. *By the Sweat of Their Brow: Mexican Immigrant Labor in the United States, 1900-1940.* Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1976.

Renda, Mary A. Taking Haiti: Military Occupation and the Culture of U.S. Imperialism, 1915-1940. Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 2001.

Robles Jorge Carrera y Armida Akoshima F. Eds. *Voces de Siempre: Historia Oral del Magisterio Chihuahuense.* Chihuahua, México: Ediciones del Azar, 1995.

Rodríguez, Nestór. "The Battle for the Border: Notes on Autonomous Migration, Transnational Communities, and the State." *Social Justice.*Vol. 25 (Fall 1996).

Romero, Robert Chao. "El Destierro de los Chinos: Popular Perspectives on Chinese-Mexican Intermarriage in the Early Twentieth Century." *Aztlan.* Vol. 32. No.1 (Spring 2007): 113-144.

Rosas, Ana Elizabeth. “Flexible Families: Bracero Families’ Lives Across Cultures, Communities, and Countries, 1942-1964.” Ph.D. diss., University of Southern California, 2006.

Rosenberg, Emily S. Spreading the American Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion. New York: Hill and Wang, 1982.

Rosell, Stella Quan. “Los Ghetos Rubios de la Provincia: El Caso de San Miguel de Allende.” Informe inédito. CIS-INAH, 1979.

Ruiz, Ramón Eduardo. *The Great Rebellion: Mexico, 1905-1924.* New York: Norton, 1980.

_____. *The People of Sonora and Yankee Capitalists.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1988.

Ruiz, Vicki. Cannery Women, Cannery Lives: Mexican Women, Unionization, and the California Food Processing Industry, 1930-1950. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987.

_____. “Morena/o, Blanca/o y Café con Leche: Racial Constructions in Chicana/o Historiography.” *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos.* Vol. 20. No. 2 (Summer 2004): 343-360.

_____.From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1998.

Salas, Miguel Tinker. In the Shadow of the Eagles: Sonora and the Transformation of the Border during the Porfiriato. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997.

Sánchez, George J. *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.

Sánchez, Rosaura. “The History of Chicanas: A Proposal for a Materialist Perspective,” in Adelaida R. Del Castillo, ed., *Between Borders: Essays on Mexicana/Chicana History*. Encino, CA: Floricanto Press, 1990. 1-29.

Sariego, Juan Luis. El Estado y La Mineria Mexicana: Politica, Trabajo y Sociedad Durante El Siglo XX: La Industria Paraestatal En Mexico. México: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1990.

_____. Enclaves y Minerales en el Norte de Mexico: Historia Social de los Mineros de Cananea y Nueva Rosita, 1900-1970, ediciones de la Casa Chata. México: Centro de Investigaciones y Estudios Superiores en Antropologia Social, 1988.

_____. “Minería y el Trabajo Minero en Chihuahua,” en *Historia General de Chihuahua V. Período Contemporáneo.* Chihuahua: Gobierno del Estado de Chihuahua-ENAH-Chihuahua/UACJ, 1998.

Scanlon, Patricia. “Un Enclave Cultural: Poder y Etnicidad en el Contexto de una Escuela Norteamericana en la Ciudad de México.” Tesis, Universidad Iberoamericana, Mexico, D.F., 1978.

Schell, Patience A. *Church and State Education in Revolutionary Mexico City.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2003.

Schell, Jr., William. Integral Outsiders: The American Colony in Mexico City, 1876-1911. Delaware: Scholarly Resources Inc., 2001.

Schivavone Camcho, Julia María. *Chinese Mexicans: Transpacific Migration and the Search for a Homeland, 1910-1960.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2012.

Scott, James C. Seeing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1998.

_____. Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.

Scott, Joan Wallach. *Gender and the Politics of History,* revised edition. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999.

Segura, Denise A. and Patricia Zavella. Eds. *Women and Migration in the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands: A Reader.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.

Sheridan, Thomas. *Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1854-1941*. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986.

Sklar, Martin J. The Corporate Reconstruction of American Capitalism, 1890-1916: The Market, the Law, and Politics. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Smith, Robert. *Mexican New York: Transnational Lives of New Immigrants.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2006.

Smith, Stephanie J. Gender and the Mexican Revolution: Yucatán Women & The Realities of Patriarchy. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009.

Snodgrass, Michael. *Deference and Defiance in Monterrey: Workers, Paternalism, and Revolution in Mexico, 1890-1950.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.

Soto, Shirlene. Emergence of the Modern Mexican Woman: Her Participation in Revolution and Struggle for Equality, 1910-1940. Denver: Arden Press, Inc., 1990.

Spence, Clark C. Mining Engineers and the American West: The Lace-Boot Brigade, 1849-1933. Moscow, ID: Idaho University Press, 1993.

Stern, Steve J. The Secret History of Gender: Women, Men, and Power in Late Colonial Mexico. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995.

Stoler, Ann Laura. *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule.* Los Angeles & Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002.

_____. Ed. Haunted By Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2006.

_____. "Tense and Tender Ties: The Politics of Comparison in North American History and (Post) Colonial Studies." *The Journal of American History.* Vol. 8. No. 3 (December 2001): 829-865.

Terrazas, Zacarías Márquez. *Introducción a la Historia de la Educación en Chihuahua.* Chihuahua, México: Ediciones del Gobierno del Estado de Chihuahua, 1984.

Truett, Samuel and Elliot Young, eds. *Continental Crossroads: Remapping U.S.-Mexico Borderlands History.* Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2004.

Truett, Samuel. Fugitive Landscapes: The Forgotten History of the U.S.-Mexico Borderlands. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006.

Tuck, Jim. The Holy War in Los Altos: A Regional Analysis of Mexico's Cristero Rebellion. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1982.

Tuñón Pablos, Julia. *Women in Mexico: A Past Unveiled,* translated by Alan Hynds. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999. Originally published in Spanish in 1987.

Tyrell, Ian. "Confronting the 'E' Work: American Empire and Transnational History." *Australasian Journal of American Studies.* Vol. 26. No. 1 (2007): 41-53.

Urrea, Luis Alberto. *The Hummingbird's Daughter.* New York: Back Bay Books, 2005.

Valdez, Jesus Vargas. *Mariano Irigoyen Escontrías: Una Vida por la Educación.* Chihuahua, Mexico: Gobierno del Estado de Chihuahua, Secretaría de Educación y Cultura, Coordinación de Publicaciones y Proyectos Especiales, 2002.

Vanderwood, Paul. *Juan Soldado: Rapist, Murderer, Martyr, Saint.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2004.

Vargas, Jorge A., Ed. *Mexican Law: A Treatise For Legal Practitioners and International Investors.* Vol. 1. St. Paul, Minnesota: West Group, 1998.

Varzally, Allison. "Romantic Crossings: Making Love, Family, and Non-Whiteness in California, 1925-1950." *Journal of American Ethnic History.* Vol. 23. No. 1 (Fall, 2003): 3-54.

Vasconcelos, José. *La Raza Cósmica, Mission de la Raza Iberoamericana.* Paris: Agencia Mundial de Libería, 1925.

Vásquez Esquivel, Meynardo. *Movimiento Obrero en ASARCO.* Monterrey, N. L.,

Mexico: Gobierno eel Estado de Nuevo León, Secretaría de Administración, Archivo General del Estado, 1987.

Vaughn, Mary Kay. Cultural Politics in Revolution: Teachers, Peasants, and Schools, 1930-1940. Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1997.

_____. The State, Education, and Social Class in Mexico, 1880-1928. Dekalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1982.

Vaughan, May Kay and Stephen E. Lewis. Eds. *The Eagle and the Virgin: Nation and Cultural Revolution in Mexico, 1920-1940.* Durham: Duke University Press, 2006.

Veblen, Thorstein. *The Engineers and the Price System.* New York: B.W. Huebsch, Inc., 1921.

Vitalis, Robert. American's Kingdom: Mythmaking on the Saudi Oil Frontier. London & New York: Verso, 2009.

Wade, Peter. *Race and Ethnicity in Latin America.* London and Chicago: Pluto Press, 1997.

Waldinger, Roger and David Fitzgerald. "Transnationalism in Question." *American Journal of Sociology.* Vol. 109 (2004).

Waldinger, Roger."Between 'Here' and 'There': Immigrant Cross-Border Activities and Loyalties." *International Migration Review.* Vol. 42. No. 1 (March 2008).

Walls, Melissa L. and Les B. Whitbeck. "The Intergenerational Effects of Relocation Policies on Indigenous Families." *Journal of Family Issues.*Vol. 33. No. 9 (2002): 1-23.

Wang, Wendy. "The Rise of Intermarriage: Rates, Characteristics Vary by Race and Gender." *Social and Demographic Trends.* Washington D.C.: Pew Research Center, 2012. 1-56.

Wasserman, Mark. Capitalists, Caciques, and Revolution: The Native Elite and Foreign Enterprise in Chihuahua, 1854-1911. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1984.

_____. Persistent Oligarchs: Elites and Politics in Chihuahua, Mexico 1910-1940. Durham: Duke University Press, 1993.

Weller, Georgeanne. "Medición del Grado de Bilinguismo y Biculturalismo de Adolescents Norteamericanos Residents en México." Informe inédito. CIS-INAH, 1977.

White, Donald Wallace. The American Century: The Rise and Decline of the United States as a World Power. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996.

Williams, William A. *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy.* New York: Dell Co., 1962.

Wilson, Bruce M. *Crown King and the Southern Bradshaws: A Complete History.* Chandler, AZ: Crown King Press, 1990.

Wright, Erik Olin. *Class Counts: Comparative Studies in Class Analysis.* Cambridge: Maison des Sciences de l'Homme and Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Wright, R., S. Houston, M. Ellis, et al. "Crossing Racial Lines: Geographies of Mixed-Race Partnering and Multiraciality in the United States." *Progress in Human Geography.* Vol. 27. No. 4 (Aug. 2003).

Yacob, S. "Model of Welfare Capitalism? The United States Rubber Company in Southeast Asia, 1910-1942." *Enterprise and Society.* Vol. 8. No. 1 (Jan. 2007): 136-174.

Zhenchao, Qian. "Options: Racial/Ethnic Identification of Children of Intermarried 7Couples." *Social Science Quarterly.* Vol. 85 (2004).