

EXILE & UTOPIA

By: Aaron Johnson-Ortiz

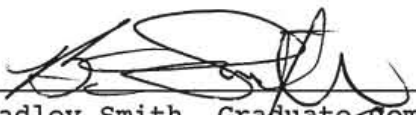
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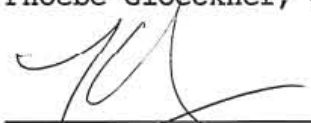
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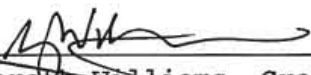
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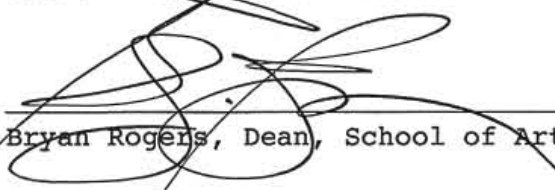
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Date Degree Conferred: April, 2010

ABSTRACT

The ampersand between the terms "exile" and "utopia" transforms a feeling of loss of home into a hope for a better world. That is the general trajectory of my illustrated book, *Exile & Utopia*, which traces a group of Mexican revolutionary journalists in the early twentieth century (1904-1906) as they flee repression and surveillance through Mexico, the US, and Canada, and attempt to organize an (ultimately failed) revolution. In the lead-up to the centennial of the Mexican Revolution of 1910, I re-traced this transnational precursor movement, thereby challenging the circumscriptive character of national histories, as well as the very notion of 'revolution' in the process. Over the past two years, I travelled across North America, photographed the erased historic sites where the exiles lived, hid, and worked, assembled a narrative based on primary source documents including intercepted correspondence and detective notes, rendered abstract 'diagrammatic drawings' that chart the growth and/or constriction of their solidarity networks, and produced a book composed of these three 'traces' (photographs, text, and drawings). The lines of flight I trace in *Exile & Utopia* resonate with my own experience coming of age shuttling between southern Mexico and the American Midwest, and provide a prehistory to emergent transnational solidarity networks in our own era.

KEYWORDS

Art, History, Geography, Politics, Mexico, US, Transnationalism, Networks, Abstraction, Photography, Dossier, Trace, Collage, Surveillance, Subterfuge, Revolution, Resistance, Solidarity, Zapatismo, Ricardo Flores Magón, Exile, Utopia

EXILE & UTOPIA

Aaron Johnson-Ortiz

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Old friends and new ones I met along the way encouraged me on my transnational journeys across North America. They provided lodging, local context, and moral support for my project. I offer thanks to Jumana Al-Hashal, Freda Fair, Matthew Hart, Daniela Ramírez Camacho, and Mark Bohnert.

The world owes Jacinto Barrera Bassols a standing ovation for collecting, transcribing, and digitizing the complete works of Ricardo Flores Magón, and I owe him special thanks for affirming my work and for answering questions relating to the most obscure aspects of *magonismo*.

Finally, I am eternally indebted to my parents, Tomás Johnson and Teresa Ortiz, who taught me that another world is possible, and to my partner, Miki Palchick, who keeps my hope alive.

INTRODUCTION

Over the past two years, I re-traced the footsteps of the Mexican revolutionary intellectual and journalist Ricardo Flores Magón from his flight into exile in 1904 until his death in the US Penitentiary at Leavenworth, Kansas, in 1922. Along the way, I consulted intercepted correspondence, surveillance notes, and other primary source documents in Mexican and American archives. The documents revealed addresses where Magón and his allies lived, hid, and worked. During my journeys, I photographed these erased historic sites that are now mundane urban spaces like parking lots or highway ramps. Back in my studio, I composed abstractions that trace the revolutionary journey, the solidarity networks that spread across North America, and the repressive apparatuses that constricted the movement.

The result of my creative research and studio practice is the following book. It interweaves a careful selection of these three 'traces:' a narrative based on primary source documents, corresponding photographs of historic sites, and collaged 'diagrammatic drawings.' The book chronicles only the first two years of the historic journey--to my mind the transformation of exile into utopia--as the group flees northward through Laredo, San Antonio, Saint Louis, Toronto and Montreal, and then darts south in an attempt to mount a political revolution in Mexico from El Paso, Texas.

dossier one:

EXILE

-----ooo0(1904)Oooo-----

FURLONG'S SECRET SERVICE COMPANY THOS. FURLONG, PRES. & MANAGER
1205-6-7 Chemical Building, St. Louis, Mo

File: R.F.MAGON, et al., seditionists

Title: Open Letter from Laredo (1904)

Record: RFM_02111904_cors.

Date: August 12, 1906

Author: Ansel T. Johnson, transcribed and translated.

Notes: Document published in early 1904 in Laredo, TX,
currently of mere anecdotal value. Explains
move to exile and early junta membership in Lar-
edo. Change in group composition between Laredo
and St. Louis may hint at potentially exploitable
schism(?). Recommendation to locate Sara Estela
Ramirez, permanent residence at 1802 Lincoln St.,
Laredo, and current position unknown, for prosecu-
tion or interrogation in connection with revolu-
tionists. Follow-up on Antonio Mendez, 1517 E.
Market St., deemed unfruitful.

Laredo conspirator addresses:
1802 Lincoln St., Sara Estela Ramirez and extended
family.
1517 E. Market St., Antonio Mendez.
Crescencio and Francisco Villarreal Marquez, un-
known residence in Laredo.



Laredo, Texas, Febrero 11 de 1904.

Laredo, Texas, February 11, 1904.

Señor Doctor Don Ignacio L. Verduzco
Calle del Moro 56
Guadalajara, Jalisco

Estimado Amigo y Correligionario:

Le escribimos del extranjero, a donde hemos venido a laborar con libertad para conseguir esa misma libertad en nuestra Patria. Nos dirigimos a Ud. por contarle entre los buenos compatriotas y leales correligionarios que siempre han prestado su ayuda y nos han animado en la lucha tenaz que sostenemos en contra de la Dictadura que envilece a la patria y al pueblo mexicano.

Llevamos tres años persiguiendo la causa liberal, censurados, desposeídos, encarcelados, y algunos ya masacrados, pero hasta el momento no nos han podido callar. La Dictadura reprimió nuestros clubes liberales en San Luis Potosí, en Lampazos, en San Nicolás Tolentino, en Pichucalco y en Pachuca, y en tantos otros lugares, pero seguimos adelante.

Nos han censurado implacablemente, pero igual de implacables hemos publicamos periódicos nuevos. El asalto a Regeneración dió luz a Renacimiento, pero sin piedad, el tirano acribilló a Renacimiento también. Siguieron Excelsior, Vésper, y El Demófilo, y también fueron clausurados por patrullas brutales. Ante tanta censura a la verdad, proseguimos la lucha por medio de la satira en El Hijo del Ahuizote, trabajando con dibujantes como Guadalupe Posada y otros, creyendo que el tirano Ahuizote tendría compasión de su hijo rebelde. Pero nos equivocamos, y Díaz no dudó en cometer filicidio. Mandó a sus lacayos a las oficinas de El Ahuizote, y mientras ellos pillaban las imprentas y aprehendían los que no tuvieron suerte de salir a tiempo, los otros planeábamos El Padre del Ahuizote, que salió al siguiente día. Se aplastó al Padre en el primer número, salió El Nieto del Ahuizote y luego el Bisnieto del Ahuizote. Una familia progenia, sin duda, pero no sin costo. Al final, nos aprehendieron, y nos mantuvieron incomunicados en las cartucheras de la Prisión Militar de Tlatelolco y en las infectas y húmedas bartolinas de Belém. Mientras pudríamos en la cárcel, el tirano saqueó nuestro bienes y útiles.

Felizmente hubiéramos sufrido la persecución inquebrantable si el Déspota hubiera respetado el último derecho

Mr... (Recipient
and Address)

Estimable Friend and Partisan:

We write to you from a foreign land, where we have come to seek the liberties that our work necessitates if it is to bring liberty to our fatherland. We count you amongst the benevolent compatriots and loyal partisans who have always offered us your help and encouraged us in the struggle we sustain against the Dictatorship that debases the fatherland and the Mexican people.

For over three years now, we have been censured, dispossessed, jailed, and even shot at, but we have not yet been silenced. One after the other, the Dictatorship suppressed our liberal clubs and jailed our partisans in San Luis Potosi and Lampazos, in San Nicolas Tolentino, in Pichucalco and Pachuca, as in so many other locales.

Relentlessly, they censored our newspapers, and relentlessly, we published our writings in new publications. Renacimiento followed Regeneracion, and then Excelsior, Vesper, and El Demofilo. Faced by so much censorship, we decided that a change in tone might protect us from repression, and so we published the jocular El Hijo del Ahuizote, and worked with cartoonists like Guadalupe Posada. We presumed the Despot would tolerate or ignore satire, but again our efforts were stymied, and the Despot showed his true colors in a brutal act of filicide [possible reference to newspaper name]. He sent his footmen to the offices of El Hijo del Ahuizote, raided the place, jailed our partisans, and stole our presses. Those of us who escaped were already planning El Padre del Ahuizote, which appeared on the streets the very next day. Again, El Padre was censured on the first issue, and then El Nieto del Ahuizote appeared, followed by El Bisnieto del Ahuizote, and so on. Despite the resilience of our movement, we paid a heavy toll: we were kept incommunicado in the Military Prison of Tlatelolco and in the hellholes of Belem Penitentiary. The tyrant then dispossessed us of our equipment.

We would have gladly continued suffering persecution indefinitely if the Despot had respected the last right we had left: our right to expression and to get published, even



if it meant doing so from prison. But in a violation of the Law as has never been seen before in Mexico, the autocrat Diaz censured all our publications, and banned all our writings from appearing in any newspapers.

These unequal conditions left us with only two options: to abandon the struggle or to continue our work in exile. We opted for the second, and have been living in Laredo for almost two months.

We have gained the liberty of movement, but not that of free expression. We write to you in a state of distress. Financial difficulties have prevented us from renewing the publication of our periodical. We ask for your monetary assistance in these difficult times. Please collect funds amongst the liberal persons you know. The regeneration of our paper and our cause needs your assistance now more than ever.

Please send your contributions by Express, by International Money Order Postal Service, or with bank bills to one of the following addresses:

Ms. Sara Estela Ramirez, 1802 Lincoln St, Laredo, TX, USA.

or,

Mr. Antonio Mendez, 1517 E. Market St, Laredo, TX, USA.

Miss Ramirez is a noble partisan who has always collaborated with us, and she co-signs the present document. Please address your correspondence to her because she is unknown to the authorities. Our names on your envelope will result in almost certain confiscation.

Sincerely,

Camilo Arriaga, Ricardo Flores Magon, Juan Sarabia,
Enrique Flores Magon, Sara Estela Ramirez.

que nos quedaba: el derecho de escribir y que se nos publique, siquiera desde las galeras de la cárcel. Pero efectuando una violación de la ley como nunca se ha visto en México, el autócrata Diaz prohibió la publicación de todos nuestros periódicos, y también cualquier artículo de nuestra autoría publicado donde fuese.

La lucha desigual nos dejó con solo dos caminos: el abandono a la lucha, ó su continuidad en el exilio. Nos decidimos por lo último, y desde hace casi dos meses nos encontramos en Laredo, Texas.

Hemos conseguido la libertad de movimiento pero no la de expresión. Le escribimos en este momento de grave angustia, ya que nuestras dificultades económicas nos han prohibido la reanudación del periódico. Por eso nos permitimos comisionarlo a que colecte entre los buenos liberales que conozca las cantidades que puedan contribuir para que podamos regenerar la causa.

El envío de lo que Ud. reúna le suplicámos nos lo haga por Express, por giro postal internacional, o en billetes de banco con la siguiente dirección:

Srta. Sara Estela Ramírez. Lincoln Street 1802.

ó;

Sr. Don Antonio Méndez, E. Market Street 1517. Laredo, Texas, U.S.A.

La Srta. Ramírez es una digna correligionaria que siempre ha colaborado con nosotros, y que firma con nosotros la presente. No queremos que la correspondencia traiga nuestros nombres porque sería detenida en las oficinas de correo de México.

Suplicándole la molestia que le inferimos y anticipándole todas las gracias por el servicio que nos brinda, tenemos el honor de suscribirnos como afmos. amigos y correligionarios,

Camilo Arriaga, Ricardo Flores Magón, Juan Sarabia,
Enrique Flores Magón.

FURLONG'S SECRET SERVICE COMPANY THOS. FURLONG, PRES. & MANAGER
1205-6-7 Chemical Building, St. Louis, Mo

File: R.F.MAGON, et al., seditionists.

Title: Ramirez to Magon in Mexico (1901-1903).

Record: RFM_05201901_12051903_cors.

Date: August 14, 1906.

Author: Ansel T. Johnson (translation).

Notes: Documents furnished by Chihuahua Governor Creel.
Letters from Sara Estela Ramirez to Ricardo Flores Magon previous to his move to Laredo. Ramirez addresses Magon as "respectable" in the first intercepted letter (1901). Two and a half years later, in the following available letter, Magon is her "dearest and most affectionate brother", indicating Ramirez' probable conscription into the central ranks of the junta as early as 1901 or 1902. Documents do not evidence illegal activity.

Laredo, Texas, May 20, 1901

Mr. Ricardo Flores Magon
Mexico City, Mexico

Respectable Mr. Flores Magon:

Recently I became familiar with your newspaper "Regeneracion," and since then my admiration for your patriotism and energetic civic valor, so rare in our unfortunate times, has known no limits.

Although your deeds are admired everywhere, there are those faint-hearted persons who, overcome with fear, coward from our noble struggle. This is exactly the problem here in Laredo, where men speak openly about the evils of the Dictatorship, but do nothing. It is we, the women, who have assumed the duty of agitating and organizing, and we have convinced a handful of men to join us.

I write to inform you that I have resolved to establish a liberal club here in Laredo with my dear friend Mr. Vidal Garza Perez, and together we are beginning a small periodical, "La Corregidora," which will commence publication on June first. As its director and proprietor, I am honored to put it under the unconditional orders of "Regeneracion."

If you deem it appropriate, please announce the inauguration of "La Corregidora" in your newspaper.

In the meantime, please count me in amongst your most devoted and enthusiastic partisans.

Yours truly,

Sara Estela Ramirez

Laredo, Texas, September 25, 1903

Mr. Ricardo Flores Magon
Mexico City

My dearest and most affectionate brother:

The day before last I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 19th. I have awaited your words so long! For more than two years we have gladly fought the tyranny, but at what cost! So many jailed, so few left to pursue the cause of liberty.

I recently received even more troubling news. It may not please you for me to bring this up, but I feel I must. I heard from Camilo about disturbances that have altered the harmony of our group. This news has caused me much pain. Will you tell me what has happened in your next letter? I only beg of my brother that we remain united, and that we learn to forgive one another.

For my part, my dear Ricardo, I have been paralyzed by familial tensions. My father's stubborn view regarding my involvement in political affairs has made me suffer deeply. But we made amends, at last, and I can now renew my labors. Only the Despot stands in my way.

Yours truly,

Sara Estela Ramirez

Laredo, Texas, October 15, 1903

Mr. Ricardo Flores Magon
Mexico City

Ricardo, my dear brother:

I have not been able to write due to illness. Everyone has caught the flu here! But the one who has suffered the most, and who is not recovering, is my baby nephew who is only a month old.

As always, I appreciate your kind words. Please continue writing; I will write you more soon.

I beg you forgive my short letter. The baby is getting worse... I will attend to him...

Your sister who loves you,

Sara Estela Ramirez

Laredo, Texas, November 5, 1903

Mr. Ricardo Flores Magon
Mexico

My dear brother:

I was so altered when I wrote you last, that I do not even remember what I said. We were overtaken by illness, and then by death. Our little nephew died on the 18th. Our home is so sad without him.

If I relate the nightmares and anxiety I suffer because of your tribulations, I will only succeed in tiring you. Arriaga wrote me yesterday with more bad news. I am aware now of your many problems, and as always, you worry me. Please do not publish anything for now, because you will only succeed in ending up in jail again. Assassins and traitors abound, and our partisans bear the brunt of the repression. I think of my imprisoned sisters and brothers, and my soul hurts to think of the unequal conditions of our struggle. If only I had financial means to help the situation. If only I had money, I could help my brothers, but my financial situation leans left of zero.

Please know that you have a house in Laredo if you are faced with insurmountable circumstances in the capital.

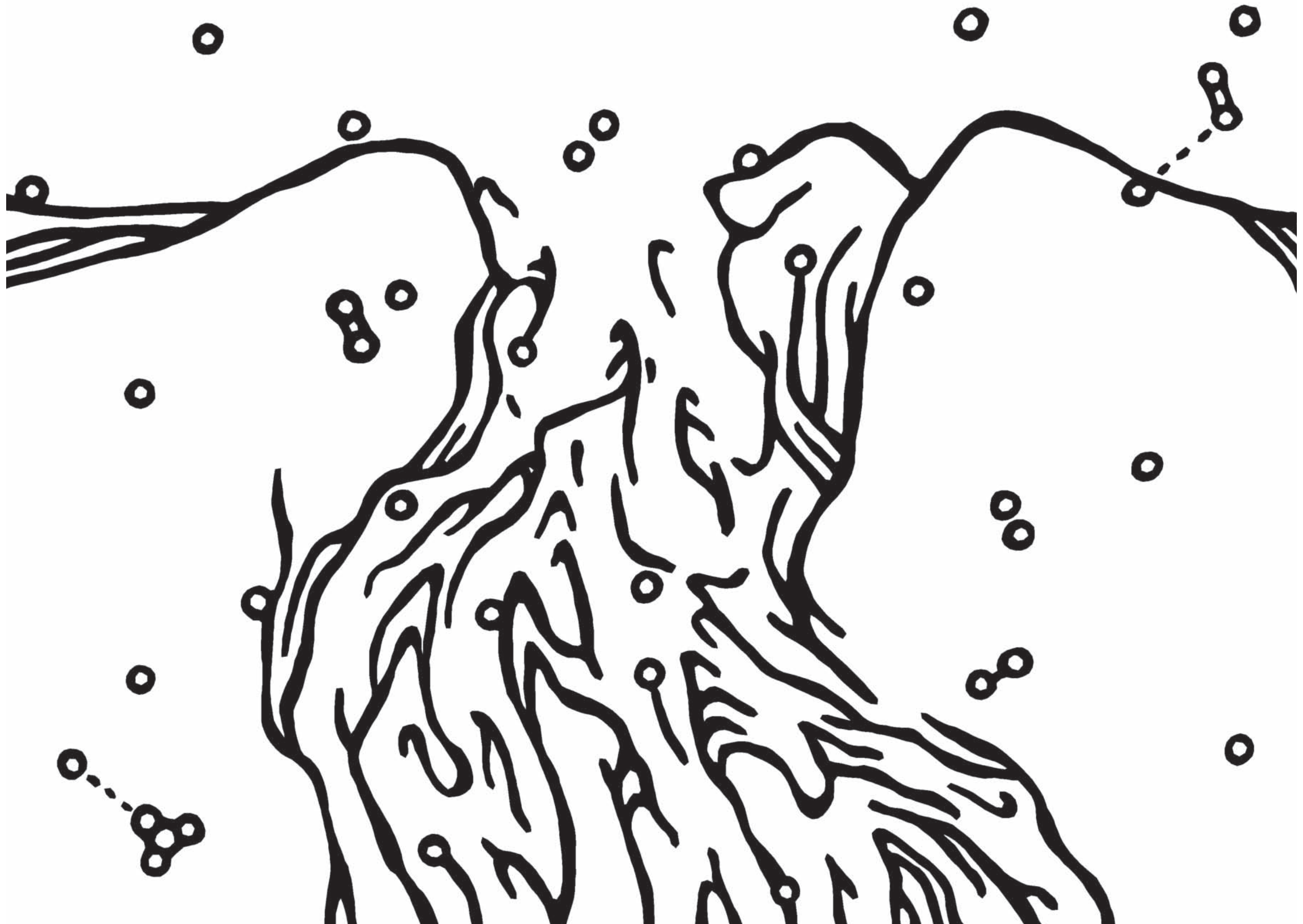
I'm going to bother you with a personal request. I hope you will understand. I printed a thousand copies of a pamphlet of my poetry, and I request your advice or help.

My father Jesus Maria, who I told you had been bitter with me but who is no longer angry, wrote to me offering his advice. He suggested that I sell the right to publish 3, 4 or 5 thousand copies to a publishing house, and that I offer the first thousand to them as part of their edition. I also considered retailing them myself at 50 cents a copy. The publication costs for a thousand was \$110 pesos. I don't know how to handle this, and I beg you oblige me with help or advice. You know that I am your sister, and I would hope that you would help me as if I were your brother Enrique.

Would you act as an intermediary with a publishing house in Mexico City? I will accept whatever price and number of copies you deem appropriate.

I beg you forgive the bother. Your sister who loves you,

Sarita.



File: R.F.MAGON, et al., seditonists.

Title: Regeneracion in San Antonio (1904).

Record: RFM_11051904_art.

Date: August 30, 1906.

Author: Excerpt translation by Agent Johnson.

Notes: Article provides background of seditonists' flight from Mexico, and their reasons for coming to the US. It is the front-page column of the first edition of "Regeneracion" published in exile, from the offices at 505 W. Nueva St., San Antonio, TX, on November 5, 1904. Much of the same information contained here is evident in "Open Letter from Laredo (1904)" (RFM_02111904_cors). The following translation of the first two paragraphs provides a flavor for the document as a whole. Article does not cite group tension as reason for move.

Conspirator addresses in San Antonio, TX:
505 W. Nueva St., Office space for "Regeneracion"
922 S. Pecos St., Safehouse for itinerant revolutionists.
1022 S. Leona St., House of Eulalio Trevino, sympathizer, and correspondence intermediary.

"REGENERACION"

"As soon as we procured the necessary material elements, the lack of which forced our silence, we hurried to relaunch our battered struggle from the columns of REGENERACION. Today, we hope our readers will receive our newspaper as one would receive the greeting of an old friend.

"We return to the battlefield as we have returned after each blow: with our faith renewed and our spirit weathered by adversity. The conviction that we serve the higher cause of our country infuses us with enthusiasm, and if we feel any sadness it is because we live far from our beloved fatherland and separated from the communion of our brothers in Mexico.

...







CORRESPONDENCIA PARTICULAR DEL
GOBERNADOR DEL ESTADO DE CHIHUAHUA
ENRIQUE C. CREEL

COPIA

Chihuahua, Mex., Agosto 28 de 1906

Sr. Presidente General Don Porfirio Díaz,
México, Palacio Nacional.

Muy estimable Señor y amigo de toda mi confianza:--

Hoy tengo el honor de proveerle los datos suministrados por la agencia de detectives que contraté para que vigilara a los malos mexicanos complicados con Magón mientras radicaban en la ciudad americana de San Luis, Missouri.

El Señor Gerente de la agencia de detectives Thomas Furlong me ha comunicado datos indispensable para la pronta identificación y captura de los revoltosos. He pasado el informe a los cónsules de El Paso, San Antonio, Laredo, Del Río, y Brownsville, Texas, y al señor Diebold, consul de San Luis, para que involucren a las autoridades de esos lugares. También he dado instrucciones al señor Furlong para que mande agentes a recorrer la frontera de Texas, pues dicen estar persiguiendo a los revoltosos de muy cerca, y espero que sus servicios nos ayuden para aprehender y castigar fuertemente a los bandidos y hacer de ellos un ejemplo.

El agente de aquella empresa que preparó el informe e infiltró al grupo de San Louis ha ganado las confianzas de los revoltosos y conoce el actual paradero de algunos de baja importancia que quizá puedan traernos más cerca a Magón. A decir del Señor Detective Furlong, ese agente habla buen castellano, pues según dice, es de madre mexicana. Ha infiltrado al grupo aparentando ser agente de anuncios. Mandaré la segunda parte del informe después de eliminar lo ofensivo que tiene.

Estaré muy pendiente de todo lo que ocurra para darle a usted cuenta.

Soy de Ud., con gran estimación, su adicto amigo y ss,

Enrique C. Creel

FURLONG'S SECRET SERVICE COMPANY THOS. FURLONG, PRES. & MANAGER
1205-6-7 Chemical Building, St. Louis, Mo

File: R.F.Magon, et al., Mexican seditionists.

Title: Ansel T. Johnson Report Part 1 (1906).

Record: RFM_08251906_ID_A.

Date: September 06, 1906.

Author: Thoms. Furlong; ID forms filled by Ansel Johnson

Notes: Identification information of Mexican seditionists in St. Louis taken by Agent Johnson during group infiltration in late 1905; before prosecution against R. Magon and subsequent subterfuge. Copies of information sent to Gov. Creel and Consul Diebold.

INFORMACION SECRETA
QUE EL AGENTE A.J. DE
SAN LUIS, MISSOURI, LE DIO
AL SUSCRITO, CONTESTANDO EL SI-
GUIENTE INTERROGATORIO.

-----oooO(&)Oooo-----

1.-¿CONOCE USTED A LOS REDACTORES DE "LA REGENERA-
CION"?

Sí, los conozco muy bien, por haber desempeña-
do, durante cuatro meses, la comisión que usted mismo me dió
acerca de esos Señores, pretendiendo ser agente de anuncios.

2.-DIGA USTED SUS NOMBRES

Se llaman: Ricardo Flores Magón, Enrique Flores
Magón, Juan Sarabia, Antonio I. Villarreal, Rosalío Busta-
mante, y Aarón López Manzano.

3.-¿PUDIERA USTED DARME LA FILIACION DE ESOS SENORES?

Si, señor, y es la siguiente:

4.-RICARDO FLORES MAGON:

Alto: cinco pies, ocho pulgadas.

Cuerpo: es bastante gordo.

Peso: aproximadamente 223 libras.

Color de los ojos: muy negros.

Color de pelo: negro rizado.

Color de la tez: trigueño oscuro.

¿Fuma? Es un gran fumador de cigarros.

¿Habla mucho? Es más bien serio, pero tiene fac-
ilidad para hablar y se expresa con elegancia.

¿Habla inglés? Muy poco.

¿Tiene mucho pelo? Bastante.

¿Que edad tiene? Representa cuarenta y cuatro
años.

¿Es casado? No.

¿Que otra cosa puede usted decirme del Senor Magon?

- Que es un periodista muy inteligente, trabajador, activo,
ordenado, que nunca se emborracha, que escribe muy bien en
máquina, que se hace respetar de las personas que lo acompa-
ñan; que tiene un carácter muy resuelto y energético y que
está fanatizado por la causa que persigue, con ese fanatismo
brutal y peligroso que tiene los anarquistas.

5.- ENRIQUE FLORES MAGON:

Alto: cinco pies ocho pulgadas.

AGENT JOHNSONS REPORT TO GOV. CREEL

(translated by agent)

PART 1 OF 2

--o--

1.- DO YOU KNOW THE EDITORS OF "LA REGENERACION"?

Yes, I know them well, as I infiltrated the
group under your direction during four months, posing as an
advertising broker.

2.- WHAT ARE THEIR NAMES?

They are Ricardo Flores Magon, Enrique Flores
Magon, Juan Sarabia, Antonio I. Villarreal, Rosalio Bustaman-
te, and Aaron Lopez Manzano. Their indentifying characteris-
tics are:

3.- RICARDO FLORES MAGON:

Height: Five feet, eight inches.

Body type: Portly.

Weight: Approximately 223 pounds.

Eye color: Very black.

Hair color: Black and curly.

Skin color: Dark olive

Does he smoke? He is a great smoker of ciga-
rettes.

Does he talk? He is rather solemn, but eloquent
when he talks.

Does he speak English? Very little.

Does he have a full head of hair? Yes.

Is he married? No.

WHAT ELSE CAN YOU SAY ABOUT R. MAGON? -That he is a
competent newspaperman, hardworking, active, orderly, that
he never gets drunk, that he is quick at typewriting, that
he makes sure he is respected by the people who surround him,
that he has a very resolute and energetic character, and that
he is fanaticized by the cause he pursues, with the brutal
and dangerous fanaticism of an anarchist.

4.- ENRIQUE FLORES MAGON:

Height: five feet eight inches.

Body type: Well-built

Weight: 154 pounds.

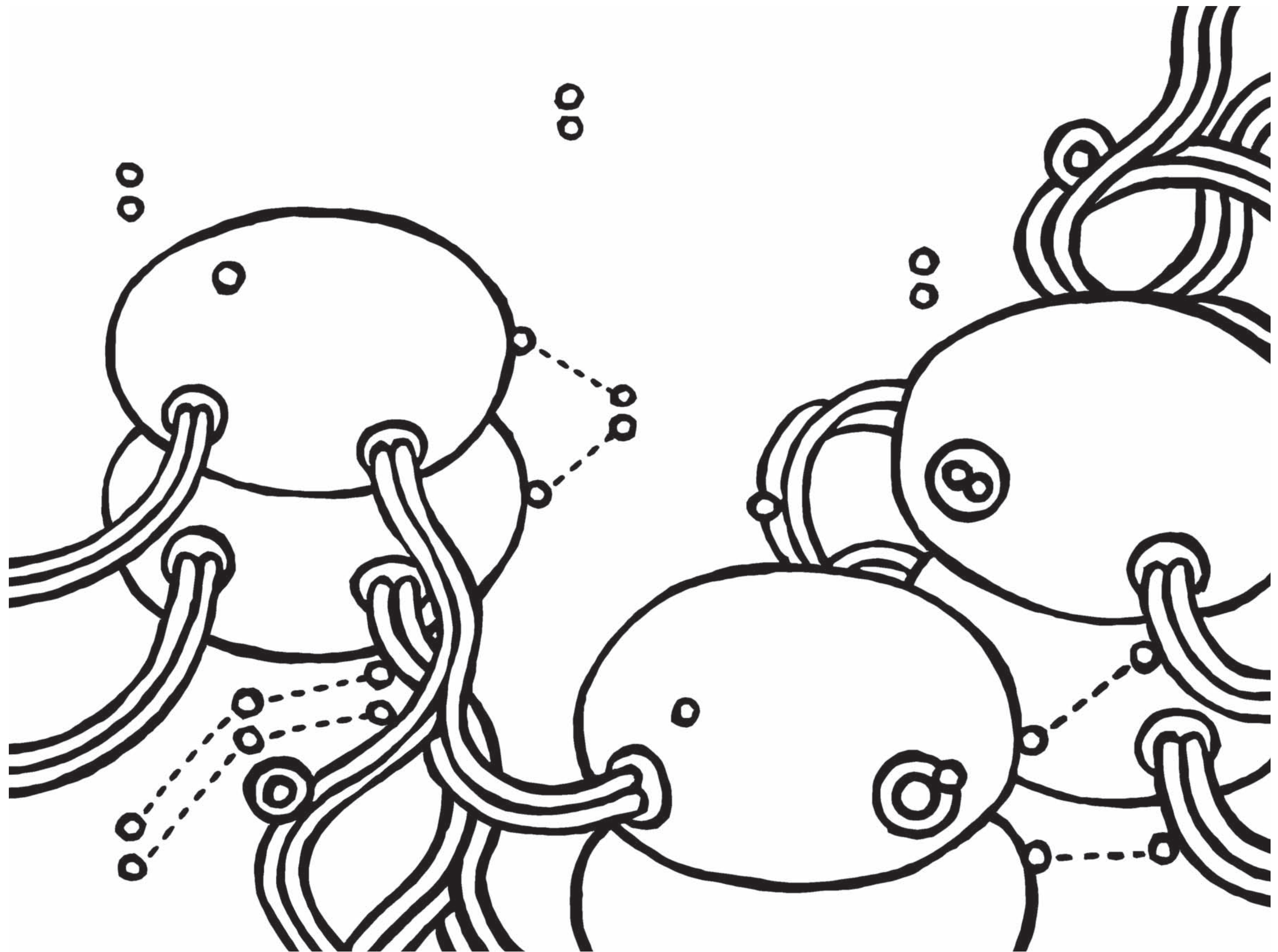
Eye color: Black.

Hair color: Black.

Skin color: light olive.

Does he smoke? Cigarettes.

Does he talk? No, he is rather pensive and re-



flective.

Does he speak English? No

Does he have a full head of hair? He has plenty, and he arranges it neatly.

How old is he? He looks thirty-five.

-WHAT ELSE CAN YOU SAY ABOUT ENRIQUE FLORES MAGON?

-That he dresses well, looks American, walks quickly, that he is under the influence of his brother Ricardo, and of an inferior intellect than him. He is a man of less civic virtue than his brother.

5.- JUAN SARABIA:

Height: five feet seven inches.

Body type: very thin.

Weight: 135 pounds.

Eye color: Dark.

Hair color: Black.

Skin color: Olive.

Does he smoke? Cigarettes.

Does he talk? He is good-humored and he likes jokes and pranks, but he is a man of lesser importance than Ricardo.

Does he speak English? A little.

Does he have a full head of hair? A lot.

How old is he? He looks like thirty years old.

WHAT ELSE CAN YOU SAY ABOUT JUAN SARABIA?

-That he writes with ease, that he is useful as a journalist, that he is resolute and daring in character, and that his face is lightly pockmarked.

6.- ANTONIO I. VILLARREAL:

Height: five feet, seven and a half inches.

Body Type: Well-built.

Weight: 165 pounds.

Eye color: Black.

Hair color: Black.

Skin color: Dark brown.

Does he smoke? Many cigarettes.

Does he talk? Yes, and he expresses himself well.

Does he speak English? Very little.

How old is he? 28 years old, although he looks 32.

WHAT ELSE CAN YOU SAY ABOUT ANTONIO I. VILLARREAL?

-That he is Ricardo Flores Magon's right-hand man, that he knows all of Ricardo's secrets, that he receives and safeguards the money entries, that he is one of the most active agents, and that he is a fanatic, just like the Magons and the Sarabias. But unlike them, he is also a womanizer, and

Cuerpo: es de buen cuerpo.

Peso: 154 libras.

Color de los ojos: negros.

Color del pelo: negro.

Color de la tez: trigueño oscuro.

¿Fuma? Cigarros.

¿Habla mucho? No, y más bien es pensador y reflexivo.

¿Habla inglés? No.

¿Tiene poco o mucho pelo? Tiene bastante y se lo arregla con cuidado.

¿Que edad tiene? -Representa treinta y cinco años.

-¿QUE MAS PUEDE USTED DECIRME DE ENRIQUE FLORES MAGON? - Que viste con gusto; que parece americano; que anda de prisa; y que está sugestionado por su hermano Ricardo. Lo considero a un nivel inferior intelectual respecto a aquél. Creo que es hombre de menos valor civil que su hermano.

6.- JUAN SARABIA:

Alto: cinco pies siete pulgadas.

Cuerpo: es muy delgado.

Peso: 135 libras.

Color de ojos: oscuros.

Color de pelo: negro.

Color de la tez: trigueño.

¿Fuma?-Cigarros.

¿Habla mucho? -Es de buen humor, le gustan los chistes y las bromas; pero es hombre de menos importancia que Ricardo.

¿Haba inglés? -Un poco.

¿Tiene mucho pelo? - Bastante.

¿Que edad tiene? - Representa treinta años.

¿QUE MAS PUEDE USTED DECIRME DE JUAN SARABIA? -Que escribe con facilidad; que es útil como periodista; que tiene carácter resuelto y audaz; y que tiene la cara ligeramente picada de viruela.

7.- ANTONIO I. VILLARREAL.

Alto: cinco pies siete y media pulgadas.

Cuerpo: de buen cuerpo.

Peso: 165 libras.

Color de ojos: negros

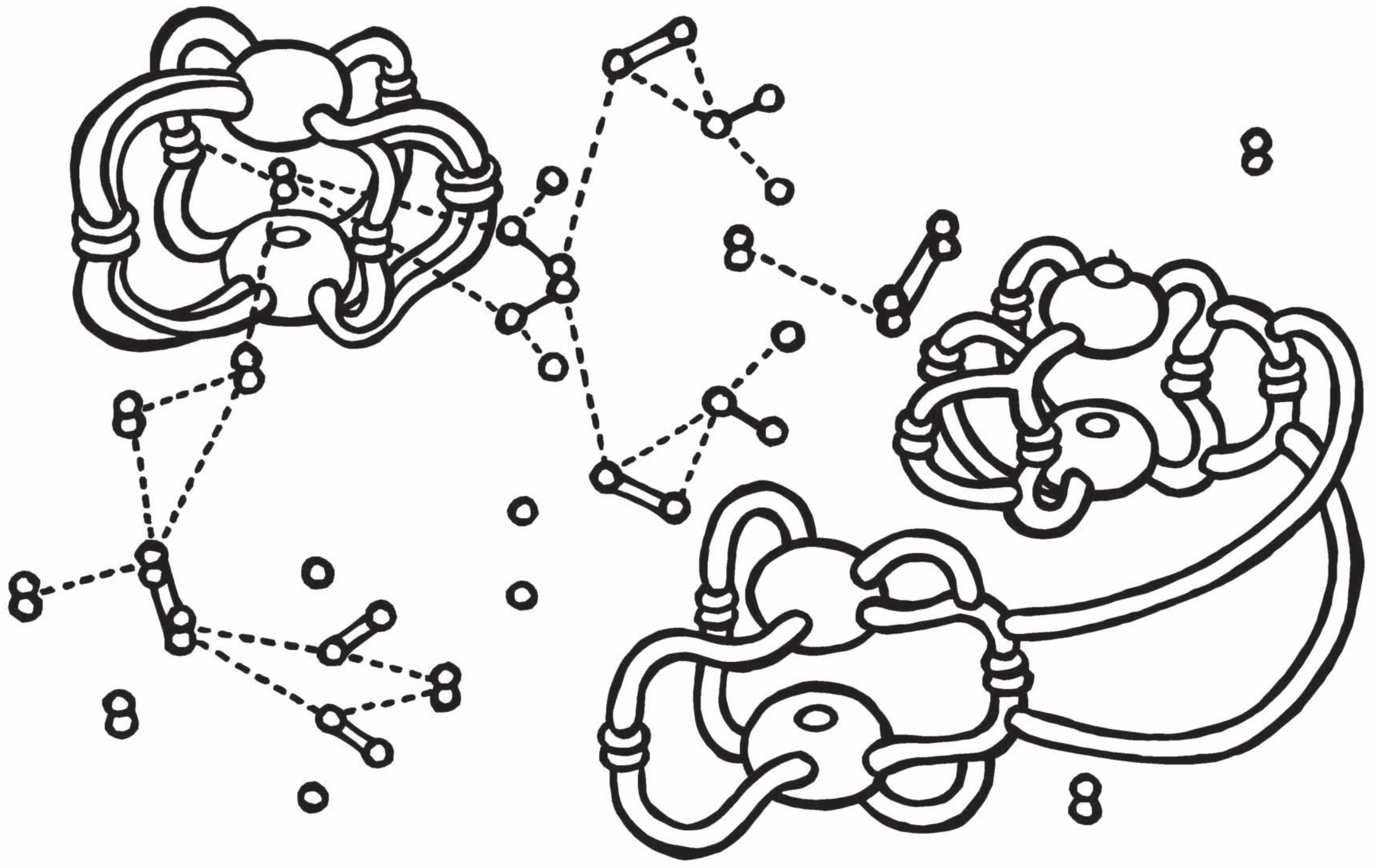
Color de pelo negro.

Color de la tez: negro oscuro.

¿Fuma? - Bastantes cigarros.

¿Habla mucho? - Si y se expresa bien.

¿Habla inglés? -Poco.



¿Tiene mucho pelo?-Bastante.

¿Qué edad tiene?-28 años, aunque representa 32.

-¿QUE MAS PUEDE USTED DECIRME DE VILLARREAL? -Que es el hombre de todas las confianzas de Ricardo Flores Magón; que conoce todos sus secretos; que recibía y guardaba el dinero; que ha sido uno de los agentes más activos; y que también es fanático, como los Magón y los Sarabia. Es un hombre muy enamorado, y le gustan los líos con las mujeres. Lejos de Magón, le agrada mucho decir bromas y chistes. El padre de Villarreal vive en San Luis.

8.- ROSALIO BUSTAMANTE:

Alto: cinco pies dos pulgadas.

Cuerpo: es muy delgado.

Peso: 125 libras.

Color de ojos: negros.

Color del pelo: negro.

Color de la tez: trigueño claro con bigote.

¿Fuma?-Cigarros.

¿Habla mucho?-No.

¿Habla inglés?-No.

¿Tiene mucho pelo?-Bastante.

¿Qué edad tiene?-29 años.

-¿QUE MAS SABE UD. DE BUSTAMANTE? -Que es carpintero; en el periódico escribía poco, porque no tiene ilustración, y lo ocupaban más bien para rotular y dirigir los periódicos. Tuvo un disgusto con los Magón y se separó de ellos hace algún tiempo. Vive en San Luis: está pobre y trabaja como oficial de carpintería. Es hombre de poca importancia y poco debe saber de los secretos de los Magón. Es casado y tiene una hija.

9.- MANUEL SARABIA:

Alto: cinco pies tres pulgadas.

Cuerpo: delgado.

Peso: 125 libras.

Color de los ojos: negros y vivos.

Color del pelo: negro.

Color de la tez: trigueño claro.

¿Fuma?-Cigarros.

¿Habla mucho?-Si.

¿Habla inglés?-Muy poco.

¿Que edad tiene?-26.

¿QUE MAS SABE USTED DE MANUEL SARABIA? -Que es activo, de buen trato, y que le gusta tomar la administración de espectáculos públicos, como circos, comedias, etc. Ha desempeñado algunos empleos con empresas de orden secundario que

has frequent love affairs. Far from Magon, he loves to tell jokes. Villarreal's father and sisters live in Saint Louis, Missouri.

7.- ROSALIO BUSTAMANTE:

Height: Five feet two inches.

Body type: very thin.

Weight: 125 pounds.

Eye color: black.

Hair color: black.

Skin color: light olive with a large mustache.

Does he smoke? Cigarettes.

Does he talk? No.

Does he have a full head of hair? Quite a bit.

How old is he? 29 years.

WHAT ELSE CAN YOU SAY ABOUT BUSTAMANTE? -That he is a carpenter, that he does not write in the newspaper because he lacks distinction, and that he instead helped with type-setting and printing the papers. He had a disagreement with the Magons and he left them some time ago. He lives in Saint Louis and remains poor, although he finds odd carpentry jobs. He is a man of little importance, and it is unlikely that he knows any of Magon's secrets. He is married and has a daughter.

8.- MANUEL SARABIA:

Height: Five feet three inches.

Body type: thin.

Weight: 125 pounds.

Eye color: black and lively.

Hair color: black.

Skin color: light olive.

Does he smoke? Cigarettes.

Does he talk? Yes.

Does he speak English? Very little.

How old is he? 26 years.

WHAT ELSE DO YOU KNOW ABOUT MANUEL SARABIA? -That he is active, sociable, and that he helps with the publication of their newspaper, as he is a printer by trade. He earns money by administering public spectacles like circuses, comedies, etc., and he has also worked for small travelling shows.

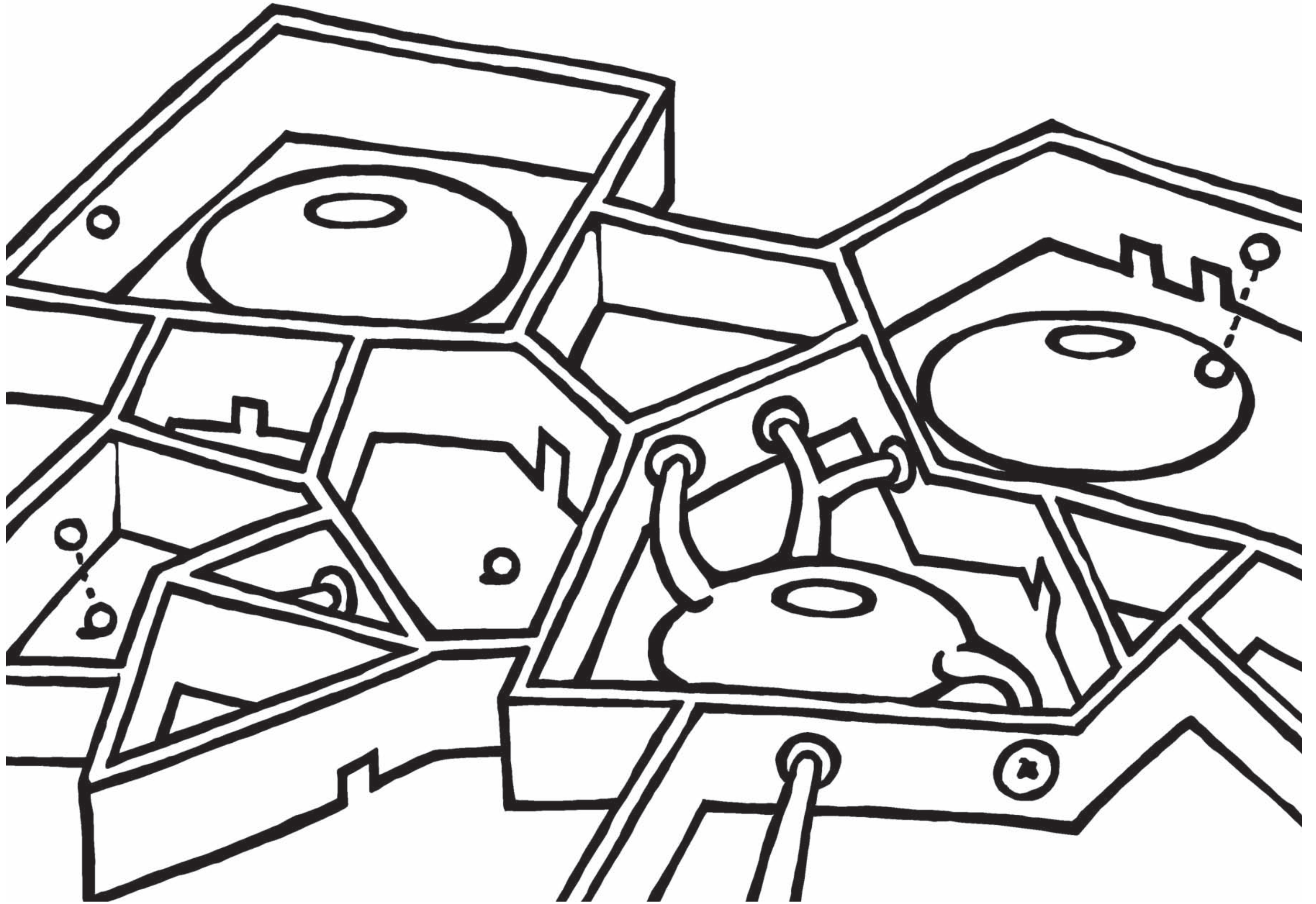
10.- AARON LOPEZ MANZANO:

Height: five feet five inches.

Body type: Normal.

Weight: 140 pounds.

Eye color: black.



Hair color: Brown.

Skin color: light.

Does he smoke? Cigarettes.

How old is he? He looks like 30, but those around him say he is 22, probably a ruse.

Does he talk? Not much, but sometimes he gets animated during conversations.

Does he speak English? A few words.

WHAT ELSE DO YOU KNOW ABOUT A. LOPEZ MANZANO? -That he goes by Aaron Apple or A. L. Apple, which is a translation of his Spanish surname, that he is a close confidant of Magon, that he takes care of Magon's elderly aunt, that he is a typesetter by trade and has been running the Regeneracion operation since the others jumped bail, and that he is probably in charge of the secret archive of these men, which includes the subscriber lists and the secret correspondence with subversives in Mexico. It is unlikely that they keep the safe where they live, but instead, they probably keep it in one of the many safe-deposit boxes rented in town. Lopez Manzano has shown me a few documents because he trusts and likes me, but I have not succeeded in cajoling him into telling me where he keeps the general archive. He receives correspondence through the Express Wells Fargo branch in Saint Louis, and it would be possible to begin a partial list of subscribers by conducting an inquiry at that location.

viajan por los pueblos.

10.-AARON LOPEZ MANZANO:

Alto: cinco pies cinco pulgadas.

Cuerpo: regular

Peso: 140 libras.

Color de ojos: negros.

Color de pelo: castaño.

Color de la tez: blanco.

¿Fuma?-Cigarros.

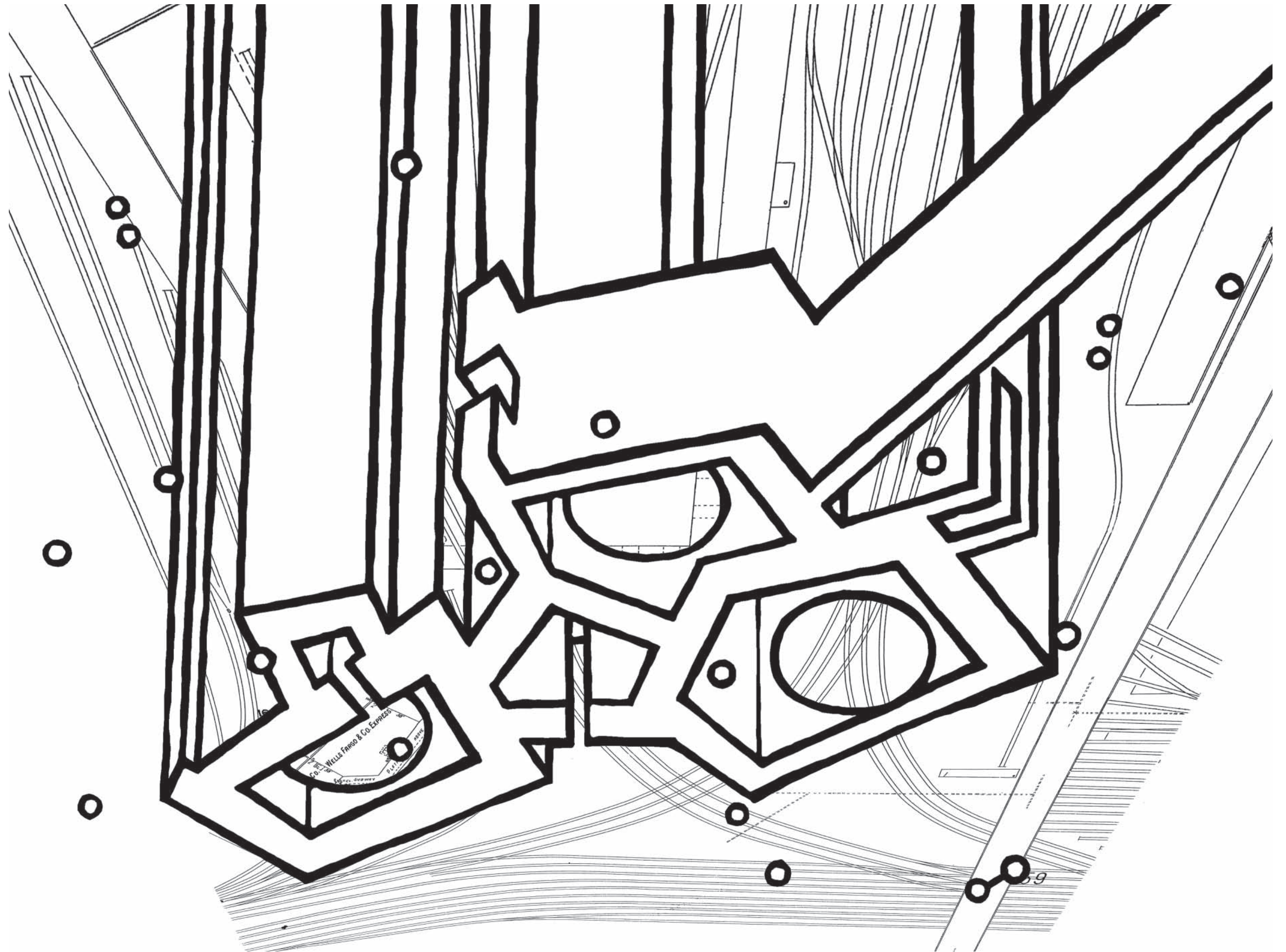
¿Habla mucho?-No mucho, pero se entusiasma cuando toma la conversación.

¿Habla inglés?-Unas cuantas palabras.

¿Qué edad tiene?-Representa como 30 años, pero dicen los demás que tiene 22, probablemente de artimaña.

¿QUE OTRAS COSAS SABE USTED DE AARON LOPEZ MANZANO?

-Que a veces se dice llamar Aaron Apple ó A. L. Apple, que es la traducción de su apellido al inglés, que es persona de todas las confianzas de Ricardo Flores Magón, que esta encargado de cuidar a la tía anciana de los Flores Magón, que es tipógrafo y se ha encargado de administrar "Regeneración" desde que los otros escaparon al salir bajo fianza, y que probablemente es el depostario del archivo secreto de dichos señores en donde esconden la lista de suscriptores por estado, y la correspondencia secreta. Lo más probable es que no tenga el archivo en la casa donde vive; sino que todos los papeles de importancia están depositados en alguna caja de seguridad de las que arriendan por renta moderada en San Luis, Missouri. Algunos documentos me los ha mostrado López Manzano porque me tiene confianza y porque le agrado, pero no lo he podido engatusar a que me diga donde guarda el archivo secreto. Recibe correspondencia por medio de la Express Wells Fargo, y se podría comenzar una lista parcial de suscriptores con una pesquiza en la oficina de Wells Fargo en San Luis.



FURLONG'S SECRET SERVICE COMPANY THOS. FURLONG, PRES. & MANAGER
1205-6-7 Chemical Building, St. Louis, Mo

File: R.F.MAGON, et al., seditionists.

Title: Ramirez Split (1905)

Record: RFM 04091905 cors.

Date: September 09, 1906.

Author: Ansel T. Johnson, transcription and translation

Notes: Ramirez, Arriaga, and Madero sever ties with St.
Louis Junta.

San Antonio, Texas, Marzo 9 de 1905

Sr. Ricardo Flores Magón
San Luis, Missouri, U.S.A.

Mi querido hermanito:

Me levanté tempranito en la mañana y le escribí un recadito prometiéndole escribir algo más extenso. Acabo de recibir su segunda carta, y no puedo demorar más en responderle.

He estado triste y abrumada, Ricardo, con tantos antagonismos y peleas. Le diré a Ud. francamente, que estoy decepcionada de todo, absolutamente de todo. Desde la noche de su llegada a Laredo todo ha cambiado, entonces, cuánta felicidad! hoy, cuánto desencanto! entonces, cómo sueño con grandiosas luchas y hermosísimos proyectos para el porvenir. Pero desde aquella noche he venido saboreando desencanto tras desencanto, y ahora, que inocente me veo!

Mire Ud., hermanito, yo creí que había fraternidad verdadera en nuestro grupo, creí que había entre nosotros una armonía natural. Creí que lucharíamos todos unidos, por el mismo ideal y con los mismos medios. Pero me equivoqué y hoy no sé que creer ni en que tener esperanza.

No quiero analizar su disgusto con Camilito, creo que ambos tienen razón y ambos tienen culpa. El mal está en que, imperfectos como somos, no sabemos disculpar nuestras faltas ni ayudarnos unos a los otros como verdaderos humanos. Es triste, Ricardo, pero es la verdad.

Voy a causarle dolor con mi franqueza y también con mi determinación: me separo del grupo de mis hermanitos y asociada a Camilito seguire la lucha aquí. Ruego a Ud. no juzgue que estoy sugestionada por Camilo. Lo que hago, además de ser mi voluntad, tiene la autorización de mi padre. Espero también que no me haga acreedora de su enemistad, o que jamás me repita la frase de su última cartita: que perderá a su hermanita Sara para siempre.

Eso no debe ser! Al contrario, trabajando grupitos así, separados y en distintos lugares, mantendremos la paz y avanzaremos la causa. Ud. sabe, hermanito, el respeto y el cariño que le tengo, y que siempre le he profesado. Sé también que Ud. es bueno y noble de corazón, ojalá que siempre lo sea, y que no guarde rencores inútiles.

Yo procuraré por mi parte guardar mi corazón inmaculado para practicar el bien y amar siempre mucho, especial-

San Antonio, Texas, March 9, 1905

Mr. Ricardo Flores Magon
St, Louis, Mo.

My beloved brother:

I woke up early this morning and wrote you a short note promising to write something more extensive. I just received your second letter, and now I cannot delay my response any longer.

I have been sad and overwhelmed, Ricardo, with so many antagonisms and fights. I will tell you frankly that I am disappointed with everything, absolutely everything. Since that night you arrived in Laredo, everything has changed. Then, what happiness! Today, what disenchantment! Then, I dreamt of grandiose struggles and beautiful projects for our future. But since the moment of your arrival, I have suffered only disappointments. I feel so naive!

Look, my brother, I thought there was real fraternity in our group, I thought that between us there was a natural harmony. I thought we would fight together, for the same ideal and by the same means. But I was mistaken, and today I do not know what to believe or what to hope for.

I do not want to analyze your dispute with Camilito. I believe you are both right and equally to blame. The real evil is that, imperfect as we are, we do not know how to forgive our faults or help each other as real human beings. It is sad, Ricardo, but it is the truth.

I am sure that my frankness and determination will hurt you: Today I separate from the group of my brothers, and associated with Camilo, I will continue the struggle here. I beg you not to believe that Camilo influences my decision. In addition to being my own choice, I have my father's blessing. I also hope that my determination does not earn me your enmity, and that you will never repeat the phrase from your last letter: that you have lost your little sister Sara forever.

Let this not be the case. On the contrary, working separately and in smaller groups, we will make peace with each other and advance our cause. I hope you know I retain the respect and fondness for you that I have always professed. I know you are good and noble at heart, and that you will always be. May you rid yourself of useless rancor against others.

For my part, I promise to cleanse my heart of malice, and to practice only love and good deeds, especially toward the people, or the proletariat as you call them, and be sure, my dear brother, that I will always fight for them. It is true that Camilo comes from a wealthy family, as do his friends, but we need their help to survive and to continue our struggle.

I hope that your patriotism and energy will one day lead us to victory, and that you will then be able to call yourself happy. Your sister who loves you,

Sara Estela Ramirez

mente al pueblo, o al proletariado como Ud. los llama, y esté seguro, mi hermanito, que lucharé siempre por ellos. Es verdad que Camilito proviene de familia adinerada, al igual que muchos de sus amigos, pero necesitamos de su ayuda para sobrevivir y continuar luchando.

Que su patriotismo y energía nos lleven al triunfo soñado y que pueda algún día llamarse feliz, desea su hermana que lo quiere,

Sara Estela Ramírez

Mr. Ricardo Flores Mab
107 N Channing Ave.,
St, Louis, Mo.

My beloved brother:

I am sad and overwhelmed, Ricardo, with so many antagonisms and fights. I will tell you frankly that I am disappointed with absolutely everything. Since that night you arrived in Laredo, everything has changed. Then, I dreamt of grandiose struggles and beautiful projects for our future. I feel so naive. I am sure that my frankness and determination will hurt you: Today I separate from my brothers and that I will never repeat the phrase from your last letter: that I have lost your sister Sara forever.

I hope that your patriotism and energy will one day lead us to victory, and that you will then be able to call yourself happy. Your sister who loves you,
Sara Estela Ramirez

Ricardo Flores Macón
107 N Channing Ave.,
San Luis, Missouri, U.S.A.

Mi querido hermanito:

Me levanté tempranito en la mañana y le escribí un recadito prometiéndole escribir algo más extenso. Acabo de recibir su segunda carta, y no demoraré más en responderle.

He estado triste y abrumada, Ricardo, con tantos antagonismos y peleas. Le diré a Ud. francamente, que estoy decepcionada de todo. Desde la noche de su llegada a Laredo todo ha cambiado, entonces, cuánta felicidad! Pero desde aquella noche he venido saboreando el porvenir. Pero desde hoy, cuánto desencanto, entonces, cómo desencantos, y ahora, que inocente me veo!

Voy a causarle dolor con mi franqueza y también con mi determinación: me separo del grupo de mis hermanitos y asociada a Camilo, entonces, cómo no juzgue que es un error. Espero también que me haga acreedora de su enemistad, o que me repita la frase de su última cartita: que perderá a su hermanita Sara para siempre.

Que su patriotismo y energía nos lleven al triunfo soñado y que pueda alguna vez llamarse feliz, desea su hermana que lo quiere siempre.
Sara Estela Ramirez

FURLONG'S SECRET SERVICE COMPANY THOS. FURLONG, PRES. & MANAGER
1205-6-7 Chemical Building, St. Louis, Mo

File: R.F.Magon, et al., Mexican seditionists.
Title: St. Louis locales.
Record: RFM SL adrs.
Date: September 17, 1906
Author: J.
Notes: St. Louis Addresses included in Report to Creel
Part 2:

107 N. Channing Ave., First "Regeneracion"
offices in St. Louis.

2645 Lafayette Ave., current newspaper.

2746 Lafayette Ave., safehouse.

3437 Walnut St., House of Luisa Reyes Pri-
eto, principal correspondence intermediary.









INFORMACION SECRETA
QUE EL AGENTE A.J. DE
SAN LUIS, MISSOURI, LE DIO
AL SUSCRITO, CONTESTANDO EL SI-
GUIENTE INTERROGATORIO.
(SEGUNDA PARTE)

-----oooO(&)Oooo-----

1.- ¿DONDE RADICAN LOS REDACTORES DE LA REGENERACION?

Publicaban "La Regeneración" en la avenida norte de Channing 107. Cuando todos estaban en San Luis, alquilaban un local en la Avenida Lafayette y en la calle 18 este. El padre de Villarreal, que se dedica a vender periódicos en la calle, renta un cuarto en la calle Convent, donde vive con sus dos hijas, Andrea, la mayor, y Teresa, la menor. El viejo Villarreal y sus dos hijas aún residen ahí, ahora con la tía de los Magón, la madre de Juan Sarabia, y la esposa y los dos niños de Librado Rivera. El lugar es chico, duermen en el mismo cuarto, y viven pobres y en medio de la suciedad.

2.- ¿DE LOS REDACTORES, QUIENES SE HAN QUEDADO EN SAN LUIS, MISSOURI?

Don Ricardo salió, y no he visto ni a Antonio Villarreal ni a Juan Sarabia. Hace una semana ví a Lopez Manzano, el tipógrafo que cuida de la tía de los Magón.

3.- ¿DONDE VIVE LOPEZ MANZANO?

La última vez que lo ví, fué en la Avenida Lafayette número 2746. Ese día me habló del encargo de una máquina de escribir y ropa que mandó a Toronto, Canadá.

4.- ¿QUIEN RECIBIO EL ENCARGO EN TORONTO?

Probablemente fué Enrique Magón, porque Ricardo ya se había ido de Canadá a recorrer la frontera de Texas.

5.- ¿QUE EXPLICACION LE DIERON LOS MAGON SOBRE SU CONDUCTA, CUALES SON SUS PLANES, Y CON QUE RECURSOS CUENTAN PARA REALIZARLOS?

Los Magóns, Sarabias y Villarreales siempre me

REPORT TO GOV. CREEL
translation - part 2 of 2
--o--

1.- WHERE DO THE EDITORS OF LA REGENERACION RESIDE?

They first published "La Regeneracion" from 107 North Channing Avenue. When all the editors resided in Saint Louis, they also rented quarters on Lafayette Ave. Villarreal's father, who sells newspapers on the street for a living, now rents the basement of a tenement building on East Convent St with his two daughters, Andrea Villarreal, the elder sister, and, Teresa, the younger. The old Villarreal and his two daughters still live on Convent, along with an aunt of the Magons, Juan Sarabia's aging mother, and the wife and two children of Librado Rivera. The place is small, and they live in what appears to be abject poverty and filth.

2.- WHO REMAINS IN SAINT LOUIS?

Mr. Ricardo absconded, and I have not seen either Antonio Villarreal or Juan Sarabia. I saw Aaron Lopez Manzano, the typesetter who takes care of Magon's aunt, about a week ago.

3.- WHERE DOES MANZANO LIVE?

The last time I saw him was at 2746 Lafayette Ave. That day he mentioned a shipment, including a typewriter and clothes, he sent to Toronto, Canada.

4.- WHO RECEIVED THE SHIPMENT IN TORONTO?

It was probably Enrique Magon, because Ricardo had already left Canada to roam the Texas border.

5.- WHAT EXPLANATION DID THE MAGONS GIVE YOU ABOUT THEIR CONDUCT, WHAT ARE THEIR PLANS, AND WHAT RESOURCES DO THEY HAVE AT THEIR DISPOSAL TO CARRY OUT THEM OUT?

The Magons, Sarabias and Villarreales always struck me as the variety of men fanaticized by an idea, and dangerous because of it, as are all men who pursue such obsessions. In their conversations they always spoke of the tyranny and dictatorship of General Diaz, about the terrible repression of intellectuals and the press, of the complicity of the clergy in sabotaging the work of the Liberal Party, and also the complicity of the wealthier classes, especially

El Señor, y es la siguiente.

4. - RICARDO FLORES MAGON:

Alto: cinco pies ocho pulgadas.

Cuerpo: Es bastante gordo.

Peso: Aproximadamente 225 libras.

Color de los ojos: Rojo y negros.

Color del pelo: Negro rizado.

Color de la tez: trigoño oscuro.

Es un gran fumador de cigarras.

Es mas bien serio, pero tiene fe.

Se mueve con elegancia.

Muy poco.

Bastante.

¿Tiene pelo?

¿Tiene representacion?

No.

¿Es casado?

¿Tiene otras cosas que hacer?

Es un perfeccionista muy inteligente.

Es un perfecto borracho.

Es un perfecto borracho.

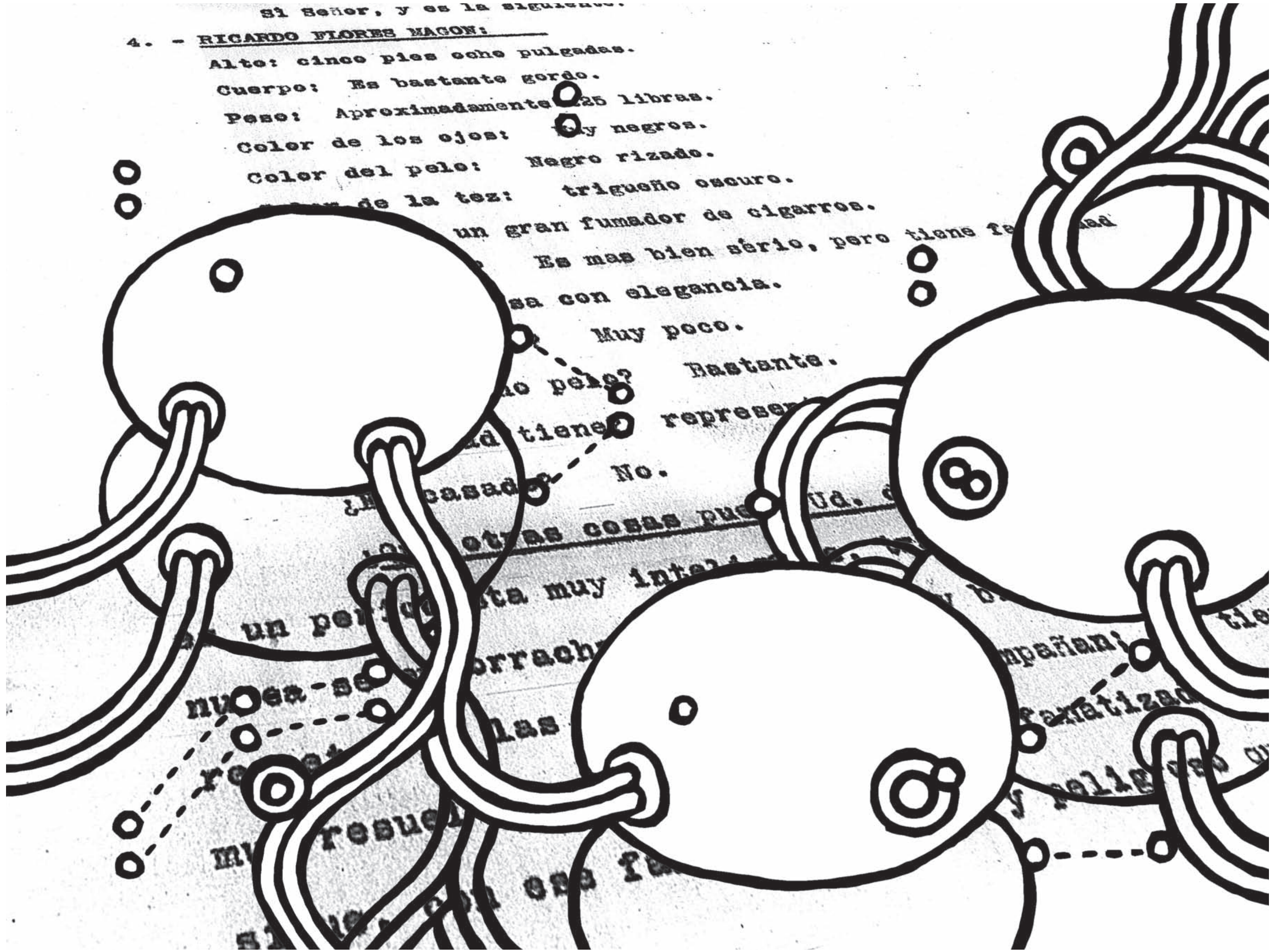
¿Tiene resaca?

¿Tiene compania?

¿Tiene paratizado?

¿Tiene y polio?

¿Tiene otras cosas que hacer?



the landowners and industrialists. They say they lacked political guarantees and freedom of the press in Mexico, and because they were pursued by the Mexican Government, they claim to have been forced to emigrate from Mexico to the United States, where they established a newspaper on the border, in Laredo, and then one in San Antonio, Texas, and finally one in St. Louis. That the Mexican people are overwhelmingly opposed to the government and the rich, and that they would speak badly of them if they did not live under such oppression, which helped the editors increase the circulation of their newspaper, and they wanted to educate the lower classes, especially the peons, unskilled laborers or the unemployed, hobos usually, who drift across the border on freight trains from Chihuahua and Sinaloa to Arizona and even all the way up to Denver, looking for work. That the majority of their subscribers were not unskilled laborers but industrial workers, especially miners, lumberjacks and railroad men, and some farmers and ranchers as well, because these people could pay the subscription fees and have addresses along the railway with easy postal service access, and that it was also easier to incline them toward socialism and to strikes and to that order of thing. They said that the peons did not read "La Regeneracion", but they knew of it, because the subscribing members would soapbox at train stations or in the mines, and then the illiterate workers would listen and ask questions. They are also meddling with Indians, although they spoke of them interchangeably with the peons, and they said that the Mexican Indians have been dispossessed of their land, which General Diaz gave to foreign industrialists, especially copper tycoons like Mr. William Greene, and that they wanted those lands returned to the Indians so that they could farm and own them collectively. The editors thought that their newspaper would prepare the spirit and conviction of the workers so that, over time, they would help to establish another administration in Mexico, and prepare them for active participation in politics, although they thought their work would be slow and a matter of a couple years, but maybe the death of General Diaz would precipitate these events and assure victory. In the meantime, they believed they could generate enough income so as to survive in the United States, because the subscribers and sympathizers paid well, and that every day they received many small money order transfers, which added up to a constant flow of money. Their newspaper was initially accepted as fourth class mail, and they could send the papers at a penny a piece, and even the paper

parecieron de esos hombres fanatizados por una idea, y por ende peligrosos, al igual que todos los hombres que persiguen ese tipo de obsesiones. Siempre hablan mal del Sr. Don General Díaz, llamándolo un tirano y un dictador, hablan de la represión de los intelectuales y de la prensa, de la complicidad del clero y de la clase adinerada, especialmente los terratenientes e industrialistas, en suprimir al Partido Liberal. Decían que faltando garantías y libertad de prensa en México, emigraron para Laredo, donde empezaron un periódico en la frontera, y luego otro en San Antonio, Texas, hasta llegar a San Luis, Missouri. Que el pueblo mexicano se opone al gobierno y a los ricos, y que hablarían en contra de ellos si no estuvieran tan fuertemente oprimidos, y que con ese descontento general han podido incrementar la circulación de "La Regeneración," con lo que esperan educar a las clases bajas, especialmente a los peones que montan trenes de carga en Chihuahua y Sinaloa y cruzando la frontera, van a buscar trabajo en Arizona, o hasta muy lejos como en Denver, Colorado. Dicen que la mayoría de los suscritores no son peones sino obreros, como mineros, madereros, y ferrocarrileros, y también algunos campesinos y rancheros, porque esa gente tiene más dinero para pagar la suscripción y porque viven cerca de las vías de tren a donde llega el servicio postal rápidamente, y que también son más fácil de inclinarlos al socialismo y a las huelgas. Dicen que los peones no leen el periódico, pero que sí la conocen, porque los suscriptores lo leen públicamente en las estaciones del tren y dentro de las minas, y que los peones analfabetos escuchan y hacen preguntas. También se han involucrado con indios, que dicen también son peones, porque se les han quitado las tierras y se les han entregado a los industrialistas extranjeros, especialmente a los magnates de cobre como el señor William Greene, y que ellos quieren regresarles las tierras a los indios para que lo colectivizen. Los redactores veían que su periódico podría preparar el espíritu y la convicción de los obreros para que, con el paso del tiempo, podrían ayudar a establecer otra administración en México, y que los prepararían políticamente para tomar papeles importantes dentro del sistema, pero que su trabajo sería lento y obra de algunos años, pero que la muerte del general Díaz podría precipitar los acontecimientos y asegurar el éxito. Que de mientras, ganaban lo suficiente como para vivir en los Estados Unidos, porque los suscriptores y simpatizadores pagaban bien al periódico y les hacían constantes remesas de dinero en pequeños giros postales, que les llegaban a diario, y que

... y se dedica a tomar la administración de espectáculos públicos, como circos, comedias etc. y ha desempeñado algunos empleos con Empresas de órden secundario que viajan por los pueblos ciertos.

10. - A. SAUCEDA:

Alto: cinco pies cinco pulgadas.

Peso: Regular.

Peso: 140 libras.

Color de ojos: Negros.

Color de pelo: Castaño.

Color de la tez: Blanco.

¿Fuma? Cigarros.

¿Habla mucho? No mucho; pero si se entusiasma cuando toma la conversación.

¿Habla inglés? Unas palabras mal.

¿Tiene mucho pelo? Sí y lo está cuidando.

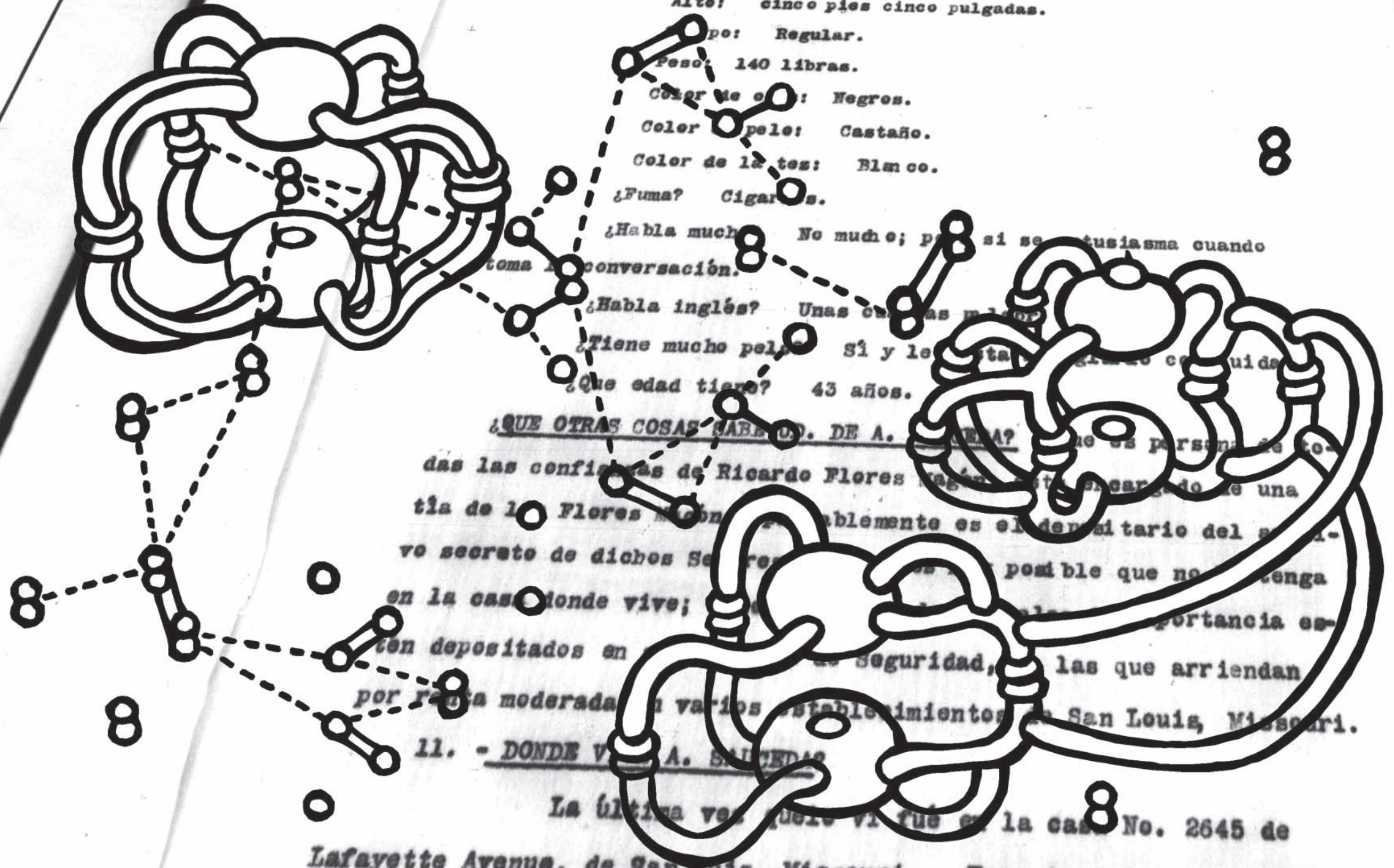
¿Que edad tiene? 43 años.

¿QUE OTRAS COSAS SABE UD. DE A. SAUCEDA?

... me es persona de todas las confidencias de Ricardo Flores quien está encargado de una tía de los Flores quien probablemente es el depositario del activo secreto de dichos Señores. Es posible que no tenga en la casa donde vive; algunas de las importancias están depositados en la seguridad, las que arriendan por renta moderada en varios establecimientos de San Luis, Missouri.

11. - DONDE VIO A. SAUCEDA

La última vez que lo vi fue en la casa No. 2645 de Lafayette Avenue, de San Luis, Missouri. Ese mismo día me enseñó



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8

en conjunto sumaba una corriente constante de dinero. El periódico se recibía como de cuarta clase, y los remitían por un centavo, siendo además el papel y la impresión muy baratos, y que todo les estaba llendo muy bien, porque llegaron a imprimir hasta 11,000 ejemplares, pero que cuando llegó el Sr. Areliano de Oaxaca y procedió contra ellos por libelo, y cuando el administrador de correos de San Luis, Missouri, se negó a recibir el periódico como de cuarta clase, y cuando por otra parte, se confiscaban los periódicos en las oficinas de correo de México, que las cosas se les pusieron muy difíciles. Salí rumbo a Denver después del arresto, pero me informaron recientemente que desde entonces vacilaron mucho sobre lo que debían hacer y que entonces le dieron un nuevo giro a sus ideas, planes y trabajos, resolviéndose a organizar el "Partido Liberal Mexicano," y que con ese objetivo publicaron el manifiesto del 10 de julio de 1906. El manifiesto se ha circulado por todo México y también entre los Mexicanos que viven en Texas y Arizona y se dice que es muy bien recibido por el pueblo porque la mayoría está de acuerdo con las demandas del manifiesto, que quieren el devolvimiento de sus tierras y mejores condiciones de trabajo, y creen que el clero y los industrialistas extranjeros controlan a Porfirio Díaz, o al revés, pero que de cualquier manera, los quieren todos fuera de México. Y como vieron que los mexicanos los apoyan, y como ya no podían publicar propaganda a costo, y como ahora los persiguen las autoridades americanas por haberse escapado bajo fianza, y que según ellos trabajan para Díaz, ahora han dejado de hablar de reforma, y ahora empezaron a hablar de una revolución, algo que no habían hecho antes, cuando yo estuve allí. Les noté una cierta nerviosidad y cierta excitación febril en su manera de ser, pero no les he podido seguir todos los movimientos por haber recibido sus ordenes de suspender esa comisión e ir a trabajar a Denver. No tengo mucho que reportar de asuntos recientes, porque solo me he comunicado con los editores durante las últimas dos semanas, porque Ud. me pidió que volviera de Denver para ver en que estaban, y para esta entrevista, y es solo ahora que me enteré de su cambio de planes, y de su idea de una revolución, porque yo salí de San Luis después de que fueron encarcelados en octubre, cuando no hablaban de tales cosas.

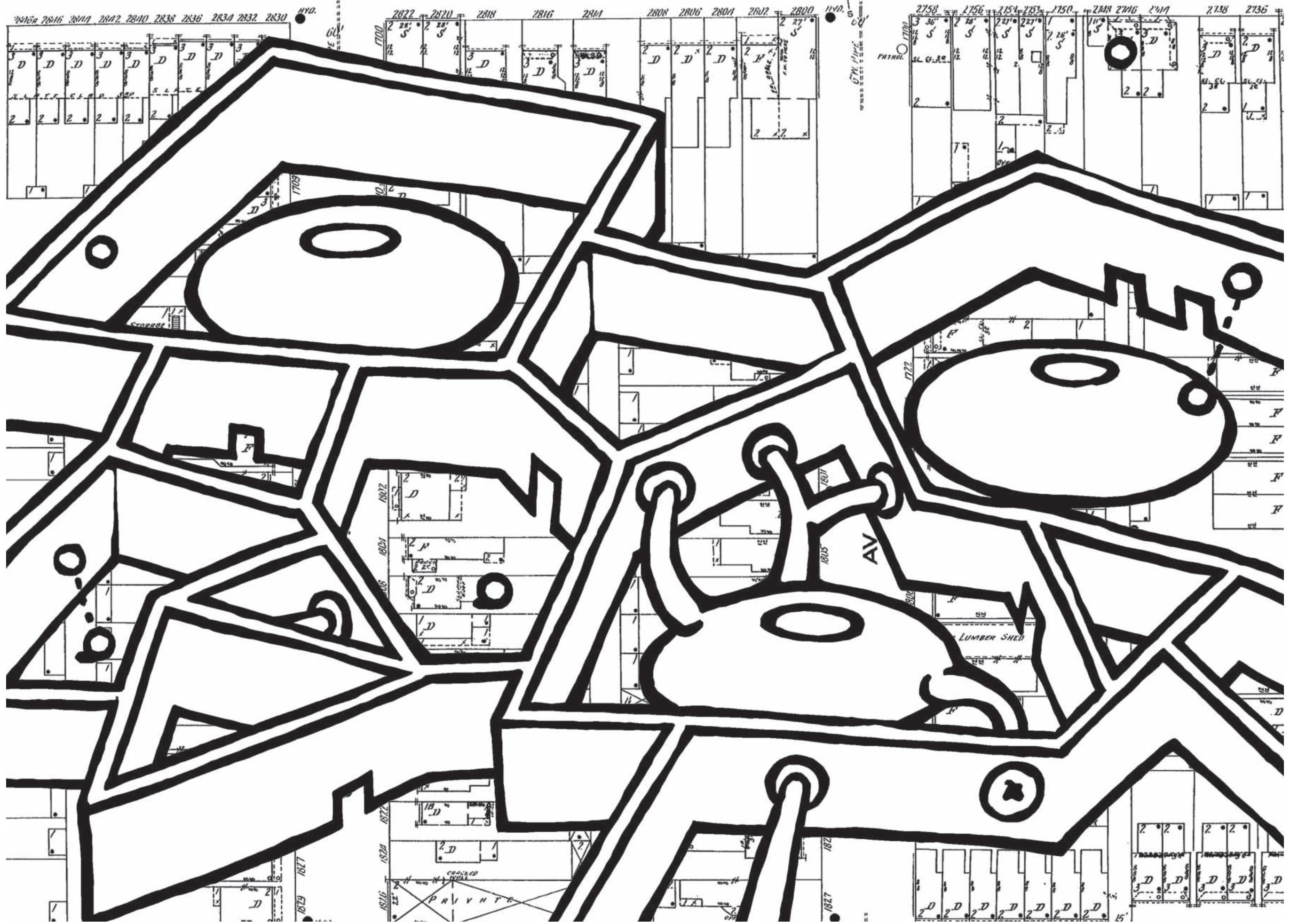
6.- ¿COMO PLANEAN LOS REDACTORES DE "LA REGENERACION" ORGANIZAR UN MOVIMIENTO REVOLUCIONARIO EN MEXICO?

Suscriptores se han organizado en grupos lo-

and the printing were cheap enough. That it was all going well, because they printed up to 11,000 copies an issue, but that when Mr Areliano from Oaxaca prosecuted them for libel, and they were sent to jail, and when the postmaster of Saint Louis stopped accepting the papers as fourth class matter, and then when the papers were confiscated in Mexican postoffices, that everything became more difficult. I left after their arrest, but they explained to me recently that after that they wondered and discussed what to do, and then they decided to turn a corner on their labors, and so they organized themselves as the Mexican Liberal Party, or P.L.M. in Spanish, and with that purpose they printed the PLM Manifesto of July 1st 1906. They claim that this manifesto has been circulating widely in Mexico and also among Mexicans in Texas and Arizona, and that it is very popular because people agree with the demands of the Manifesto, and want their lands back and better labor conditions, and they think that the clergy and the foreign industrialists control Porfirio Diaz, or the other way around, but at any rate, they want them all out of Mexico. They saw that many Mexicans are on their side, and now that they can no longer sustain the publication of cheap pamphlets, and now that they are wanted by American authorities after they jumped bail, now they are no longer talking about reform, and now they are instead talking about a revolution, which they weren't talking about before, when I was there. I noticed a nervousness and a certain feverish excitement in their demeanor recently, but I was not able to follow all their movements, because I received your orders to suspend that commission and go to Denver, Colorado. I have very little to report on recent matters, because I only talked with the remaining editors over the past two weeks, because you called me back to check in on them, and it is only now that I found out about their change in plans, and their inclination toward the use of force, because I left after they were incarcerated last October, when they weren't speaking of such things.

6.- HOW DO THE EDITORS OF "LA REGENERACION" INTEND TO ORGANIZE A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN MEXICO?

Subscribers are organized into local reading groups, and these would be transformed into revolutionary cells, which they call "focos", the same word they use for light bulbs. Most focos would be concentrated along rail lines where there is easy access to quick postal service, and where telegraph offices are usually located, distributing a



network across the Mexican territory. The recent troubles in Col. Greene's copper mines in Cananea are proof of this, as Cananea is located near the border, and the only rail line there comes from Naco, Arizona. Propaganda was probably smuggled by runners crossing the border. Railroads would also provide quick movement to revolutionists from town to town, but it would similarly allow federal troops to counteract. If the editors plan to carry out a military expedition into Mexico from the US, they would commandeer a train in a border town with a rail corridor leading directly to Mexico City. Therefore, they would launch the attack from Laredo, Eagle Pass, or El Paso, Texas. Because the editors stayed in Laredo, this bordertown would be the most likely site for congregating Mexican revolutionists in the US. The revolution would then spread south from this point along the Laredo-Mexico City corridor. The editors are speaking of a "cicada swarm" strategy in which the subscribers, now underground, rise in unison in numbers too large to be quelled by the army.

7.- DO THE EDITORS RECEIVE MONEY ENTRIES FROM OTHER NEWSPAPERS?

Almost all newspapers established by Mexicans along the American side of the border are sympathizers of the Magons, and the editors are active correspondents with them. They also received a newspaper from Mexico City called "El Colmillo Publico", and Mr. Ricardo told me on several occasions that the editor of that paper was a true friend who would help him unconditionally.

8.- WHAT OTHER REVENUE SOURCES DO THE MAGONS HAVE, EITHER FROM THE US OR MEXICO? REPORT ESPECIALLY IF YOU KNOW OF ANY CAPITALISTS WHO SUPPORT THEM:

Up until the point that my commission ended, I did not learn of any company or capitalist who funded the Magons, American or Mexican. Nor did American individuals send money, with the exception of a few Americans along the border who are associated with Mexican families, and who send small money order transfers like the Mexicans. I know of no large sums that come from either Mexico or the US. They always told me that their business consisted in wooing industrial laborers, and that they received small quantities through subscriptions to the newspaper and through small donations, that these were sent via money order, checks, and bank bills, and that these checks and money orders were sent to Antonio

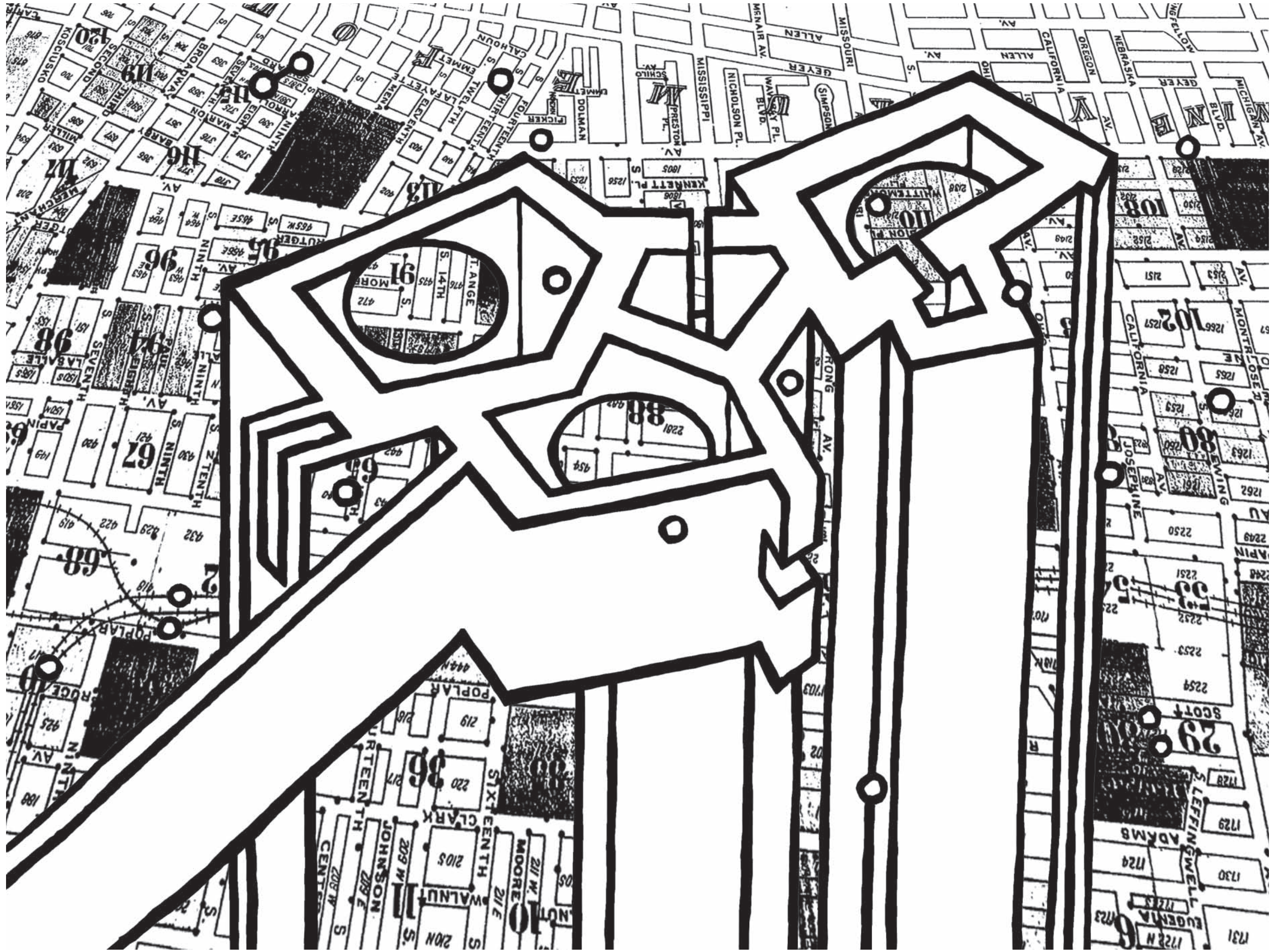
cales por zona, y éstos se convertirían en focos revolucionarios. Los focos están probablemente concentrados cerca de las vías de tren, a donde llega el servicio postal, y en donde se encuentran las oficinas de telegrama, formando así una estructura de red por todo el territorio mexicano. La reciente revuelta en las minas de cobre del Sr. Greene en Cananea es prueba suficiente, ya que Cananea está situado muy cerca de la frontera, y la única vía de ferrocarril viene de Naco, Arizona. La propaganda fué probablemente contrabandeadada desde ahí. El ferrocarril también ayudaría el rápido movimiento de los revoltosos viajando de pueblo en pueblo, aunque también apresuraría el contrataque de fuerzas federales. Si los redactores organizan una expedición militar internándose a México desde los Estados Unidos, se llevaría a cabo por medio de una de las vías conectadas desde la frontera con la capital, ya sea Laredo, Eagle Pass, o El Paso, Texas. Por lo que ya tienen contactos establecidos en Laredo, es probable que escojan ese lugar para concentrar revolucionarios Mexicanos en los EEUU. La revolución se difundiría desde ese punto con dirección a la capital. Los redactores estan hablando de una estrategia en forma de "plaga de cigarras", en que los suscriptores, ahora bajo tierra, se levantan en unísono en números demasiado grandes como para ser sofocados por el ejército.

7.- ¿SABE UD. SI LOS REDACTORES DE "LA REGENERACION" RECIBEN REMESAS DE OTROS PERIODICOS?

Casi todos los periódicos establecidos por mexicanos del lado americano de la frontera son simpatizadores de los Magóns, y sus redactores sostienen constante correspondencia con ellos. También se recibía un periódico de la Ciudad de México llamado "El Colmillo Público," y varias veces me dijo don Ricardo que en el redactor de aquel periódico tenía un amigo leal y resuelto a apoyarlo en todo.

8.- EXPLIQUE CON QUE OTRAS REMESAS CONTABAN LOS MAGON, YA SEA DE LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS O DE MEXICO, Y EN ESPECIAL SI HAY ALGUNOS CAPITALISTAS QUE LOS APOYEN:

Hasta la época que yo estuve ocupado por Ud., no pude notar relaciones con ninguna empresa ni capitalista que invertía con los Magón, ya sea mexicano ó americano. Tampoco habían individuos americanos que mandaban remesas, con excepción de algunos americanos viviendo cerca de la frontera ligados a familias mexicanas, y quienes mandan pequeñas cantidades por giro postal al igual que los mexica-



nos. Siempre me dijeron que su negocio consistía en halagar a los obreros, y entre ellos conseguir pequeñas remesas de las suscripciones al periódico y por apoyo a la causa, que éstas las enviaban en giros postales, cheques de banco y por billetes de banco, y que iban dirigidos a Antonio I. Villarreal al P.O. Box (Postal) No. 584. Estoy seguro de que si se revisáran los libros de las oficinas de correos de México, se encontrarían bastantes giros internacionales con ese apartado, y todos en pequeñas cantidades.

9.- ¿ESTA UD. ENTERAMENTE SEGURO QUE NO HAY CAPITALISTAS AMERICANOS QUE LES HAN AYUDADO A LOS MAGON?

Sí, señor, enteramente seguro, no creo que los americanos les hayan prestado ayuda alguna.

10.- ¿Y QUE PIENSAN LOS MAGON DE LOS AMERICANOS?

Son grandes admiradores del pueblo y del gobierno de los Estados Unidos, y siempre han manifestado grandes elogios por la libertad de prensa, y en especial el St. Louis Post-Dispatch, porque ese periódico los apoyó en contra de don Areliano de Oaxaca. Creen que haciendo propaganda para establecer el mismo sistema en México, atraerán las simpatías y el apoyo del pueblo americano.

11.- ¿QUE PIENSAN LOS MAGON DEL EJERCITO MEXICANO?

En la primera época, que fué cuando yo estuve cerca de ellos, hablaban poco del ejército, pero sí se esforzaban por que "Regeneración" llegara a algunos oficiales, como cabos y sargentos.

12.- ¿SABE UD. SI LOS MAGON SE HAN COMPLICADO CON ALGUNOS ALTOS OFICIALES EN EL EJERCITO MEXICANO?

No lo sé, pero no creo, porque nunca me enteré de tales correspondencias. A veces hablaban del Sr. Bernardo Reyes, pero no en buen tono. Pero usted no sabe lo astuto que es don Ricardo, y de la rapidéz con que trabaja su cerebro. Intenté varias veces empezar conversaciones sobre datos específicos, pero don Ricardo le daba un giro a la conversación y se aseguraba que todos los demás entendiésen que no debían hablar, y como tiene una presencia severa, los otros le hacen caso. Por más que les inspiré confianza, no hablaban de esos asuntos cuando me encontraba ahí. Ya sabe usted que durante cuatro meses estuve trabajando para conseguir los nombres de las personas que enviaban remitidos, y aunque me consta que recibían activa correspondencia de

I. Villarreal, P.O. Box #584. Im sure that if you checked the books of the postoffices of Mexico, you would find several money orders sent there, all in small quantities.

9.- ARE YOU ABSOLUTELY SURE THAT THERE ARENT ANY AMERICAN CAPITALISTS WHO SUPPORT THE MAGONS?

Yes, sir, absolutely sure, I do not believe that American capitalists finance the Magons.

10.- AND WHAT DO THE MAGONS THINK OF AMERICANS?

They always expressed a great admiration for the people and the government of the United States. They praise the freedom of our press, and they speak especially highly of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch because it sided with the group on the libel suit brought against them by Mr. Areliano from Oaxaca. They believe that in making propaganda to establish the same system in Mexico, they will win over the support of the American people.

11.- WHAT DO THE MAGONS THINK OF THE MEXICAN ARMY?

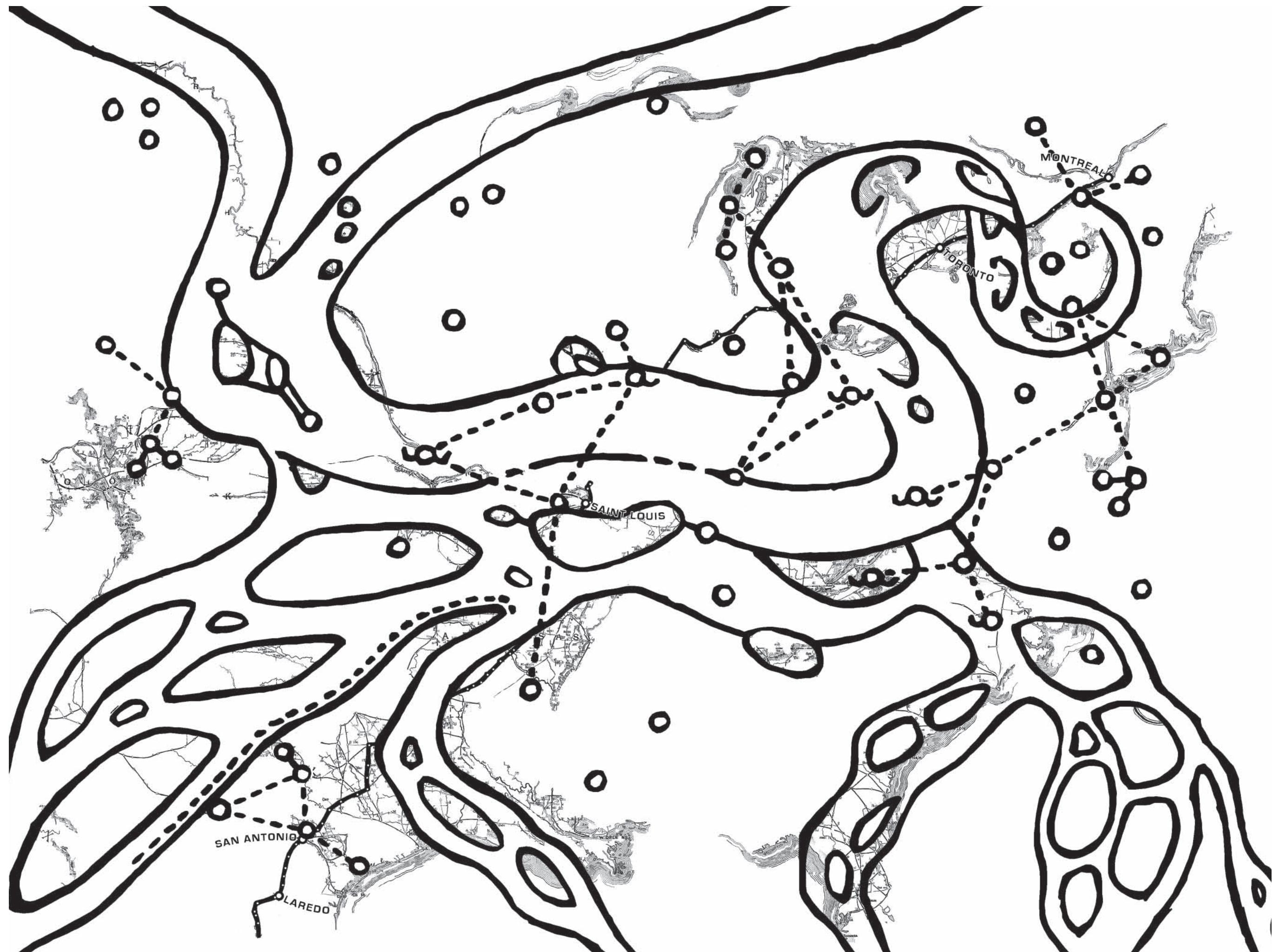
During the first era, which was when I was close to them, they spoke little about the army, but they did try to have "Regeneracion" reach some officers, like corporals and sergeants.

12.- DO YOU KNOW IF THE MAGONS CONSPIRE WITH ANY TOP-LEVEL OFFICIALS IN THE MEXICAN ARMY?

I don't know, but I don't think so, because I was never aware of such correspondence. Sometimes they talked about Bernardo Reyes, but not in a positive tone. But I don't know; you just don't know how astute Mr. Ricardo is, how quick his brain works. If I brought up anything about concrete information, delicate political issues, or specific individuals, he would derail the conversation and make sure everyone else understood that they shouldn't talk. He has a stern presence in the room. As much as I inspired confidence in them, they wouldn't talk about those things when I was around. You know that during four months I tried to get the names of the people who sent funds or information for articles, and although I know he maintained a very active correspondence with people in several states, I was never able to know the names of these recipients.

13.- IS IT TRUE THAT THEY HAVE LURED ARMY OFFICERS?

That work must be more recent, because I know



nothing of it.

14.- WHAT DO YOU KNOW ABOUT MR. SERRANO, EX-CONSUL IN ST. LOUIS?

I do not believe he is implicated with the Magons because they never trusted him. I talked to him, and I was always struck by his apathetic conduct, cold and indifferent, as if he had no reason to investigate the Magons or help Mexico in any other way.

15.- HAVE THEY PURCHASED DYNAMITE OR OTHER EXPLOSIVES?

I don't know.

16.- WHO IS THE MOST DANGEROUS ELEMENT OF THE "REGENERACION" GROUP?

Well, Mr. Ricardo, without a doubt.

17.- DO YOU THINK HE IS CAPABLE OF LEADING A REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT?

Yes, sir. I believe him capable of anything.

18.- AND IF RICARDO MAGON WERE APPREHENDED AND KEPT IN JAIL FOR SEVERAL YEARS, WHAT WOULD HAPPEN?

The entire movement would collapse in the act. He's the soul of everything and without him the others would stop agitating and publishing. They would go back home or do something else. I'm sure of it; it would all stop.

varios estados, nunca me delataron los nombres.

13.- ¿ES CIERTO QUE SE HAN ATRAIDO ALGUNOS ALTOS OFICIALES DEL EJERCITO?

Ese trabajo debe ser más reciente, porque de eso nada sé.

14.- ¿QUE SABE UD. DEL SR. SERRANO, EX-CONSUL DE SAN LUIS, MISSOURI?

No creo que este implicado con los Magón porque ellos nunca le tuvieron confianza. Alguna vez le hablé, y me llamó la atención su conducta apática, como si no le importara la pesquisa de los Magón, ni quisiera ayudar a México de ninguna otra manera.

15.- ¿SABE UD. SI HAN COMPRADO DINAMITA U OTROS EXPLOSIVOS?

No lo sé.

16.- ¿CUAL ES EL ELEMENTO MAS PELIGROSO DEL GRUPO DE "LA REGENERACION"?

Sin duda es Ricardo Flores Magón.

17.- ¿LO CONSIDERA CAPAZ DE ENCABEZAR UN MOVIMIENTO REVOLUCIONARIO?

Sí, señor: lo creo capaz de todo.

18.- ¿Y SI RICARDO FLORES MAGON FUESE APREHENDIDO Y ENCARCELADO POR VARIOS AÑOS, QUE SUCEDERIA?

En el acto se acabaría todo ese movimiento alarmista y agitador, pues él, don Ricardo, es el alma del grupo, y sin el nada harían los otros; lo repito, se acabaría todo.

dossier two:

UTOPIA

-----ooo0(1906)Oooo-----

Saint Louis, Missouri, June 1, 1905

Mr. Lauro Aguirre
El Paso, Texas

Estimable Sir:

The Organizing Junta of the Liberal Party of Mexico (JO-PLM), currently in exile in Saint Louis, Missouri, is deeply inspired by your valiant efforts to reveal the chicanery of the dictatorship in Mexico through your newspaper "La Reforma Social." As president of the Mexican Liberal Party, and director of our publication "Regeneracion," I write to you in a spirit of warm camaraderie amongst journalists desiring of justice and equality in Mexico.

We wish to expand the circulation of our newspaper, and we would be eternally indebted to your services if you could provide us with a list of liberals living in El Paso, and especially those residing in your neighboring state of Chihuahua.

Awaiting your estimable words, I remain your loyal servant and friend,

Ricardo Flores Magon

Saint Louis, Missouri, June 14, 1905

Mr. Lauro Aguirre
El Paso, Texas

My Dear Sir:

I thank you for obliging me with the list of liberal persons that I allowed myself to request. We will put it to use immediately.

On another note, we recognize your seriousness and dedication to the cause of liberty in Mexico, and as fellow patriots, we ask if you are willing to act as a representative of the PLM in your city of El Paso. Please let us know your thoughts on the matter.

As always, I remain your devoted servant and fond friend,

Ricardo Flores Magon

Saint Louis, June 15, 1905

Mr. Rafael Chavez
Bachiniva, Chihuahua

Estimable Partisan and Dear Friend:

We hope that you appreciate our humble labor of shining light on the tyranny of Porfirio Diaz and his lackeys. We wish to expand the propaganda of our ideals, and if you could provide us with a list of potential "Regeneracion" subscribers in your area, we would thank you greatly.

Awaiting your estimable words, I remain your loyal servant and dear friend,

Ricardo Flores Magon

Saint Louis, Missouri, June 15, 1905

Mr. Romualdo Borquez
Batopilas, Chihuahua

Dear Sir:

We appreciate your subscription to REGENERACION. Along with your missive dated May 30th, I received the sum of two pesos and forty cents for the second semester of your subscription. I greatly thank your attentions.

We hope to extend the circulation of our newspaper, and if you would provide us with a list of individuals who might be interested in subscribing, we would remain eternally indebted to your services.

I reiterate my gratitude, and remain your fond, attentive, and loyal servant and friend,

Ricardo Flores Magon

Saint Louis, Missouri, June 17, 1905

Mr. Antonio Perez
Aldama, Chihuahua

Very estimable Sir:

With the sum of \$2.40, your subscription is fully paid through October.

Regarding the irregularity with which you receive our periodical, we warn you that this occurs through no fault of our own, but it is due instead to the recklessness of the postal service. We are, however, prepared to replace all the issues you are missing.

I take note of the new subscriptions you indicated. I beg you oblige me with a list of more liberals who might subscribe to our publication so as to continue our humble service to the fatherland.

Ricardo Flores Magon

Saint Louis, Missouri, June 22, 1905

Mr. Fortino Bustamante
Rancho Florido
Bustamante Station, Chihuahua

Very estimable friend:

I have your gracious missive dated May 28th at hand, in which you manifest your remission of 4.50 and 2.40 of March 13 and April 13, respectively. I inform you that we have only received the second payment. Perhaps you could file a complaint with the postoffice about the first? In future transactions, we recommend you use the international postal money order service, which is the easiest and most secure method of payment. In the meantime, we mailed you the missing issues, and I assume they are already in your possession. I wish to continue extending the propaganda of our ideas, and beg you oblige me with the names of liberal persons you know who could subscribe to our weekly.

I offer you my gratitude, and remain your fond friend and loyal servant,

Ricardo Flores Magon

Saint Louis, Missouri, June 24, 1905

Mr. Francisco de P. Macias
Casas Grandes, Chihuahua

Estimable Sir and Refined Friend:

Your letter dated 4th of this month favors me opportunely.

I have not yet published the news you sent me regarding the atrocities committed by your officials. I thought it propitious to wait for the next issue, and in the meantime ask you for concrete facts to substantiate your allegations. We always take great pains to base our criticism on facts because our enemies take advantage of the smallest slip on our part to discredit our entire agenda. I beg of you, then, to describe your accusation in as much detail as possible. With those details and the information I have at hand, we can fully substantiate our attack.

I wish to propagate our ideas, and I sincerely beg you to provide us with the names of liberal persons in your area who would subscribe to our periodical.

Awaiting your estimable words and appreciable details, I remain your friend and loyal servant,

Ricardo Flores Magon

Saint Louis, Missouri, June 24, 1905

Mr. Fernando Velazquez
San Buenaventura, Chihuahua

My dear Sir:

As you have probably seen in our last issue of "Regeneracion," we employed the providential information you sent us. We were not able to include all your details by virtue of the limited space of our humble periodical. We wish to extend the circulation of our periodical, and if you could send us a list of interested persons, I would remain eternally grateful.

You ask me if you owe us anything for the issues we have sent you. You have been on our mailing list since May, and I would thank you if you could send us your remission for the semester beginning on that month.

Ricardo Flores Magon

Saint Louis, Missouri, July 1, 1905

Mr. Pedro Gamboa,
Parral, Chihuahua

Estimable Sir:

I hope that, like all our subscribers, you receive our periodical with regularity, but if you happen to miss an issue, we hope that you will let us know. In that case, we will gladly replace any missing issues.

I am grateful for the names that you generously sent us. You may have seen the ad we published in which we offer a free subscription to anyone who formalizes five new subscriptions. If you arrange for the remission of these persons, your own subscription will remain free for the life of the other five.

Yours truly,

Ricardo Flores Magon

Saint Louis, Missouri, July 15, 1905

Mr. Alejandro M. Lazo
Minas Nuevas, Chihuahua

Dear Sir:

Along with your letter dated 15th of last month, I received two pesos forty cents remission for your subscription until October of this year.

I ask you to send me a list of liberal peoples you know so we can effectuate new propagandas.

I gladly employed the details you sent me: they appeared in our issue number 38.

Awaiting your appreciable letters, I remain your fond and loyal servant,

Ricardo Flores Magon

Saint Louis, Missouri, July 22, 1905

Mr. Longinos Bugarini
5 Ojinaga St.
Jimenez, Chihuahua

My dear Sir:

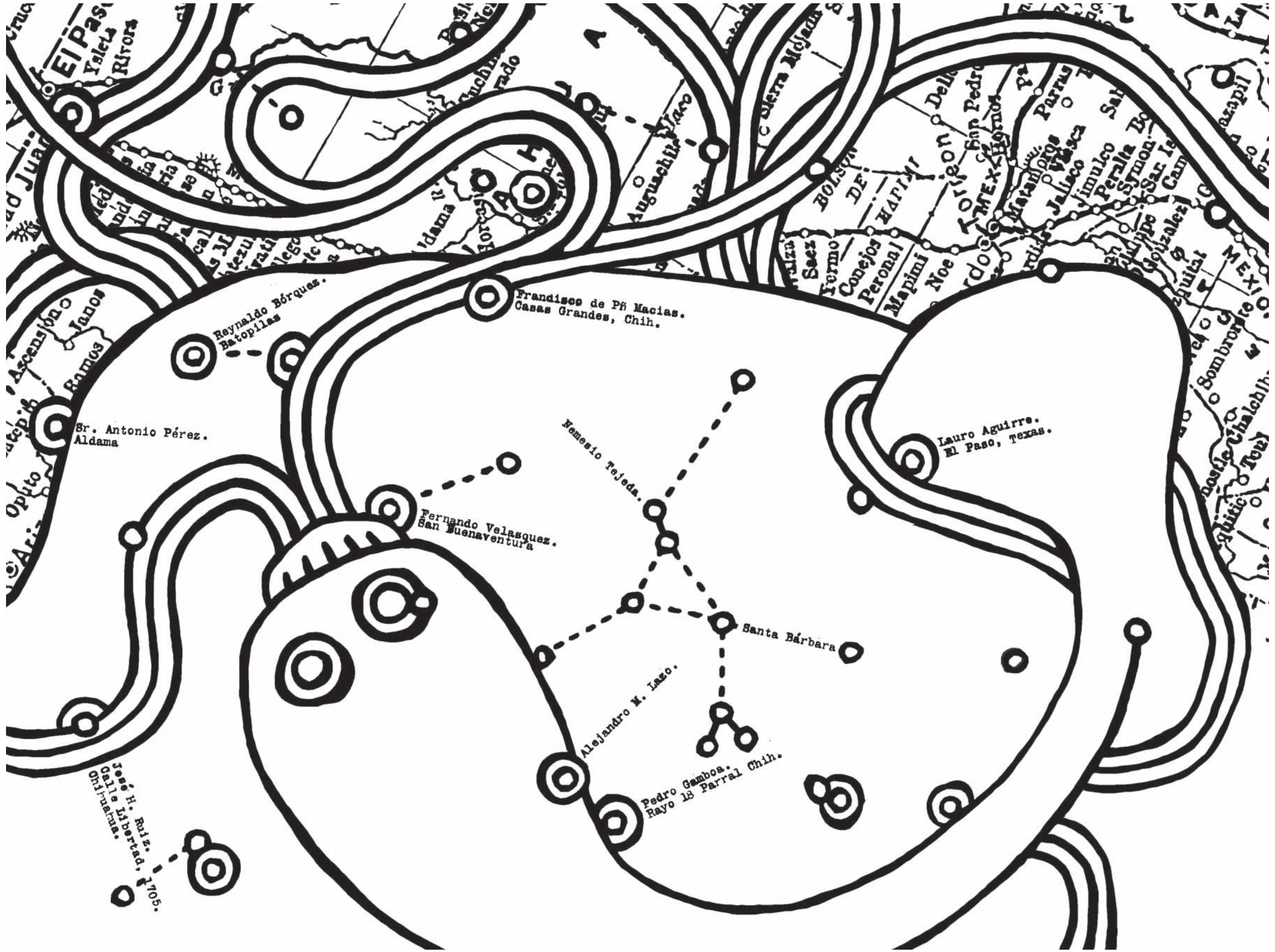
According to your wishes, I am sending you ten weekly copies of our periodical beginning with issue #37.

According to your wishes, and as a sign of gratitude for your labor, I provide you with a free subscription.

It would please us greatly if you can promptly not only double, but triple, your order.

I implore you to inform Mr. Benitez that the cost of an advertisement in our periodical is of one Mexican peso per vertical inch in a column. Awaiting your orders regarding his ad, I remain your friend and devoted servant,

Ricardo Flores Magon



EIPAS
Ysleta
Rivers

Sr. Antonio Pérez.
Aldama

Reynaldo Bórquez.
Batopilas

Francisco de Pñ Macias.
Casas Grandes, Chih.

Fernando Velasquez.
San Buenaventura

Nemesio Tejeda.

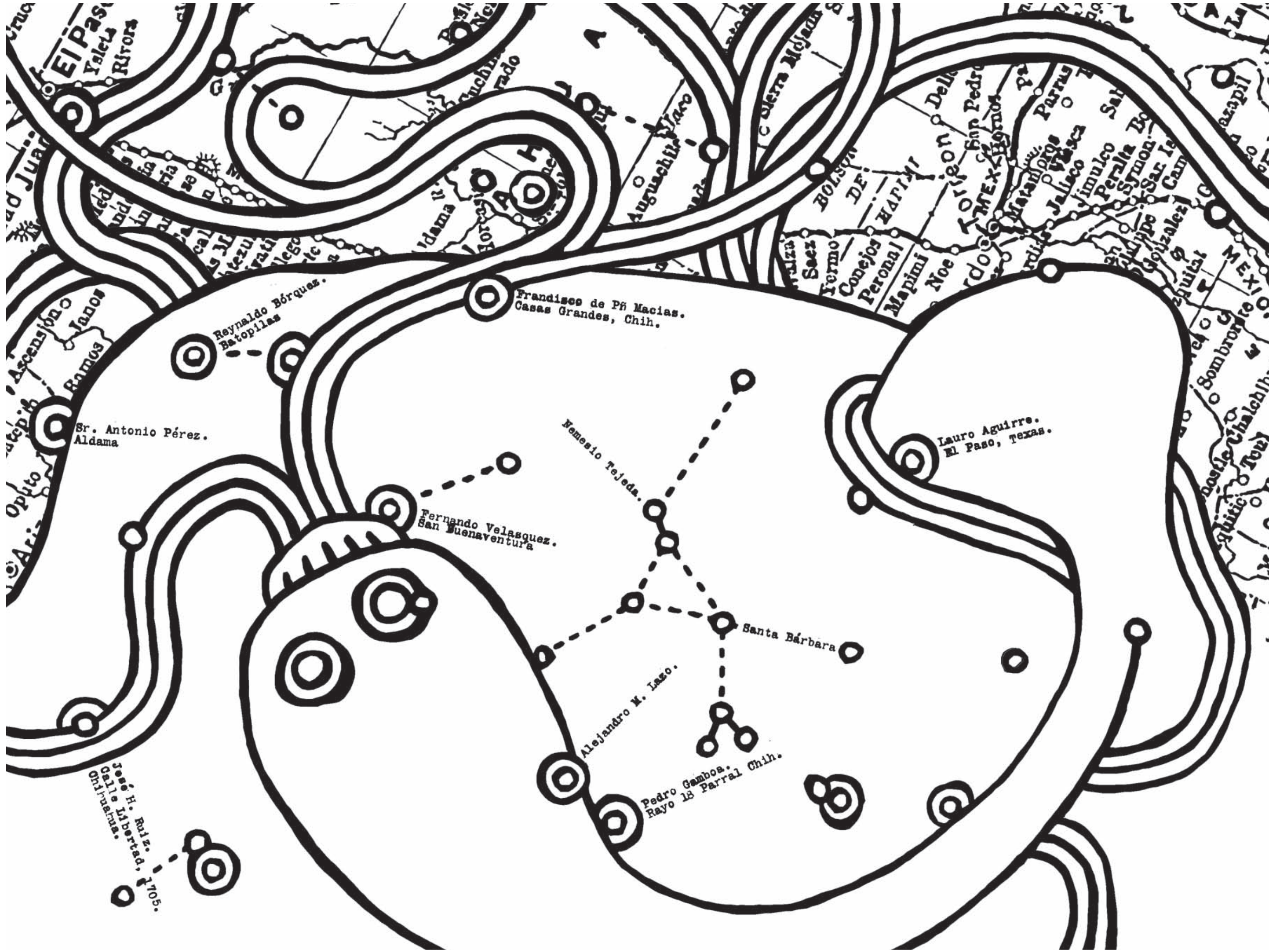
Alejandro M. Iazo.

Pedro Gamboa.
Rayo 18 Parral Chih.

Santa Bárbara

Lauro Aguirre.
El Paso, Texas.

José H. Ruiz.
Calle Libertad, 1705.
Chihuahua.



Montreal, Canada, October 05, 1906

Mr. M. E. Diebold, Mexican Consul,
St. Louis, Mo.

Dear Sir:

I request your aid with a formal petition directed to the Postmaster General of Ottawa, Canada, from either the Mexican Embassy in Washington, D.C., or from your consulate in St. Louis, asking him to give orders to the Postmaster of Montreal to help me with information regarding the correspondence sent to, or sent by, the Mexican fugitives from St. Louis.

Please explain to the Postmaster General that the fugitives are using the postal service to defraud the systems of justice in both the United States and Canada, and that his orders to Montreal's Postmaster will allow me and my agents to locate the seditionists who are now hiding in this city.

I met with Montreal's Postmaster, and although he informed me that he was more than willing to help me bring justice to the revolutionists, he said he would not break his code of conduct without direct orders from the Postmaster General.

I located the hideouts of Mr. Magon and associates in Toronto, Ontario, but they absconded to Montreal shortly before I arrived, and I have not yet located them in this city.

I am closing in on the seditionists, but I doubt they will remain here for long. I hope that you will promptly obtain these orders in my favor, because I am sure that their correspondence will help us apprehend them.

It has also come to our attention that the typesetter on "Regeneracion", A.L. Manzano, has remained in St. Louis at 123 Convent St, and continues to receive correspondence from revolutionists in Mexico. His interrogation might expedite the capture of the fugitives in Canada. Another lead points to a Spanish anarchist by the name of Florencio Bazora, who may have conspired with the Magons, and who has been known to rent a room at the Anchor Hotel at 2000 de Kalb St.

Respectfully yours,

--Thomas Furlong.

TYPESETTER DISSAPEARS

Mexico Supposed to Have Spirited
Away an Enemy of Diaz

SPECIAL to the New York Times

ST. LOUIS, Oct. 06--Aaron Lopez Manzano, the last member of the Mexican revolutionary junta which made its headquarters in St. Louis, and typesetter of the junta's organ, "Regeneracion", has disappeared. It is believed he has been kidnapped by Mexican agents and taken across the border to face the charge of treason. The Mexican Consul, M. E. Diebold, says that Manzano has been arrested, but he refuses to give further information.

Manzano left his home, 123 Convent Street, last Tuesday, to mail a letter, and disappeared. Mrs. Trinidad Saucedo, with whom he boarded, learned from the Mexican Consul that he had been arrested.

There are no charges to be used against Manzano such as the libel suit that was preferred against the junta's president and vice-president, Mr. Ricardo F. Magon, and Antonio I. Villarreal, respectively, so that probably he could not be taken across the border legally.

Manzano, Magon, Villareal, and others conducted the Mexican revolution propaganda here, publishing the newspaper Regeneracion. It was finally suppressed and the top-level members of the junta routed. Mrs. Saucedo said that Manzano remained in town because he did not believe that authorities would pursue a lowly typesetter.

Source:
New York
Times,
10/06/1906

JUNTA MEMBER KIDNAPPED

Aaron Lopez Manzano, Last of Re-
generacion Publishers, Taken Into
Custody.

Special to The News

St. Louis, Mo., Oct. 07--The mysterious disappearance of Aaron Lopez Manzano, a Mexican, 22 years old, from his home, 125 Convent street, was partially solved today, when it became known that he had been kidnapped. He was secretly arrested by agents of the Mexican Consul, M. E. Diebold.

It is not known whether Manzano is still in St. Louis, or whether he has been transported to Mexico. Women relatives of junta members who boarded with Manzano have spoken out against what they perceive as the complicity of American authorities with the Diaz administration in Mexico. Andrea and Teresa Villarreal, sisters of Antonio Villarreal, vice-president of the junta, remain in St. Louis living in poverty, and have commenced a campaign against the abduction of the junta member. They demand to know where Manzano is kept, and what charges were used against him. The Villarreal sisters claim that the abduction was politically motivated and lacked a legal basis. Consul Diebold refused to answer questions yesterday afternoon.

Source:
Dallas Morn-
ing News,
10/07/1906



8728070

63Z143

CAUTION
13'6" HIGH
MAXIMUM
FIFTH WHEEL
HEIGHT
47'6"

15-3

63Z133

376623

CAUTION
HIGH TRAILER
13'6"

Roll
Door



El Paso, Texas, October 1, 1906

Ciudad Juarez, Chihuahua
Captain Adolfo Jimenez Castro:

Estimable compatriot:

The Organizing Junta of the Mexican Liberal Party, currently holding clandestine meetings in the borderlands of Texas, would like to confer with you about your role in the impending revolution against the dictatorship of General Diaz. You come recommended by one of your fellow officers who deems you a true patriot and a good Mexican, and who assured us that you can be trusted with the sensitive information that we will disclose to you in this letter.

The Mexican Liberal Party seeks to implement deep institutional reforms, which we detail in the PLM Program attached to this letter for your perusal. In the program, you will find a study, in considerable detail, of the ills that plague the Mexican people and the remedies that are necessary to heal the nation. The Program has garnered a broad base of support among the Mexican people, and we are confident that you will agree with our cause.

When we organized liberal clubs 5 years ago, the luckiest of our members were jailed and exiled, while the less fortunate faced firing squads. We have come to the conclusion, and our supporters concur, that positive change cannot come about by peaceful means in our current political climate. We have learned from our mistakes, and now that we have regrouped and won over new sympathizers, we will meet the force of the illegitimate government with the force of the Mexican people.

Before the popular anger explodes into a full-scale revolution, however, we thought it our duty to address honorable men in the Mexican Army, so that you may have time to ponder the root causes of the revolt as well as its purpose, and decide whether you will fight with the forces of tyranny or with the people. In this struggle, the people will fight for the general good, for liberty for all, and for preserving the honor of the fatherland. The Dictatorship will fight to protect the petty interests of foreigners over the demands of Mexicans, to safeguard the wealth of the ruling class, and to eternalize its abuse of power, as it has already done for more than thirty years. We want you to take this matter seriously, so that you can make an informed decision. The

redemptive fire of the people will soon erupt from the self-restraint it has exercised thus far, with or without the efforts of the Organizing Junta. Our sole aim is to minimize bloodshed and steer the organic revolt toward real reform in Mexico.

We hope you will agree, after consulting your conscience, that reason and justice will prevail on the side of the people. We request a prompt report on your plans and the material support you can offer. We also solicit your recommendation of other officers whom you believe would adhere to the revolutionary army so that we may invite them as we have invited you. We will not disclose your name in that process. In the event that you do not accept our ideas, we hope that you will keep this missive private, taking your wellbeing into account.

Seal any correspondence directed to us in an envelope with the initials JOPLM, and send it inside another envelope with the address:

Mr. Roberto Armstead,
Ranch Saloon,
211 S. El Paso St.,
El Paso, Texas.

This address is secure and exclusive for your usage.
Awaiting your valuable reply,

Ricardo Flores Magon, President,
Juan Sarabia, Vice-President,
Antonio I. Villarreal, Secretary.

MISSING MAN FROM MEXICO FOUND IN JAIL

Aaron Lopez Manzano, Type-
setter on "Regeneracion," Is
Locked Up at Ironton.

ARRESTED AT POSTOFFICE

Committed by Federal Commis-
sioner for Taking Mail Addressed
to Another.

Women Associates of the Junta Members Make Plea for Protection

Aaron Lopez Manzano, whose disap-
pearance from his home at 123 Convent
street brought a protest from members of
the Mexican colony in that neighborhood,
is a prisoner in the County Jail at Iron-
ton, Mo., on a charge made by the Mexi-
can Consulate.

Manzano's arrest took place in the
Federal Building last Tuesday. He was
at the general delivery window receiving
mail addressed to members of the Jun-
ta. He was given a hearing before Unit-
ed States Commissioner Chase Morisey
on the charge of taking mail addressed
to another, after which he was taken to
the Ironton Jail by Deputy United States
Marshal Lewis Wild.

Manzano, who has no relatives in St.
Louis, is 22 years old. He was a composi-
tor in the office of the "Regeneracion,"
the organ of the junta.

All other men who composed the Junta
are currently in hiding. At the time that
the publication of the paper was stopped,
Manzano, believing than no charge could
be made against him, remained in St. Lou-
is. He lived at the home of Senora Trini-
dad Saucedo. It has been learned that in
the absence of the men who formed the
Junta, he received their mail from a pri-
vate box at the Postoffice.

Shortly before his disappearance he

Source:
St. Louis
Post-
Dispatch,
10/07/1906

pg 112

visited Chief of Detectives Desmond and
complained that he was being followed.
He could speak little English, but Chief
Desmond was able to gather that some-
one was following him everywhere he
went. He said if he went to the Postoffice
a man was watching over him. Whenev-
er he appeared, he said, he was pursued
by the man whom he suspected of being
a detective in the employ of the Mexican
Government.

Was Sent to Mexican Consul.

Chief Desmond referred him to Mexi-
can Consul Diebold, 302 Commonwealth
Trust Building. He said he would go to
the consulate and tell his story. That
was the last time he was heard of until
the Federal authorities admitted that he
was arrested.

Following his disappearance, Consul
Diebold paid a visit to the Mexican colo-
ny on Convent street. While at the home
of Senoritas Andreas Villareal Gonzalez
and Theresa Villarreal Gonzalez, whose
brother was a member of the Junta and
is now absent, the young women declare
that Consul Diebold told them that Man-
zano was arrested. He was subsequent-
ly quoted as saying that he had not told
the sisters of Manzano's arrest. He also
said he knew nothing of the arrest, and
that he did not order him arrested. Con-
sul Diebold was not in his office Tuesday
morning after evidence surfaced indicat-
ing the contrary.

Manzano, with the exception of the
women, was the only one connected with
the St. Louis Mexican Junta left in the
city.

The three men who wrote for the pa-
per, which was printed at 2647 Lafayette
avenue, Ricardo Flores Magon, Antonio
Villarreal, and Juan Sarabia escaped and
their whereabouts are unknown.

MANZANO RETURNED

Aaron Lopez Manzano, alleged mem-
ber of the Mexican revolutionary Junta
in St. Louis, arrived at noon from Iron-
ton, where he has been in jail in the cus-
tody of Deputy United States Marshal
Wild.

Manzano is to be given a hearing be-
fore Commissioner Morsey on a charge of
violating the postal laws in taking from a
private box a letter addressed to another
member of the junta.

In the Mexican colony on Convent
street there remain five women, three
children, and an old man who came here
to support his daughters when the junta
leaders fled. The man has found only in-
termittent work, and their circumstanc-
es are dire.

Source:
St. Louis
Post-
Dispatch,
10/10/1906.

pg 113

Chihuahua, Mex., October 4, 1906

Mr. President General Porfirio Diaz
Mexico
Honorable Sir and General:

This morning I had the privilege of sending you a coded telegram about the disturbing ruckus that a number of bad Mexicans are currently scheming in El Paso, Texas. The Political Chief of Ciudad Juarez has informed me that he believes Magon is hiding somewhere along the border, probably in El Paso, and that he arrived sometime within the past two weeks.

Mr. Lauro Aguirre is undoubtedly colluding with the conspirators. The slander publication he calls "La Reforma Social" has incremented substantially in both length and circulation, and authorities have informed me that he has been seen meeting with more criminal elements than usual. Most alarmingly, I was recently informed that Aguirre invited Mr. Quirino Maese, a well-known figure in Ciudad Juarez, to meet with him in El Paso and asked him to underwrite the revolutionary plans.

Maese did not want any part of this, and he reported the incident to the Police Commander and to the head of the Federal Army in Ciudad Juarez. His report confirms that revolutionary cells are already organized throughout the Republic, that Magon is preparing an attack on Ciudad Juarez and other border cities, and that they plan to expand into the Mexican territory from the north. To avert the intervention of federal forces, they connive to destroy rail bridges with dynamite and cut telegram lines.

Although I ordered Maese sternly questioned, the Police Commander says he is afraid for his life, and refuses to testify in a judicial setting. With your consent, I opine he will reconsider his priorities in a less clement interrogation setting.

I have given instructions to increase the Police forces of Ciudad Juarez, but I consider this measure insufficient. I beg you send General Vega and his regiment from Chihuahua City to Juarez. In coordination with the Juarez Political Chief, the Police Commander, and the Mexican Consul in El Paso, they will be able to exercise constant surveillance and evidence the revolutionary plans, so as to request the intervention of American authorities in the apprehension

and extradition of the bandits.

The private detective I hired from St. Louis, Missouri, during Magon's residence in that city, has been relocated to El Paso, where I trust his services will compromise the conspiracy. He is keeping tabs on Aguirre's libel paper at 223 S. Stanton, and has already uncovered one of the seditionist safehouses at 100 W. 3rd St.

Eternally yours, I remain your addicted friend and devoted servant,

--Enrique C. Creel

TYPESETTER RELEASED

Commissioner Morsey Releases
Mexican on his own Recognizance.

DEFENSE: CHARGE IS POLITICAL.

Federal Grand Jury Hands Down
Indictments against Junta Editors
on the Charge of Libel

Aaron Lopez Manzano, known as A. L. Apple, a typesetter for the Mexican revolutionary junta, arrested on complaint by Mexican Consul in St. Louis M.E. Diebold, was released on his own recognizance by United States Commissioner Morsey at the Federal Building Friday.

Manzano is to appear in court Jan. 3, 1907, if in the meantime the Federal grand jury should return an indictment, which is not regarded probable. The action of the Commissioner practically closes the case against Manzano.

Manzano was arrested on a charge of having taken from the Postoffice a registered letter addressed to P. F. Magon, one of the Mexicans interested in the publishing of Regeneracion and removing a \$2 bill from the letter, which was supposed to have been sent as a decoy by agents working for the Mexican Government. He claimed to have had authority from the junta members to receive and open their mail. Manzano was taken to jail at Ironton and later brought back to St. Louis for a hearing. Sisters of Antonio Villarreal, member of the Junta, claim that Manzano was being spirited away to Mexico, and was only stopped at Ironton because of their active protests and the press coverage of his kidnap.

After Manzano was brought to the Federal building Saturday morning, there was considerable wrangling between United States District Attorney Dyer and A. L. Hirsch, counsel for the prisoner, as to what disposition should be made.

Col. Dyer said that he was willing to release Manzano on his own recognizance if he would agree to appear in the event the Government needed him or an indictment was returned.

Attorney Hirsch, claiming that Manzano's arrest was political in nature-but an effort to have him punished by Diaz-insisted that Manzano have a hearing

and either be held or released outright. Col. Dyer hotly retorted that the prisoner would have a hearing, whereupon Hirsch discovered that four women of the colony, including the Villarreal sisters, who reside at 125 Convent street, his main witnesses, were not present. Then the women filed into the room. There was further discussion and Manzano's conditional release was agreed upon. He left the Federal Building with the four women, who have been active in their efforts to bring about his release.

Regeneracion editors indicted

Indictments against four members of the Mexican Junta, were returned by the October grand jury in the State Court Saturday, charging criminal libel. The men indicted were Ricardo Flores Magoon, editor in chief, Enrique Flores Magoon, business manager; Juan Sarabia and Antonio Villarreal, editorial writers. All four men are currently at large.

The witnesses against the indicted men are copper tycoon Col. W. C. Green, and Senator C. M. Chase of New York City.

Col. Green held the publishers partly responsible for the labor troubles in the mines of Cananea, Mexico, 30 miles south of the border with Arizona, which for a time threatened international complications. The "copper king", who has been made rich by the expanding electric grid due to the popularity of Mr. Edison's light bulb, said supply could only catch up to demand with compliant laborers free of outside meddlers and agitators. Through his St. Louis attorney, Morton Jourdon, a suit for \$30,000 in damages was instituted and an attachment against the printing plant of Regeneracion, at 2643 Lafayette avenue, was issued Sept 1st last. It was the beginning of the end of the newspaper, for shortly afterward its publication was stopped by the police.

Col. Green, Diaz's Friend

"The indictment for criminal libel, started by Col. Green, is but another attempt to cripple the Junta," said Aaron Lopez Manzano through an interpreter to a Post-Dispatch reporter Saturday afternoon at the Mexican colony on Convent.

"Our newspaper did not assail Green or any American. We pleaded for the Mexican poor against the tyranny of the Diaz Government. It is a fact that Mexicans received less pay in Green's mines than Americans who do the same work, and that was responsible for the strike, not Regeneracion. We know that Col. Green is very wealthy and powerful and a friend of Diaz. The proof of this is that Diaz responded to the strikes in Cananea not by negotiating with the miners, but by inviting Arizona Rangers to invade the Mexican territory and massacre them. Diaz's idea of justice is death to anyone who desires democracy, and his plan for the Junta is to keep us busy answering to trumped-up charges if he can't extradite us to Mexico to be dealt with more severely."

Source:
St. Louis
Post-
Dispatch,
10/17/1906.

A C U E R D O S
DE LA JUNTA REVOLUCIO-
NARIA ESTABLECIDA EN EL PASO,
TEXAS, BAJO LA PRESIDENCIA DE
RICARDO FLORES MAGON.

-----oooO(&)Oooo-----

1.- Reconcentrar en El Paso, Texas, doscientos hombres resueltos y armados de los que han ofrecido sus servicios en la frontera de Coahuila hasta Laredo, y con ellos asaltar Ciudad Juarez

2.- Fueron nombrados César E. Canales y León Cárdenas Jefes de expedición.

3.- Volar con dinamita el Cuartel federal, la Gendarmería Fiscal, la Jefatura Política, y haciendo uso de una de las locomotoras del Central, avanzar hasta cerca de Chihuahua y al retroceder volar con dinamita todos los puentes del ferrocarril Central Mexicano.

El manejo de la locomotora se confiará á Vicente de la Torre, quien ha trabajado como fogonero y maquinista en ferrocarriles americanos.

4.- Si la guarnición del cuartel de Ciudad Juárez se pronuncia a favor del pueblo como se espera, no volar ese edificio.

5.- Asaltar la aduana, la Agencia del Banco Nacional de México, la Agencia del Banco Minero, la casa del Sr. Inocente Ochoa, presidente del Banco Minero, la de los Sres. Ketelsen y Degatau y varias casas de comercio, para proveerse de armas y dinero.

6.- Volar con dinamita la casa del General Don Luis Terrazas de Chihuahua, para lo cual se nombrará una comisión de tres dinamiteros resueltos á todo hasta consumir el hecho.

7.- Conservar la Junta Revolucionaria en El Paso, Texas, para maniobrar libremente y para proveer de armas y municiones de guerra al ejército que levantarán César Canales, León Cárdenas y otros jefes que vendrán de la frontera.

8.- León Cárdenas, como conocedor del terreno y de todos los ranchos del General Luis Terrazas, los ocuparía para aumentar sus elementos de gente, armas, caballos y provisiones para internarse á la Sierra en caso de ser perseguido sobre la llanura.

9.- César E. Canales expedicionará sobre otra parte del

A C C O R D S
TAKEN BY THE REVOLUTION-
ARY JUNTA ESTABLISHED IN EL PASO,
TEXAS, UNDER THE PRESIDENCY OF
RICARDO FLORES MAGON.

-----oooO(&)Oooo-----

1.- Assemble two hundred resolved and armed men in El Paso, Texas, from those who have offered their services on the border from Coahuila to Laredo, and with them attack Ciudad Juarez.

2.- Cesar E. Canales and Leon Cardenas have been nominated chiefs of expedition.

3.- Blow up the Federal barracks, the Ranger headquarters, and the municipal building with dynamite. Commandeer a locomotive on the central corridor, and advance almost until Chihuahua, and then draw back, while blowing up all the bridges from Chihuahua to Ciudad Juarez.

The operation of the locomotive will be entrusted to Vicente de la Torre, who has worked as a stoker and machinist on American trains.

4.- If the federal gendarmery pronounces itself in favor of the revolution, as is expected, not to blow up the barracks.

5.- Assault customs, the National Bank of Mexico branch, the Minero Bank branch, the house of Mr. Inocente Ochoa, president of Minero Bank, and the houses of Mr. Ketelsen and Mr. Deagatau, and several money houses, to stock up on arms and funds.

6.- Blow up the house of General Luis Terrazas with dynamite, for which we will name a contingent of three dynamiters resolved to sacrifice everything until consummating the deed.

7.- Conserve the Revolutionary Junta in El Paso, Texas, to maniover freely and to provide the revolutionary army with arms and munitions. The army will be raised by César Canales, Leon Cardenas, and other chiefs from the border.

8. - Leon Cardenas, who knows the terrain of all the ranches of General Luis Terrazas, will capture them to increase his elements with people, weapons, horses, and provisions in order to retreat into the sierra in the event of a



225

CASA DE PANDORA

A&M GAMES

A&M JUEGOS Y VIDEO

225

225

pursuit across the plains.

9. - Cesar E. Canales will expedition another part of the State, occupying Santa Eulalia and Santa Barbara, where there are already active agents who are preparing for the revolution.

10. - Communicate violently all of the triumphs attained in Chihuahua to the other partisans along the border and in San Luis Potosi, Sonora, and Veracruz to encourage them and attain that they choose the route of the deed.

11. - Pronounce Eduardo Gonzalez, merchant in Ciudad Juarez, Governor of the State of Chihuahua.

12. - Coerce Mr. Inocente Ochoa to hand over all of the money he has hidden, and that is estimated at more than \$500,000.00, threatening him with death and with blowing up all of his houses if he does not hand over the money.

Estado, ocupando Santa Eulalia y Santa Bárbara, donde existen agentes activos que estaban preparando la revolución.

10.- Comunicar violentamente todos los triunfos que se alcanzarán en Chihuahua á sus correligionarios de la frontera y de San Luis Potosí, Sonora y Veracruz para darles ánimo y conseguir que se lancen á las vías de hecho.

11.- Nombrar gobernador del estado á Eduardo Gonzalez, comerciante de Ciudad Juárez.

12.- Hacer que Don Inocente Ochoa entregue todo el dinero que tiene escondido y que se estima en mas de \$500,000.00, amagándolo con la muerte y con volarle todas sus casas si no entrega el dinero.

TOS
→
AX

10 % OFF
DESCUENTO



ALLEGED MEXICAN REVOLUTIONISTS ARRESTED IN EL PASO AND JUAREZ

Raids in Both Cities Uncover
Incriminating Documents

Captain in Mexican Army and
Editor of Mexican Revolutionary
Paper Are Among the Prisoners

U.S. Authorities Hold El Paso
Prisoners on Charges of Violating
Neutrality Laws and Fomenting
Revolt Against Mexico

Raids were conducted last night on several locales in El Paso and Juarez in a general crackdown of alleged Mexican revolutionists. Arrests were made almost simultaneously in both cities around midnight, and implicating documents were seized that connect the arrests on both sides of the border and the trouble here to the revolutionary junta that fled St. Louis, Missouri. Captain Adolfo Jimenez Castro, of the Mexican Army, was arrested in El Paso, and voluntarily handed himself over to the Mexican authorities by crossing the international bridge.

Charged with "setting up an expedition of a military character to assail a country at peace with the United States, to wit: The Republic of Mexico," the United States officers have locked up several Mexicans in the El Paso county jail, arrested in last night's raid. Among the number is Lauro Aguirre, editor and publisher of "La Reforma Social," a Mexican paper in this city, which recently printed the news of the revolution in Vera Cruz the day the trouble occurred. Another prisoner is Pedro Gonzalez, who, according to documents captured, is recognized

Source:
El Paso
Herald
10/20/1906

as a general in the revolutionary party in the United States. The documents connect the revolutionists with the St. Louis head junta, and also with the Douglas, Eagle Pass, Laredo, Brownsville and Del Rio juntas. The capture of documents at those places aided arrests here.

Simultaneously with the arrest in El Paso, the Juarez police and military raided tenements and arrested seven men who are held incommunicado in that city and whom the officials refuse to name.

Captain Arrested

The most sensational event last night was the voluntary surrender of Adolfo Jimenez Castro, captain of the federal soldiers stationed in Juarez, to the Juarez authorities. Castro was arrested in El Paso, and he agreed to cross the river and to turn himself in. He is now held under heavy guard. It is said that he is accused of complicity in the seditious acts of the revolutionary junta that had its headquarters in El Paso. Other sources contend that he was a spy acting at the behest of the Mexican government.

It is now said that the visit of General de la Vega, the commander of the military zone, from Chihuahua City to Juarez, was a preemptive measure against the alleged revolutionists. After the raids last night, the Juarez troops paraded the streets until dawn.

Juarez and El Paso police are still on the hunt and are continually apprehending more alleged revolutionists.

Maybe He Was a Spy

It is asserted by some that Castro was working for the Mexican government and that he gained entrance to the councils of the alleged revolutionists by feigning sympathy with them and that it was he who informed the police on this side and in Juarez, causing the arrests. Castro is well known in Juarez and El Paso and has many friends. He was regarded as an army officer with a promising career.

The other men under arrest are incommunicado in the Juarez jail and will not be given a hearing until after the expiration of 72 hours.

Big Sensation in Juarez

The arrests in Juarez have created one of the biggest sensations known there for some time. Mayor Montemayor was aroused from his bed by the chief of police Mr. Ponce, and then they went over to the Juarez jail to interrogate the men under arrest.

The investigation is being continued today. When asked for a statement, Mayor Montemayor replied that it was not yet time to talk. Chief of police Ponce also declined to comment on the arrests.

From other sources it was learned that incriminating documents and letters were found when raids were made in Juarez, documents which show the connection of the Juarez men with the junta on this side of the river.

The whole city awoke to the commotion and looked out their windows or stepped

outside as the troops were brought from their barracks into town and paraded all night up and down the street. The townsfolk did not complain about the racket, but did seem disappointed.

Consul Mallen Spied

Mr. Mallen, Mexican Consul in El Paso, is said to have played a substantial role in spying on the revolutionary junta in El Paso. The same source contends that Mexican consuls in Douglas, San Antonio, Eagle Pass, Brownsville and Del Rio, as well as Consul Diebold of St. Louis, Missouri, where the central junta originally resided, all helped spy on the groups and helped with the apprehension of many Mexicans in those cities. Those held on the American side are docketed with violation of the neutrality laws of the United States. Nobody knows the charge against the Mexicans in jail in Juarez, nor their names.

Of those arrested here, Lauro Aguirre and Renuido Cano are in the county jail. Pedro Gonzalez and S. Blanc are held at the city jail. Gonzalez was arrested last night and the docket bears the name of the night captain Mitchell as the arresting officer. Gonzalez is said to be an important catch and a high-level officer in the revolutionary army. S. Blanco was arrested this morning by mounted detective Harold. Opposite his name is the endorsement "violation of the neutrality laws of the United States. Arrested at the request of Mexican consul Mallen." Blanco was later released.

Revolutionary Editor

Aguirre is the editor of "La Reforma Social," which is published in this city at 223 S. Stanton St. His paper has always published bitter attacks on president Diaz and also on the Catholic church and the rich. The El Paso police have accepted it as a matter of fact that he was in one way or another connected with the revolutionary junta which recently fled from St. Louis, and met secretly in this city. The president of the St. Louis junta is a Mr. R. Flores Magon, who, like Aguirre, had a printing press and published the acrimonious weekly called the Mexican "Regeneracion". They also published other revolutionary propaganda, which was distributed at various points along the Mexican border.

Aguirre distributed "Regeneracion" in El Paso while it was published, and also circulated his own paper widely. Recently he published "an open letter to President Roosevelt" denouncing Diaz, calling him a dictator and a tyrant and attacking the Mexican government. The letter was printed both in English and Spanish.

Mr. Aguirre has been kept under close scrutiny by Mexican and American authorities for the past decade since his involvement with the famed Teresa Urrea, and their failed revolutionary attack on Nogales in 1896. Ms. Urrea, whom the Mexicans believed to be a saint because of her mystic healing powers, passed

away earlier this year at the young age of thirty-three in Clifton, Arizona.

Met Over Miller's Saloon

Consul Mallen has been working on the case for some time and last night considered the hour ripe for the raid. In company with night captain of police Mitchell and deputy United States marshal H. R. Hillebrand he went to a rooming house on Overland street over the Legal Tender Saloon—the place operated by the murderer Max Miller—and secured a number of revolutionary documents and a few minutes later they arrested Pedro Gonzalez.

Information had reached the consul that the revolutionists had headquarters at the Overland Street house and also at a rooming house on South El Paso Street. The raid was made on Overland Street shortly before midnight but the police found the nest empty of all its occupants. A search of the room revealed a number of letters and other revolutionary documents. The documents had been tucked away behind the jamb in one of transoms. As the officers came down the stairs exiting the rooming building, they saw Gonzalez on the street and as he was known to captain Mitchell, he was arrested at once and taken to the city jail. Gonzalez was not aware of the raid, and he was about to enter the building when police poured out the front door and nailed him to the ground.

Among the documents secured at the raid of the Overland street rooming house was evidence showing connection between the junta here and the juntas at Laredo, Brownsville, Eagle Pass, Del Rio, Douglas and St. Louis, also documents showing the high standing of Gonzalez in the revolutionary party. Search was made of a number of rooming houses on Oregon and South El Paso street but no evidence of the other men wanted could be found.

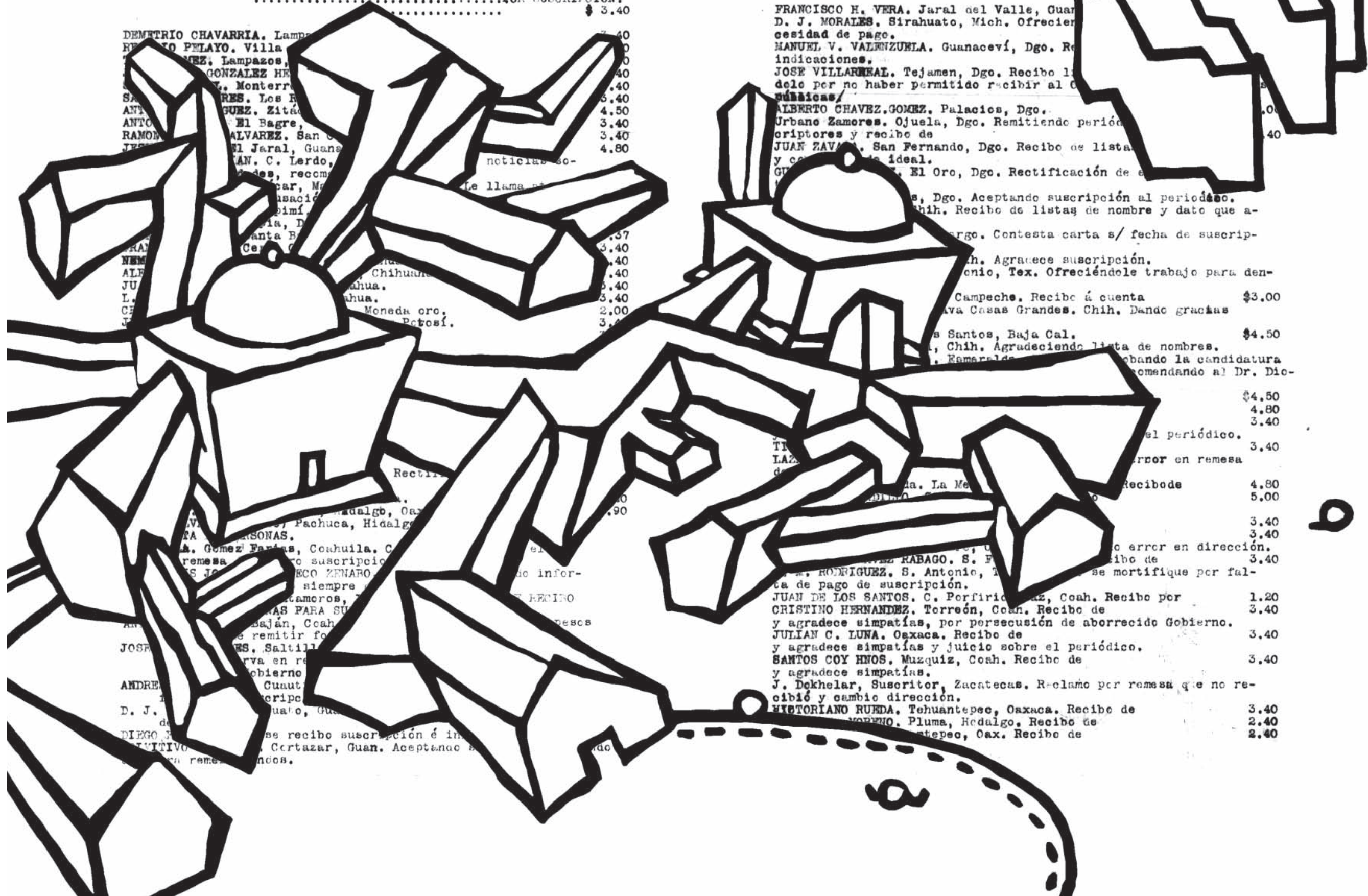
Following the arrests of Gonzalez and the finding of documents at Overland, United States marshal Hillebrand continued the search and finally landed Lauro Aguirre, editor of La Reforma Social, and also B. Cano. The men were found at his newspaper's offices on S. Stanton and were brought to the county jail.

The El Paso Police did not arrest anybody with the name Magon last night, and would not say if they believed the St. Louis junta president was here or if he had ever been here. Nobody knows the names of the arrested in Juarez, but it is unlikely that Mr. Magon figures among them, because, as every authority seems to agree, it would have been unwise for any central junta members to cross over to the Mexican side.

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3

REVOLUTIONARY JUNTA UPPENDED

2 of 3 Main Junta Leaders
Captured

St. Louis Junta and
Revolutionary Organ
"Regeneracion" Capsized

Sensational new information reveals that 2 out of 3 revolutionary heads from St. Louis were among the men captured during raids in El Paso and Juarez Friday night and Saturday morning. El Paso Police claim the man known as Pedro Gonzalez is actually Antonio I. Villarreal, Vice-President of the Revolutionary Party, and the Juarez authorities have finally revealed the names of the men captured in Juarez, and Juan Sarabia, Secretary General of the St. Louis Junta is among them. The man of greatest value, R. Magon, President of "Regeneracion" and of all the juntas, remains at large, but El Paso authorities believe he is still hiding somewhere in this city.

The new developments all but signal the death knell of the revolutionary movement that was organized in El Paso, after the St. Louis junta escaped that city. Consul Mallen of El Paso and Mayor Montemayor of Juarez produced ecstatic pronouncements yesterday afternoon almost at the same time in either city. When asked about Mr. Magon, Mayor Montemayor would not respond, but Consul Mallen seemed confident that the whole revolutionary movement would soon come to an end.

The outcome of the crackdown has shocked everyone. Americans in El Paso mostly enjoy the astonishing developments, while Mexican residents appear surly. It is said that the revolutionists enjoyed wide support among the Mexican residents on this side of the river, but none would confirm this fact.

Dare-Devil Crosses River

One of the most important developments in the arrests of the alleged revolutionists who were captured in El Paso and Juarez last Friday night and Saturday morning is the discovery that in the group was Juan Sarabia said to be one of the publishers of the revolutionary organ

"Regeneracion," printed at St. Louis, the organ which is held responsible for the entire revolutionary movement. Sarabia was caught on the streets of Juarez, disguised as a tramp, in company with two Mexicans, Dela Torre and Canales.

After spending 48 hours in the Juarez jail, during which time telegrams passed thick and fast over the wires between Mayor Montemayor of Juarez and the Chihuahua authorities, the men were ordered sent to Chihuahua immediately. They were taken to the capital city under heavy guard last night and will be confined at once in the state penitentiary until they are tried for treason.

If Sarabia, the man under arrest, is in fact the editor of the junta organ, as Juarez officials declare, then the staff of the St. Louis paper is nearly entirely behind bars. It is now known that Gonzales, the man who was arrested by consul Mallen and United States deputy marshal Hillebrand was Antonio I. Villarreal, who was also connected with the St. Louis junta and held a high commission.

With these two men in jail, there is but one active head of the St. Louis junta for whom the police are still on the hunt. The man is Ricardo Flores Magon, president of the junta and the newspaper "Regeneracion," and possibly the most dangerous individual of the group. If he is captured it is believed that the paper "Regeneracion," and the revolutionary movement will be squelched once and for all.

In addition to the arrest of Sarabia, Canales and Dela Torre in Juarez, about 13 others have been arrested up to today. Many of these are mere suspects and it is not known at this time whether definite charges of fomenting a revolution can be preferred against them or not.

It is regarded as exceedingly strange by both the El Paso and Juarez officials that the leaders of the St. Louis junta should have come to such a prominent border point as El Paso to carry out their propaganda. The fact that arrests had been made in Douglas and Eagle Pass should have been sufficient evidence to them, officials say, that the authorities were keeping a vigilant watch for them.

It is regarded as almost unbelievable that Sarabia should under any circumstances been induced to cross the river. It is probable, however, that he was persuaded that he would find ready sympathizers there and that he would be absolutely safe. It is said that when Sarabia, and the other two junta leaders, Dela Torre and Canales, were arrested in Juárez, they had but a few cents in change on their persons and all were poorly dressed.

Lauro Aguirre, editor of La Reforma Social, and Raymundo Cano, who were arrested in El Paso last Saturday morning, were released on \$500 bond at 1 o'clock today by United States commissioner Howe. Gonzales, or Villarreal, is still in jail being unable, it is said, to furnish

Source:
El Paso
Herald
10/22/1906

bail. Mayor Montemayor is seeking the extradition of Villarreal to Mexico.

Mexican Army Captain Spied

The part that captain Jimenez Castro of the Juarez detachment of the regular Mexican army played in the capture of the revolutionists on both sides of the river has been cleared up. Captain Castro was acting under a special commission in seeking evidence against the alleged revolutionists and had been taken into their camps as a member. When the group of alleged revolutionists was captured on this side Castro spent the night at the residence of consul Mallen and the next morning went to Juarez where he was placed nominally under arrest.

It is said that Castro convinced Juan Sarabia and the others to cross the river Friday night, claiming that he and his soldiers would defend them against other federal forces.

Main Target Still at Large

If Mr. Magon, president of the revolutionists, was indeed in El Paso on Friday night, it is regarded as outrageous that he would be the only one to escape the general crackdown. Beside the fact that he was the principal target of authorities in both cities, he is also the least athletic of the group. He is described as being portly and a heavy smoker. It is unlikely that he has seen the light of day over the past couple of months, hiding, as he probably has been, in secret tenements and dark basements. Sources also describe him as hard of sight, which would make a midnight subterfuge nearly impossible.

Opinions vary wildly as to his location. Night Captain of the El Paso Police Mitchell says he believes Magon is still hiding somewhere in this city while others are convinced that he is not here, nor has he ever been here. The police are still raiding houses, but have not upturned any further leads.

SPECIAL TO THE TIMES--

San Antonio, Texas, Oct. 22-San Antonio Mexican consul Ornealas today asked the arrest of 50 leading Mexican citizens in that city, charging them with fomenting a revolution.

Chihuahua City, Chihuahua, Oct. 22-Subscription lists seized at the Overland St crackdown set in motion a generalized hunt for Mexican rebels ordered by Governor Creel throughout the state of Chihuahua. Raids have been conducted by federal troops in at least Santa Eulalia, Parral, Santa Barbara and Jimenez, and prisoners are being trained into the state capital. There is no official count, but rumored estimates reach upwards of 200, with the expectation that the number will rapidly rise.

SECRET STOCKPILE FOUND IN JUAREZ

200 Bombs, 11 Rifles, Powder and Cartridges Unearthed.

Discovered in a small one-room adobe shack on Ugarte street west last night were 200 bombs, 11 rifles, several rounds of cartridges, and a large keg of powder. The house gave evidence of recent activity and mayor Montemayor of Juarez declared the rebels had just left the premises when it was discovered.

The house on Ugarte street was rented about a week ago to a Mexican who declared to the owner that he wished to use it as a store room for his effects. As the house is on the outskirts of town, some distance removed from any other residence, no attention was given to the site.

Last night the police broke in the door and carried the stuff to the police station. As to how the knowledge of the store house was discovered the police are silent, but it is believed that one of the 18 men who were arrested on that side of the river "squealed" under pressure.

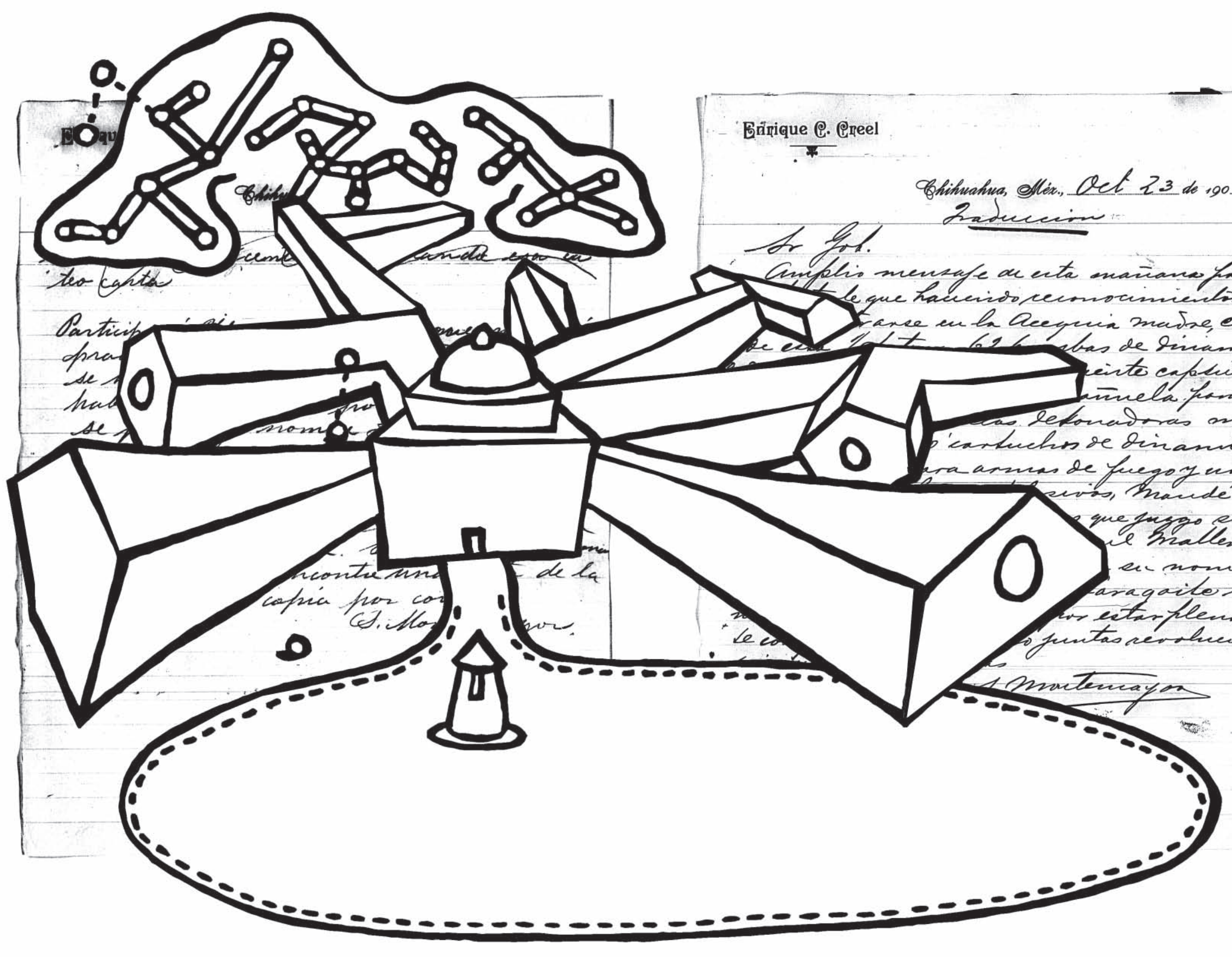
Inside the shack was spotted a closet partially open, with the butt of a rifle sticking out, and in the closet were eleven rifles, most of them Remingtons and Winchesters, and all of American make. Further inspection around the house revealed a keg of powder containing 50 pounds of the explosive, a large roll of fuse and a belt of cartridges.

The inspection was about done when an officer tripped over a buried fuse in the corner of the water closet. From the water closet the buried fuse connected to a sewer several yards behind the house. Barefoot tracks lead to the sewer, and loose dirt gave evidence of buried items.

Soldiers were put to work carefully digging away the top dirt and in a few seconds piles of explosives were unveiled. After all were piled into a large wagon and taken to the administration building, where they covered the entire floor of the council chamber, 200 crude although deadly bombs were counted.

Mayor Montemayor has received letters of congratulation from Chihuahua and Mexico City and Mexican officials believe that the backbone of the junta, which has been carrying on its propaganda for several years, creating unrest and fomenting a spirit of rebellion and forlorn hope among the poorest classes, has been effectively broken.

Source:
El Paso
News
10/24/1906



Enrique C. Creel

Chihuahua, Mex., Oct 23 de 1906

Traducción

Sr. Gob.

Amplio mensaje de esta mañana para
 que he querido reconocimientos a
 arse en la Acquia madre, es
 de un total de 62 libras de dinamita
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A. Montemayor

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October 28, 1906, Chihuahua City, Mexico

Embassy of Mexico in the US
Honorable John W. Foster:

Explanation of the case:

Ricardo Flores Magon, Mexican journalist in opposition to the Mexican government, crossed over into the United States from Mexico, and published an oppositional newspaper first in San Antonio, Texas, and then in St. Louis, Mo.

Calling himself the president of the Mexican Liberal Party (PLM), he commenced a very active correspondence campaign with bad Mexicans on both sides of the Rio Bravo, inciting them to establish revolutionary cells. His objectives fell short of a formal revolution in Mexico because he knows full well that he lacks the necessary elements to engage in such a movement, namely, the prestige, the contacts, and the influence. Most importantly, he lacks a reason or cause that would motivate a revolution. Instead, his purpose was to organize bandits, and assault small border towns in Mexico. This satisfied his aspirations to acquire money, and it also stoked his ego, because the feeble heists along the border sparked the interest of American newspapers, who, always ready to exaggerate, have qualified the acts of banditry as a full-fledged revolution against the Mexican Government.

Allow me to make myself clear: there is no threat of revolution in Mexico. General Diaz enjoys enormous popularity and the respect and endearment of all Mexicans. Peace has the universal support of public opinion: modern Mexico is constituted by working men who have accumulated great riches, who understand the benefits of law and order, and who will conserve it at any cost or sacrifice to their own persons. In addition, the construction of rail lines to the border regions and the loyalty of the military constitute absolute guarantees of peace.

It is not our agenda, then, to combat threats to our public stability, as none exist. Rather, we wish to punish the criminals who have organized bandit cells and encouraged illicit acts along the border including pillage, murder, and the usage of dynamite to destroy buildings and rail lines. One of these criminal cells was established in El Paso, Texas, under the direct command of Flores Magon, who arrived there in early September and stayed until late October. Flores Magon remains hidden in your territory.

Flores Magon and his accomplices prepared an assault on Ciudad Juarez with the objective of using dynamite to blow up the federal gendarmerie, take over the customs building and banks, and pillage Government offices and private residences. With that purpose, they smuggled about three-hundred bombs of dynamite and some weapons into Juarez during the first two weeks of October. On the evening of October 19, Juan Sarabia, Vicepresident of the Junta, Cesar Canales, self-styled General, and Vicente de la Torre, another delinquent, crossed into Juarez from El Paso. The purpose of their visit was to prepare the assault on Juarez the following day. The craven Ricardo Flores Magon did not cross the border, and instead stayed in El Paso, Texas, awaiting his accomplices. That night our authorities interrupted their conspiracy and apprehended the bandits.

Sarabia and associates were justly prosecuted in Chihuahua, and they have been convicted for their crimes. They will serve from one to seven years in prison, proportional to their involvement in the skirmish.

Because it is obvious that Ricardo Flores Magon was the ring-leader of the bunch, the Mexican Government asks for his expedited extradition so that we can prosecute him according to Mexican laws.

It is probable that Ricardo, like many of his accomplices, will argue that his crimes were political in nature, which will impede his extradition.

Mexico is very interested in his extradition, and insists that the crimes of Flores Magon are in no way political, and that they cannot be treated as such. It would be improper, and even dangerous to your country, to allow these criminals, these anarchists and dynamiters, to convince the American authorities that their crimes are political, because this would encourage all criminals to do as they pleased and get away with an alibi of political intent.

Here are the facts: the Mexican Government reigns completely over the national territory, and the recognition of its legitimacy is universal. There have been no battles fought against the government, and there is no party that is its enemy. The press does not encourage revolutionary activity, nor do any political clubs. There is no political plan that opposes the government, and, furthermore, there is no debate about a single political principle. In the entirety of Mexico, there is not even a vestige of discontent against the political administration of the country. How, then, is it possible that American authorities would consider granting

the character of revolutionary to a few criminals or anarchists hiding in your territory?

Undoubtedly, a couple low-level American authorities along the border have been taken for fools, and have recently bought into the myth of a Mexican revolutionary movement. We hope that the Federal Government of the United States will issue a declaration to dispel this myth, or will intervene in some other official manner. We cannot allow this disgrace to proceed.

Finally, I beg you oblige me with answers to the following juridical queries:

- 1- Will the American authorities, in agreement with our extradition treaty, cooperate to deliver Ricardo Flores Magon and his accomplices to Mexico?
- 2- If affirmative, what are the requisites to solicit their extradition according to your laws, practices and criteria?
- 3- If there is any hindrance to their extradition, what other juridical channels can we employ to punish Ricardo Flores Magon and his accomplices?
- 4- In what other ways can Mexico make full use of the good will of the United States Federal Government towards our own?

With respect and profound deference,

Enrique Creel.
Governor of Chihuahua

MEXICANS HERE WITHOUT FUNDS

Wives of St. Louis Junta
Members Depend on
Contributions.

APPEAL TO ROOSEVELT

Senorita Gonzales Declares
Criminal Charge Against
Brother is Ruse

Antonio Villarreal, former secretary of the Mexican junta in St. Louis, is a prisoner in El Paso, Tex., awaiting deportation to Mexico, where he fears death awaits him. His aged father and his sisters are in St. Louis, members of a group of 10, almost without resources and in deepest distress over uncertainty as to the fate of their loved one.

Prospero Villarreal, aged 61, is the only man in the party. He has intermittent employment. His daughters, Senoritas Andrea and Teresa Villarreal Gonzalez, and Senora Rivera, Senora Saucedo and Senora Sarabia, the last three wives of members of the junta, and three young children, are the other members. Aaron Lopez Manzano, the typesetter who had been kidnapped last month and later released, left town.

None of the women has any income save the scant contributions of members of the Mexican Liberal Party, whose funds have been almost exhausted by the recent troubles of the party's leaders. The eight are living at 123 and 125 Convent street.

Dispatches from El Paso state that Villarreal is still in Jail there, although he was ordered delivered to the Mexican authorities some days ago. Inspectors of the United States Immigration service, loath to carry out the order received from Washington, have referred the case back to the Department of Labor.

Villarreal has brought every argument to bear to prevent his extradition. He has declared that the purpose of the Mexican Government is to shoot him for his polit-

Source:
St. Louis
Post-
Dispatch,
11/12/1906

ical offenses as soon as he is taken across the border. He is desperate and is quoted to have said that he prefers to face federal charges for violation of US neutrality laws than extradition proceedings for crimes committed in Mexico, because he would rather spend time in a US Federal Penitentiary than be handed over to the other side. There is strong sentiment in Texas against his deportation.

Defends Her Brother.

Senorita Gonzalez, who according to Mexican custom, uses her mother's surname as her own, is an earnest believer in the justice of the cause of the revolutionists.

"My brother and his friends are not criminals, as Diaz and his agents charge," she said. "They have offended only in a political way. They are working for the cause of the people, the people who live in miserable poverty, who suffer for want of food and clothing, whose children never go to school.

"Our family lived in Lampazos and was well off. My brother came here for the World's Fair, and invited me to come for a while. While I was here he became interested in the movement of the Magon, Sarabia and others, and stayed here with them to help publish Regeneracion. I stayed also.

As to the petition for extradition of his brother by the Mexican Government, Gonzalez argues that it is but a ruse cooked up to drag him across the border.

"In Mexico my brother had killed a young man in a quarrel. It was not a murder, my brother acted in self-defense. The young man's mother did not blame my brother. It was only when the Mexican Government found they could not get him as a political offender that they decided to use the murder charge.

Appeal to Teddy.

Recently Miss Andrea Gonzalez and her sister Teresa addressed a letter to President Roosevelt asking that justice be shown their brother. They asserted that the charge of murder was hatched up against him in order that he might be taken into Mexico on that charge, as he could not be extradited upon the charge of being connected with the Liberal party. In the letter they declare that if he is taken to Mexico he will be shot. He was secretary of the junta. Their aged father, Prospero Villareal, who is with them, joined in the appeal to the President.

The other women of the colony are Senora Felice Sarabia, whose son Juan was her sole support, and senora Evarista Concepcion Rivera, whose husband, Librado Rivera, fled to escape arrest. She has two little children, Antonio, aged 4, and Refugio, a daughter aged 7. The Gonzales sisters, with their father, occupy the upstairs part of 123 Convent street and the others live next door, at 125 Convent street. Their quarters consist of two poorly lighted rooms. The surroundings are dismal and in the rooms are evidenc-

es of poverty of the most pinching sort.

Women Have Spirit.

But they still have their spirit. The two Gonzales sisters spoke eloquently of what they characterize as the persecution of the junta members. Andrea, the elder of the sisters, said that she would not go back to Mexico until conditions changed there.

"We can't speak the truth in Mexico," she said, "and consequently until they let us do it there we are going to stay here and tell everyone here what is the truth.

"There is not any truth in these charges the Government of Diaz has made against my brother. All they want is to get him back to Mexico and imprison him there for a long time, as they have done with so many others.

The senorita is evidently a woman of some education. She showed the reporter several poems clipped from Mexican magazines over her name.

October 30, 1906, Washington D.C.

Mexican Embassy,
Washington, D.C.
Governor Enrique C. Creel,

Dear Sir:

We have carefully examined your memorandum, and today I met with the consulting attorney of the State Department and with the secretary of Commerce and Labor regarding the issues addressed therein. The American Government perfectly understands the situation on the border, and knows that peace and order reigns in the entirety of your territory and that there are no traces of a revolutionary movement in the Republic of Mexico that would give the operations of Ricardo Flores Magon and his associates a political character. They are considered by the United States Federal Government simple enemies of peace who should be punished as such when sufficient evidence is presented against them. As you know, our government has adopted measures to carefully safeguard the border along the Rio Grande, and has given orders to keep watch on suspect Mexicans in the United States.

The American Government is entirely willing to bring these Mexican bandits to justice, but their extradition presents a difficulty: an extradition request must be based on one of the crimes listed in our extradition treaty with Mexico and it must be proven that the accused is a fugitive of the law. It is not possible to extradite a person to Mexico for having committed a crime in the United States.

The best method to punish delinquents like Magon is by way of the US neutrality laws. If it can be proven that they have broken any of the prescriptions of said laws, they can be declared presumable culprits, apprehended, and prosecuted in the courts of the United States. If they are found guilty, they will be fined and imprisoned.

Based on your memorandum, it appears that the Mexican Government has sufficient proof that:

1. Magon and his associates conspired in the city of El Paso, Texas, to organize and equip a military expedition from that city into Mexico;
2. That in execution of that conspiracy and expedition they smuggled weapons into Mexico;
3. That some of the co-conspirators crossed into Mexico under Magon's orders; and,

4. That after being apprehended and brought to justice, they confessed their guilt and their complicity with Magon.

If your Government can prove these claims by way of competent witnesses, I recommend you put them in contact with the Secretary of State in order to begin criminal prosecution against Magon et al.

Alternately, you can request the deportation of an alien from the immigration departments if it can be proven that the alien came to this country unlawfully. This method may prove more difficult if the alien is not yet under arrest because only immigration inspectors can apprehend unlawful aliens, and not police officers. However, if the alien is captured, deportation proceedings are generally speedier than federal charges, and will result in punishment in Mexico rather than imprisonment in the US.

Deportation will be expedited if it can be shown that the alien under question is an anarchist or is affiliated with an anarchist organization. Sections 2, 38, and 39 of the Immigration Act passed by Congress in 1903, and reenacted in June of this year, bars from admission to the United States "anarchists, or persons who believe in or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States or of all government." Unfortunately, this act does not cover seditionists who conspire exclusively against Mexico. I mention this because, although your memorandum does not detail concrete anarchist activities, my office conducted a brief inquiry into St. Louis newspapers, and found that these men were possibly affiliated with known anarchists like Emma Goldman and the Spaniard Florencio Bazora during their time in that city. Two caveats here are that the evidence appears circumstantial, and a prosecution of this nature may result in a public spectacle, as the named anarchists are reputed for spinning press coverage to their advantage.

In the instance you opt for deportation proceedings against the Mexican bandits, I advise you notify the immigration departments in cities where it is believed they are hiding, and bring their cases to the office of the Secretary of Labor at the Department of Commerce and Labor.

Yours truly,
John W. Foster

November 23, 1906

Mr. Antonio I. Villarreal
El Paso County Jail
El Paso, Texas

Dear Brother:

I just received your letter. Yes, I escaped, and laugh as much as you want, my sheer luck has decorated me with unwarranted fame. It is astounding how so much work can turn to dust, but the slightest change of fate brings everything back to life again. People are saying I am quick and crafty. I wish that was the case, but you know the truth.

My supposed craftiness can be summarized to my having kept you around. If you hadn't told me to wait at the corner bar as you proceeded to inspect the situation at the office, we would be cell mates at this very moment. Clearly then, you are the crafty one and not me. I witnessed the horrible scene as the police poured out the door and beat you to the ground. I turned left and shot into the night. I managed to escape on a Pullman freight train. I will not tell you where I am for reasons you already understand. I am no-place and will remain in flight.

I do not know how I escaped; it was sheer luck. Or perhaps providence tells us the revolutionary spirit is still alive. I am hopeful that we can reorganize the remaining cells in a matter of weeks while the Dictatorship remains blinded by arrogance. So many will rot in jail if we do nothing. The force of the tyranny has numbed the survivors, but my supposed escape has breathed new life back into them. I sent Aaron to roam the northern zone and regroup those cells. Araujo is traversing the south. I have not heard from Manzano in weeks, but I will not allowed myself to fear the worst yet. I would hope that if he had been captured, a partisan would let us know. I have also not heard from Enrique since we split up in Montreal, did he simply vanish?

I do not believe I will survive another crackdown of the scale we saw in El Paso. I am fat and slow, and you know my eyes are useless. Worst of all, I am too trusting. But I still believe the day of redemption will come soon.

Your unwavering brother and eternal friend,

--Ricardo Flores Magon

Arrests on the early morning of October 20th were:

-Villarreal captured at 211 E. Overland St by El Paso police.
-Aguirre and Cano apprehended while conspiring at "La Reforma Social" offices on 223 S. Stanton.
-Sarabia, De la Torre, and Canales cross the International Bridge and are immediately ambushed by Mexican federal forces.

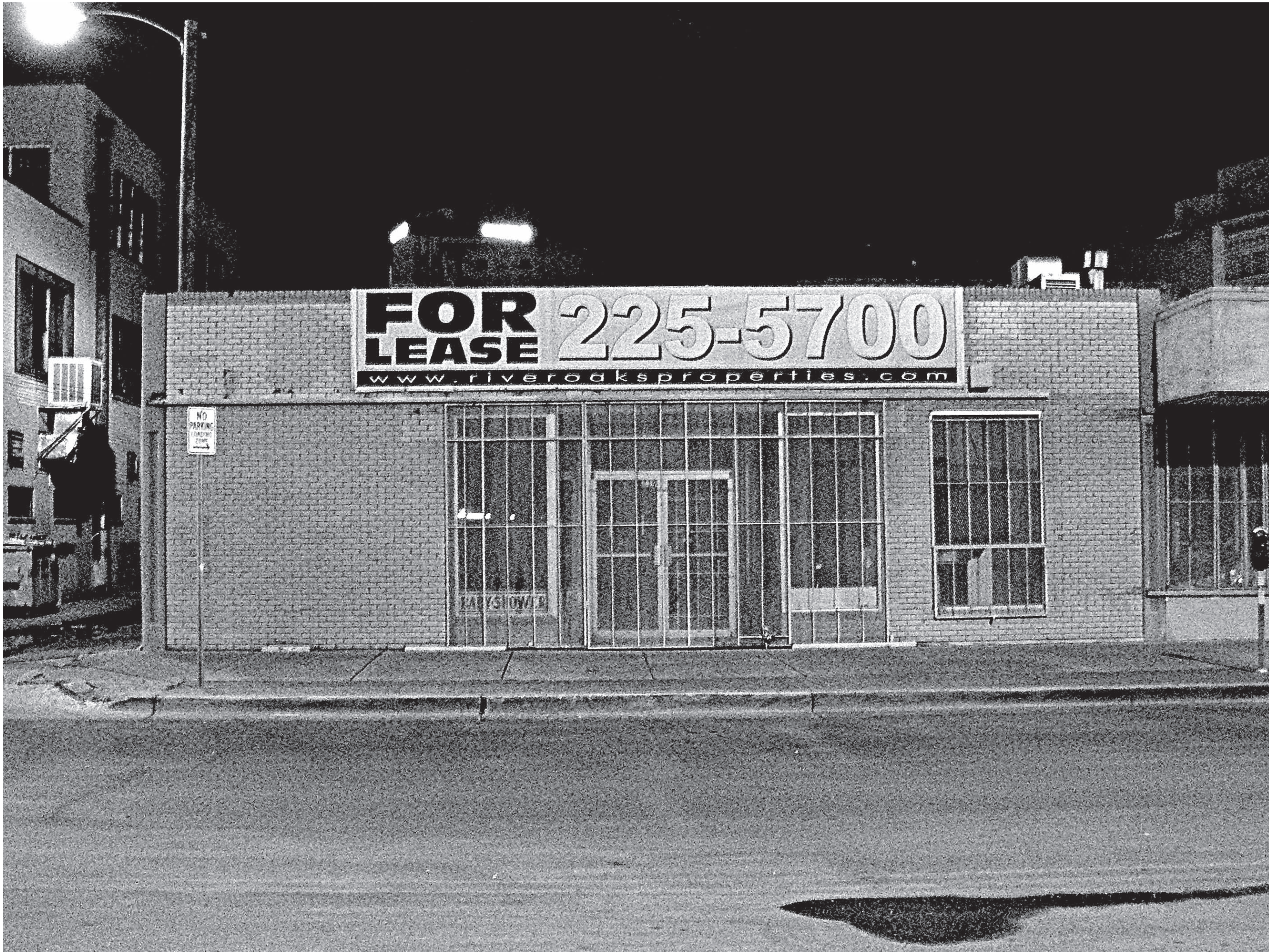
R. Magon escapes by a hair when Villarreal suggests waiting at corner bar half-block away from Overland St. office. Magon witnesses arrest and runs north (left) to train tracks. Police completely unawares.

Johnson, translation.

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SUDDEN FLIGHT OF VILLARREAL

Alleged Revolutionist Held as Alien
Unlawfully in Country Escapes
Officer

SPECTACULAR SUBTERFUGE

Antonio Villarreal, accused of being a prominent authority of the St. Louis Junta that moved to El Paso sometime in September, and who was scheduled for deportation hearings escaped yesterday at 10:30 in the morning from the custody of "Tony" Sierra, an inspector of the immigration department. Villarreal had just been dismissed after a hearing before United States Commissioner Howe on the charge of violating neutrality laws. But as soon as he stepped out of the Federal Court thinking he might be allowed to walk freely, he was arrested by order of the immigration officer T. F. Schumucker on the charge of being an alien unlawfully residing in the country, and was being taken to jail on those secondary charges by Sierra at the time he escaped.

While he was leaving the Federal building Villarreal said to Inspector Sierra that he wished to go to the Western Union Telegraph office on S Oregon St and send a telegram to his sisters in St. Louis. As Villarreal had been a very cooperative inmate thus far, this permission was granted and instead of being taken directly to the jail, the man was allowed to enter the Western Union office. While he was writing the telegram Inspector Sierra stood at the door of the Western Union talking to Mr. Schumucker who had driven along in his buggy.

Revolutionist Absconds

It was while this conversation was going on that Villarreal disappeared. His line of flight is a mystery and the accounts are varied.

Inspector Sierra declares that the man walked through the Western Union office and went out of the side door into the alley, then turned west to the alley between El Paso and Oregon streets and ran north to San Antonio St, up the steps into the Bronson block and from there disappeared.

"I was standing at the door of the Western Union," declared Mr. Sierra "and

it would not have been possible for the man to have slipped away from me by coming out of the front door. Neither Mr. Schumucker nor I saw the man come out. I am sure that the man went out the back way.

The employees of the Western Union contend that the man could not have sneaked behind the counter and escaped by the side door without being seen by some of those in the office, and none did. They are convinced that Villarreal managed to sneak out the front door while the inspector was not looking. This statement is corroborated by some of the messenger boys who say that the man turned south on Oregon street and escaped in that direction.

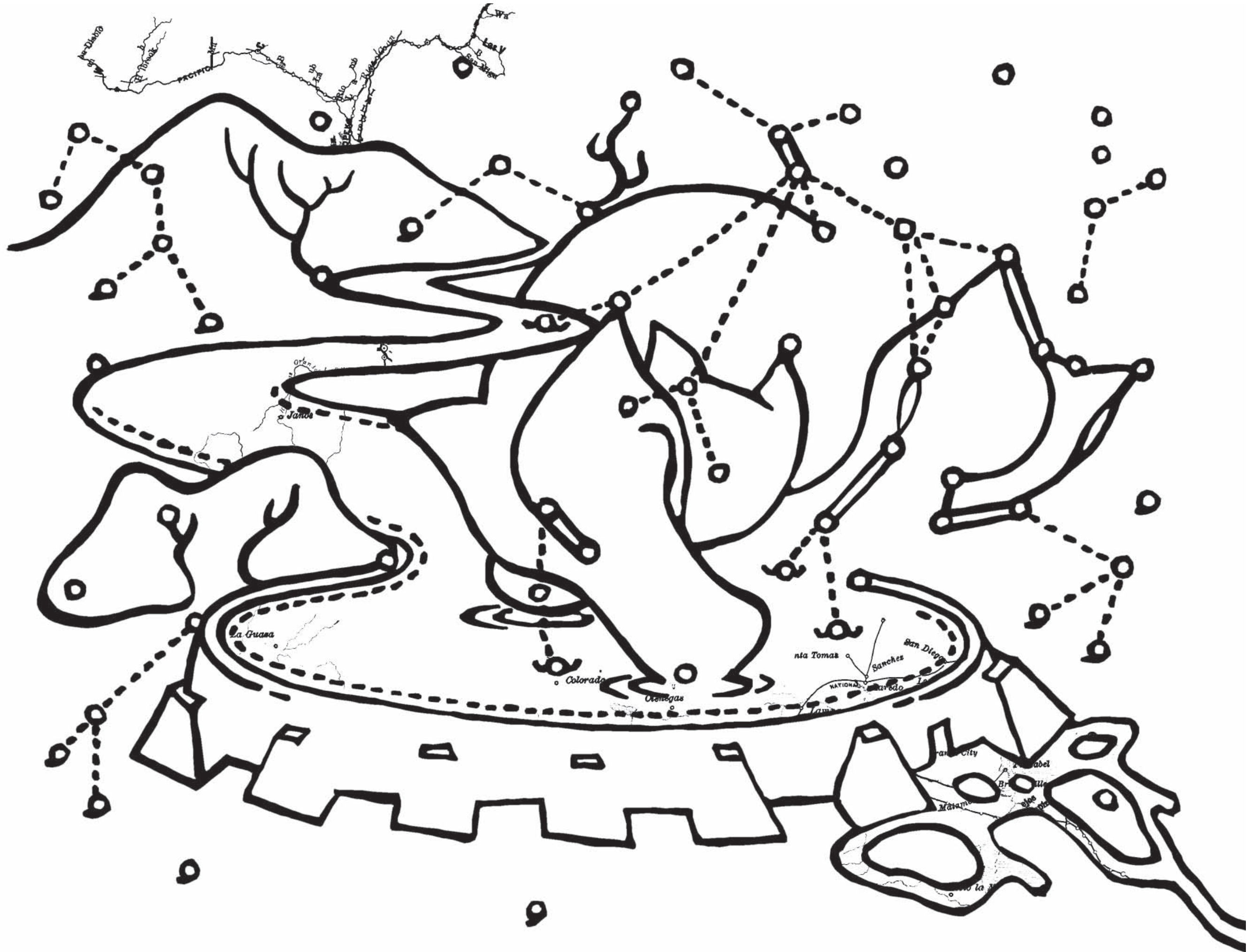
Uncanny Coincidence

It is unclear whether Villarreal's subterfuge was a calculated plan, or if he simply saw an opportunity emerge and took it. What is clear is that the El Paso Junta secret office on Overland St was located around the corner from the Western Union before the October 20 raids, and it is presumed by the authorities in retrospective that Villarreal would have been very familiar with the floor plan of this Western Union and with the surrounding alleys. Villarreal was arrested just before midnight on October 20 in front of the Overland St office above the Legal Tender Saloon, a mere 300 feet from the site of yesterday's getaway.

Even more unsettling, a recent report by a private detective regarding the raids on October 20 claims that Ricardo Flores Magon, the president of the revolutionist junta, had indeed been in El Paso during the weeks leading up to the raids, and only escaped apprehension because of a providential suggestion by Mr. Villarreal. Just before midnight on October 20, both men walked to the Overland St hideout. The police were inside the building as they walked down Overland St, but the two men did not know this. Out of caution, Villarreal persuaded Mr. Magon to wait for him outside the Zeiger Hotel bar on the corner of Overland and Oregon while he went ahead to inspect the office. At the very moment Villarreal reached the door to the building, the police were coming down the stairs, and they immediately arrested him. According to the report, Mr. Magon must have witnessed the incident from the Zeiger Hotel Bar half a block away, and then turned north and ran up Oregon St in the direction of the train tracks.

If the report is accurate, Magon's dash on the night of October 20 would have initiated 100 feet from Villarreal's escape yesterday morning, and what's more, Mr. Magon would have run in front of the Western Union and into the same alley as Villarreal because it is the nearest shelter from Oregon St leading away from the Overland St office. The report also contends that Mr. Magon did not hide in El Paso after the arrests, and instead

Source:
El Paso
Times,
12/19/1906



jumped on a Pullman Freight Train heading west in the early morning of October 21.

Enters Bronson Block

At the same time as Villarreal's escape yesterday, a Mexican fitting his description was seen to dash out the alley in the rear of the First National Bank building and hurry up the stairs of the San Antonio street entrance of the Bronson block.

When Inspector Sierra turned to look for his man and found him missing a search of the neighboring streets and alleys was begun. Mounted police surrounded the Bronson block building while a number of Inspectors of the immigration department were summoned.

All exits to the building were placed under guard and then a thorough search was made for the man but no trace of him could be found. It is the theory that he went through the building and out one of the exits at the rear, either through the opening on Oregon street or through the alley in the rear of the Lobby saloon.

Mounted Men Sent Out

Mr. Schmucker had sent mounted men to outlying points where Villarreal might attempt to seek refuge. The trains were placed under heavy guard so that the man could not get out that way and the fact that he is wanted in Mexico will debar him from seeking refuge in that country. It is declared that Villarreal had about \$300 in money on his person, and that he would have managed to aboard a train before the Police arrived. It is also declared that there are hundreds of Mexicans in this city and in the valley who would give him shelter if he asked any of them.

District Attorney George Estes and Attorney General Sweeney who represented Villarreal declared that no civil officer has the authority to put Villarreal under arrest. They say there is no warrant which can be issued for him and that the inspectors of the immigration department's office are the only ones who have the right to apprehend him.

As soon as the escape of Villarreal became known in Mexico City last night at 10 o'clock, a telegram came from the Mexican government to Chief of Police Ponce de Leon of Juarez instructing him to offer a reward of \$1,000 Mexican money for the apprehension of Villarreal. The reward applies if arrested and turned over to American authorities.

Unusual Defense Plea

The federal court dismissed the charges for violation of the US neutrality laws yesterday afternoon despite protests by the defendant. Villarreal preferred to face trial on Federal charges. Villarreal's attorney, Mr. Sweeney, argued that his client should face trial for violation of US neutrality laws rather than deportation proceedings. It is assumed that Villarreal favored federal charges over deportation proceedings because he would rather spend time in an American

prison over being sent to Mexico, where he feared he would be shot.

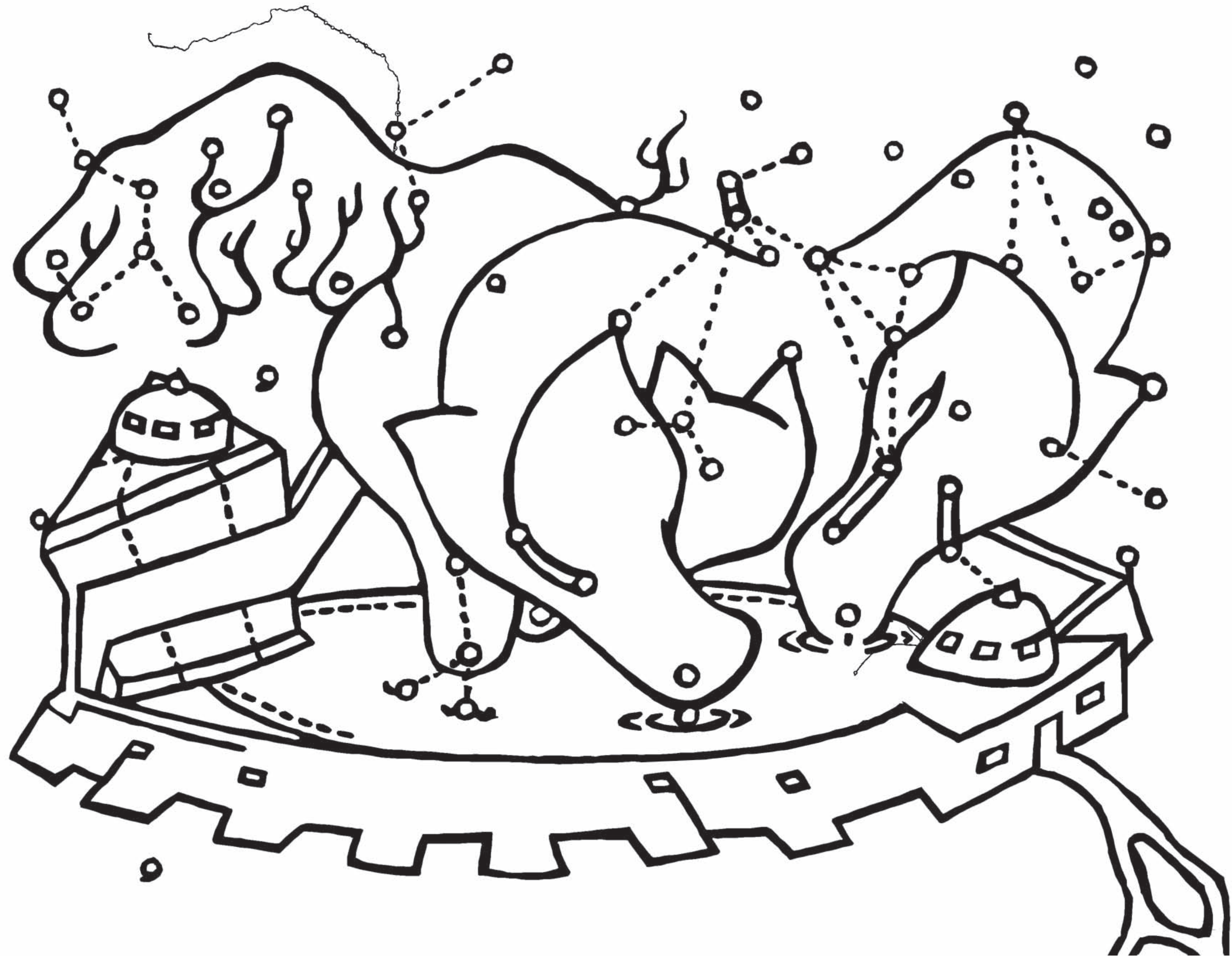
The federal charges were dropped yesterday, but then inspector Sierra immediately rearrested Villarreal by order of immigration officer Schmucker. Villarreal was being taken back into custody for deportation proceedings when he escaped.

Unknown Whereabouts

Original reports sustained that Villarreal spent last night in this city with one of his many friends. But another source contended that Villarreal caught a Rock Island train No. 44 on the steep grade to the east of the city yesterday afternoon. This theory states that after escaping downtown El Paso he hid at the foothills until the train passed by, and that he is now far from the city.

Consul Mallen would not comment on the recent turn of events, but he appeared surly, especially in comparison to his elated air during the days following the October 20 raids, when two of three principal targets had been apprehended and it appeared that the third and most important fugitive, Mr. Magon, would soon follow. Now the two head revolutionists are at large and probably far from El Paso.

It is conceded by the authorities that there is very little hope of apprehending Villarreal and nearly every Mexican in town and the majority of Americans rejoice the fact.



Belem Prison, December 31, 1906

It has been a month since they dragged me to Belem. The spy is Ansel Johnson, the bastard of the ads. I was hurrying to the house of a partisan in Monterrey before dawn, and when I looked up, he approached me arms open and smiling. I was stunned to see him, and then the rangers surrounded me. He held my hand and greeted me like an old friend, as if nothing was going on. He works for an American detective company and responds to Creel or Diaz.

The code is compromised. Tell Raf [Ricardo Flores Magon] that it must be changed, and to not send letters in the meantime. The postal authorities are all implicated. They transcribe the letters and then send them on to their destinations. Tell Sam [Manuel Sarabia] that the Jury here has all of his correspondence and also that of the entire San Antonio group. They use the mail in prosecution. Brother Arcuijo [Antonio de Pio Araujo] is penniless and closely followed; please help. There are 36 of us in this cell, including Mrs. Modesta Abascal.

A. L. [Aaron Lopez Manzano]

Johnson, translated.

Missive smuggled from Belem Prison, and then confiscated during a recent arrest in Mexico City. Except for pseudonyms, it was not written in code. Magon and associates remain in dark about postal collaboration and infiltration.



AFTERWORD

"The past is beautiful / like the darkness between the fireflies."

-Mason Jennings¹

"All histories are peopled with shadows. In Zapatista history, more than a few of them have delineated our light. We are full of hushed footsteps that have nevertheless made our [revolutionary] cry possible. Many men and women keep still so that the movement can walk. Many blurry faces allow other faces to be made clear. Someone said that Zapatismo was successful because it knew how to weave nets. Yes, but behind ours there are many weavers of skillful hands, of great ingenuity, of prudent steps. And while an incandescent and brief light rises above each knot on the rebellious web of the forgotten of the world, its weavers continue to weave new traces and embraces in the shadows..."

-Subcomandante Marcos²

Exile & Utopia is set in the past but alive in the present. My interest in this project emerged from a feeling of displacement as I came of age shuttling between the American Midwest and the southern Mexican state of Chiapas. High school history books in both Mexico and the US used the past to naturalize the present-day political geography of the world. Driving with my father back and forth between Minnesota and Chiapas, I felt that history was at odds with my own experience. A walk across the international bridge became a recurring but consistently uncanny event. I would stop midway on the bridge and stand sideways, and then imagined that the international boundary divided my body in two. I wondered if that line meant everything in the world or nothing at all. That prodding sense of displacement is the driving force behind my work on *Exile & Utopia*, and my oblique entryway into its history of revolution.

In the lead-up to the centennial of the Mexican Revolution of 1910, I retraced the footsteps of a group of revolutionary journalists headed by Ricardo Flores Magón during their first

1 Jennings, 1997.

2 Marcos, 2001. Translation by author.

two years of exile from Mexico (1904-1906). Escaping persecution and surveillance, they moved northward through Texas and Missouri, and then fled to Toronto and Montreal, before darting south as they attempted to launch a revolution in Mexico from El Paso, Texas. This early, and failed, revolutionary journey is played down in Mexican history as the 'precursor movement' that led up to the 1910 revolution. In the US, it is erased from our national memory even as it traversed American territory and deeply impacted national communities. In my retelling of this journey, national narratives become increasingly muddled, and what starts off as a patriotic movement for liberal reform within Mexico begins to expose the need for political transformation on a global scale. Trivialized in Mexican history and banished from American memory, the odyssey retold in *Exile & Utopia* provides a prehistory to emergent transnational solidarity networks in our post-modern era.

This afterword attempts to draw the reader into the buried historical context of *Exile & Utopia*, tracing the end of its story line to resistance in our own times. In broad strokes, it draws up the historical context of the book, tracing a complex web of solidarity movements across time and space. A recent subversion in Chiapas provides a window into the emergence of a global solidarity network in the Internet age. This network structure in the present era then allows me to telescope into the epochal setting of *Exile & Utopia*, where something like a shadow of the World Wide Web begins to emerge--an international network of oppositional newspapers that grew with technological developments like the expansion of the railroad and innovations in the print industry. Loose threads left dangling at the end of *Exile & Utopia* are then retraced through the twentieth century back to the present. Finally, this context allows for a historically contingent description of my work in the present, and of its three 'traces' of the past: historical site photographs, a narrative composed of documents, and collaged 'diagrammatic drawings.'

Exile & Utopia is an intervention on the preconceptions of a general audience. It questions political geography and national histories, and urges the imagination of social transformation outside those paradigms. The book also addresses a much narrower audience of dissidents living outside of Mexico who have been

inspired by the Zapatista movement in Chiapas, and who have attempted to imagine and then construct alternative ways of relating to each and one another. In different ways, readers of both audiences are likely to experience a sense of displacement as seemingly unrelated elements are connected. This is the uncanny sensation of border crossing--what is familiar feels suddenly foreign; what is foreign appears strangely familiar.

An Uncanny Opening

On April 10, 1998, Tzeltal Indians of Taniperla, Chiapas, inaugurated the "Municipio Autónomo en Rebeldía Ricardo Flores Magón", or Autonomous Municipality in Rebellion Ricardo Flores Magón, named after the early twentieth century Mexican revolutionary intellectual and journalist.³ The celebration, which coincided with the anniversary of the assassination of Magón's contemporary and compatriot, the guerrilla leader Emiliano Zapata,⁴ signaled the community's open affiliation with the (neo-) Zapatista movement in Chiapas. As in the many other indigenous communities that declared their affiliation with the Zapatistas, the pronouncement implied firstly, autonomy or self-governance and a rejection of state officials; secondly, the creation of an alternative political geography with different place names and more fluid boundaries; and, finally, the delegitimization of state violence, including the rejection of all military, paramilitary, and police forces, and an affiliation with the Zapatista rebel army (EZLN). The date of the inauguration and the title of their autonomous municipality signaled not so much the death of Zapata, or even a return to the ideas of Magón, but the rebirth of neo-Zapatismo and neo-Magonismo looking forward to a new century.

Residents unveiled a beautiful mural at the celebrations, painted on the facade of the local community center. The Taniperla mural, or 'Vida y Sueños de la Cañada de Perla' mural (Life and Dreams of the Perla Valley), was painted by a diverse group of locals with the help of international and national observers. The center of the mural, effectively the door into the municipal house, exhibits two peace doves holding a flag with the

3 De Vos, 2002, 390.

4 Irurzun, 2004.

words MEXICO, PEACE, and CHIAPAS, over black, white, and red bands respectively, an eccentric blend of the Mexican, peace, anarchist, and Zapatista flags. A painted indigenous woman and a man on either side of the door walk toward the entrance. The figures of Ricardo Flores Magón and Emiliano Zapata float in clouds above the woman and man. In true guerilla fashion, Zapata is represented riding a horse and carrying a rifle. A flowing red bandana around his neck bears his mantra 'la tierra es de quien la trabaja,' loosely translated as 'the land belongs to those who work it.' Ricardo Flores Magón carries a satchel used by peasants to sow beans or corn. The satchel bears the titles of two of his newspapers, 'El Hijo del Ahuizote' and 'Regeneración,' and instead of seeds, Magón sows words and ideas. The mural's rich iconography illustrates an awareness of previous struggles, the present-day resistance of the Zapatista governance, and the community's desires and hopes for the future.

Although the primary purpose of the new municipality was the promotion of democracy, equality, and justice, the inauguration also implied a rejection of the Mexican state. The affront was not lost on authorities. Before dawn on the morning following the celebrations, April 11, the Mexican army invaded the town, sent most of the population fleeing into the mountains, arrested 21 locals and visitors, and riddled the mural with bullets. International observers were deported and barred from Mexico for life while Mexican citizens were held in jail up to a year. The Federal Army occupied the town and demolished the mural.⁵

The two-day life history of the mural resembles the two-year history of *Exile & Utopia*: (1) An exodus from political geography stakes out a utopian or non-place realm for the horizontal democratic organization of an indeterminate body politic; (2) the indeterminate body becomes relatively determinate by coalescing around a visible revolutionary organ such as a newspaper or a mural; (3) the organ amplifies the revolutionary movement, but it also provides a determinate target for state repression.

It is clear in the first instance that the history of resistance, which can be narrated through relatively determinate

5 De Vos, 2002, 379-390; and Irurzun, 2004, 1-4.

political subjects or nodes--a mural, a newspaper, an organization, or a nameable movement--is irrevocably also the history of repression. This presents an obvious problem to those of us interested in the potentially liberatory pedagogy of revolutionary history. But in a second instance, we can also see that any relatively determinate node is linked through indeterminate but real connections across time and space to other nodes. (What happens to the indeterminate body that flees into the mountains? And where did it come from in the first place?) The silver lining of the problematic interdependence of resistance and repression in history is that the nodes are not resistance themselves, but rather heuristic devices that makes resistance visible. It should be emphasized therefore that the history of resistance is not its ontology. Instead, resistance is a network of indeterminate connections made visible by relatively determinate nodes; it is an *abstract-real*, not its concrete manifestations. As Marcos indicates, the nodes shine as "incandescent and brief light[s]," but the network continues "to weave new traces and embraces in the shadows." Abstraction is generally conceptualized as being diametrically opposed to 'real' or 'concrete' processes, and while I agree that the abstract is distinct from the concrete, it is nevertheless real (albeit dark in this case). The network of resistance is *abstract* because its constitutive aspect is the form that is traced in the process of resistance, *real* because the form is traced in the process of resistance, and *abstract-real* because both aspects are mutually constitutive.

The abstract-real of resistance has five characteristics. For one, it is *dark*, or rather "the darkness between the fireflies." It is the darkness between the concrete manifestations, or nodes, of resistance. Secondly, it is not knowable in an empirical sense, but it can be *felt*. The abstract-real of resistance is the dark matter of history: we infer its existence because we feel its effects. Extrapolating further from Mason Jennings' wonderful lyrics, we might add that the abstract real of resistance is *composed of the past*, and is also quite *beautiful*. And as Marcos suggests, it is strategic, meaning that its darkness allows it to *throw itself into the future*. Marcos sees that the history of resistance is "populated with shadows" not simply because history tends to marginalize its true agents, but because

agency in history⁶ requires a strategic use of silence, all the while weaving "new traces and embraces in the shadows." Finally, its structure is that of a *web* (in the image of the World Wide Web). It is the emergence of an abstract-real of resistance that I trace and re-activate in *Exile & Utopia*.

While it is prudent of contemporary 'weavers' to be guarded from prying eyes, their obscurity tends to erase deep historical connections between resistance movements through history. The unfortunate effect of the obscured history of solidarity is that the work of resistance is made more difficult in the long term. It convinces even its participants that we are and have always been naturally separated by national, racial, gendered, and cultural boundaries, leading to deterministic divisions between 'us' and 'Others.' Every time we create solidarity networks, we assume we're doing it for the first time! And in the meantime, we take national and normative histories at face value. The abstract real of resistance, or its dark linkages and connections across time and space, must be made partially visible. The present project is to draw many new constellations in the night sky, to trace a new cosmology of resistance.

Exile & Utopia first underscores and then undermines the problematic link between resistance and repression in historical production. This link is severed with a voice that speaks through silence, a sort of uncanny resonance with the contradictions of our own era. What follows is the tracings of a new cosmology that emerged from Taniperla, which first resonates and then reconnects with the spectral cosmology of the book.

Two Transnational Webs

It is unclear what happened to the indeterminate body that fled into the mountains surrounding Taniperla, but a visible web of international solidarity emerged from the riddled mural. The Taniperla incident became a sort of cause célèbre among autonomist groups around the world. Acting in solidarity, the groups

⁶ I am using "resistance" and "agency in history" interchangeably here. I agree with Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri when they say that "[e]ven though common use of the term [resistance] might suggest the opposite--that resistance is a response or reaction [to power]--resistance is primary with respect to power." Hardt and Negri, 2005, 64.

painted Taniperla mural reproductions in their own community centers in Europe, North America, and Latin America. By connecting these reproductions, we can trace the image of an emergent web of solidarity in the Internet age.

Almost immediately after the destruction of the Taniperla mural, students at the Universidad Nacional de Bahía Blanca in Argentina painted a reproduction on their campus (this mural was subsequently destroyed two years later). Another reproduction appeared in Brazil. In Europe, Zapatista solidarity groups painted murals in Belgium, France, Italy, Spain, and Germany. University students in Mexico City painted a Taniperla mural, and one more found itself on the Mexican side of the US-Mexico border wall in Nogales. Finally, in 2005, displaced Taniperla residents painted a reproduction in the nearby town of La Culebra, Chiapas. In the US, a group of artists painted a Taniperla reproduction on the Kerouac Alley side of the City Lights bookstore in San Francisco, California.⁷ While the images of the reproduction murals mimicked that of the original, a new image emerged from the process of solidarity: the network form. *The network form is the image of solidarity.*

Explanations for this new horizontal, transnational, and web-like social formation of resistance abound. These are: digital innovations in communications technologies, especially the Internet, demographic shifts like the increase of Third World immigrants in the First World, a global political transformation toward neoliberal policies, and a corresponding waning of the nation-state as the primary structure of political organization. While these transformations are real and their implications for rethinking our methods of resistance are profound, the explanations tend to be overly teleological. They ascribe too much fluidity to postmodernity and too much stasis to modernity; perceive too little nationalism now and too much then. They fail to account for the heterogeneity of movement and containment within both modernity and postmodernity. *Exile & Utopia* looks back at the early twentieth century and finds something like the shadow of the World Wide Web.

As in our own era, the early twentieth century saw the rise of an increased connectivity between resistance movements

⁷ Irurzun, 2004, 1-5.

worldwide. Technological innovations during the second half of the nineteenth century, including the telegram and advancements in letterpress printing like stereotyping and the platen press, increased the flow and spread of information. Railroad expansion allowed for the greater reach of postal services to previously isolated audiences. Radical newspaper editors connected workers and shared information on national and international levels. As in our own era, the network form was the image of solidarity: a veritable World Wide Web of the early twentieth century information revolution spread through nets of newspapers and subnets of readers.

Industrialization was especially hasty in copper mining regions like northern Mexico and the American Southwest. The invention of the light bulb created a boom in demand for copper wire, and American companies quickly acquired land and introduced new rail lines into the region.⁸ Accelerated modernization had the double effect of triggering labor disputes and facilitating the political organization of the laboring classes. Mexicans on both sides of the border complained that they received less pay than their American counterparts for the same type of work. Dissident newspapers published in the US and smuggled into Mexico provided a platform for widespread organizing and for solidarity with other exploited groups across North America. The emergence of the most pivotal newspaper within this context, *Regeneración*,⁹ constitutes the plot line of *Exile & Utopia*.

Accelerated industrialization, communication technologies, and copper mining are important backdrops to the Mexican Revolution of 1910. It should be stressed, however, that to speak of a 'Mexican' Revolution is already misleading. Revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces acted on an international level, and civil unrest in Mexico was contemporaneous with a global phenomenon that included such high-profile mobilizations as the 1905 Russian Revolution, the 1911 Xinhai Revolution in China, and the 1917 Russian Revolution. Forces invested in the status quo spoke of acts of banditry or criminality, while organizers called for 'social' or 'economic' revolutions. It was only retroactively

⁸ See the St. Louis Post-Dispatch 11/18/1906, 12/02/1906, and 12/09/1906.

⁹ Albro, 1992, 49-52; and Cockroft, 1968, 126-128.

that nations folded these mass mobilizations into their respective historical narratives, erasing the international character of the era. For example, Mexican scholars usually date the beginning of the revolutionary movement in Mexico to the 1906 Cananea copper mining strike in northern Sonora, but this strike was itself a successor to the 1903 strike in the copper mines of Clifton, Arizona.¹⁰

In the realm of art, avant-garde aesthetic innovations loosely corresponded to the spread and development of radical politics. Two periods can be discerned from the maelstrom of the era: a breakthrough period around 1904-1908, and a mature period around 1910-1915. The first period corresponds to the development of cubism by Picasso and Braque, and in particular to Picasso's revolutionary painting of 'Les Femmes d'Alger' in 1907. Cubism and its aesthetic successors were characterized by an abstraction of perceived forms, a hovering and rearrangement of planes, and by the introduction of collage. In the 'mature' period, Kandinsky introduced 'pure' abstraction, or an abstraction severed from representation, beginning with his retroactively titled 'First Abstract Watercolor,' painted in 1910.¹¹

Kandinsky is a particularly relevant precedent to both the aesthetic and conceptual dimensions of my own work. His book, 'Point and Line to Plane,'¹² explains the role of each of these elements in abstraction. The book begins with what he sees as the basic contradiction of the point: *it is silent, and it therefore speaks*. It is "incorporeal," he says, and "equals zero", but it somehow becomes material through its own negation.¹³ Furthermore, Kandinsky argues, while a point in representational art remains "veiled" by the image, abstraction unveils the point and allows it to speak through its silence.¹⁴ I might add at this point that the visual analogy of a silence that speaks is a *darkness that shines*. By at least one definition, then, abstraction is the unveiling of a silence that speaks or of a darkness that shines. This definition of abstraction characterizes the peda-

¹⁰ Cockroft, 1968, 126-128 and 131-132; and MacLachlan, 1991, 5.

¹¹ Kuspit, 2006.

¹² Kandinsky, 1979.

¹³ Ibid, 25.

¹⁴ Ibid, 53.

gological orientation of my own book and of my artistic process in general.

As an artist, activist, and scholar invested in connecting contemporary social movements across North America and beyond, I am interested in the exilic journey retold in *Exile & Utopia* because it deconstructs nationalist historical narratives and unveils a silenced history that speaks to and connects with transnational solidarity in our own era. This history is one of open connectivity, of a web of resistance that can always expand. As such, *Exile & Utopia* should be read broadly as the prehistory of emergent transnational body politics in the twenty-first century, and more narrowly as a shadow of today's web of Zapatista solidarity. What follows is an attempt to briefly trace this prehistory to our emergent networks, to tie the loose threads left dangling at the end of *Exile & Utopia* to the uncanny opening at Taniperla.

Connecting the Webs

The overlapping webs of the Taniperla mural reproductions and of *Regeneración* resonate most clearly in the downtown area of San Francisco, California. I visited the Taniperla mural reproduction at the City Lights Bookstore last summer on my travels retracing the footsteps of Ricardo Flores Magón. The City Lights Bookstore stands on Grant Avenue, eight blocks uphill from the intersection with Francisco Street, the site where Magón hid in 1907 after the failure of his revolutionary attempts in late 1906.¹⁵ The proximity of these two sites points to a deep, but largely erased, historical connection of transnational solidarity networks.

The historic site, 207 Francisco Street, represents the fragmentation of both the original exiled group composition and their first revolutionary program. Hiding at this site, Magón lamented the 'ruins' of his movement, and as such, it is the burial grounds of the story retold in *Exile & Utopia*. The Spanish anarchist Florencio Bazora, whom Magón had met in St. Louis, hid him at this location after his revolutionary failure in El Paso. The disorganization of the city in the aftermath of the 1906 earth-

15 Flores Magón and González Ramírez, 1964, 83.

quake offered them a temporary cover from spies, and struck a chord with Magón's own 'ruins'. Writing from Leavenworth near the end of his life, Magón recounted this time in a letter to a friend:

"I lived there in 1907, when a great part of the city was in ruins, and my revolutionary plans in Mexico were also in ruins. I hid my sorrow among the ruins, when over my head hung a prize of 10,000 dollars that had been offered for my arrest; the secret service of both countries pursued me from one place to another, from city to city. It was a matter of life or death for me, because my arrest would imply my immediate passage into Mexico and my assassination there without even the pretense of a trail... Sometimes I wouldn't eat for three or four days..."¹⁶

At 207 Francisco Street, Magón mourns amidst the ruins of the revolutionary movement retold in *Exile & Utopia*, but the site is also a type of 'regeneration': it marks the beginning of the next chapter in the early twentieth century revolutionary movement. The Mexican Liberal Party (PLM in Spanish), which Magón founded in exile, and his newspaper *Regeneración*, had already agitated workers, liberals, and peasants, and organized them into *focos* or revolutionary cells. The idea of a revolution in Mexico, which seemed like a fool's errand before 1906, began to enter public consciousness after the PLM's failure, and by 1910, it had become widespread and uncontrollable. The PLM Manifesto of 1906, written in St. Louis under Magón's presidency, agitated workers and peasants, and provided a concrete list of demands for reform. Some of these demands were finally met in 1917, with the writing of a new Mexican Constitution.¹⁷ From the ruins of 207 Francisco emerged a new revolutionary spirit that would fundamentally transform Mexico for the rest of the century.

But as much as Magón's work in exile transformed Mexico, exile also transformed him. At the same time that he was organizing and agitating workers in Mexico through *Regeneración*, Magón came into contact with American and European socialists and anarchists like Mary "Mother" Jones and Emma Goldman. The PLM was also involved with radical American unions like the Western Federation of Miners (WFM) and the International Workers of the

16 Flores Magón and Barrera Bassols, 2000, 56. Translation by author.

17 Albro, 1992, 44-56.

World (IWW).¹⁸ These international connections had a deep impact on the political orientation of Magón and the PLM. Although the purpose of exile was to effect change in Mexico, the country appeared less self-contained from the outside. Chicanos, Mexican immigrants, and seasonal laborers in the borderlands suffered the same exploitative conditions as citizens in Mexico, and the PLM began working to address many of their concerns as well. Working with European and American socialists and anarchists in St. Louis and later in Los Angeles, PLM organizers acted in solidarity with other poor people's movements, thereby cutting across race, ethnicity, and nationality. *Magonistas*, or PLM adherents, would eventually come to see the struggle for equality in Mexico as part and parcel of a global movement of liberation.

Just as the base of supporters appeared less circumscribed than they did before 1904, so did the Mexican Liberal Party's enemies. Exile afforded the group the unique perspective that apparatuses of repression were not properly 'Mexican.' The impetus for exile had been an escape from Mexican persecution, and while exile afforded the group slightly greater liberties, they soon experienced the coalescence of a public-private and tri-national surveillance network that, while persecuting them in the name of democracy and national sovereignty, readily joined forces to capsize a democratic and nationalist movement. The Mexican President Porfirio Díaz found allies in both the private and public sectors of the United States and Canada, and successfully employed these connections to pursue, prosecute, and punish the Mexican exiles.¹⁹

This is a good moment to pause my historical narrative and clarify the ambiguous terms *exile* and *utopia*. Exile generally describes an escape from repression by authorities in one's home country and a political refuge offered by another state. This definition became a moot point when repression of the exiles was synchronized on an international level. In practice, the experience of exile became a form of generalized subterfuge, continuous motion, hiding, and resistance. In theory, the group would rethink exile as a rejection of international boundaries in the practice of resistance and revolution. Thus, what began as po-

18 Cockroft, 1968, 126-127; and MacLachlan, 1991, 5-6 and 22-23.

19 Albro, 1992, 44-47.

litical exile from Mexico in 1904 eventually became an exile from all political structures--*exile as subterfuge from political geography*. The word utopia describes both the desire as well as the methodology of this exilic dissidence. Utopia, from the Greek 'ou-topos' or 'not-place,'²⁰ generally signifies an inherent outside and a better world, but the etymological origin of the term can imply an anywhere outside of the taxonomy of the state, a non-place. Stitched together, the two senses result in a rejection of political geography that opens up the possibility of a better world--*utopia as the topography of possibility*. This is what I take to mean in a contemporary context when dissidents affirm that 'another world is possible.' The title of my book, *Exile & Utopia*, refers to the unique perspective afforded by exile that allows dissidents to see beyond intra-national paradigms of oppression and liberation, and work towards emancipation anywhere and everywhere. For the Mexican exiles of the PLM, the original utopian desires of democracy and social justice would crystallize as the denial of geopolitical placehood and the open-ended affirmation of a better world--*exile-and-utopia as the emancipation of the here-and-now*.

Back to history: Although the PLM leadership maintained a significant degree of support in Mexico, less radical movements took the center stage of Mexican opposition by 1910. *Magonistas* were marginalized, co-opted, or eliminated by center-left forces during the early years of the revolution. This became evident in the one military campaign on which Magón had any significant influence. Believing himself incapable of leading a military campaign after the failures of 1906, he encouraged other, more battlefield-weathered, PLM members to occupy Baja California in 1911.²¹ The *magonista* rebels included Mexicans and Chicanos, white Americans and immigrants, American Blacks, and Native Americans. Apparently, the group also included some college graduates from Yale, Harvard, and Princeton.²² Despite, or perhaps because of the group's utopian assemblage, a power vacuum and group tensions soon led to the defeat of the rebels. Even worse, the military campaign became a media fiasco on both sides of the border. And

20 Online Etymology Dictionary, search: "utopia".

21 Albro, 1992, 117-134

22 Salazar Rovirosa, 1980, 292-300.

unlike Magón's earlier failures, this one was not remembered honorably. To this day, mainstream Mexican historians remember the magonista occupation of Baja California as a filibuster campaign akin to the Alamo, only different, they add euphorically, because the PLM forces failed.²³

After a brief period of celebration following the overthrow of Porfirio Díaz in 1911, Mexicans became disillusioned with the new government's reluctance to institute real change. New revolutionary movements demanded communal ownership of land by indigenous peasants as well as workers' rights in the industrial sector. The guerrilla leader Emiliano Zapata and his *Zapatistas* articulated the clearest vision of horizontal democracy within Mexico. While Zapata's vision coincided on a number of fronts with Magonismo, geographic distance, demographic differences, and repression prevented the two branches of the Mexican Revolution from converging. Despite these factors, as well as the obscure historical record, tenuous links can be traced between the two groups. Zapata was apparently familiar with *Regeneración* before the revolution, as was his intellectual advisor, Otilio Montañón.²⁴ In 1914, Zapata invited Magón to publish *Regeneración* in Mexico, but Magón declined.²⁵ Finally, it should be inferred that many *Regeneración* subscribers in southern Mexico crossed over into Zapatista ranks when the PLM's influence south of the border declined after 1910. Throughout the second decade of the twentieth century, Zapata and Magón remained two separate but resonating leaders, Zapatismo airing the voice of the Mexican peasantry, and Magonismo representing the transnational character of the revolution.

Magon would never set foot back in Mexico. After 1907, he spent the rest of his life in and out of American prisons. His initial prison sentences related to foreign policy violations, especially the violation of US neutrality laws. The longer he stayed in the US, however, the more he came to be seen as a domestic threat rather than an international complication.²⁶ In 1918, he was sentenced to 22 years behind bars (which he cor-

23 For example, Salazar Rovirosa, 1980.

24 Boyd, 1979, 28 and 31.

25 Gilly, 1997, 36.

26 MacLachlan, 1991, 76 and 97.

rectly predicted would be a life sentence), with charges that had more to do with the domestic war hysteria during WWI than with Mexico. He was charged with conspiring to violate the Espionage Act of 1917, the Trading with the Enemy Act, and the amended Federal Penal code of 1910. In his case, the three charges amounted to sending anti-war literature through the mail. Magón ended up spending his last days at the US Penitentiary in Leavenworth, Kansas.²⁷

While the new political establishment in Mexico owed much of its existence to his early work, it preferred an imprisoned Magón to an active one. The new leadership consistently invoked him as a patriot and a revolutionary, but they did little to encourage his release from Leavenworth. Instead, they carefully folded him into the revolutionary doctrine as the 'precursor' of the Mexican Revolution, and as a martyr to their own causes.²⁸ In the same letter from Leavenworth where he describes his days hiding in San Francisco, he continued:

"How fast does time go by, and how does the luck of men change, except my own! My comrades from that era are now generals, governors, secretaries of state, and some of them even presidents of Mexico. They are rich, famous, and powerful, while I am poor, obscure, sick, almost blind, [and] with a number for a name..."²⁹

The entry of the US into WWI had precipitated a widespread domestic crackdown on labor organizers and radical immigrants, and the US Penitentiary at Leavenworth became its ground zero. Magón boarded with other immigrant dissidents and with the leadership of the IWW. Ralph Chaplin, author of the labor song "Solidarity Forever," roomed in the cell next to Magón's. Increasingly detached from Mexican politics, Magón spent his last years well connected to the American radical left.³⁰

On the night of November 21, 1922, Chaplin awoke to the sound of prison guards and was informed of Magón's death. The Mexican Federation of Railway Unions collected funds among its members, and transported Magón's body to Mexico City. The train moved slowly, stopping at each town along the way for mass pro-

27 MacLachlan, 1991, 79-80.

28 Albro, 1992, 147-149.

29 Flores Magón and Barrera Bassols, 2000, 56-57.

30 Albro, 149; and MacLachlan, 1991, 101.

cessions by workers and peasants. In Mexico City, an ex-PLM member stood up in the Chamber of Deputies and called Magón "the precursor of the revolution, the true author of it, the intellectual author of the Mexican Revolution."³¹ Magón would be eventually interred at the 'Rotunda de Hombres Ilustres,' a selective cemetery for Mexico's national heroes.

The thorny scene at Magón's funeral on January 17, 1923 in Mexico City epitomizes the careful compromise of power struck in the aftermath of the revolution. After having attended the funeral, the American Consul-General in Mexico City wrote an anxious letter to the United States Department of State. He noted that Magón "was given what amounted to a public funeral yesterday," attended by a diverse group ranging from "well dressed public officials to the rabble." The Consul-General was troubled by the lack of Mexican flags and the predominance of red and black decor, including a floral arrangement with "deep red ribbons bearing in large print the name of the donor, [then-President] General Alvaro Obregón." Most disturbingly for what came close to a state funeral was the central banner, which "carried the inscription, in white on a red background, 'He died for Anarchy.'"³²

This awkward scene illustrates the unsteady foundation of the modern Mexican nation-state. The 1917 Constitution granted an 8-hour workday and the right to strike to unions, nationalized banks and natural resources, and handed out land to peasants for collective ownership (called *ejidos*). Although the government did not always uphold these principles in practice, the de jure status of the 1917 constitutional reforms provided a degree of political legitimacy to poor people's movements. In the early 1990s, the Mexican government decided to eliminate the *ejido* system, open nationalized industry to foreign investment, and undercut workers' rights in order to sign the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). Just before midnight on New Year's Eve, 1993, when the changes in the Mexican Constitution were scheduled to come into effect, a rebel army calling itself the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN in Spanish) emerged from the shadows, took over cattle ranches, towns, and cities in Chiapas,

31 Albro, 1992, 149-150.

32 Ibid, xi.

and declared war on neo-liberalism.³³

There has always been a subterranean web of resistance that surfaces here and there, inside and outside of Mexico. There has always been an international public-private network of control that drives the web of resistance underground. *Exile & Utopia* traces the darkness that shines through history and then re-activates its webs. Unveiling this darkness re-members the abstract-real of resistance and constitutes a new body politic of resistance. This is the work of *Exile & Utopia*.

Subterfuge and Surveillance

Exile & Utopia is an *abstract-real machine*, and its pages proceed horizontally between two antipodal strides. Below, the voices of subterfuge propagate and grow, surface in spasmodic bursts here and there, and thicken a submerged web of connections. Above, the voices of surveillance trail closely behind, aggregate bursts, and consolidate a top-down, taxonomic, and bureaucratic gaze across the landscape. The narrative materializes between subterfuge, which articulates and precedes surveillance in real time, and surveillance, which records and precedes subterfuge in historical time--subterfuge always looks ahead while surveillance always looks back. The historical terrain-in-production emerges as they walk on each other's feet. In *Exile & Utopia*, a silent third voice emerges as history is re-appropriated, rearranged, and spliced with photographs and illustrations. As subterfuge articulates and surveillance records, my own silent voice retraces, intervenes upon, and puts the historical terrain-in-production back into motion.

Subterfuge, from the Latin 'subter' (beneath, secretly) and 'fugere' (flee),³⁴ describes the subterranean lines of flight of *Exile & Utopia*, its dark passages. These lines emerge within drawings, between photographs or documents, and across all three 'traces.' Imaginary lines connect brief glimmers of resistance within the narrative and to conditions outside of it--to the historical setting of the narrative, to the background of the reader, and to our contemporary context. The network traced by these

33 Carrigan, 2001, 417-420.

34 Online Etymology Dictionary, search: "subterfuge".

dark lines of flight is the abstract-real of resistance, the dark matter of the historical terrain-in-production. In pragmatic terms, the abstract-real of resistance is also the body politic of resistance. In *Exile & Utopia*, I reactivate history by re-tracing brief glimmers of resistance, splicing the historical record with illustrations and photographs, and tracing a spectral cosmology that is set in the past but alive in the present.

Surveillance, from the French 'sur' (over) and 'veiller' (to watch),³⁵ describes the top-down and panoptic gaze that attempts to reorganize the brief glimmers of resistance in *Exile & Utopia* under a repressive apparatus. The reorganization of glimmers of resistance into factual events is the narrative's history of repression, to which the history of resistance is irrevocably linked. In *Exile & Utopia*, I attempt to delink resistance from repression by speaking the silence of history--by shining its darkness--and by putting it back into motion.

The typesetter Aaron Lopez Manzano and the detective Ansel T. Johnson epitomize the voices of subterfuge and surveillance, respectively. Manzano, sends, receives, archives and/or destroys letters and other documents. He also arranges type in order to print, reproduce, and distribute the literary works of others. When he speaks to the public, he shields or downplays the PLM's clandestine activities. When he fails to cover his tracks, he leaves traces that are archived by spies who intend to capsize the revolutionary movement (this paper trail had the secondary effect of leaving a record of clandestine activity for historical reconstruction). The surveillance apparatus, personified by the character of Johnson, collects and organizes the revolutionary traces. Johnson follows the Mexican exiles and prepares a dossier for prosecution by selectively transcribing, translating, reproducing, and distributing found documents, and by adding new layers of commentary. Although both characters are based on historic figures, their role in the narrative allegorizes my own process over the past two years. Their names allude to my own silent presence in the text: Manzano shares my first name, and Johnson my last. The figure of Johnson problematizes my work in archives and my retracing of the historic journey. Manzano de-

³⁵ Online Etymology Dictionary, search: "surveillance", <www.etymonline.com/>.

scribes by work arranging documents and photographs in the book, as well as my work in printing, binding, and distributing the book. Finally, the important historical figure of Ricardo Flores Magón appears in the book not as a central figure, but as an in-between force. Magón is the antipodal force that polarizes and at the same time joins the strides of Manzano and Johnson.

Two terms best describe the creative process and output of my project: *trace* and *collage*. Both terms imply the simultaneity of a before and an after, a layering of the past that is also a projection into the future. The terms describe a selective intervention on found materials, either by duplicating lines or by cutting and pasting planes. Understood broadly, both inhabit the liminal space between fiction (artistic creation) and non-fiction (historic narration).

Specifically, collage describes the textual narrative of *Exile & Utopia* better than the literary terms fiction and non-fiction. Like the work of Johnson and Manzano, collage describes my own process of selecting, transcribing, translating, editing, and re-arranging found documents, shortening some and lengthening others, combining several into one or splitting one into many, and even forging new ones. The textual narrative is a complicated act of ventriloquism, where multiple voices speak through each other. Collage also describes the general character of the book. In *Exile & Utopia*, I splice the textual narrative of the book with photographs and illustrations, allowing these silences to speak through the cracks of history.

As historical records, the documents I employed speak twice, first as articulations (subterfuge) and secondly as a recorded archive (surveillance). As in the story of Taniperla, the history of this revolutionary movement is also a history of repression: clandestine documents that escape the apparatus of surveillance were burnt or otherwise destroyed; revolutionary plans that are not recorded may succeed but do not become events in history. In retracing the exilic journey, I attempt to free this history from its dichotomy by allowing the documents to speak a third time with the added voice of my own collage. The third voice of *Exile & Utopia* is like the voice of Kandinsky's abstract points: it is a silence that speaks. It cannot evidence successful subterfuge, but it pries open the cracks of history, connects

brief glimmers of dissident light, and conjures up a spectral web of resistance.

My photographic assemblage is an act of historical tracing and reactivation. Primary source documents--intercepted letters, detective notes, and archived newspapers--revealed a wealth of addresses where the exiled group lived, published, and hid. I re-traced the exilic journey that cut across the American landscape and photographed these historic sites. The sites in Laredo, San Antonio, Saint Louis, and El Paso are often parking lots or highway ramps, forgotten markers in everyday settings. Uncontainable by both Mexican and American histories, they are physically and historically erased from the landscape. In this sense, they are void images that present the reader with what is erased from national histories. They document a silent history, but their silence also speaks. They speak of a revolutionary movement that emerged from mundane places that, significantly, continue to be mundane. In this second sense, they are voids that present everyday spaces as sites of full potential--they are photographs of utopia as the topography of possibility. In this sense, the mundane and erased character of the historic sites is preferable to a memorial because memorials relegate potentiality to the past while the everyday insists on an ever-present potentiality. As such, the silence of my photographs transforms everyday spaces into sites of the potential emancipation of the here-and-now.

Taken together, the photograph collection is the abstract line of the revolutionary journey. Although the photographs are planes, each photographed address is a node connected across the North American landscape. (Kandinsky asks: "[W]here would the boundary between point and plane be?" This is relative, he implies).³⁶ Each address or node is like a 'vertebra' along the exilic journey, and the line created by connecting these addresses is the 'spine' of the revolutionary body politic. Within the context of *Exile & Utopia*, the body politic that emerges from this spine subverts the normal political geography of the world.

I should pause to contrast the spine of *Exile & Utopia* with a spine of normative historical production. In political geography, arbitrary spaces are subsumed under the full geo-

36 Kandinsky, 1979, 29.

graphic taxonomy of the modern nation-state: 107 N Channing Ave, St. Louis, Missouri, USA--street number, street, city, state, country. And along with a normative geography, a normative history: St. Louis as the 'gateway' to the West, St. Louis as the departure point of the 1804-1806 Lewis and Clark westward journey. The geographic line of Lewis and Clark is like the DNA of an American historical apparatus (a normative abstract-real machine) that foreshadows and legitimizes ongoing political expansion. But what happens when I reveal that 107 N Channing is a node along a 1904-1906 exilic journey, and the location where the blueprint of the Mexican Constitution is first drafted? What happens when St. Louis becomes the intersection of Mexican, American, and Russian revolutionary journeys? The Gateway Arch is struck off-kilter. The westward spine of Manifest Destiny is first spun northward and then intersects with other revolutionary lines, forming a nodal nucleus in the early twentieth century world revolution. These lines--the Lewis and Clark line, the line of *Exile & Utopia*, as well as its intersecting lines--should be understood as the abstract-real of a convergent geography-history, the way in which space-time is traced in order to mold a body politic from the here-and-now. My retracing of the transnational and revolutionary magonista 'spine' in a contemporary context reactivates geography-history and puts its revolutionary body politic back into motion.

The complex networks of my illustrations complement the linear spine of my photographic assemblage. In my drawings, I trace lines spanning out from the vertebrae. These new lines are extremities as well as feelers of the revolutionary body politic. As such, they act and also feed information back into the central nervous system of the spine. In this sense, the 'diagrammatic drawings' grow out of the central spine of the photographs, and slowly transform the abstract-real of resistance (a sort of skeleton) into a full revolutionary body politic.

Many new lines span out from the spine through correspondence with insurgents in Mexico and the American Southwest, while others multiply with subscriptions to *Regeneración*, and still others cross language barriers during interviews with American newspapers and in connections with American radicals. Tracing these connections creates open and closed shapes and lines

of varying intensities and flows, 'diagrams' of the revolutionary movement. Some connections are temporary and their corresponding lines are tenuous and loose. I represent tenuous connections with dotted lines. Other connections are much stronger (for example, letters sent back and forth between two addresses, individuals, or cells) and these connections form continuous lines, double lines, and even striation. If the nodes move and the connections remain strong, sinuous striations are formed. When authorities close in on nodes, my lines become circumscriptive. Closed shapes emerge in this process of surveillance, as one node leads to another, until a central node is completely cut off from the rest. Finally, collaged elements ground the abstractions in concrete geographic spaces and relate the drawings to the textual narrative. This is my general process of tracing the abstract real of resistance. The result is a darkness unveiled, a new cosmology of resistance.

Layering photographs, illustrations, and text composes the general abstraction of the book. Splicing the three 'traces' allows for each to speak through cracks of the others. For example, the text allows me to intervene on the normative collage of urban development and selective historical remembrance in the photographs. Imaginary lines connect from, say, the address on the photograph of 1802 Lincoln St, Laredo, to the same address in the first document of the book, thereby transforming an American site into a site of utopia as the topography of possibility. Lines are cut or transformed when, in the place of an expected address, the reader finds the photograph of a parking lot or a highway ramp, and again the erasure transforms the site into ou-topos. And simultaneously, the re-tracing journey I document with photographs allows me to retrieve the documents from a relegated past, and put history back into motion. Finally, my 'diagrammatic drawings' create networks by fragmenting and multiplying the linear structure of the text and the photographic assemblage. In short, photographs of mundane urban sites trace and reactivate a historic revolutionary journey, abstract illustrations become the diagrams of a revolutionary body politic, and historic documents are appropriated and reactivated in the present.

In speaking silence, in shining darkness, Exile & Utopia

intervenes on geography-history, and opens up the condition of possibility for the emancipation of the here-and-now. With drawings, photographs, and text, I connect and splice revolutionary nodes through dark passages, link and then delink subterfuge and surveillance, and trace a body politic of resistance. This process allows me to raise a revolutionary body from its grave, and put it back into motion in our interconnected era.

Exile and Utopia

I began this after-word with a brief insight into my own sense of displacement growing up between southern Mexico and the American Midwest. I foreshadow a potential connection between the regions with two resonating quotes--a verse by Mason Jennings, a singer-songwriter who began his artistic career in Minneapolis, and a quote by Subcomandante Marcos, a revolutionary leader who began his political vocation in Chiapas. The line I trace in *Exile & Utopia* resonates with and foreshadows these contemporary connections.

For a general audience, the book intervenes on normative geographic-historical narratives, and prompts the imagination of alternative ways of political organization. More specifically, I respond to dissidents living in the US who have been inspired by the construction of autonomy in Chiapas. For both groups, *Exile & Utopia* provides a prehistory to emerging solidarity networks in our own era, and puts a forgotten--and now urgently necessary--revolutionary body back into motion.

In *Exile & Utopia*, I resurrect a movement that crossed geographic and historical borders, and intersects with other revolutionary struggles. The silence that speaks in my book draws up an abstract-real of resistance that links revolution in the early twentieth century to transnational solidarity in our own era. My work on this project is driven by what I see as the relation between exile and utopia--that crossing borders encourages us to imagine and then construct a better world. This process is the passage through which the self becomes estranged from the modern nation-state and the body politic of resistance becomes one's own.

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