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A Typical Scene In Mexico: Images Of War, Race, And Gender In The Mexican Revolution

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A TYPICAL SCENE IN MEXICO: IMAGES OF WAR, RACE, AND GENDER IN THE
MEXICAN REVOLUTION

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A TYPICAL SCENE IN MEXICO: IMAGES OF WAR, RACE, AND GENDER IN THE
MEXICAN REVOLUTION

By

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THESIS

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INTRODUCTION

The picture postcards that were produced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are a curiosity of time past for collectors and consumers, but for historians they encapsulate social and political events that according to the photographer/producer were significant at the time. The picture postcard is the focus of my research and in particular the postcards in the Walter H. Horne Collection at El Paso's Main Public Library. Horne's collection not only documents El Paso and Ciudad Juárez's experiences during the Mexican Revolution, the demand for Horne's postcards also illustrates the value they possessed at the time of their production. Whether this value was sentimental or purely commercial, the picture postcards provide insights about the market for postcards, the manufacturers and consumers and their mentalities about the subjects.¹ Given its vast production and easy dissemination, the postcard's purposes multiplied from its origins as a greeting card. These images became news cards that informed the public of recent events, from natural disasters to political situations abroad and at home. These cards also evolved into vehicles to spread ideas. The images captured on cards were at times of things and places that would allow the consumer to visit certain landscapes or locations without physically being there. For those that did visit the locations or objects displayed on the cards, they served as records and mementos.

The picture postcard's introduction created a capitalistic and cultural fervor within the American population. On May 1, 1873 the United States Congress authorized the Postal Department to issue postcards.² Twenty years later, thousands of picture postcards were being

¹ David Prochaska, "Fantasia of the Phototheque: French Postcard Views of Colonial Senegal," *African Arts* 24 no. 4 (October 1991): 40.

² Paul J. Vanderwood and Frank N. Samponaro, *Border Fury: A Picture Postcard Record of Mexico's Revolution and US War Preparedness 1910-1917* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988) 1.

sold as souvenirs.³ In 1888 technology caught up with the postcard craze and revolutionized it. George Eastman, one of the most successful industrialists in the United States, manufactured a camera that was easy to use and inexpensive. Eastman named it the Kodak camera. His desire to tap into the postcard market pushed him to refine his technique by creating a film in 1899 that could be developed at home in darkrooms.⁴ The camera guru welcomed the new century by issuing postcard size photographic paper and a new camera with a price tag of two dollars.⁵ With the availability of divided backs, which allowed users to write their messages on the back, the postcard became even more popular with Americans.⁶ By 1907 Americans became entrepreneurs, consumers and collectors of picture postcards.

The manufacturing and marketing of picture postcards gave the average American the opportunity to earn a few dollars on the side, as well as the freedom to capture what they believed was important or marketable. When anything remotely interesting happened, postcards were sold as photographic records of the event. Floods, fires, hangings and the circus were among the events that were often captured in picture postcards.⁷ After World War I the picture postcard continued its coverage of everyday civilian life, but it did not take much time for people to find other uses for it. Politics and propaganda found their way into the picture postcard. The

³ These picture postcards had images of historical sites and world events; for example, the World's Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893. Vanderwood and Samponaro, 2.

⁴ Vanderwood and Samponaro 4.

⁵ The photo paper was issued in 1902 and the camera came a year later. This camera, due to its price, was in reach for every American. It also provided negatives of the same size as a postcard (3¼x5½in.). Several other manufactures followed suit. They began to market contact printing paper with preprinted postcard backs. Kodak used brand names such as Velox and Azo. The Defender Photo Supply Company used brand names like Argo, Ansco's and Cyko. The Artura Paper Company also capitalized on this market by using its brand name Artura. Vanderwood and Samponaro, 4.

⁶ Before March 1, 1907 the US Postal Department required messages to be written on the side of the picture. Only the address was permitted on the back. With the introduction of the divided back consumers now were permitted to write the message on one side and the address beside it, keeping the picture free from writing, for the most part. Vanderwood and Samponaro. 4.

⁷ Vanderwood and Samponaro, 6-7.

picture postcard promoted politicians during election years; it also covered the women's suffrage movement, the completion of the Panama Canal, and armed conflicts around the world.⁸

By 1909 the demand for picture postcards dwindled. The Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act, along with the telephone, moving pictures and access to newspapers, all played a significant role in the decline of sales and enthusiasm for this mode of communication.⁹ With the advancement of technology and the fact that people were moving to bigger cities, the typical American had no need to wait to receive her or his postcards because the newspaper was right around the corner. The picture postcard's utility in covering world news became outdated in most of the United States. The one place where the picture postcard remained in high demand was along the border. With the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution, El Paso and Ciudad Juárez were the border cities with the most military action. With the influx of soldiers into Fort Bliss, the newly arrived wanted to send local mementos to their family and friends. Picture postcards served as these mementos.

The demand for news coverage of the Mexican Revolution began at its outbreak in 1910 against dictator Porfirio Díaz; it reached its peak in 1916. Photographers that immersed themselves in the postcard business understood the high demand for information regarding the revolution, the Mexican people, Mexico and the American military in Mexico. Newspapers also depended on these photographers to sell them snapshot occurrences of the Mexican Revolution. This was due to their knowledge of and access to local events and people. The picture postcard remained a success along the border due to photographers' access to the Mexican people and the revolution itself. Photographs of macabre scenes increased newspaper sales and postcard sales

⁸ Vanderwood and Samponaro 7.

⁹ The Payne-Aldrich Tariff Act was passed in 1909 by the US Congress which changed the tariff laws.

overall. Sales rose even more when these scenes were directly linked with Americans.¹⁰ Many photographers that covered the Mexican revolution were novices hoping to make some money on the side. Among these photographers who crossed the border to capture the deadly battles, the damage left behind and everyday life in Mexico was one of the most successful picture postcard photographers and entrepreneurs, Walter H. Horne. Photographers and producers of postcards rarely left the realm of anonymity, but Horne left an extensive record of his work.

The images photographers capture are closer to their space and time than are those of larger postcard manufacturers.¹¹ According to Patricia C. Albers, local photographers were more likely to record the transitions that were unfolding because they had first hand knowledge of local events and their causes. These records were selected carefully by the photographers and their subjects were stereotyped by their prejudices.¹² Photographers, especially in the postcard industry, captured and selected images that they found to be *real* and that the consumers would pay to see. The *real* representations found in Horne's postcards are, as Robert W. Rydell regards them, "~~re~~-presentations or constructions" rather than "~~ac~~curate depictions of reality." He reiterates that postcards "~~inc~~orporate, reflect or respond to, perhaps justify the assumptions of the dominant."¹³ Anglo Americans did not pay to see images of thriving Mexicanas/os, they purchased postcards featuring the macabre and the impoverished. Like other producers, Horne's postcards depicted social, physical, and economic backwardness that was attributed to the intellectual and developmental arrest of the Mexicana/o. Although Horne does not directly

¹⁰ Vanderwood and Samponaro, 9.

¹¹ Patricia C. Albers, *Symbols, Souvenirs and Sentiments*, ed. Christraud Geary and Virginia Lee Webb (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1998) 81.

¹² Albers, 84.

¹³ Robert W. Rydell, *Souvenirs of Imperialism*, ed. Christraud Geary and Virginia Lee Webb (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1998), 55.

mention such notions in his postcard messages, he indirectly depicts his subjects in this light with his choice of images, comments, and titles.

Walter H. Horne was born in Hallowell, Maine in 1883. His parents, Henry and Susan Horne, owned a farm and a tanning business. In 1905 Walter moved to New York to work for a firm in the financial district. In New York he contracted tuberculosis.¹⁴ It is believed that his illness led him to El Paso, Texas in search of a drier climate. But before he arrived in El Paso, Horne quit his job at the financial firm in New York and rode in train boxcars to California and Arizona. He was jailed once when caught riding a boxcar. Upon arriving in El Paso, by February 26, 1910, Horne was penniless.¹⁵ Wanting to get rich quick, he took up the postcard business. Horne realized that there was an untapped market along the border for depictions of the Mexican Revolution in picture postcards. The first event he covered was the first battle of Ciudad Juárez in 1911.¹⁶ This initial venture did not produce the amount of money he had imagined. Desperate for money, Horne took advantage of the military buildup along the border and began to photograph American soldiers at Fort Bliss. These picture postcards made him a modest sum of money. Even after Horne increased his profit photographing battle scenes, he always went back to capture snapshots of American soldiers to send to their families. At the second battle of Ciudad Juárez in 1913, Horne capitalized on new shots taken in the battle. He sold his picture postcards to wholesalers in Atlantic City, New Jersey and Los Angeles, California.¹⁷ These picture postcards were sold in newsstands and pharmacies in those cities.

¹⁴ Rydell, 63.

¹⁵ Mary A. Sarber, "W. H. Horne and the Mexican War Photo Postcard Company." *The Passport*, Vol 31 Spring 1991, 7.

¹⁶ The first battle of Ciudad Juárez lasted for several days beginning on May 13, 1911 which took place after the invasion of the city by Pascual Orozco and Francisco Villa with their rebel forces on May 10, 1911.

¹⁷ Vanderwood and Samponaro, 66.

With his new-found success Horne founded the Mexican War Photo Postcard Company. The images that were prevalent in his picture postcards were of the Mexican Revolution, typical Mexican scenes, bull fights, and Indians.¹⁸ Horne documented the high demand for his postcards in his many letters written to his family. In January of 1914 he wrote to his sister Gertrude:

I have been advertising in the newspapers along the border—photographs, postcards, etc. Had only fair success with them, but some of the replies may lead to wholesale orders. Business has been tip top with me. Have put out over 30,000 postcards. Sent some to Atlantic City, N.J., Los Angeles, Calif. etc. etc. (1 & 2000 lots).¹⁹

In May of that same year Horne wrote to his parents, “Feeling tip top now, and am 16,000 cards behind with orders right now. Shipped 7,800 cards to N.Y. City today...” That summer Horne expanded his market statewide and nationally. He traveled to the Texas Gulf Coast to photograph some regiments stationed in Galveston and sold them to wholesalers in Texas City.²⁰ Horne took advantage of Villa’s raid on Columbus, New Mexico in March 1916 to capture the damage left behind. In a letter to his mother on the 21st of March Horne wrote:

We were the first ones there and the first ones out with negatives, consequently we beat them all to the newspapers; got our stuff into Chicago, New York, Boston Atlanta, San Francisco over twelve hours ahead of the others, and believe we will make some money out of it. These papers are dead anxious for photos, and we have been swamped with telegrams for new stuff... We are getting out postcards as fast as possible; have two men and two girls working... P.S. We made 2700 photos today.²¹

In general, 1916 was a successful year for Horne and his Mexican War Photo Company. A few months later, in August, he stated in a letter, “Am making 5,000 postcards a day. Supply post exchanges and stores all along the border... Shall go to Deming, N Mex tomorrow to shoot up the Delaware troops. Big camp there.”²² Again, his letters expounded on his success with the

¹⁸ Vanderwood and Samponaro, 68.

¹⁹ Sarber, 10.

²⁰ Sarber, 10.

²¹ Sarber, 12.

²² Sarber, 12.

postcards and his eagerness to expand. Horne's collection of Mexican and "American" images sold coast to coast, thus taking the border to the interior of the United States. The familiar and the unfamiliar entered the homes of consumers and collectors of postcards. Unfortunately, factual explanations of the Mexican's situation were not passengers in this vehicle. The only ones along for the ride were Horne's personal notions about the images; conceptualizations formed by second hand knowledge (and at times lack thereof) were written in front and in back of the postcards.

In 1921 Horne married Adelina Zuvia who had given birth to Horne's son, Edward Elmer Horne, a few years before. Shortly after the marriage on October 13, 1921 he died at the age of thirty-eight.²³ His success in the postcard business allowed him to secure his wife and son's future, but Horne secured much more than that. The postcards he manufactured remained in circulation both with and without his name.²⁴ His work continued to cross state borders within the United States. Along with these postcards, myths of the Mexicana/o and the Mexican Revolution traveled, attached firmly to the postcards of the many people he captured with his camera. These rectangular pieces of cardboard became a prison for Horne's subjects and instruction in history for the consumers and collectors of his work.

The presence of anything Mexican inside or in the vicinity of the US during the revolution alerted and discomforted many Anglo Americans. At a national level, anti-Mexican sentiment was ominous, the incipience of the Mexican Revolution giving Anglo Americans more license to discriminate against their neighbors. According to Douglass Massey, peaks of violence against Mexican Americans in Texas usually corresponded with periods of Anglo

²³ Vanderwood and Samponaro. 68.

²⁴ At times postcards of other photographers were "borrowed" and reprinted replacing the photographer's or manufacturer's name with another. Although this practice was frowned upon, there were no legal impediments to curtail such actions.

American expansion, economic competition, and diplomatic tensions with Mexico.²⁵ In the early twentieth century various well-known Mexican artists toured the United States but met with an audience that would not tolerate their Mexicaness. For instance, a New York Times editorial stated in 1920 that ~~to~~ the average Anglo American, the Mexican of today is an insurgent or a bandit or, at any rate a conspirator against his own government.”²⁶ José Mojica, a Mexican singer, toured the United States and in one of his shows in New York City in 1916 was asked not to sing any Mexican songs or wear his native attire because of the anti-Mexican sentiment.²⁷ Another Mexican musical icon gave a recital in New York City that same year at Aeolian Hall and was dismissed in a review as neither a pianist nor a composer.²⁸ Other Mexican visitors such as renowned poet, Amado Nervo passed unnoticed.²⁹ As the New York Times editorial explained, all Mexicans, including the most educated and culturally developed, fell into the category of bandit or insurgent. Such beliefs dug a hole so deep that even the most ~~civilized~~ Mexicana/o could not climb out. The Mexican Revolution became another sign of the ~~fact~~ that Mexico was a country filled with violent and immoral people. To many Anglo Americans the Mexican Revolution was an event taking place thousands of miles from their door step, and most of them had never met or seen a Mexican. Walter Horne’s postcards made it possible for non-border Anglo Americans to experience glimpses of the revolution and Mexicanas/os from the safety of their own Homes.

Walter H. Horne produced and sold picture postcards of everyday life in El Paso, Texas and Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, including the lives of Fort Bliss soldiers during the United States

²⁵ Douglas Massey, *Categorically Unequal* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation) 2007, 123-124.

²⁶ Helen Delpar, *The Enormous vogue of Things Mexican: Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico 1920-1935* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1992) 5.

²⁷ Delpar, 5.

²⁸ Delpar, 7.

²⁹ Delpar, 5.

military build up along the US and Mexico border, and of the participants in the Mexican Revolution. The Horne collection consists of postcards, personal letters and legal documents. The images found on Horne's postcards were taken by him personally, with the exception of the series on the Punitive Expedition led by General John Pershing to pursue Pancho Villa. Due to laws prohibiting non-federal or military personnel from witnessing the expedition, Horne hired a soldier to take snapshots of the expedition and anything else he witnessed that was remotely involved with the Mexican Revolution.³⁰ Horne's collection tells many stories of El Paso and Ciudad Juárez that are crucial to our understanding of both local history and, more broadly, American perceptions of Mexicanas/os and the Mexican Revolution. These postcards depict everything from typical scenes in El Paso and Juárez to military exercises and even executions. Unlike other photographers in El Paso and Ciudad Juárez at the time, most of Horne's collection covers the social aspects of the Mexican Revolution. Other photographers such as David W. Hoffman, W.F. Stuart, Henry Blumenthal, Robert Dornen, Morris and Jim Alexander, captured social subjects as well but concentrated mostly on political and military content.³¹

Historians such as Frank Staff in *The Picture Postcard and its Origins*, Hal Morgan and Andreas Brown in *Prairie of Fires and Paper Moons*, and Dorothy B. Ryan in the updated edition, *Picture Postcards in the United States 1893-1918*, present and describe the picture postcard. Others take a bolder step and analyze the picture postcard and its impact on a socio-political level. The few that have ventured to uncover this historical goldmine are David Prochaska, Christraud Geary and Virginia Lee-Webb, Robert W. Rydell, Patricia C. Albers, Lázló Kürti, and Paul Vanderwood. These authors present a wide range of picture postcards that depict an assortment of subjects. Other works, like Jack H. Smith's *Military Postcards 1870 to*

³⁰ Vanderwood and Samponaro, 73.

³¹ Miguel Ángel Berumen, *1911 La Batalla de Ciudad Juarez* (Mexico: Cuadro por Cuadro) 2005, 64.

1945, focus on only one genre with no social, economic and political analysis. These books are the stepping stones of my work.³²

Staff, Morgan and Brown, and Ryan provide a clear look at what the postcard was and its impact on American society at large. Staff states that the picture postcard was not invented, but that it evolved from its ancestors, the visiting card and the engraved paper. According to Staff, these “social records of the past” provide a window to understand the consumer’s desire to purchase and collect a variety of postcards. What was purchased and collected explains what was significant at the time of its collection. Morgan and Brown concur with Staff’s view that the picture postcard was a witness to local, state, and national events.³³ It documented wartime experiences and everyday life within the US and abroad.³⁴ Ryan’s work allows the reader to understand the degree of the postcard craze in the United States. Card collecting reached an all time high by 1905, according to her. These “pieces of cardboard,” she adds, proved to be more valuable than expected. *The Dry Goods Reporter* for November 25, 1905 explained the card’s status:

The demand for illustrated postal cards is daily assuming larger proportions and there are no prospects of the slightest abatement anywhere in sight. Manufacturers have proved themselves fully equal to the enormous demand for an ever increasing supply of new designs, and popular interest has been readily sustained. The opinion seems to prevail to some extent that the picture postcard craze, like most other fads and fancies that have had a big run, will sooner or later die out, but the history of this business in Europe does not tend to bear out this assumption. It was started on the continent about twenty years ago, and the sale, instead of diminishing, has shown a steady increase throughout the world, growing to very large proportions. In this country the business has had its most rapid growth and there is every reason to expect the present larger demand to continue for some time to come.³⁵

³² Frank Staff, *The Picture Postcard and its Origins* (Lutterworth Press, 1979); Hal Morgan and Andreas Brown *Prairie of Fires and Paper Moons* (Boston: David Godine, 1981); Dorothy B. Ryan *Picture Postcards in the United States 1893-1918* (Crown Publishers, 1976); Jack H. Smith *Military Postcards 1870 to 1945* (Greensboro: Wallace Homestead, 1988).

³³ Hal Morgan and Andreas Brown, *Prairie Fires and Paper Moons* (Boston: David Godine, 1981), 115.

³⁴ Morgan and Brown, 100.

³⁵ Dorothy B. Ryan *Picture Postcards in the United States 1893-1918* (Crown Publishers, 1976), 16.

Ryan's research demonstrates that these postcards influenced a large segment of the population.

While these works present and trace the picture postcards from inception to the present, others have taken their analyses in different directions. Prochaska, Geary and Lee-Webb, Quanchi and Shekelton, and Vanderwood not only document the postcards' journey throughout history, but lay the foundation for a deeper understanding of the picture postcard in Western society. These authors provide factual information not only about the subject portrayed in these postcards, but also the political and socio-economic situation at the time these images were taken. Information such as this allows us to recreate the climate and to fathom why westerners sought to capture these images not only as keepsakes but also as a way to re-conquer the colonized.

This project will not only add to the literature on the picture postcard, it will also enhance our understanding of how historical processes can be manipulated through our own intrinsic perceptions of the *Other*. Social and racial theories are thus pertinent to this project. The works of Anthony Cortese, Michel Foucault, Gustav Jahoda, and Maria Herrera-Sobek, provides an angle to which to base by gender analysis, will all aid in my analysis. These authors have dedicated their works to explaining the creation of the Other. Through media, Cortese explains how “ethnic and gender representations in advertising are intricately linked to social arrangements and the power structure,” hence shaping attitudes about race and ethnicity.³⁶ Concurring, Foucault writes that images are mere signs in which racial power relations are entrenched while establishing the increasing differences between the civilized and the uncivilized, the other.³⁷ Jahoda argues that a polarization of images between good and bad, moral and immoral, civilized and savage, is not a modern notion but is entrenched in our

³⁶ Anthony Cortese, *Provocateur: Images of Women and Minorities in Advertising* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999), 13-14.

³⁷ Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (New York: A Division of Random House, Inc., 1970), 53.

societies since the birth of civilization.³⁸ These works will help me untangle the messages prevalent in Horne's postcards through their analyses in their particular fields. Their work on raciality and its impact on society will serve as a foundation for my analysis of Horne's collection.

My focus on Horne's collection of postcards at the time of the Mexican Revolution will allow me to add to our understanding of the picture postcard. A small number of postcard collections have been analyzed in some works, while others have remained in historical obscurity. The Horne collection is one of the latter. Ryan illustrates works of many photographers and postcard manufacturers and she is the only author that mentions the Horne collection, reproducing a small number of them.

In order to understand the market at the peak of the postcard craze we need to refresh our memories of a time when lynching was an extra curricular activity in the United States, reaching its peak in 1892. Lynching served as a way to police the non-white races. Between 1882-1930 African Americans accounted for 70 percent of the 4,561 lynching victims while Italians, Jews, and Mexicans accounted for the remaining 30 percent.³⁹ Towards the first part of the twentieth century historians and the social scientists focused not on the racist behavior of the perpetrators but on the degeneracy and cultural and intellectual inferiority of the victim," which then justified the lynching. Many of these events were captured by cameras and manufactured into postcards. The difference between the South and the Southwest was that the Texas government created a separate law enforcement agency to deal with the "Mexican problem" in the borderlands. The Texas Rangers were founded in the 1820's to help the Anglos deal with the Mexicans. They

³⁸ Gustave Jahoda, *Images of Savages: Ancient Roots of Modern Prejudice in Western Culture* (London: Routledge, 1999), 1-2.

³⁹ Elliott Young *Catarino Garza's Revolution on the Texas Mexico Border* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 67.

were perceived as terrorists in the Mexican communities, while in the Anglo communities they were protectors of Anglo interests. For example, extralegal killings perpetrated by the Rangers and other state officials were commonplace in south Texas. According to Elliott Young, these killings or lynchings became widespread during the Catarino Garza Rebellion and years later at the time of the Mexican Revolution when the Plan de San Diego was initiated.⁴⁰ The number of lynchings and extralegal killings in Texas is difficult to quantify. Young contends that state authorities killed many suspected rebels without the benefit of a trial.⁴¹ At the time of the Mexican Revolution tensions between Mexicans and Anglo Americans were high. With the implementation of the Plan de San Diego some Mexicans attacked and killed Anglos and their property. Although state officials combated the attacks, they realized that the tensions were so high that they could not control the vigilantism surfacing within the Anglo population. In a letter to his supervisor in the Department of Justice, Samuel Speers wrote that ~~the~~ greatest danger immediately is controlling ourselves.”⁴² Photographs displaying victims of the Texas lynchings are available as they were in the South. A tinted lithograph postcard of a lynching of an unidentified African American, with a caption/title ~~lynched~~” printed on the lower left corner, turned up frequently in the South, testifying to its popularity.⁴³ The photography of this time reflects the moods and attitudes of specific peoples that engaged in these behaviors.

I argue that the Mexican subjects found in Horne’s postcards are rendered dirty and of ill moral character, seeking death or deserving it, poor, exploitative or eager to exploit, and incompetent. Anglo-Americans, on the other hand, are portrayed in a positive light: clean,

⁴⁰ Young, 68. Many presumed criminals were murdered by state officials that used the fugitive law as an excuse to kill prisoners. They would claim that the prisoner was shot while attempting to escape. Many used it as a way to get rid of any person not liked or suspected of a crime. Young, 66.

⁴¹ Young, 68.

⁴² Benjamin H. Johnson *Revolution in Texas: How a Forgotten Rebellion and its Bloody Suppression Turned Mexicans into Americans* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 87.

⁴³ James Allen, Hilton Alz, Congressman John Lewis, and Leon F. Litwick, *Without Sanctuary: Lynching Photography in America* (Santa Fe: Twin Palms Publishers, 2005), 173.

orderly, civilized, modern, competent and of good moral character. The Mexican Revolution itself also suffered from false perceptions. The production of these postcards reinforced the negative image of anything Mexican among the Anglo American population, while perpetuating their beliefs in the superiority of the white community and the superiority of the United States. The object of this project is to uncover the messages held in these postcards and analyze the racialization of the Mexican and the Mexican Revolution.

Horne, through his picture postcards, presented the Mexican population in situations that reinforced and perpetuated the negative impressions held by Anglo Americans of Mexicanas/os , and which furthered the creation of the two distinct national identities, those of the United States and of Mexico. Furthermore, this social polarization threatened the understanding of the Mexican Revolution by Anglo-Americans. The Horne postcard collection represents how non-white persons were depicted in this medium, but rather the norm. These images portray a one dimensional view of the Mexicana/o and of the Mexican Revolution while giving the Anglo-American image a three dimensional view. An El Paso free of conflict, free of poverty and somewhat free of Mexicanas/os, is a fairy tale developed by Horne's images. In reality, El Paso at the time of the Mexican Revolution was ethnically and economically diverse.⁴⁴ It is impossible to prove that this was Horne's intention. The misconceptions captured in Horne's postcards provide an incomplete picture of the real situation that Mexicanas/os faced at the time of the Mexican Revolution. False and racist captions on his postcards solidified ethnic misconceptions of this particular "race" instead of actual documentation of specific persons' or groups' experiences. In some cases no captions appear on the postcards, leaving the image open to interpretation by the viewer/consumer.

⁴⁴ David Dorado Romo, *Ringside Seat to a Revolution, An Underground Cultural History of El Paso and Juarez: 1893-1923* (El Paso: Cinco Puntos Press) 2005, 197.

When there are captions by Horne on the postcards, they seldom mention the context in which the image was taken. In some cases, with or without Horne's captions, the sender's message suggests a normalcy of the subject's situation, meaning that the captions and messages written on certain postcards cement notions of Mexican inferiority that chip away at the image of Mexicanas/os. Through the use of his lens, Horne reinforced and perpetuated the stigma attached to the Mexicana/o and strengthened the belief in white superiority by selecting his subjects and the situations he captured with his camera. The analysis of Horne's postcards is significant and necessary because it will allow us to reconsider the participants in the Mexican Revolution, including people in the United States, but not in the polarized fashion in which they are portrayed and interpreted in these postcards. Through reconsideration and reinterpretation, the images found in these postcards will permit me to unearth the complexity of the experiences of these participants in a time of bloodshed and uncertainty. Analyzing images is a difficult task if one is unaware of the producer and her/his intentions. On the other hand, when the photographer is known and her or his personal perceptions of the subject(s) are relatively apparent, the task is less daunting and perilous.

Horne captured images that were significant to him and would also make him a significant amount of money. The images captured on film tell more about the photograph/postcard producer, the consumer/collector, and the subject/object than any message found on the reverse sides of these postcards. In this thesis I will try to answer a series of questions that emerged during the preliminary research portion of this project. Why did Horne refrain from photographing dead American soldiers while the images of dead Mexicanas/os are overrepresented in his collection? What was Horne's perception of the Mexicana/o and the Mexican Revolution? How was it that Horne only captured images of poor and disheveled

Mexicanas/os and not of the Mexican elite that situated themselves in the Sunset Heights area of El Paso? Why do Horne's photographs depict El Paso as a clean and civilized city while producing images of Ciudad Juárez in chaos?

Finally, why did Horne not photograph women in positions of power, such as, as the commanders of battalions? The women that are found in Horne's postcards, especially in the Mexican Revolution series, are illustrated as submissive, indentured servants to the army and the revolutionary forces. This is true despite the fact that two great battles took place in Ciudad Juárez in which a number of women participated not only as *soldaderas* or mere camp followers, but as commanders of battalions. Carmen Parra y Alaniz and Luisa Garcia were very much involved in the northern theatre of the Mexican Revolution, holding commissions in the revolutionary forces. Parra y Alaniz, also known as La Coronela, fought in battles in Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, and Ojinaga. Women's participation in the revolution was not limited to revolutionary forces but extended to the federal army as well. *Soldaderas* are not known to have held high positions in the regular army, but their participation was crucial to logistics and maintenance of the military lines and troops.⁴⁵ Horne contributed to the erasure of the Mexicana's participation in the revolution by rendering military women invisible in his picture postcards.

The use of images as a method of interpreting history or deciphering a moment in time is somewhat controversial. The controversy lies in questions about how messages were perceived. An image may convey a number of messages with a variety of meanings to different individuals, but some images are captured in ways that distort the actual situation of a specific subject, which then creates room for misinterpretation, thus conveying a false message. This can either create or perpetuate a specific myth tied to that subject. The significations and messages of images are

⁴⁵ Elena Poniatowska, *Las Soldaderas: Women of the Mexican Revolution* (El Paso: Cinco Puntos Press, 1999), 16.

not acquired naturally; rather, they are given to them by the producer of these images or the interpreter of them.

The primary source of evidence for this project is the Walter H. Horne Collection located in the El Paso Public Library (main branch). This collection includes Horne's three hundred and forty two postcards, some having personal messages on the reverse sides, as well as personal correspondence and legal documents. Of the three hundred and forty two postcards, three do not have the Horne name on them, so I omitted them from the analysis. The analysis of the evidence is through class, ethnic, and gender lenses. The categorization of Horne's postcards is essential in order to conduct an in-depth analysis of his work. The categories I will use are as follows: *Typical Mexican Scenes, Mexican Revolutionaries, Mexican Casualties, American Casualties, Mexican Military, United States Military, and Civilian life in El Paso*. This project encompasses two aspects of my persona, the scholarly and the personal. As a historian, I want to uncover the hidden messages that remain buried in Horne's postcards; and as a Chicana it is my duty to deconstruct the image that has been attached to my community and construct an identity that is historically accurate and just.

Chapter II

TJ G'O GZIECP'TGXQNWIKP'CPF'VJ G'UVGR/UKUVGT'EKV[

El Paso and Ciudad Juárez are often referred to as the “twin sister” cities, as stated by Oscar J. Martinez.¹ This is a misnomer in some respects. Although Ciudad Juárez and El Paso share a common founding history, social customs, a language, and have economic ties to one another, they have evolved in such a way that the divisions are more apparent than their shared commonalities. The cities’ incipience as way stations and their evolution towards becoming economic and political hot spots due to their proximity to one another were the catalysts for their differences. The region they share is located in a valley between two mountain ranges divided by a river that gave and continues to give life to the surrounding land and its occupants. Although isolated, this region attracted traders and explorers that did not take long to discover its geographical significance.

Located on the far perimeters of Mexico and the United States, the Ciudad Juárez and El Paso communities, along with their distinct historical experiences, have long helped define the border.² The word border is synonymous with boundary and can be defined as the line of demarcation separating two countries including the narrow strips of land on both sides.³ This border extends 1900 miles from south Texas to the southern part of California. According to Martinez, the border is perceived by both Mexico and the United States as a trouble spot. Due to its unique conditions and demographic make-up, the border’s institutions, social systems, and legal structures do not function as they normally would in the interior of Mexico or the US. National legislation is at times perceived to be impractical when applied to the border and

¹ Oscar J. Martinez, *Border Boomtown*, (Austin: University of Texas Press), 1975, 3.

² Paso del Norte was renamed Ciudad Juárez in 1882 to commemorate Benito Juárez.

³ Martinez, 3.

therefore ignored.⁴ The border/interior relationship is a distinct one. The periphery of a country in some cases is treated like a stepchild. It is neglected and shunned because of its distance from the interior and its populace is criticized for the same reasons. This dynamic is evident within border communities. Since the annexation of a vast section of northern Mexico to the United States, border communities found it imperative to define themselves along racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic lines. It is a fact that these cities have commonalities that continue their connection, but the differences between them can be extremely polarizing.

The characteristics that divided these cities are many, but one stands out more than others, especially in the early part of the 20th century is related to national identity. Ciudad Juárez, along with the rest of Mexico, was on the verge of an identity crisis, while El Paso in the process of establishing itself as an Anglo city in an Anglo nation, furthering an Anglo agenda. This racial polarization had an impact on how certain events and situations were perceived. Although Anglo Americans in El Paso had a first hand look at significant events in the revolution, most of the information they received about the socio-economic and political causes was somewhat distorted as a result of biased news reports and their own interpretation due to personal prejudices. The Anglo residents of El Paso, like the consumers of Horne's postcards, applied what knowledge they had of the Mexicana/o and the Mexican Revolution to help them understand what was happening in El Paso and Ciudad Juárez, in particular, and Mexico in general.

The notion that pictures do not lie is alarming when they are used to portray people and their cultures. Most viewers of such photographs do not question this notion; rather, they strengthen it by falling prey to personal and public prejudices against the subjects and their lifestyles some even holding on to biases that promote one culture while maligning another.

⁴ Oscar J. Martinez, *Troublesome Border*, (Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 1995), 2.

Horne knowingly or unknowingly captured images that framed subjects in such a way that they upheld racial stereotypes. His methodology of choosing and capturing specific subjects creates a truth about the images within the confines of his postcards. Horne promoted El Paso's progress in all aspects while perpetuating Ciudad Juárez's state of poverty and barbarism. Horne is guilty of interpreting some postcards by enhancing some detail and neglecting the context of a given subject while over contextualizing other images by capturing them in a panoramic form. In this chapter I will argue that Horne's perceived notion of modernity and backwardness is racialized, as demonstrated by his choice of subjects and his misleading captions and personal opinions. The postcards illustrate two worlds so dissimilar from one another that it becomes nearly impossible to fathom any connection or dependence of any kind. The economic, cultural, and social connections become largely invisible when the step sisters are pitted against each other in the spectacle created by Horne's postcards.

The El Paso Public Library has categorized this collection in a way that allows viewers with diverse backgrounds and interests to immerse themselves in Horne's work. Although this is a straight forward organization, it is not conducive to the analytical path I have chosen. Horne's postcards can be classified in a number of ways, but in order to avoid redundancy and irrelevance, in this chapter I focus on Ciudad Juárez during the time of the Mexican Revolution. The postcards have been selected from the following categories: *PC 185 Dead; PC 187 Executions; PC 192 Cd. Juárez; PC 192 Cd. Juárez Ruins; PC 192 Cd. Juárez-Mexican People*. In this chapter, I display the postcards based on their content and the characteristics that Horne perceived to be *true*. Through Horne's contrasting of El Paso (chapter 3) and Ciudad Juárez, misleading notions and perceptions of the Mexicana/o must have found their way into

businesses, homes and minds of people that used these images as a way to categorize and compare their social, economic, and political modernity to that of others.

Ciudad Juárez is a town with a modest beginning but one that has grown into a sprawling metropolitan city. For a long time its isolation from the rest of Mexico and its perception as a place of lawlessness kept its population from growing. In the late 19th century, Juárez was transformed by technology and economic policy when the railroad arrived. This of course brought modernity and prosperity to the city. A railroad station, hotels, and a coach system were constructed to deal with the population increase that Cd. Juarez experienced.⁵ The railroad station was equipped with a restaurant and gaming facilities for its clients. The building and the landscaping were well received by both Mexicans and Anglo Americans. In an interview, Jane Burgess Perrenot expressed that when her grandmother came to El Paso in the latter part of the 1880's —there was not a blade of grass in El Paso, and she used to occasionally dress her five little girls and take the street car to Juárez so she could show them grass on the patio of the Juárez railroad station.”⁶ Soon after the establishment of the first railroad line in northern Mexico there was a move to open more lines in cooperation with Americans.⁷ By the same time, Cd. Juárez established an economic infrastructure that allowed the city to compete with El Paso's business sector.⁸ With the outbreak of the Mexican Revolution, Ciudad Juárez became a

⁵ Fred Morales, *History of Transportation in the El Paso/Juárez Area* (El Paso: Ciudad Juarez Historical Museum, 2005), 18.

⁶ Interview with Jane Burges Perrenot by Jo Ann Hovious, February and March 1973, Interview # 58, Institute of Oral History, University of Texas at El Paso.

⁷ David Pérez López, *Los Años Vividos Ciudad Juárez: Crónicas Pendientes* (Ciudad Juárez: Gobierno Municipal, 2005), 25.

⁸ With the construction and establishment of modern technology, Juárez underwent a transformation that ignited an economic boom. Ciudad Juárez now housed two large flour mills operated by steam, two banking institutions, an ice and beer depot, three telegraph lines, four bridges to El Paso and two transportation companies. The economic boom of the Zona Libre, the construction of business venues, and the arrival of the railroad to Ciudad Juárez also meant an increase in population and disorder. Juárez evolved into a sprawling city giving competition to its neighbor, El Paso. Juárez's economic prosperity was short lived. El Paso's business sector, with the help of their elected officials, pressured the Mexican government to do away with La Zona Libre. This decision not only

significant political hot spot, given its proximity to the United States and its access to the railroad. Many of the maneuverings of the Mexican Revolution were played out in Ciudad Juárez and El Paso.

High ranking Mexican and United States political and military officials crossed the border many times and a number of significant battles were waged in Cd. Juárez, giving the media, free lance photographers and postcard manufacturers ample material to publish. Horne's series on Ciudad Juárez is a significant aspect of his collection. The various reports written by Anglo observers describing Mexicanas/os as frail, feeble, effeminate, cowards, debauched, whiskey drinking, tobacco smoking, fandango-dancing, fat and greasy or gaunt, swarthy, and filthy were solidified by putting faces to names.⁹ Horne knowingly or unknowingly delivered the necessary subjects to normalize the state of Mexicaness.



Figure 2-1. PC 192 #157 –“Street Scene in a Mexican Town.”
No message

annihilated any hope of economic independence, it solidified the economic dependence Juárez had on El Paso prior to the implementation of La Zona Libre. Pérez López, 32.

⁹ Pérez López, 148.

In this postcard Horne provides an image of what he calls a “street scene in Mexico.” One can see vendors on both sides of the street selling their goods to pedestrians as they walk by. These vendors are captured sitting by a white plastered adobe building. This building seems to be a public building given the number of signs hanging from its walls. The white adobe structure appears to be in good condition and its decorated exterior window and door moldings give it a sense of significance. It is evident that the customers are the ones photographed standing up and walking. These customers differ from those on the other side of the street. On the left side customers are dressed in urban attire as opposed to those on the right side, who are seen wearing more rural dress. The vendors on the right are separated from their competition on the left by a street that is unpaved, uneven, and looks a bit dirty. These vendors are for the most part selling out of shacks or booths. These makeshift buildings look to be constructed from different materials, such as wood, tin, and cloth. Wooden crates line the front of the shacks with some merchandise on the ground as well. This postcard seems to show a Mexico trying to break from rurality into a more modern state. The Mexican sombrero was ubiquitous in the early twentieth century, especially within the rural working classes of Mexico. It is not known if the men wearing the sombreros are native Juárezenses or if they are fighters in the revolution or both. What is a fact is that the northern revolutionary army was saturated with workers and peasants from many parts of Chihuahua, Sonora, Coahuila, and Durango, which could explain the presence of these men in the postcard.¹⁰ The people on the left might have been from Juárez and/or El Paso due to their urban dress and the men on the right perhaps resided outside of the Juárez city limits. The man wearing all black with a white shirt to the far right is carrying a gun belt, which could be evidence of some sort of affiliation with the revolution. The adobe style building on the left

¹⁰ Andrés M. Nieto, *Un Villista Más (Los Olvidados): una historia verdadera relatada por él Coronel José A. Nieto Houston 1910-1920*(El Paso:s.n., 1995), 5-6.

with its ornate window and door moldings plastered and painted white is an example of some of the buildings in Juárez, but not all. From 1866 to 1911 mandates to modernize the city's political and legal offices were enacted by the federal and local governments. This building could be an example of that modernization movement, but it is still undermined by the primitivism of the shacks in front of it. The poorly built shacks, the wooden crates, and the wooden electric post located right behind the crates seem a bit primitive and lack modern architectural design. The condition of the unpaved street with its holes and debris spread onto it not only exudes backwardness in engineering but also highlights the Mexicanas/os inability or lack of interest in progress. The white adobe building has a more modern and clean look when compared to the shacks, but according to Anglo perceptions of modernism and progress, adobe lagged behind building materials such as brick, wood, and stone. In fact, El Paso's adobe style buildings located in the downtown area were torn down and replaced with brick and wooden buildings by the late 1880's. Harper's Monthly published a picture of El Paso in 1885 as a town of adobe buildings and described it as looking more Mexican than American.¹¹ Modern technology such as electricity is present in this postcard, but it is not celebrated like it is in images of El Paso. Figure 1 depicts a town that cannot seem to handle modern technology as demonstrated by the crooked telephone posts, which look like they were captured in mid air before crashing down onto the unpaved street. Horne captures this sign of modernity not as evidence of technological advancement but as evidence of incorrect installation of advanced technology.

The inanimate objects in this postcard are not the only subjects that provide misconceptions to the viewer. The people photographed in figure 1 do not look industrious. The people on the left side of the postcard are sitting or leaning against the white adobe building or

¹¹ Frank Mangan, *El Paso in Pictures* (El Paso: Mangan Books, 1971), 27.

just standing around, while the men on the right are captured walking or standing to look at Horne as he takes their picture. This postcard can perhaps send out a number of messages about the people, but that they are hard at work is not one of them. It is difficult to see that the people on the left are busy selling their merchandize to pedestrians. One can see a man underneath the first electric post leaning over, probably looking at the goods available before purchasing. But what is certain here is that Horne does not explain the image at all. All he states in his caption is that this is a “street scene in a Mexican Town,” creating a sense that all streets resemble this particular one. In fact, Juárez experienced an increase in its population prior to the revolution. The new residents of the city were mainly merchants and farmers saturated the market places. The first market place was built in 1888. This building was constructed of wood and burned down five years later. In 1905 the market place was rebuilt and named *Luis Terrazas*; after the Mexican Revolution it was renamed *Cuauhtémoc*. This was a large square building with a patio used for food service. In the interior of the building merchants sold their goods.

As time passed the merchants outgrew the building and this caused a spillage of merchants onto the streets of Juárez. This developed into a problem for the local authorities. As Juárez moved into the twentieth century, every mayor was forced to include a market place in construction projects to accommodate the increasing number of merchants.¹² The caption alone is an oversimplification of Juárez or any other town in Mexico for that matter. The implication that this is an example of all streets in Mexican towns negates modernization efforts by the government.

Horne seldom gives detailed information about his images. His postcards usually have a title and/or a caption that gives a somewhat generic explanation about the subject(s). His idiosyncratic way of branding his images in some instances gives the impression that what is

¹² Mangan, 212.

comprised in the image is representative of the subject(s). Another reason for his inability to factually label his postcards is that he probably was not aware of the context of his subjects. Horne infrequently dated his work, which makes it difficult to decipher the moment in time and leads one to make approximations.¹³ Figure 1 must have been taken in Juárez right before or during the time of the revolution due to the fact that Horne began capturing images prior to the first battle of Ciudad Juárez in 1911. In a letter addressed to his sister Gertrude on February 11, 1911, Horne writes, “Am taking a few pictures now and then and having good luck with them. The pictures of the Mexican Revolution don’t amount to anything now, Horne explained to his sister.”¹⁴ It is difficult to say if this letter gave testimony to the images captured in figure 1, but the letter is significant because it allows one to see and understand what Horne deemed a significant subject. Ciudad Juárez did not experience full blown battles until May of 1911 but small skirmishes did take place nearby in February, which might account for the subjects in figure 1 dressed in the traditional sense and the one man carrying a gun.¹⁵ Figure 1 is of a street scene in a Mexican town and shows no revolutionary activity.

¹³ Dr. Robert Bouilly, the historian at Fort Bliss in El Paso, Texas is in the process of establishing a more accurate dating method to chronologically categorize Horne’s work by studying the serial numbers found in most of his postcards.

¹⁴ Walter H. Horne to Gertrude Horne, 24 April 1911. Walter H. Horne Collection, El Paso Public Library.

¹⁵ Walter H. Horne to Gertrude Horne, 11 February 1911. Walter H. Horne Collection, El Paso Public Library. “I have seen several skirmishes among the federales and insurgents along the river banks, and as both sides are preparing all the time for the final battle, it is probable that real fighting will take place in a very short time.”



Figure 2-2. PC 192 #158 –Street Scene, Juárez, Mex.”

Message: *Have seen this place Juárez from Franklin Mountain Range. Spanish cavalry manifesting showing silently*

In this postcard, Horne’s caption provides a bit more detail about what is illustrated.

Figure 2 shows bustling downtown Juárez, an image far from figure 1. This postcard illustrates a city not of adobe buildings, but a city moving towards modernity by using the latest building materials such as brick and mortar and undergoing an expansion in commercial development. This street is likely to be Comercio Street, now known as 16 de Septiembre Street. Comercio Street was one of three major streets in Juárez, including Lerdo and Juárez Avenues. It was part of the business district as evidenced by the variety of shops lining both sides of the street. The landmark that allows us to identify Comercio street is the Catholic Cathedral, Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, in the background, situated on the far top center of the postcard. The building on the right hand side is constructed out of brick with wooden steps leading to the entrance and the following building on that same side is probably constructed of the same materials but is clearly a multiple story building with a wooden porch and balcony. This building was a curio shop where one can purchase postcards and Mexican cigars; it also served as a bureau of information for tourists. The business sector provides an atmosphere of economic productivity. One can see a man on the balcony of the curio shop as he watches the cavalry mentioned in the caption

demonstrate its strength in numbers. Across the street on the left side there appear to be more businesses as far as the eye can see. The street is not paved, but it does not seem dirty and uneven like the street in the previous postcard. In fact, sidewalks separate the actual street from the commercial buildings, allowing pedestrians to move freely up and down Comercio Street. This street scene does not situate Juárez in developmental arrest in respect to technological advancement. On the contrary, Horne provides an alternative view of life in Juárez with its development and technology. Electric posts stand erect in every corner of this street. The electric wires run parallel to the street in both directions just like the people captured moving along in this postcard.

Figure 2 is filled with movement. Men are seen walking up and down the sidewalk, while horse drawn carts give the cavalry the right of way. It seems as if Juárez was in parade mode the day Horne captured this street scene. The people are in urban dress aside from the procession participants and a few men standing on the side of the street. The men in urban attire are wearing a combination of trousers, shirts, ties, suspenders, vests, jackets, and hats. Some are walking on the sidewalks while others either stand around or watch the cavalry procession from their horse drawn buggies. Another interesting feature in this image is the umbrella providing shade to two well dressed men. It is not possible to see if the umbrella is attached to the buggy or one of the men underneath it is holding it. Figure 2 does not display any signs of rain such as puddles in streets or wet sidewalks, thus it is safe to assume that the umbrella was necessary to provide shelter from the sun. The buggies and the umbrellas could be perceived as signs of class differences, giving testimony that not all that lived in Juárez were poor or that well to do El Pasoans visited Juárez during this chaotic time in Mexico. But the modern aspect of Juárez or

even the spectators are not the main subject of this photograph. Rather, the main subject is the cavalry procession taking place on Comercio Street.

This cavalry procession is not a typical military outfit when compared to the US military. The cavalry does not seem to follow any formal formation, which makes it look disorganized and disorderly. In addition, the men involved in the procession are not in uniform and most of them are wearing the typical Mexican sombrero, which might lead one to believe that this cavalry is part of the revolutionary forces. The lack of uniformity in every aspect signals more of a mob entering a city. Horne's caption –Street Scene, Juarez Mex.” again fails to clarify the image in this postcard, although the image does allow one to see another aspect of Ciudad Juárez in its modern buildings and its sprawling business sector. Postcards such as this one are few in number in his collection.

This postcard has other messages that do clarify the event taking place in the photograph, like the one written on the front right above Horne's. An unknown author of the message gives a more engaging explanation of the illustration, but still it lacks specifics. The message, which reads “*Caballeria la ManifesTacion,*” gives a name to what is taking place in the photograph. Two of the most pressing questions about this specific postcard are who wrote this message, and was it written before or after the mass production of the postcard. The author was obviously not a learned individual considering the positioning of the letters within the message and the use of lower and upper case letters. To some consumers and viewers, this could perhaps be more evidence of Mexican backwardness if it was produced with this caption.

Another message found on the back of figure 2 allows one to see this postcard perhaps through the eyes of an Anglo-American. The author writes: “*Have seen this place Juarez from Franklin Mountain Range. Spanish cavalry manifesting showing silently.*” The message on the

back allows one to understand the proximity of El Paso and Juárez and the interest the revolution ignited in El Pasoans and in visitors there. Another interesting aspect of this message is that this author labeled the cavalry as a Spanish unit. There were several foreign individuals involved in the revolution, but Spain did not volunteer its cavalry. This is an example of the misinformation and lack of interest in understanding the events that were taking place across the border. Neither Horne's caption nor the consumer's message stands alone. Without the message written above Horne's (and a knowledge of Spanish) the consumer would be oblivious as to the reason for such a large number of men on horseback passing through the streets of Juárez since the cavalry did not fit the American concept of a military outfit.

Aside from figure 1 and 2, images in most of Horne's postcards depicting Mexicans as dirty, lazy, complacent, backward, and violent are not camouflaged by street scenes but are framed to give that specific impression, and at times Horne volunteers his personal opinions on the matter. Figure 2 is significant because it demonstrates that Horne was familiar with the different areas of Juárez and the socio-economic differences that existed within the city and deliberately chose the subjects he preferred to display in his postcards. In figure 1 and 2 Anglo Americans are introduced to a relatively calm Mexico. This image is forgotten when other images of the revolution surface. Images of a people fighting a tyrannical dictatorship and injustice are not seen, only images of a violent a people are presented, as Horne silently illustrates his stigmatized perceptions of everything Mexican and in his letters utters his personal thoughts on the matter. Writing to his mother and father after briefly explaining the situation in Juárez, Horne ends the letter by stating, "One side is no better than the other to my way of

thinking.”¹⁶ Although a bit ambiguous, this statement provides an insight into his lack of understanding about the subject or his biases.

Border cities on both sides shared characteristics such as unpaved streets, insufficient infrastructure to accommodate the increasing population and the economically neglected. Horne’s postcards show the opposite. Even though El Paso and Ciudad Juárez both experienced political, social and economic setbacks, Horne seemed to hide El Paso’s and highlight those of Juárez. Was this evident to the Anglo consumers of Horne’s postcards? In his book, *Los Años Vividos Ciudad Juárez: Crónicas Pendientes*, David Pérez López posits that people living in frontier cities in general and Juárez in particular, were not lounging around with no care in the world with the expectation that everything would somehow work itself out. Pérez López explains how Mexicans worked hard to modernize the border city before the outbreak of the revolution. Both figure 1 and 2 express the city’s struggle for modernization while dealing with revolution. These messages are at times hidden by Horne’s intention to highlight the negative aspects of Mexican life.



Figure 2-3a. PC 198 #254 No title.
Message: See figure 3b

¹⁶ Walter H. Horne to Mr. and Mrs. Horne, 19 February, 1911. Walter H. Horne Collection El Paso Public Library.



Figure 2-3b. PC 198 #254 No title.

Message: *One of the many groups of women who follow up the Mexican army. Preparing dinner. Note the pool of filth-the fleas don't show. Will write soon. Very busy just now. Soldiers pay day tomorrow. Hope you all ok I am. Yours Walter*

Addressed to Mrs. Henry Horne, mother of Walter Horne.



Figure 2-3c. "Cooking for Mexican Army 302." Not part of the El Paso Public Library's Horne Collection, this postcard was made available by Dr. Robert Bouilly.

Figure 3 is part of a three piece series. Figure 3a and 3b are one postcard, the front and the backside. The postcard was mailed in September 1912, and probably taken and manufactured slightly before that time. I initially believed that Horne did not mass produce this postcard, due to the absence of a title or caption on the front. Most of his mass produced postcards do have a title or caption briefly describing the subjects portrayed. He mailed this

particular piece to his mother as an example of his work and current events taking place near his home. Figure 3c is perhaps the mass produced copy of the original, with the caption in place describing it. Figure 3 is interesting because one can see Horne's distinct way of labeling. Figure 3a could have been his original postcard right before he labeled it using simple language, *Cooking for the Mexican Army*. This postcard is an image that provides the consumer/viewer a glimpse of the logistical difficulties that both the federal and revolutionary factions endured during the Mexican Revolution. The subjects that are most obvious are the people captured in this postcard. There are three soldaderas, a small female child and a late middle-aged man. All people in this image are wearing stereotypical Mexican attire, with the long skirts and airy blouses and the iconic sombrero worn by the man. All the women, including the girl, seem to have their hair braided, but still display a messy or disheveled look. The woman with her back to Horne is wearing a rebozo around her head, which was very much part of the typical Mexican dress. She is probably trying to protect herself from the elements. The soldadera in the far back was captured concentrating deeply, either cooking or making tortillas. She is not easily distracted by Horne and his camera. The remaining three people, the man, the child, and a woman are caught sitting by the wall looking towards Horne as he takes their picture. This eye contact and the man sitting up on his knees to perhaps get a better look allows one to see that they are not posing for the photograph but looking curiously towards the photographer. Although most camp followers moved frequently with whatever outfit they were aiding, this group might have situated themselves in this alley for the time being. The buildings surrounding this group might serve as a shelter from the fighting taking place in the city. The building behind the onlookers has Red Cross posters on its wall, which could mean that this group of camp followers situated themselves behind a hospital or clinic in Ciudad Juárez. The other walls do

not resemble this one at all, but are connected, which means that this part of the building was added after the construction of the first or they are separate additions with different functions.

Their campsite, with blankets and clothes hanging from a rope tied to two wooden posts which are found at the top left hand corner of the postcard, gives the impression that they were there during the rainfall that created the puddle found between the soldaderas. This puddle stretches from the bottom left hand corner towards the soldadera in the far back. The area on which they cook appears to be either saturated with muddy water or moistened dirt. The camp followers are captured working and eating on the ground. There are three visible campfires going with rocks serving as props to hold up the posts or cans used for cooking. Other pots, pans, pails, and cans have been placed by the camp followers to create what was, I assume, their makeshift kitchen. A watermelon with a knife through it along with a liquor bottle stands next to the soldadera with a rebozo over her head. Another bottle is located next to the soldadera that is cooking. A plate of food on the muddy ground sits in front of the little girl, who is eating at the time of the photograph. The majority of pots and baskets of food are located by the wall with the Red Cross posters. By looking at this postcard, it is difficult to distinguish between the food and the trash. Everything seems disorganized and dirty.

Figure 3b plainly illustrates Horne's thoughts about the soldaderas and their role within the federal and revolutionary factions. He writes to his mother briefly explaining the subjects' activity, cooking, as if it was the only responsibility the soldaderas had in the revolution. Horne failed to explain that soldaderas had various duties and responsibilities in the federal army and in the revolutionary factions, among which was cooking for the soldiers. The lives of soldaderas were very much like those of the soldiers, harsh and perilous. Along with Horne's oversimplification of the soldadera, he chips away at the dangerous and rough life that they led

by actively encouraging his mother to observe the area on which these women cooked, describing it as a ~~p~~ool of filth.” Reinforcing the notion that Mexicanas/os are a dirty people, he added the phrase ~~the~~ fleas don’t show.” The position in which he photographed them is also significant. It is evident that Horne was standing as he photographed this group of people while they sat on the ground, putting him in a position to literally look down on them.

Finding the best accommodations to meet the most basic necessities, like eating and sleeping, was crucial to sustain an army. I. Thord Gray, a participant in the Mexican Revolution under Villa wrote, in defense of the revolutionaries:

Many newspapermen in the U.S. criticized as a filthy-looking lot these home loving, patriotic peon-Indians who where soldiers fighting for an idea, freedom, land, and a place in the sun. The same thing was said by the officers of King George III. It would be interesting indeed to see what some of these critics would look like after spending a few years in a Mexican revolution. They must, of course start in a Mexican cotton shirt and pants without a single change of clothing, no razor, no money, no soap.¹⁷

Knowingly or unknowingly, Horne and his image deny the service of the soldaderas to the military body they belong to by encapsulating their role as mere cooks for the army and emphasizing the perceived degenerative qualities of Mexicanas/os. This eliminates their place in history and erases the dignity of sacrifice for their cause and country.

In a letter addressed to his mother and father in September of 1912, Horne explains to his parents how ~~J~~uárez is again in the hands of the federales and garrisoned by about 1500 regulars.” He also notes that he believes the ~~r~~ebels seem to be beat.”¹⁸ Horne’s correspondence to his family does not mention soldaderas, but it does give the necessary information about the presence of a military force in and around Ciudad Juárez. Figure 3 alone does not inform the viewer about the events taking place in Juárez; much less does it sum up the life of the soldadera.

¹⁷ I. Thord Gray, *Gringo Rebel* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1960), 38.

¹⁸ Walter H. Horne to Mr. and Mrs. Horne, 30 September 1912. Walter H. Horne Collection El Paso Public Library.

Horne's statement to his parents not only was irresponsible but shortsighted as well. This postcard illustrates the logistical inconveniences soldaderas encountered during the Mexican Revolution. The fact that the soldaderas are cooking is not an issue; the issue is the place in which they cooked and women's physical appearance. Horne once informed his parents that he believed that a postcard alone could hold all the information necessary to understand events in Juárez. That belief is inconceivable and ignorant. Did Horne believe that all his images, with or without captions, communicated the necessary information about his subjects? If so, he did not understand the complexities in Mexico, and thus made irresponsible moral judgments.

Gustave Jahoda ascertains that moral judgments include deeply rooted prejudices against people that do not look like those passing judgment and who, in this case, practice the art of cooking in kitchens. Horne indirectly compared his customs with those of the soldaderas in figure 3 by focusing attention on their culinary "customs." According to Jahoda, such comparisons created a gauge for measuring progress. Table manners or the lack thereof seem to be more of a distinguishing factor than any other custom, Jahoda explicates. Another common critique of the savage is the unsuitable foods they eat.¹⁹ Jahoda opines that the white European developed a set of polarized views: anything that was white in color was innocent and harmless as opposed to anything black in color which had violent, nasty and poisonous attributes. This notion that color reflected character was developed by Jules Virey, a naturalist and professor of pharmacy in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.²⁰ A similar thought was elaborated years before the Mexican Revolution in the *Southern Intelligencer*, "white was the emblem of light, religious purity, innocence, faith, joy and life—indicating integrity in the judge, humanity in the sick and chastity in the women, while blackness expressed the earth, darkness, mourning,

¹⁹ Gustave Jahoda, *Images of Savages: Ancient Roots of Modern Prejudices in Western Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 229.

²⁰ Jahoda, 69.

wickedness, negation, death and was appropriate to the Prince of Darkness.”²¹ Perceptions of polarized character applied to plants, animals, and even human beings. The people that appear in figure 3 are, of course, dark skinned.

According to Arnolando de Leon, Anglo Americans believed that Mexicans needed fewer nutrients for survival. Supporting that conclusion were comments like, “Mexicans could subsist on a couple of meals a day, usually of a biscuit made of flour set up on any old bit of tin and baked in the ashes under live coals,” sometimes uttered in Anglo American circles.²² H. Bundy, in the sheepherding business, entertained the notion that Mexicanas/os had few necessities in life, saying “they could live a week on what an American would eat in a day and do well.”²³ The effortless adaptation to the climate and environment would be evidence, according to Jahoda, that the Mexicana/o possessed animalistic attributes.²⁴ This adaptation to conditions in Mexico was misconstrued and demonized. Backwardness was equated to Mexicaness and the evidence of that was their foods, lifestyle, and even choice of construction materials. Descriptions of backwardness went hand in hand with Mexicans not having the intellectual capacity for complex reasoning or creativity which is also depicted in Horne’s postcards.

²¹ Arnolando de Leon, *They Called Them Greasers: Anglo Attitudes towards Mexicans 1821-1900* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 20.

²² de Leon, 30.

²³ de Leon, 32.

²⁴ Jahoda, 66.



Figure 2-4. PC 192 #160 –Adobe “Casa” Juárez, Mexico.”

Message: *Many thanks for nice box of candy and chestnuts that reached me today. Hope you are well. J.M. Miller 205 Mesa Ave. El Paso Tex. Addressed to: Harriet T. Miller 311 Adolphus St. Chester West Virginia.*

Figure 4 is in accord with the various perceptions of Mexicans and their lifestyle. The jacal, which was common in poor sectors of Mexico, was often photographed by Horne and indirectly became the typical Mexican home in his collection.²⁵ It was commonplace to see them everywhere, even within the modernizing cities of Mexico, and in particular in Ciudad Juárez. Most jacales were single room homes. The adobe building in this postcard appears to be two separate structures with separate doors leading to each. There are no windows on the lower level home and only one window on the back structure, covered by wooden planks. Wooden beams protrude from the lower level home, also a common feature of these types of homes. These two adobe structures appear to be older, given the full exposure of the adobe bricks and a small remnant of plaster that was not eroded by time and the elements located on the top of the doorway of the back structure. There is not much landscaping around the subject homes. All that surrounds the structures is dirt and rocks. There is no fencing around these buildings, no sidewalks and no individual yards or patios. A chair sits in front of the lower level jacal right

²⁵ A jacal is the Spanish term for a shack or Indian hut.

next to the front door, and to the left of it there are two piles of dirt and some scraps of wood thrown on the ground. The area looks dirty and unkept. Two women are captured alongside the homes. One is photographed standing on the far left side of the postcard. She appears to be wearing a long skirt with a dark rebozo over her head and shoulders. She stands in front of a pile of adobe bricks. The second woman in the postcard is caught making her way to the lower level jacal. She is dressed similarly to the woman in the back, but this one seems to be carrying a child in her arms. Their clothing is a sign of Mexicaness.

Most of the images in Horne's Ciudad Juárez series were apparently carefully selected to present something "quaint" or "authentic" from Mexico that was different from gringo modernity. He often photographed up close, just focusing on a specific subject and ignoring its surroundings. This method of photographing encouraged his consumers to take these images as representations of all Mexican homes and Mexico's general backwardness. In the background to the right one can see two other homes fully plastered and painted. These two homes appear to be relatively new. These buildings have doors and windows with individual fencing separating their property from their neighbor's. Horne's under-contextualization of the old adobe homes does not shed light on the diversity of homes found in the city. This was somewhat of a pattern for Horne.

Horne's title *Adobe "Casa" Juarez, Mexico* is a simple and direct description of the image. The question here is what did the Anglo American see besides two mud structures and two women? It is probable that the consumer/viewer did not see beyond the image itself. Efforts to modernize and revitalize are not apparent in this postcard; rather, what is apparent is a small town stuck in the adobe age of primitiveness. Figure 4 gives evidence to De Leon's argument that travelers previous to Horne's postcards and the Mexican Revolution documented Mexican

backwardness, and that it didn't stop with the revolution. Anything produced by a Mexican was construed to be another manifestation of backwardness.²⁶ According to whites, non-inventive Mexican culture lacked the intelligence to build efficient structures; De Leon documents various opinions on the subject.²⁷ A.B. Lawrence, a Texas visitor in 1840 posits ~~they~~ chose rather to endure inclement weather than to erect a more comfortable cabin...they lived in wretched hovels, deplorable cabins, and in forlorn looking huts...these homes are composed of rustic straw works or mud bricks called adobes.” Another witness to such living is a resident of Brownsville, Teresa Vielé, who explains, ~~there~~ in one apartment are frequently found five generations living together eking out indolent existence on a mild diet of ground corn, eggs, and milk.”²⁸ Such characteristics of dwellings and choice of foods were perceived by Anglos to be symptomatic of the absence of any kind of motivation to progress. The fact that the poor Mexicans constructed their dwellings with what was available to them was meaningless to the Anglo consumer. Horne's postcards added more images to sustain the Anglo collective memory of Mexican culture, culture content with mediocrity, as De Leon asserts. This collective memory is a continuous current of thought reinforced by Horne's postcard collection that sent out messages reiterating already known ~~truths~~” about the Mexican.

Postcards 5 and 6 illustrate more modern buildings. Ciudad Juárez was much more than a makeshift city of jacales and violent backward people. Before the Mexican Revolution, Mexicans worked to better their border city. But in Horne's postcards, rather than seeing these buildings as improvements or progress when compared to figure 4, one sees the product of the fighting in Cd. Juárez. Horne overshadowed progress in Ciudad Juárez by overexposing the

²⁶ de Leon., 25.

²⁷ de Leon, 25.

²⁸ de Leon, 25.

destruction of the better buildings of the city and capturing the poverty stricken areas in his postcards.



Figure 2-5. PC 192 #172 No caption/title

Message: *Hello Bud. Just over looking at some of the battle scenes. Leave El Paso tonight Bro. Lawrence. Addressed to: Mr. C.O. Tripfo, Winfield, Kans, U.S.A. 703 Millington. 2nd—We saw this building. It is in Juarez Mexico and was damaged during the war there last July 1912. The town was captured by the Mexican troops. It had been in the hands of the revolutionaries for two years.*

Figures 5 and 6 illustrate the destructive impact of the revolution in Ciudad Juárez.

Figure 5 is an image of a building made of adobe, plastered and painted white. It has a number of windows on each of its sides. The window panes are made out of wood and are fully exposed. The building is covered with bullet holes and there is one huge hole almost destroying one side of the building, evidence of a mortar attack. Right in front of the mortar attacked side one can see on the sidewalk a pile of debris consisting of adobe bricks, scraps of wood and plaster. A light post stands on the corner of the street almost in front of the hole. This light post has a small section painted white. There are quite a number of spectators captured observing the destruction. They are all well dressed; women in hats and most in light colored clothing and men in suits and hats as well. The destructive aspect of figure 5 seems to scream out to the viewer, but what

remains silent are the signs that the building was fully plastered and painted. There is a sidewalk attached to the building that wraps around it and there is a small tree to the left of the building. All of this could be interpreted as signs of progress and pride within the community. The tree is difficult to see because the groups of people looking into a window conceal it with their clothing. The small tree is encased by a wooden fence to protect its growth. These sorts of signs and messages are often ignored due to the close up photographic shots Horne took of specific things or people in Ciudad Juárez. Again, Horne's methodology does not allot room to look at this neighborhood in its panoramic form to see the surrounding buildings, street, sidewalks, and landscaping in order to understand that Juárez was progressing before the revolution and not in arrested development as many of his images suggest.

Figure 5 does not stand alone; it is accompanied by personal messages, though not by a caption. The consumer's message on figure 5 reads: ~~—~~Hello Bud. Just over looking at some of the battle scenes. Leave El Paso tonight Bro. Lawrence.” Addressed to: Mr. C.O. Tripfo, Winfield, Kans, U.S.A. 703 Millington. The message on the second identical card reads, ~~—~~We saw this building. It is in Juarez Mexico and was damaged during the war there last July 1912. The town was captured by the Mexican troops. It had been in the hands of the revolutionaries for two years.²⁹” One should not assume these tidbits of information found in the front or back of these postcards to be factual and objective. Witnessing a battle from the rooftops of a neighboring city does not bestow the necessary knowledge to analyze the situation. According to Horne, most Anglos in El Paso leaned towards Madero's camp and many Anglo Americans got caught up in the revolution.³⁰ Choosing sides was inevitable, especially residing so close to the fighting, and this side taking came with moral judgments when it came to the Mexican

²⁹ Duplicates of a postcard can be found in the collection purchased by the same person or different with different messages. Horne usually mailed various copies of the same image to his family with similar or varying messages.

³⁰ Walter H. Horne to Mr. and Mrs. Horne, 14 April 1912. Walter H. Horne Collection, El Paso Public Library.

Revolution in general. But it is clear that this postcard conveys messages pertaining to the Mexican way of life, their character and their inability to govern themselves.



Figure 2-6. PC 192 #175 –Riddled with Bullets, Juárez, Mex.”

Message: *El Paso, Tex as Jan 18-1913 at Juárez Mexico they have one of the largest race meets in the North America. At the present time all telegraph lines are down and many railroad bridges burned within a few miles of Juárez. The whole Mexican government is absolutely no good. E.W. Trimwell.*

No mailing information

Figure 6 is a photograph of a different building in Ciudad Juárez, but its content is similar, expressing a message present in figure 5. Horne’s caption –Riddled with Bullets” is not a complete explanation of the damage done to this multi-level house; perhaps he was describing the single-level house to the right. The latter does appear to have bullet damage on its left side, but the damage to the neighboring house utterly surpasses it. The image in this postcard introduces the consumer/viewer to a more affluent area of Ciudad Juárez, but that affluence is overshadowed by the destruction of battle. The subject is a large multi-level house with many windows on both levels and a formal entrance that appears to have been framed by a wooden porch as shown in the neighboring house. Before the destructive battle, this house was plastered white with a design that made the building appear to be made of cinder block, but the effects of

the battle have exposed the building materials used in construction, adobe brick. This house is totally destroyed, not only by bullets but also by fire. The roof is completely gone. This house seems to have been a target in this neighborhood. The one story house to the right of the white house is intact with very little damage. This damage consists of bullet holes that were probably aimed at the multi-level house. The damaged house is surrounded by a picket fence that runs along the sidewalk down to the neighboring home. The properties captured in this postcard have landscaping. There are small to medium sized trees in the front yards, but the debris makes it impossible to see if the yards were covered with grass. These small but significant details of good housekeeping and the existence of affluent neighborhoods in Juárez can be ignored when the destruction towers over them, especially with the help of captions and messages from presumed witnesses to a war or lifestyle.

The message written by the consumer of figure 6 explains the damage done to the infrastructure in Juárez while making a blanket statement about the Mexican government, “El Paso, Tex as Jan 18-1913 at Juarez Mexico they have one of the largest race meets in the North America. At the present time all telegraph lines are down and many railroad bridges burned within a few miles of Juarez. The whole Mexican government is absolutely no good.” The statement “the whole Mexican government is absolutely no good” is difficult to interpret because the author could mean only the sitting government at the time and be a revolutionary sympathizer. It could also be evidence that the author does not understand the politics of the revolution, or care to, so he lumps both the federales and revolutionary forces in that single statement as being the same, thus expunging the causes for the revolution. Although it is impossible to know what this spectator saw or did not see, Anglos living in El Paso surely had more information about the revolution due to their proximity to Juárez, but this information was

tainted by their racial memory of their neighbors. According to Geary and Webb, the consumer ~~transform~~ transforms the image when purchased and inscribes it with her/his private communication.”³¹

These consumers continue what Horne began, a cultural discourse about Mexicanas/os. Horne’s notions about the Mexican government and the revolutionary forces could have been similar to those of the author of postcard 6. Horne wrote to his parents explaining mobilizations of both factions of the revolution months before the first battle of Juárez:

The government received reinforcements first and the Insurrectos took to the mountains... They did a little fighting, and I saw several skirmishes from this side of the river... Things are normal over in Juarez now... There are about 100 on the old church (the picture of which I sent mother) behind sand bags... One side is not better than the other to my way of thinking.³²

Sentiments like this was not uncommon, but others like Charles Flandrau believed that foreign intervention was imperative. In his travel narrative *Viva Mexico!*, published in 1908, Flandrau depicted Mexicans as too childlike and inept to govern themselves. He writes, ~~any~~ anyone with rudimentary knowledge of Mexico knows that a popular election there (Mexico) is an impossibility and always has been.”³³ Spectators of the postcard often measured what they saw against the American counterpart. One year after the first battle of Cd. Juárez, Horne wrote to his parents expressing how Mexican leaders constantly entered El Paso for whatever reason. He also shared concerns about Mexico’s inability to solve its problems, ~~for~~ all of that there is no law and order in any part of Mexico, and probably won’t be until the U.S. intervenes. I want to see intervention come right away if it has to come at all. That’s the only way it will ever be settled.”³⁴ A statement such as this one was a product of a comparison being formulated by

³¹ Christraud Geary and Virginia Lee Webb, *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1998), 4.

³² Walter H. Horne to Mr. and Mrs Horne, 19 February 1911. Walter H. Horne Collection, El Paso Public Library.

³³ Helen Delpar, *The Enormous Vogue of Things Mexican : Cultural Relations between the United States and Mexico 1920-1935* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, c1992), 5.

³⁴ Walter H. Horne to Mr. and Mrs. Horne, 30 September 1912. Walter H. Horne Collection, El Paso Public Library.

Horne and perhaps the consumer/viewer as well. Lázlo Kürti expands on this idea of comparison. He asserts that “postcards represent the combination of self and other and the spectators’ search for identities lost, questioned and intact.”³⁵ Horne reflected this process in his choice of Mexican and American subjects. These comparisons designated the space the Mexicana/o and the American inhabited in society. Horne’s designated space for Mexicanas/os was not one of progressivism, modernism, and civility. One can see in figure 5 and 6 that Mexico did have the potential to construct buildings more complicated than jacales, but the message that is constantly transferred by these images is that these creations were in vain because of the Mexicana’s/o’s natural essence of brutality, violence, and backwardness. In other words, civilization and the Mexican could not coexist.



Figure 2-7. PC 185 #83 “Dead Rebels on a Street in Juarez, Mex.”
No Message

Violence did exist at the time of the revolution as an effect of and a reaction to the political, economic, and social oppression that prevailed during the Porfiriato. Postcards such as figures 7 and 8 vividly and morbidly illustrate this fact. The men captured in figure 7

³⁵ Lázlo Kürti, “Picture Perfect: Community a Commemoration in Postcards” (London: Routledge, 2004), 47.

postmortem on the streets of Juárez were casualties of war, not a result of an extra curricular activity. More than likely these men fell during a skirmish or one of the battles fought in Cd. Juárez. They are dressed in civilian clothing with their hats used to cover the faces. Two of the men's hats are somewhat more modern in appearance than that of the man to the left, who wears the hat worn by many revolutionaries, and perceived by many as the "typical Mexican sombrero." The man with his right arm over his face has his trousers ripped at the bottom of the right leg and his boots appear to be worn out. These men show signs of belonging to the working class. Beside this man's feet one can see horse dung and straw, and there is blood-stained dirt underneath his head. This street is unpaved, as most of them were, and it has a dirty appearance to it. Juárezenses and some El Pasoans were very much involved at times because of their proximity to the fighting. This postcard gives evidence of the fact that men, women, and children witnessed the effects of war the battles left behind. The positioning of the corpses does signify that they had been moved from the battle scene, perhaps by military forces to better identify the bodies, or perhaps on Horne's orders to stage them together as opposed to only photographing each body where it fell. Seven spectators are photographed along with the dead in this image. They include three women and four men. The man on the right seems to have arrived by bicycle, which was a sign of wealth during these hard economic times. The bodies left out in the open for all to see are disturbing, but what catches the eye is that people congregated around the fallen. It is difficult to understand the spectators' reactions to such a display because all one can see in this postcard are legs. The congregating of people around casualties might give the impression of a desensitization of a community in regard to death, meaning that such violence had become a natural aspect of daily life in Mexico. On the other hand, ignoring the bodies would seem insensitive as well.



Figure 2-8. PC 187 #124. –Scene after 3 Executions at Juarez, Mex.”
No Message

Executions like the one captured in figure 8 were not unusual; in fact, according to Martinez, on the spot firing squads were commonplace.³⁶ Horne had contact with Juárez officials who would notify him about special events of this sort. He usually bribed these officials for exclusive photography rights of executions; this execution in particular was headed by firing squad Captain Javier J. Valle. Francisco Rojas, Juan Aguilar, and José Moreno, captured postmortem in this postcard, were caught stealing military supplies and were sentenced to death by General Gabriel Gavira.³⁷

Horne’s Execution series is not vast, but extremely impressive. There are a total of seven postcards in this series and all document the quick justice doled out by various factions in the revolution. This execution is especially disturbing because Horne recorded it step by step. In the first image, Horne captured the three men standing in front of the firing squad, waiting for the

³⁶ Martinez, 213.

³⁷ Paul J. Vanderwood and Frank N. Samponaro, *Border Fury: A Picture Postcard Record of Mexico’s Revolution and US Preparedness 1910-1917* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 68.

call. The second image vividly captures the bullets as they pierce each man's body after the firing squad receives the order to shoot. The next one, which is figure 8, shows the positioning of the bodies as they fell after death, and the last of the postcards documents a civilian, probably a government official, identifying the bodies. Figure 8 clearly shows the executed men lying on the ground. There is a rope thrown to the side of the man to the left. This man fell close to the adobe wall with his arms spread open. He is wearing overalls with a light colored shirt, a jacket and boots. The man in the center fell leaning against the adobe building with his forearms positioned on the ground as if he was holding himself up. His face is visible as well. This man too is wearing civilian clothing. One can see a hat between the first and center bodies. This hat could have belonged to either of the subjects. The man farthest to the right fell with his head touching the building. He is also wearing civilian clothing, and is blindfolded.

The firing squad stood about ten feet in front of the men to be executed as the order to shoot was given by Captain Valle. The individual photographed walking towards the camera in figure 8 more than likely provided the music right before the order. He appears to be dressed in khaki and wears a hat. He is captured walking towards the camera carrying a trumpet in his right hand, his left hand in his pocket. He shows no reaction to the incident whatsoever. In fact, his face seems to show indifference to it. The execution took place behind the Northwest Railroad Station on January 15th at 11:30 A.M. The adobe structure behind the executed men appears to be old and unkept, perhaps due to the constant fighting in Ciudad Juárez. Most of the plaster has fallen off except for a large piece that runs through the center of the building. There are a number of bullet holes, especially visible on the plastered areas. Although the spectators are out of focus, it is easy to see the interest executions sparked in the populace. The spectators, including a young boy, are photographed to the side, holding their distance, which can testify to

order and organization within these events. The El Paso Herald described the mood of the crowd as it moved towards the execution site:

The line of march was strange and savored of the barbaric. Out upon a railroad platform formed in a circle was a military band playing in admirable fashion dramatic selections from Verdi's "Aïda." Standing about the railroad station were men and women with great slices of rare meat and cuts of beef in their hands, freshly slaughtered and freshly bought. People chattered, as if going to a bull fight or a fiesta. Everywhere was a sort of conviviality that seemed in strange contrast to the slowly moving feet of the soldiery and the dragging feet of men, reluctant to die. The sun beat down relentlessly—the dust filled the air—women stood off afar, and then came the formation of the execution.³⁸

In this passage the mood of the moment seems a bit social, but late in the same article the mood is described as being somber:

There was a certain impressiveness about the execution which Gen. Gabriel Gavira, commander of the Juarez garrison, wished to stamp upon the populace and soldiery of the city across the river. The march through the city with the three men to be shot bound by hemp rope aroused curiosity and compassion. The dust filled the air as it was stirred by thousands of feet; the beat of the drums was insistent in the beckoning; the wailing of women, the silence of such large numbers, and then the terrible thudding sound of falling bodies; the sharp crack of guns sounding as one, the stream of blood staining the bosom, the terrible after shot that is called ~~mercy~~.³⁹

This image was not staged; in fact, Horne's execution series documents the execution in its entirety, with no evidence of tampering with the subjects. Horne was part of the eager crowd, there not only to observe but record the day's events. In a letter to his mother he writes about this execution:

I heard tonight that there were to be more executions in Juarez tomorrow morning, so am planning to be on hand if there is anything going. I hope it is not true, however, as it is an awful sight, and while these fellows probably deserve it as a rule, at the same time, I would rather see them get off easier.⁴⁰

³⁸ David Romo, *Ringside Seat to a Revolution: An Underground Cultural History of El Paso and Juárez 1893-1923* (El Paso: Cinco Puntos Press, c.2005), 150.

³⁹ Romo, 149.

⁴⁰ Romo, 152.

Horne's tone could be interpreted as pity for the three men on their way to execution, but it is evident that he is profiting from this "awful" event. He manufactured and sold his Three Execution series in one postcard, which proved extremely profitable.⁴¹ Postcards of dead Mexicanas/os were popular on both sides of the border. Perhaps Americans bought such postcards to reaffirm their racial superiority because they proved that violence was natural to the Mexican. According to Vanderwood, consumers of postcards such as these showed no sympathy when sending them to loved ones to either convey messages of love and friendship or messages that reflected their attitudes towards Mexicanas/os. The lack of empathy and understanding of the Mexican Revolution was reflected in their use of language or labeling when describing the subjects of the image. Works like "spicks" and "greasers" were popular while messages such as "the best of them were dead ones" showed their disdain for the Mexican community.⁴² Thord-Gray explains the reason for the Mexicanas/os' degenerative and violent nature by blaming the culture. He describes Villa and Zapata as bad seeds and continues by somewhat justifying their acts of violence, "unnecessary killing of prisoners, looting and raping, one can hardly blame Villa, Zapata and others for what they did, as they were the natural products sprung from the seeds fallen from putrid social structural growth started by the gachupines and the hierarchy after the Conquest."⁴³ This statement does not absolve the Mexican community of any wrong doing; in fact, it multiplies their degenerative attributes.

Horne's images depicting Mexicanas/os in states of poverty and backwardness, lacking ambition to progress, content in squalor and filth (figures 3 and 4) and violent, barbaric, and uncivilized (figures 7 and 8), were popular. This documentation of Juárez at the time of the Mexican Revolution told an incomplete story of the people and their efforts to create a just

⁴¹ Vanderwood and Samponaro, 68.

⁴² Vanderwood and Samponaro, 201-225.

⁴³ Thord-Gray, 261.

government or maintain the status quo. These postcards exploited the subjects for economic gain and in turn generated memories in the minds of Anglo Americans about the “reality” of the Mexican community.

Horne’s willingness to omit certain groups from his postcards is difficult to evaluate. One cannot decipher whether this erasure was done as a way to spread an idea popular at the time or if it was a marketing decision. Other outlets of information aside from the postcards, the mainstream media, expressed similar notions of Mexicans. According to Delpar, positive reviews of Mexicanas/os and the revolution were written in progressive journals such as, The Nation, Survey, Century, Collier’s, New Republic, Libertor, New Masses and the Christian Century. But these journals were read by only a few Americans on the left.

Chapter III

BH 'EKW['QP'VJ G'DQTF GT

The El Paso series is crucial for an understanding of Horne's worldview in respect to race. These postcards might not directly answer pressing questions about Horne's thoughts on race in general, but they bring to light what Horne either perceived to be real characteristics of both Anglos and Mexicanas/os or the way in which he exploited popular notions of race for profit. Horne seems to have used the city's proximity to Juárez as an easy way to document the differences he saw that reinforced his perception of racial difference. Prior to the arrival of the railroad, El Paso was a rest stop for merchants on their way elsewhere. This could still be said of this border city today. According to Martinez, the general absence of "culture" and the poor economic conditions are perceived attributes held by a variety of people, especially scholars. Frank Mangan, author of *El Paso in Pictures*, described this border town as a "collection of mud huts in awesome isolation on the western frontier in the early 1880's. The town looks much more Mexican than American...Its architecture is pure Mexican; thick adobe walls and mud roofs."¹ The arrival of the railroad in El Paso in 1881 was a definite sign of modernity and economic expansion for the region. El Paso experienced a face lift around the downtown area and growth in all aspects. Modern infrastructure was erected during this decade of change. El Paso began to look more modern, with gas street lights, two large hotels, telegraph and telephone companies, several lumberyards, an ice plant, a smelter, and a water company. Like other frontier towns, El Paso also experienced its fair share of growing pains, manifested as violence and chaos. According to Mangan, prior to the coming of the railroad, El Paso was a small, quiet town free of the typical frontier violence that plagued other towns. Money and opportunity were not the only things that came to El Paso with the arrival of the railroad. Anglo Americans

¹Frank Mangan, *El Paso in Pictures* (El Paso: Mangan Books, 1971), 23.

arrived by the hundreds. Romo numbers the Anglo population in El Paso at approximately 100 in 1876 and by the mid 1880's that number more than doubled.² These Anglo Americans stepped off the train with more than the bags they held. Intolerance seemed to line the minds of the new comers to the borderland. The newly arrived population also added unsavory characters to the borderland. Criminals like Billy the Kid and John Wesley Hardin frequented the downtown area. Streets like San Antonio, El Paso, and Seventh were popular hang outs for such characters.³



Figure 3-1. PC 186 # 104 No caption/title
No message

The postcards of El Paso and its residents unfold Horne's perceptions about the Anglo and the Mexican. It is a simplistic, black and white perception of the complexities of race. Figures 9 and 10 are images of El Paso displaying a conglomerate view of modern public buildings made of brick and stone, with electric and telephone lines running all over downtown. These streets bear more than concrete; they bear progress and innovation and a patriotic zeal.

²David Dorado Romo, *Ringside Seat to a Revolution, An Underground Cultural History of El Paso and Juárez: 1893-1923* (El Paso: Cinco Puntos Press, 2005), 215.

³Romo, 28.

These images were taken as El Paso organized for a Preparedness Parade.⁴ In these postcards Horne exhibits the architectural abilities of the city. A three story building towers over the people walking the streets in figures 9 and 10, illustrating the construction capabilities of the city and its people. One can also see an electric street car at the bottom of the postcard, captured in motion subliminally presenting the city's technology. Another sign of technological and economic advancement is the absence of horses and carts with their replacement, the automobiles, parked on the side of the road to the left of the building. It is difficult to see if the streets are paved or not, but they do look smooth and clean. Sidewalks line the streets of downtown, which made the city look organized and modern. For many spectators these postcards recorded a typical day within the confines of an "American" city. Geary contends that it was more than that. According to Geary, "photography became one scientific means to document and survey all aspects of society," including progress and modernity reflected by the spread of "American" infrastructure like buildings, roads, bridges, railroads, and industries.⁵ It is evident that Horne chose these specific images to show the rest of the nation that El Paso was not a Mexican town but an American city by carefully choosing his subjects and labels.

⁴ These events usually displayed the US's military prowess by marching military personnel through the downtown streets of El Paso. Civilians representing businesses marched as a sign of support for the militarization that took place in El Paso at the time of the Mexican Revolution.

⁵ Christraud Geary, *Different Visions?* ed. Christraud Geary and Virginia Lee Webb (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1998), 147.



Figure 3-2. PC 197 #231 –Everybody's in Preparedness Parade El Paso, Tex.”
No Message

Figure 10 is a postcard that adds a crucial component of Horne's cultural view of things. This postcard, like many in his collection, is representative of the popular perception of the United States in general and the Anglo American in particular. This postcard offers support to the notion that Anglo Americans display their patriotism in a non-violent and communal manner. Horne's panoramic view of the Preparedness Parade in El Paso exhibits the city's eager participation. This parade took place in downtown El Paso, next to what is now the San Jacinto Plaza. The trees of the plaza are visible on the top right. The buildings that line the street are multiple story structures that appear sturdy and in good condition. Telephone poles line the street with wires criss-crossing the downtown area. The building on the left has US flags on display in the front as a show of nationalism. One can also see a street light next to one of the building's columns. It stands about 15 feet high and curves downward with a glass ball at the tip of it. If one looks closely they line both sides of the street. It appears as if the glass balls are floating in mid air due to the color of the posts that blend in well with their surroundings. The

downtown street appears to be paved and looks clean. Also visible in this postcard is the electric car's rail that runs through the street.

This photograph is overflowing with people. It is as if all El Paso is out on the street demonstrating their patriotic and nationalistic zeal. There are people on the side of the street, on the street itself, and on the sidewalks. The observers and participants are dressed in white or light colored clothing, especially the women. The women who are marching are all dressed in white linen dresses with hats, leading the way for hundreds more participants marching behind them. The men are dressed in suits and hats. People are holding umbrellas to block the sun's rays. The people's clothing and use of umbrellas could be an indication of good economic standing. There are children photographed looking at the women holding the gigantic US flag as they parade down the street. These children are surrounded by adults, which gives a sense that they are well supervised. Horne's reasons for capturing this moment in its panoramic form are unknown, but it is evident that he wanted to illustrate El Paso as a unified community that upholds order and civility and not violence and death like its neighboring city. Horne's El Paso series focuses on community life, technological progress and modernity. One can say that his El Paso postcards are full of life as opposed to most of the Juárez postcards that are filled with poverty, destruction, and death, with the exception of figure 2 in chapter 1. Another difference between the Juárez and El Paso series is that Horne seems to elaborate a bit more the Juárez subjects. Horne's letters to his family do not give the same vivid descriptions or explanations of El Paso and its Anglo residents as they do about Juárez and Mexicanas/os. Horne did make some reference to El Paso in some of his letters, stating how he was taking pictures of soldiers stationed at Fort Bliss, but he did not say much about the city itself.⁶ Horne did mention several

⁶ Walter H. Horne to Gertrude Horne, 14 April 1912. Walter H. Horne Collection, El Paso Public Library.

other American cities where he had sold postcards and another he thought of visiting. El Paso mainly came up as a city that was good for his health and his pocket book.

Figures 9 and 10 are examples of the many images of Anglo El Paso found in Horne's collection. Figure 9 displays a facet of a typical American downtown. The multi-story buildings, automobiles, the electric car, the electric posts and the US flags hanging from the buildings epitomize modernity and civilization in the US. Figure 10 compliments figure 9 and it exemplifies a society filled with patriotism taking to the streets. Most significantly, the human presence in figure 10 delivers the notion of a community not divided but united under one flag and one culture, which manages to erase any of the racial and cultural problems systemic to El Paso.

The El Paso series illustrates not only that El Paso was a tranquil place, but also a city of technological and economic advancement. The people, especially women, are an integral part of this concept. The women marching in figure 10 are carrying the flag and could be interpreted as being the pillars of a good moral society. There is no evidence that Horne captured an Anglo American woman in a situation that would allow one to question her moral character. On the contrary, women in El Paso were mostly captured wearing white and in a positive situation, either walking in the park or demonstrating their love for their community and country. According to Patricia C. Albers, women seldom appeared in postcards, unlike men. When they did appear, they typically came into view as maidens or Madonnas.⁷ Albers' contention holds true for aspects of Horne's collection. Women are underrepresented as opposed to men, who are found in most images in the collection. Horne's female subjects differed depending on which side of the border they appeared. In figures 3 and 10, Mexicanas and American women were

⁷Patricia Albers, "Symbols, Souvenirs and Sentiments" in *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards*, by Christraud Geary and Virginia Lee Webb (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 69.

photographed in very different situations. Albers adds that ~~“females are severed from reality”~~ when photographed.⁸ Fundamentally, Horne’s postcards show Anglo and Mexican women in environments that encapsulate their ~~“true”~~ essences, creating a counterfeit universal reality. Evidence of this reality is found in the El Paso series in postcard number 112, entitled ~~“Washington Park, El Paso, Texas.”~~ In this image one can see Washington Park landscaped with trees and shrubs along with playground equipment for the children. Horne captured what seems to be teenage boys and girls in the center of the park conversing. The girls are wearing white linen dresses with dark colored hats. The boys are wearing dark shirts and pants. The young women’s counterparts on the other side of the border are not photographed at all. Again, Horne preferred to photograph Mexicanas as camp followers living in squalor and/or as women with no aspirations outside the home as seen in figures 3 and 4.

In 1885 Harper’s Monthly described El Paso as more Mexican than American because of the single story adobe buildings that lined the streets of downtown. In the decades that followed, the flow of money into El Paso gave way to a building boom that did away with adobe structures and brought about the construction of brick buildings. Figures 9 and 10 illustrate the product of the building boom that took place in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but it is best exemplified in figure 11. With the increase of Anglo Americans moving to El Paso, many lobbied to recreate El Paso as an ~~“American”~~ town. The media took a key role in the movement to change the identity of El Paso. The El Paso Times endorsed the campaign in 1883 with a flagrant anti Mexican statement, ~~“the removal of the ancient adobe with all their bad associations means a new life for El Paso.”~~⁹ Many Anglo Americans considered anything Mexican as

⁸ Albers, 69.

⁹ *El Paso Times*, 14 April 1883.

backward and debauched. The pages of the El Paso Times echoed these perceptions throughout the campaign.



Figure 3-3. PC 186 #107 –W.H. Horne, PHOTOGRAPHER”

Message: Part of the residence section of El Paso. Mt. Franklin in the background. Walter.
Addressed to Mrs. Henry Horne, mother of Horne

Figure 11 displays El Paso as an urban center, a well organized, clean, and modern city with a picturesque backdrop of the Franklin Mountains. The rugged background as it appears in the postcard gives testimony of development success by Anglo Americans in a rough terrain. Figure 11 illustrates the modern architecture and infrastructure of what was once considered a cow town. Buildings of all shapes and sizes are illustrated in this tranquil scene of El Paso free of automobiles and people. Sidewalks line the streets of this section of El Paso, while the trees serve as ornaments in the desert landscape that Horne has captured. This view of El Paso displays a mixture of commercial and residential buildings. Horne’s decision to take a panoramic photograph of El Paso allows the consumer/viewer to see El Paso in its –entirety.” Even though there are small adobe buildings within this wide spectrum of structures, one can see that there exists architectural diversity within this city, which then cannot be defined by one structure alone. The panoramic effect displays its vastness, which gives the impression that El

Paso is a modern city and not a pueblo like its neighbor, Juárez. The difference between the Ciudad Juárez and El Paso postcards aside from the specific content is what Horne included or excluded in both sets. As mentioned before, the Juárez images lack context. Horne's images are more zoomed in, only focusing on specific subjects and not showing scenes in their entirety. The El Paso postcards illustrating Anglo Americans and/or their progress are over contextualized by photographing them in a panoramic view. Horne does not write a title or caption on the front of the postcard as if not to disturb the peaceful quality of it; rather, he stamps it with his name and occupation, claiming the image as his own. Horne mailed this postcard to his mother, describing the image as *part of the residence section of El Paso.*" What Horne identified as the *residence section*" was an area largely inhabited by Anglos. He does not claim this section for any specific race, but it is evident by looking at figures 12 and 13, that what he portrayed as the Mexican section was quite different.

It is questionable whether there was full residential segregation in El Paso. In an interview, Jane Burges, claims to have heard an acquaintance contend that El Paso in the early 1900 ~~was~~ was the only city he'd ever known where your address made no difference."¹⁰ Whose address and to whom it did not make any difference are important questions. Anglos, Mexicans, and African Americans lived amongst each other, but to what degree? By examining surnames in the 1914 El Paso City Directory one can see how neighborhoods were segregated. Certain areas of El Paso were mostly inhabited by Anglo Americans, while in others homes were predominantly Mexican owned/or rented. By cross-referencing this information with that found in the Fire Department Directory, one discovers that Anglo Americans lived in homes that were made of materials other than adobe, while the latter building material was usually utilized by

¹⁰Interview with Jane Burges Perrenot by Jo Ann Hovious, February and March 1973, Interview # 58, Institute of Oral History, University of Texas at El Paso.

Mexicanas/os because of the materials' accessibility and low cost. For example, streets like Magoffin, Wyoming, and North Kansas were predominantly white neighborhoods while Chihuahua, Leon, and South Kansas Streets mostly housed Mexican families.¹¹ On streets like Chihuahua, Leon, and South Kansas, Mexicans outnumbered Anglos 2 to 1. The most diverse streets studied were East and West 2nd Streets, with a somewhat close number of Anglos, Mexicans, and African Americans living with each other.

Judging from the City Directory, one can safely say that El Paso was segregated by racial and economic lines. Here one could find Mexican Americans and immigrants living in the Segundo Barrio while more newly arrived Mexican immigrants settled in a community known as Chihuahuita near the Rio Grande. Although the evidence reveals that Mexicanas/os were somewhat scattered around various parts of El Paso, the majority of the Mexican population was situated south of Overland Street.¹² According to Romo's findings, the poorest Mexican immigrants lived in Stormsville, a shantytown on what is now Rim Road.¹³ The majority of the Anglo population lived outside of the Mexican quarter.

¹¹ El Paso City Directory, 1914. Records show that on Magoffin Street among house numbers between 541 and 1631, 94 homes were owned by people with Anglo surnames, 3 with Spanish surnames, and none by African Americans while among house numbers 1900 to 3009 home owners with Anglo surnames decreased dramatically to 17 with an increase of Spanish surnames to 45 and 5 African American. Wyoming Street painted a similar racial landscape. Seventeen Anglo homeowners, 9 homeowner with Spanish surnames and only 2 African Americans resided there. North Kansas Street shared these characteristics with Magoffin and Wyoming with 83 homes owned by Whites, 2 owned by Mexicans/Mexican Americans, and 1 by an African American. These records also establish that Anglo Americans owned property in the "Mexican" areas of El Paso, but this information does not indicate whether or not they resided there. The Anglo owned properties were at times rented to Mexicanas/os.

¹² Romo, 208.

¹³ The Mexicanas/os that inhabited Stormsville moved there after their homes were occasionally washed away by the Rio Grande. Romo, 209.



Figure 3-4. PC 186 # 109 ~~“Mexican Section, El Paso, Tex.”~~
No message

El Paso in the early 1900’s was somewhat integrated in certain areas, but according to Horne’s postcards Mexicans and Mexican Americans usually resided in jacales in the ~~“Mexican Section”~~ outside the ~~“residential section.”~~ Figure 12 depicts a structure that is built attached to a hill, while the building in figure 13 stands alone. Figure 12 and 13 are homes made of adobe and other materials. Aside from the adobe, aluminum is used as window coverings and doors, and scraps of wood are used for makeshift porches. The house in figure 12 is made up of these materials, but it also uses the side of the hill as a structural base. This postcard also displays other homes attached to the hill. This residential area is surrounded not by sidewalks, clean roads, landscaped yards, but by dirt, rocks, and trash. The homes do not look well made and sturdy. The roofs and porches are held up by lumber scraps or tree trunks/branches. In figure 12 there are signs of vegetation. Bare trees are found in the front and to the sides of the house. To the right one can see potted plants on a shelf right behind the children. This image must have been taken in the winter because of the bare trees or the trees were not maintained which led them to dry up. Another similarity between figures 12 and 13 is the children that are captured in front of these homes. They do not seem to be staged, but these children are aware of Horne’s presence. Several children are present in figures 4 and 5. The color of their clothing varies from

light to dark, but the color of their complexion is about the same, dark. They look ill-groomed and appear to be unsupervised. There are no adults visible in this postcard. Both postcards are similar in this respect.



Figure 3-5. PC 186 #115 –Mexican Casa, El Paso, Texas.”
No message

Figure 13 displays an adobe home with what seems to be a laundry section to the left and a working area to the right of the front door. The laundry section is separated by a couple of beams attached to the adobe home and held up by what used to be a tree or a thick tree branch. A rope used as a clothes hanger is tied to this structure. There seem to be clothes, towels and a blanket hanging from the clothes hanger. In front of the blanket there is a tin bucket most likely to wash clothes, which was probably used for bathing the children as well. This modest home almost certainly did not have indoor or outdoor plumbing, which explains the tin containers behind the blanket. These containers perhaps held clean water for the family that resided in this home. To the right of the front door is perhaps a cooking station. This station sits against the front wall of the adobe home. The stove top is made up of rocks placed in a rectangular form protruding from the wall and it is protected by a tarp that hangs over. This might have been useful in keeping the pots and pans from the rain. This home is obviously too small to have a kitchen and a laundry room inside. To the right of the cooking station is a tin door that leads to what seems to be an addition to the main structure. The number of people that reside in this

home is unknown, but the two children captured playing in front of the home more than likely lived there. The boy is photographed looking in Horne's direction, the younger girl looks towards the ground. Aside from the boy's top, the children's clothing is dark in color. Again, there appear to be no adults visible in the postcard, perhaps suggesting no adult supervision. There is no landscaping, much less a safe play area for the children. This home does not resemble in any way the clean and modern "residential section" that appears in figure 11. In fact it looks like it belongs in the pre-industrial era. There are no visible sidewalks or paved streets lined with electric posts.

The exact location of these homes is not given, but the rough terrain on which they are situated allows one to guess that the "Mexican Section" was in the area known as Stormsville. As mentioned by Romo, Stormsville, presently Rim Road, was inhabited by the city's poorest immigrants. Another known "Mexican section" was Smeltertown, which housed mostly ASARCO workers and their families. This "Mexican section" comprised more than a cluster of adobe structures; it was home to a school and a cemetery.¹⁴ For many immigrant families, it was a place they called home. Horne varied in his description of the images he captured throughout El Paso. There are some postcards that have a full description of the subject, while others merely have captions or titles generalizing about the subjects. Figure 12 and 13 are examples of the latter. Horne labeled both figures 12 and 13 as the Mexican section in El Paso. These captions/titles encompass insinuations and interpretations about the Mexican population in El Paso and the space they inhabited. They lead the consumer and viewer of these postcards to conclude that all Mexicans and Mexican Americans were the same and that they all lived in the "Mexican Section" of El Paso. There are no postcards recording the fact that not all Mexicans and Mexican Americans were destitute. Members of both communities lived outside the

¹⁴ Romo, 209.

“Mexican Section” of El Paso, and in fact some Mexicans held residence in affluent areas of the city. Throughout the revolution, El Paso experienced an influx of refugees. Most were farmers and working class Mexicanas/os, but there were a small number of Mexicans belonging to the middle and upper classes. Both poor and rich Mexicans found themselves seeking shelter and safety in El Paso. El Paso was perceived as a safe haven for all Mexicans, especially the upper class. The exodus of Mexicanas/os of all classes into the United States in general and El Paso in particular calls into question Horne’s objectivity and motivation in his depiction of Mexicans.¹⁵

The reasons for Horne’s lack of interest in better off Mexicans and Mexican Americans are not known, but what is decipherable is that Horne captured the Mexicana/o in the lowest station possible in order to sell his merchandise. Geary and Webb assert that “postcards had to conform to popular tastes and market forces; it is not surprising that many cards contain stereotypical imagery, reconstructing and repeating similar visual tropes around the world.”¹⁶ The imagery ubiquitous in Horne’s collection is of one type of Mexicana/o. Horne does not make any distinction between Mexicans and Mexican Americans, people who were documented and those who were not, or the destitute and the affluent.

¹⁵ The Chihuahuan elite were pushed out of Mexico by Villa and other revolutionaries as a reaction to the federal government and fueled by revolutionary ideology. Villa’s victory at the Battle of Tierra Blanca beginning on November 23, 1913 cemented his hold on Chihuahua, giving elites like Don Luis Terrazas and his family, the clergy and some federal bureaucrats a few hours to flee for their lives. Along with this group, merchants, businessmen, bankers and numerous middle class employees made the treacherous journey through the Chihuahuan desert into Ojinaga and across to Presidio. Approximately 1,500 refugees, along with Generals Orozco and Mercado, made the 300 kilometer walk to safety in the United States. The influx of the upper class into the United States in cities like Presidio, Marfa, and El Paso, introduced another economic boom in the border areas. Bank deposits increased 88% between 1914-1920. The Terrazas family decided to make El Paso their temporary home until it was safe to return to Mexico. Luis Terrazas rented an entire floor of the Paso del Norte Hotel for his family until he found better accommodations. Later, they all moved into Senator Albert B. Fall’s mansion on Arizona Street. The attack on Juárez in 1913 pushed more people out of Juárez, especially to El Paso. Generals like Castro, Rabago and Mondragón along with the Calderon, Prado, Samaniego, Argüelles, Salazar, and Urrutia families came at that time. In fact, this exile was so high in volume that El Paso could not accommodate to all. Víctor Manuel Macías González, “Mexicans –Of a Better Class:” The Elite Culture and Ideology of Porfirian Chihuahua and its Influence on the Mexican American Generation, 1876-1936” (Thesis, University of Texas at El Paso, 1995), 110-114.

¹⁶ Christraud Geary and Virginia Lee Webb, *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1998), 4.

The distance between the American and the Mexicana/o was an alarming problem that was present in American minds partly due to the proximity of Mexico to the U.S. and fears of a territorial and cultural invasion. Anti-Mexican sentiment was not a new phenomenon, but was a sentiment embedded in the American psyche. These postcards, along with articles like the ones mentioned, created a spectacle of the revolution and made a complete view and an objective evaluation of the facts unlikely. Horne captured subjects and social situations in ways that fueled anti-Mexican sentiment among his consumers/viewers. Mexicans in both El Paso and Ciudad Juárez were the victims of the stigmatization that Horne's work perpetuated.

Horne was not just a local photographer and postcard manufacturer; he sold his merchandise to people in cities in and outside the state of Texas as a testament to his entrepreneurial drive. Indeed, the images on his postcards were seen by people all over the United States. Postcards showing off the inadequate business sector of Ciudad Juárez as presented in figure 1, the culinary customs of the soldaderas in figure 3, the Mexico already envisioned as pre-industrial and pre-modern as captured in figure 4, and Mexico's failed attempt to better itself through architecture doomed by the country's lust for violence and destruction as seen in figures 5 and 6 fed the minds of Horne's consumers. Figures 12 and 13 can also be categorized with the Juárez series due to the labeling of the subjects even though they were on US soil. Architectural structures served to cement stereotypical images of an archaic Mexico. Mexico's lack of a justice system is exposed and exploited in figures 7 and 8 in order to produce a specific reaction from the consumer/viewer. That reaction could be a comparison of both cultures using Horne's images as frames of reference. The El Paso series served as a reminder of a community and a people that shunned violence and barbarism and instead embraced civility and progress as presented in figures 9, 10, and 11. Although Horne's images are of real people

and objects, the subjects captured in these postcards did not tell their reality and their politics. Horne's descriptions or the lack thereof robbed his subjects of their human and political essence while adding touch-up paint to the already popular picture of the Mexicana/o. Horne was successful in the postcard business but failed in one aspect of it. His intention was not to completely capture objective perspectives of Mexicanas/os and the Mexican Revolution but rather one that would sell.

Chapter IV

CQNWO DWUCPF 'KO CI GU'QH'VJ G'F GCF

The series of postcards that most alarmed and fueled hatred and perpetuated negative notions of Mexicanas/os were the images taken in the aftermath of Villa's raid on Columbus, New Mexico in 1916. Horne's coverage of the invasion of Columbus illustrates, first, the destruction done by Mexicanas/os on US soil and, secondly, how the US military and public dealt with captured soldiers and Mexican casualties. I focus on the Columbus Series, *PC 184 Columbus, New Mexico*, of Horne's collection in this chapter. There are twelve postcards in this series, of which I will discuss seven as representative of the series. Horne's images demonstrate his personal perception of Anglo Americans and Mexicana/os in the military and in the insurgent army. This perception is biased towards Americans, thus justifying immoral, unethical, and illegal behavior from the US military and Anglo residents of Columbus alike towards Mexicana/os. The Columbus series in and of itself illustrates how the Anglo mind, or at least Horne's mind, perceived Mexicanas/os. One can see that the content of these postcards was polarizing and at the same time alarming. Due to the fact that most national newspapers could not send correspondents fast enough to cover the incident, newspapers used photographs taken by local photographers like Horne. The images found in these postcards depict those of one culture as savage animals even in death, while members of the other culture remain moral, dignified, and patriotic. The Columbus series pits the Mexican and the Anglo against each other in a match that is fixed from the start.

The violence that spilled across the border into Columbus, New Mexico was an incident where one group's suspicion and animosity towards another and vice versa manifested themselves in violence during and after the fact. After the attack some residents of Columbus,

including some soldiers, went on a rampage against the Mexican population that resided in Columbus. This vengeful campaign was not captured in postcards or covered in major newspapers. The only atrocities that were reported in the media and via postcards were those done by the Villistas towards Anglos. The contest between the Anglo character and that of the Mexican took form the morning of the raid and resulted days after in an Anglo American victory. The Anglo American public presumably was not concerned about fair coverage of the incident; they wanted to expose the Mexicana/o for what they believed she/he really was. Roland Barthes in Mythologies uses the world of wrestling as an analogy to explain race relations. "The public," he states "is completely uninterested in knowing whether the contest is rigged or not and rightly so; it abandons itself to the primary virtue of the spectacle, which is to abolish all motives and all consequences. What matters is not what it thinks but what it sees."¹ The images captured by Horne soon after the attack on Columbus are based on emotion. And this was what consumers and collectors of such postcards wanted to see, according to Vanderwood and Samponaro, who note that postcards of dead Mexicanas/os were in high demand.²

The US-Mexico border has been a vital connection between the two countries, especially during the Mexican Revolution. The border saw more than the crossing of people to and from each country. It saw the smuggling of arms and ammunition and it witnessed political, social, and economic unrest. The border was crossed by significant political figures of both countries. The border also experienced an invasion that deepened the misconception of the revolution and the animosity toward the Mexicana/o, and solidified the suspicion each country had for one other. There are a number of theories as to Pancho Villa's motivation for attacking the US. According to Friedrich Katz, Villa's control of northern Mexico began to dwindle as the US

¹ Roland Barthes, *The World of Wrestling in Mythologies* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972), 15.

² Paul J. Vanderwood and Frank N. Samponaro, *Border Fury: A Picture Postcard Record of Mexico's Revolution and US War Preparedness 1910-1917* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 71.

government imposed an arms embargo against him while supplying the Constitutionalist with arms. According to Katz, Villa's attack is perceived as irrational and irresponsible by some in academe. Rather, Villa believed that Carranza had made a secret pact or treaty with the Wilson administration in order to gain recognition and financial support and that Mexico would lose its sovereignty as a result of this accord. Although there is no evidence to support such an accord, Villa had his own reasons to believe in its existence.³ Columbus, New Mexico, was not the only incident involving American casualties. Villa and his soldiers ambushed a train carrying 16 American mining employees and killed them at Santa Isabel, Chihuahua in January 1916. Two months later on March 9, 1916 Villa continued with the brief invasion of Columbus.⁴ The attack occurred at about 4:20 in the morning and lasted about 1 ½ hours. The Villistas caught the whole town of Columbus by surprise, including the 13th Cavalry, made up of 350 men. There were 18 US casualties, mostly civilians. But Villa's soldiers did more raiding than killing, and residential and commercial buildings experienced the brunt of the attack.⁵

These two incidents compounded American suspicion, fear, and hostility towards Mexicans. Horne was one of the first photographers and postcard manufacturers to arrive in Columbus after the attack. According to Vanderwood and Samponaro, Horne arrived 12 hours ahead of any of the big newspaper correspondents. In fact Horne sold some of his negatives to newspapers from Chicago, New York, Boston, Atlanta, and San Francisco. The interesting thing about these transactions is that he sold only the negatives, with no explanations or reporting on the event.⁶ These images fueled anti-Mexican sentiment all over the United States.

³ Friedrich Katz *Pancho Villa y el ataque a Columbus, Nuevo Mexico* (Sociedad Chihuahuense de Estados Historicos, 1979), 14-15.

⁴ John Mason Hart *Revolutionary Mexico: The Coming and Process of the Mexican Revolution* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 321.

⁵ <http://web.nmsu.edu/~publhist.htm>. June 16, 2008.

⁶ Vanderwood and Samponaro, 68.

As one studies the following postcards, it is obvious that Horne had no intention of taking images that would objectively document the raid and its aftermath; in fact, the images captured by Horne tell a subjective story. Horne refused to photograph the bodies of dead Anglo Americans, print them on his postcards and profit from them. He preferred to profit from the dead bodies of Mexicanas/os. The lens through which Horne captured his images was nationalistic with racist undertones. Horne indiscriminately used the panoramic image and the focused image to convey a message similar to the one expressed in the El Paso and Juárez series. But the message conveyed in this series goes a step beyond the backward, dirty, and violent Mexican he presented in Chapter 2. Horne's Columbus series displays the consequences of an immoral character. The old racist saying, "the only good Mexican is a dead Mexican," is illustrated in this series.



Figure 4-1. PC 184 #74 "Ruins of Commercial Hotel, Columbus, N.M. in which 6 Americans were killed and Their Bodies Cremated."
 Message: No

Figure 1 is an image of what was left of the Commercial Hotel hours after the attack on Columbus. The iron structural poles along with the brick chimney seem to be the only things left

standing from this hotel. Smoke from the ash and rubble rises and creates a screen impeding the eye from seeing the buildings situated behind the hotel. Horne's capture of the smoke rising gives the ashes great importance, while the remains of the Commercial hotel amplify the level of destruction caused by the invasion. This is a focused image of the ruins which does not allow the consumer/viewer to see the overall picture of this section of Columbus in order to see the impact on the town as a whole. The caption, "Ruins of the Commercial Hotel, Columbus, N.M. in which 6 Americans were killed and Their Bodies Cremated," reinforces the point. But the bodies of the six dead Americans were nowhere to be found.

The Commercial Hotel was not a target in the raid. According to Eileen Welsome, the flames from the Lemmon and Romney general merchandise store, which was targeted, leaped to dry wood situated on the side of the Commercial Hotel and ignited it.⁷ It is difficult to see behind the curtain of smoke, but the little that can be seen looks somewhat untouched by fire or has little structural damage. Testifying before the Senate several years later, Susan A. Moore, resident and business owner in Columbus, claims that as she passed through town she saw the hotel, Lemon & Romney's store, Juan Sevilla's home and some other buildings in ruins... "I noticed the windows were all smashed in; the store was raided." The hotel she is referring to is obviously the Commercial, since this hotel was the only one affected during the raid. Although there was not further damage done to the town of Columbus, it was a certain blow to the US ego. Horne, with figure 1, seemed to want to ignite the rage in the American public by displaying the destruction and announcing the presumed deaths of Anglo Americans in the caption. But there is a disagreement on the number of bodies that were found in and around the Commercial Hotel. Some believe that five instead of six people perished and most of the bodies were found outside

⁷ Eileen Welsome, *The General and the Jaguar: Pershing's Hunt for Pancho Villa* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2007), 124.

of the hotel. Only one did not make it out and was cremated. William T. Ritchie, hotel operator; John W. Walker, in town for a Sunday school convention; Fr. H.M. Hart, veterinarian; Charles D. Miller, state engineer and Harry Davis, railroad worker, are the five that lost their lives at the hotel during the raid. According to the operators of the hotel, William and Laura Ritchie, the unknown sixth man was a soldier and nothing else was known about him. His remains were found the day after the raid within the rubble according to Laura Ritchie.⁸ In some circles it is believed that the body found within the rubble was W.A. Davidson which some believe is the same person as Harry Davis.⁹ Horne's caption explained the human casualties, while his image illustrated that fact by merely showing the rubble and not the bodies. The written and pictorial information in figure 1 was volatile and at that moment Horne's postcards added more fuel to the racial tensions bursting at the seams in cities like El Paso.

Keeping bodies of dead American soldiers and/or civilians out of the picture was perhaps a respectful gesture for the victims. This censorship was also perhaps a way to keep his market. Anglo Americans possibly did not want to buy postcards of dead American bodies because of the respect they had for one another. On the contrary, images of dead Mexicanas/os were apparently not distasteful or disrespectful from their point of view. In fact, Anglo Americans wanted to see Mexicans pay for the invasion. Horne gave them just that. There is an overrepresentation of images of dead Mexican bodies, while one only sees coffins, dignity, and honor encasing the bodies of dead Anglos. It seems as if Horne wanted to ignite a fire within the American public. His correspondence does not document the Columbus incident, much less his personal thoughts on the matter. He was not an investigative reporter, rather a businessman that understood the Anglo market in the United States. Horne's focus on images that highlighted the destruction

⁸ Welsome, 125.

⁹ Richard R. Dean, interview by author, Columbus, NM., 26 March 2008.

caused by Villistas exacerbated the animosity Anglo Americans felt about Mexicans, which would then increased sales and profits. Again, it is almost impossible to pinpoint his precise motivation regarding his choice of subjects and captions, but the Columbus series is crucial in capturing a glimpse of it.

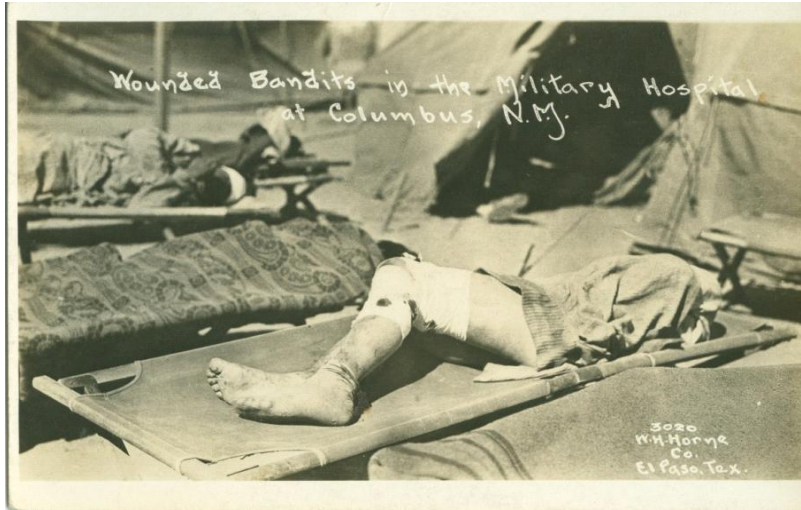


Figure 4-2. PC 184 Columbus, New Mexico #70 “Wounded Bandits in the Military Hospital at Columbus, N.M.”
Message: ~~poor~~ souls”

In some of these postcards Horne objectifies his Mexican subjects by photographing only their body parts or capturing them postmortem and displaying their bodies like hunting trophies. The Columbus Raid damaged many aspects of Mexican and Anglo relations. Figure 2 is a postcard with an image of wounded Villistas. Not much information about these subjects is available; the only data that can be attained from the image itself is the caption labeling them as bandits, which explains the dehumanizing way these men were photographed by focusing on one man’s wounded and exposed legs. The image in figure 2 allows the consumer/viewer to see the people responsible for the raid, but it also highlights the humanity in the Anglo American after such an ordeal. However, our sense of Anglo American humanitarianism might be undermined by the fact that the same people caring for the wounded Mexicans allowed Horne to create a

spectacle of the aftermath of the raid by photographing in ways that violated their human essence. In this postcard Horne captures wounded men lying on cots in a military hospital. There appear to be five cots captured in the postcard, but only three men are visible. The man on the cot closest to the camera is missing his trousers, leaving his lower extremities fully exposed while his torso is covered with some sort of a garment. One can see that this man is naked with a slight exposure of his buttocks. His left knee is bandaged, showing blood stains from his wounds and his lower leg and feet show some cuts and bruises. There is another person beneath the blanket on the second cot from the right while the other two soldiers appear to be clothed and covered as well. The heads of the third and fourth men are bandaged and one can see the third man protecting his face from the rays of the sun with one hand, perhaps to look at the person taking his picture.

Lee Riggs, a native Texan residing in Columbus at the time of the raid, testified to the Senate that six Villista soldiers were captured either during or after the raid by US soldiers. Riggs expressed that the soldiers captured were sent to the Army hospital in Columbus due to their wounds.¹⁰ Riggs' testimony sheds light on the story of the men photographed by Horne, and in fact allows one to understand the significance of this postcard. Judgments of the Mexican revolutionary soldier were already drawn prior to the Columbus raid. The caption ~~Wounded~~ Bandits in the Military Hospital in Columbus, N.M." encapsulates Anglo thought on the subject. Although the image itself is of wounded Villistas, the caption labels them bandits. In some cases Anglo memory did not differentiate between the Revolutionary Mexicana/o and the bandit. The caption sent a message not easily disputed due to the fact that the subjects were tied to a movement that was not legitimized by many in the United States; in fact, it was an illicit

¹⁰ Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, *Investigation of Mexican Affairs: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Foreign Relations*, February 7, 1920, 1597. Lee Riggs was the Deputy collector of customs at the time of the Columbus raid.

campaign run by criminals according to some in the media. Testimony given to the US Senate by Susan A. Moore, shows she had already made up her mind about the type of men that filled the revolutionary ranks. When asked if she was familiar with the Villa soldiers that entered her store prior to the raid she responded, “Yes, I think so. These looked more like bandits to me. They were not dressed in soldier’s dress at all—just dressed every way.”¹¹



Figure 4-3. PC 185 #86 “The Body of Pablo Lopez.”

Message: Lt. Pablo Lopez died 3 days later from battle at Columbus, N.M. with a bullet in his brain.

In the Columbus series Horne photographs two soldiers holding a body as a trophy, as shown (figure 3) after the attack. This photograph is taken near a tent, which is behind the soldier on the right and a cot which is on the bottom left of the postcard. The man lying on the cot is facing the opposite direction. He has dark hair and dark skin, possibly one of the captured Mexican soldiers. Surrounding the two soldiers holding the body up are more soldiers, but only their legs are captured in this image. They are identified as soldiers by their boots and pants. Only one of the two men that are holding the captured “Pablo Lopez” is identifiable. The man to the right appears to be Colonel Slocum, while the other man’s identity is unknown. Colonel Slocum was the military official in charge of the troops stationed at Columbus, New Mexico. As

¹¹ Congress, Senate, Committee on Foreign Relations, *Investigation of Mexican Affairs: Hearing before the Subcommittee on Foreign Relations*, December 22, 1919, 965.

for the alleged body of Pablo López, he appears to be dead.¹² He is wearing a civilian jacket with a dark button down shirt underneath. He is not wearing trousers and is missing his left sock and boot. His face seems to be covered with blood and he is dirty. The wounds could have been the result of the fighting during the raid. Eyewitnesses do not acknowledge that the wounded or the deceased were physically mistreated in the aftermath, but figure 3 and other pictures do offer evidence that their bodies were disrespected postmortem.

The wounded or dead soldier could be the same one as the partially unclothed one in figure 2, but Horne labels this image “The Body of Pablo López,” a lieutenant in the Mexican revolutionary forces while in figure 2 the body is that of a generic bandit. The labeling of figures 2 and 3 could perhaps be based on mere confusion, financial opportunity in misrepresenting the subject on one postcard and generically labeling the other, or Horne’s personal belief that López was a bandit. In any event, the body of this man is not that of Lt. Pablo López; in fact, Lt. López was wounded in the Columbus raid, not killed and left there. The message on the back of figure 3 is a bit more accurate than that of Horne’s, but it also fails to provide the facts. Not Pablo López, the body is probably that of the man in figure 2. Neither man has trousers and both left feet are bootless. The garment that is covering this man’s groin and thigh area looks very similar to the garment in figure 2. The difference here is that the man in figure 3 does not appear to have a wound on his left knee as does the subject in figure 2. If this is the same person, then one can perhaps speculate that this photograph was taken prior to that of figure 2 and that the US soldiers did mistreat the wounded or deceased.

The image in figure 3 is disturbing and reminiscent of other postcards that flaunted lynched African Americans in the southern parts of the United States. These two US soldiers

¹² Lt. Pablo López was not captured and killed in Columbus. He was captured and executed by Carrancistas two months after the attack on Columbus, in June 1916. Vanderwood and Samponaro, 13.

hold the presumed Pablo López like a trophy, degrading and objectifying him. Lt. López was a wanted man in the United States for his alleged role in the Santa Isabel massacre, thus giving Horne the opportunity to exploit the emotions of the American public by presumably capturing him with his camera and allowing these two officers a measure of success after such ineptitude on their part. The United States Army did not have a reason to celebrate after failing to protect the border. Horne is a major player in creating this façade. This image was obviously staged, but by whom, and whose idea was it to identify this man as Pablo López? Horne's postcards of dead Mexicans satiated that need for "justice," making his postcards more marketable. Figure 3 became a trophy for those that purchased this postcard. Lieutenant López, along with all Mexicans after the Columbus raid, became targets for Anglo aggression and revenge.

According to eyewitnesses to the raid and the aftermath, the Mexican American residents of Columbus were treated just the same as participants of the raid itself. Existing suspicions and lack of trust between Anglos and Mexicans in Columbus led the Anglo residents, including some military officials, to suspect the Mexican community's involvement in the raid. The town's newspaper, The Columbus Courier, exacerbated these notions by listing the properties owned by or occupied by Mexicans that were unscathed by the raid.¹³ These questionable suspicions led to a deadly rampage victimizing the Mexican residents of Columbus. Although there is no formal documentation of revenge killings, Welsome contends that two letters and a story published in the Columbus paper suggest that suspicious Mexicans were "rounded up by the military and ordered to leave the Columbus area and some were killed while they fled toward the border."¹⁴ Perrow Mosely, the founder of the local newspaper, confided in a letter to his sister about the treatment of Mexicanas/os by the military: "Most of our Mexicans have been made to leave and

¹³ Welsome, 141.

¹⁴ Welsome, 141.

many of them have died very unnatural deaths since the battle. Our people are very bitter and the soldiers are letting them do pretty much as they please—all the Mexican prisoners were taken out of camp and turned loose—our citizens were informed of what was to be done and shot them as they were turned loose.”¹⁵ The climate in Columbus was that of vigilantism condoned by the military, according to eyewitness reports. Horne’s images of wounded and dead Mexicanas/os added to Anglo American memory of how Mexicanas/os should be perceived. These images with no life stripped the subjects of their human essence and reduced them to mere objects.



Figure 4-4. PC 185 #96 –Burning the Bodies of Dead Bandits at Columbus, N.M.”
Message: No

According to Welsome, the Thirteenth Cavalry gathered the bodies of dead Villistas and burned them outside of town.¹⁶ The burning of dead soldiers’ bodies was commonly practiced by US and Mexican military officials as a way to prevent the spread of disease. Horne documented this method of disposal quite vividly in figure 4. There are what appear to be two men on top of some firewood. The man to the right is face down while the other next to him is facing up with his legs crossed. They are not in military uniform; in fact, most of the revolutionaries dressed in their own clothes. The man that is facing up is missing his left

¹⁵ Welsome, 143.

¹⁶ Welsome, 220.

shoe/boot. A piece of wood has been placed on top of the head of the man that is facing down and between the legs of the other. The bodies are entangled with firewood between them.

Figure 4 also shows the soldiers in charge of burning the bodies. Five US soldiers are surrounding the pit, along with desert brush. Only their legs are photographed; they were obviously not the main subjects of this photograph, but are still significant to the image. Since their faces are not visible, there is no way to tell whether this order to cremate the dead Villistas occasioned any sort of jubilant feelings. But a postcard that shows another image of the same fire pit shot at a different angle and at a different time, judging from the positioning of the soldiers' shadows, suggests it did not. This postcard shows five soldiers standing around the pit while the sixth one is actively pouring oil on the bodies. Behind the soldiers one can see two civilians on horseback, another civilian dressed in urban clothing, and two other civilians on a horse drawn wagon. Their facial expressions do not reflect joy or accomplishment but rather indifference.

Eyewitness reports and another photograph (figure A) paint a different picture of the climate in Columbus after the invasion. A photograph that was taken of US soldiers and their girlfriends by an unknown photographer in Columbus at the time of the cremations illustrates this point vividly.¹⁷ Seven US soldiers and three women were photographed smiling behind one of the charred bodies. One US soldier is bending over to hold the hand of the body, while pointing a pistol at the burnt Villista with his other hand. This macabre scene and behavior seemed to be condoned by some Anglo residents and the US military officials in Columbus. This suggests that some Anglo Americans and US military officials did not see Mexicans as fellow human beings, but rather as objects to be used as props in a photo shoot. This was of course a result of prejudicial and racial animosities towards Mexicanas/os. To one

¹⁷ Welsome., 220.

viewer/consumer the postcard illustrating the cremation of several bodies might be just that, while to others this act might display the consequences of invading American spaces and killing American citizens.



Figure 4-A. Welsome, 220.

Both the caption of figure 4 and the image itself exude messages of objectification, double standards in dealing with the deceased and vigilante justice. “Burning the Bodies of Dead Bandits at Columbus, N.M.” does not characterize them as fallen soldiers but as criminals, thieves in the night. Dismissing the Villistas as not being soldiers and seeing them as dirty and disease ridden could explain the cremation of the bodies and killing of innocent people. Perhaps this was the military’s way to pay back the Mexicans for catching them off guard. To the consumer or viewer, the Columbus raid might legitimize the actions of the military in respect to the Mexicana/o. Such reactions to Mexicans are not only present in these postcards but are also legitimized by the words of US military superiors like General Hugh L. Scott: “firmness is essential in dealing with inferior races...all of these greasers ought to go to the same place [their graves].”¹⁸

¹⁸. Paul J. Vanderwood, “The Picture Postcard as Historical Evidence: Veracruz 1914,” *The Americas* 45 no. 2 (1988): 201-225. General Hugh L. Scott was referring to the Mexicans that fought against the Americans in the Veracruz invasion.



Figure 4-5. PC 184 #75 –“The Bodies of Dead Bandits found all along the Trail of Pancho Villa.”
 Message: No

After the raid of Columbus, the United States government sent 12,000 soldiers into Mexico in search of Villa and his “bandits.” But before the US government was able to mobilize the 12,000 troops, Columbus residents organized themselves, along with some military officials, and went after Villa and his troops.¹⁹ Figure 5 does not show an image of the US military on its hunt for Villa, but rather highlights the civilian aspect of the campaign. Figure 5 is an image of a man on horseback gazing down at a body of a dead Mexican. The man on horseback is behind a bush wearing light colored trousers and shirt. It is difficult to see his face due to the shadow that is cast by his hat. He is equipped with rope, possibly to be used for the apprehension of Villa and any other Mexicans involved in the invasion. The body of the dead Mexican is photographed in the middle of nowhere, or so it seems. The man appears to have been dragged by his feet, as evident in the clothing and the positioning of his body. His shirt is pulled up to his chest exposing his abdomen, his arms upward and to the side, and his right shoe is missing while his trousers are crinkled upward. According to Eileen Welsome, a group of US soldiers had been sent to patrol the border the night of the invasion. It is reported that Lieutenant Clarence Benson

¹⁹ Welsome, 133.

and his men killed eighteen fleeing Villistas.²⁰ Although Horne's caption, "The Bodies of Dead Bandits found all along the Trail of Pancho Villa," describes what the postcard illustrates, it fails to explain the manner in which the man died. It is not known whether this man was one of the Mexicans that were killed by Lt. Benson and his men, or if he was wounded and died as the Villistas fled. Horne freely labeled him as a "bandit," making a moral judgment without any investigation of this man's relationship with Villa. He could have been an innocent bystander that happened to be a Mexican and thus a victim of Anglo violence.

It is likely that the man gazing down at the body in figure 5 was a resident of Columbus on the hunt for Villa and his men. The man on horseback is captured in a position of power over the body of the dead Mexican. The interesting thing about this photo is the rope and what it represents to people of color, especially during the early part of the twentieth century. Rope, of course, was used to lynch African Americans in the South and Mexicans in the Southwest. According to James Allen, in 1915, the film "The Birth of a Nation" cemented the notion of black savagery and the need for white vigilantism.²¹ This film perhaps reinvigorated the belief that it was up to the white man to protect the white population from people of color, but also to tame the "savages" in order to prevent crimes against white communities. The rope present in figure 5 is representative of the continued struggle of the Anglo American to maintain the status quo. This postcard, along with the caption, expresses the consequences of racial rebellion. Horne's caption labels the deceased as a bandit and implies that because he was found along the Pancho Villa trail he is affiliated with him. His caption becomes the judge and jury, thus justifying his death.

²⁰ Welsome, 133.

²¹ James Allen, *Without Sanctuary* (Santa Fe: Twin Palms, 2005), 34.

Like figure 5, figure 6 perpetuates the misconceived notion of the violent Mexican not by seeing the Mexican in action practicing violence, but by seeing the aftermath of her/his violent actions. Figure 5 shows one single Mexican casualty while in figure 6 Horne captured a vast number of Mexican casualties, more than likely after a battle. These postcards filled with death were marketed with no regard or respect for the dignity of the deceased. In some cases, these postcards were purchased and perceived with more than curiosity; they were coveted and collected as evidence of the violence that plagued the US border. This image is not part of the Columbus series, but it shows how Horne was eager to capture Mexicanas/os dead and on the ground. Knowing his market well, Horne understood that such images would generate a good profit.



Figure 4-6. PC 185 #91 No Title/Caption

Message: *Hello Leon, You ought to see this country, all sand, rocks and sunshine. Won't rain again here until next July. Everything hot and dusty. Not a country for a white man. Co-B-8th St. S.J. Cole Ohio Infy*

Figure 6 displays a macabre scene filled with bodies of Mexican soldiers. The number of bodies is difficult to count, but there seem to be two rows of them. The row that is most visible shows the bodies of fallen Mexican soldiers placed side by side, with extra bodies on top of some. There is some organization to this scene; all the bodies that are in the rows have their feet pointing the same direction. There appears to be another row of bodies above the one shown.

One can see the feet and part of the legs of other fallen soldiers. On the upper left hand corner of the image more bodies are scattered, probably waiting to be placed in the rows of the organized dead. Two hats appear in the center of the postcard, right above the heads of the fallen. The hat to the right appears to be more of a civilian hat than the one on the left, which has a look of belonging to the Mexican federal uniform. Aside from the piles of dead Mexican soldiers, another body is situated to the right of the hat of a federal soldier in the lower left part of the image. This man was fatally shot in the head. He wears a light colored shirt and was placed face up, with his left arm raised as if waiting to ask a question. The fatal wound is about five inches wide, exposing an area of the skull. Another man to the right of the civilian hat lies dead with his eyes open as if staring at Horne while he takes his photograph. Horne does not specify, but this image was most likely captured during the aftermath of a battle in the outskirts of Ciudad Juárez. Most of the soldiers photographed are wearing civilian clothing. This scene was probably not staged by Horne because of the number and the condition of the bodies.

The messages in postcards such as these were filled not with information about the actual image in most cases, but messages about the landscape and the climate. This is true of figure 6. One soldier writes to his male friend or family member, “Hello Leon you ought to see this country, all sand, rocks and sunshine. Won’t rain again here until next July. Everything hot and dusty. Not a country for a white man.” The subject of this message, the climate, allows one to see the depth of racial prejudice that existed in the Anglo American psyche. According to Jahoda, the adaptations to the climactic conditions were “misconstrued and demonized by the invading Europeans.”²² The belief that the adaptation to the climate and environment proved that the native Mexican had animalistic traits was no longer a European notion but an Anglo American one. This soldier’s words and Horne’s image reinforced the notion of the sub-human

²² Jahoda, 66.

Mexican while keeping the Anglo's human essence intact. Anglo indifference towards Mexican deaths is also evident in this message. There is no mention of the macabre image or anything remotely related to the casualties this war produced; instead, the author finds it more interesting to write about the climate in a way that more or less takes the death for granted.

Although the Mexican Revolution was a Mexican war fought primarily on Mexican soil, thus causing a high number of Mexican casualties, there were a few US casualties too. Horne's documentation of the dead in the Mexican Revolution is utterly uncensored when capturing the images of Mexicans. On the other hand, images of American casualties are either absent and only mentioned, or concealed by coffins. As we saw in the caption of figure 1, Horne documents six dead Americans at Columbus without displaying the remains. Figures 7 and 8 follow suit.



Figure 4-7. PC 184 # 71 —Awaiting Train at Columbus, N.M. to Send Bodies of U.S. Soldiers to their Homes.”
Message: No

Figure 7 is a postcard documenting the result of the Columbus raid. The image shows a large number of soldiers belonging to the 13th Cavalry standing in file between the coffins. It is difficult to count the number of coffins pictured, but one can see about five. Three of the coffins are draped with US flags, while the remaining lay bare. The reason for the flagless coffins is not that soldiers in them were less deserving, but the town of Columbus only owned three US flags

at the time.²³ The civilian that appears to the right of the military is William Christopher Hoover, Mayor of Columbus. Two other presumed civilians are captured away from the military body and closer to the train. Their identities are unknown. The train that will transport the bodies is captured arriving at Columbus. The sun is shining, but this postcard has a somber, patriotic air to it. All the subjects in this image are portrayed in a dignified manner. Some are staring straight ahead, others are watching as the train arrives, while others are photographed with their heads lowered.

Horne displays death in this postcard in a particular way. He does not exhibit mutilated bodies or bodies about to be cremated as he does in figures 2-6. Figure 7 is filled with the ultimate sacrifice of a soldier, his life, for the love and defense of his country. Figure 7 does not put the fallen men's patriotism into question, much less their character. In fact, one can say that the postcard elevates their deaths to martyrdom. Anglo American consumers did not want to see bodies of US soldiers riddled with bullets, dead and thrown on the ground like animals and/or exhibiting the wounds that led to their death. Horne's market demanded to see their fallen displayed humanely, with dignity and respect. Horne made sure the US military were photographed honoring their dead.

²³ Richard R. Dean, interview by author, Columbus, NM., 26 March 2008.



Figure 4-8. PC 184 # 72 –Impressive Military Funeral at Columbus, N.M.”
 Message: No

Figure 8 shows the moment before the caskets were taken to the train depot. The 13th Cavalry is captured at attention and in full uniform. The soldiers leading the procession are found between the caskets, ready to start towards the depot. The officer leading the procession appears to be the commanding officer of the 13th Cavalry, General Slocum. General Slocum and the soldiers in the procession have their hats off out of respect for the dead, a customary practice. There appear to be a few tents and a US flag in the background. Horne’s choice of caption, –Impressive Military Funeral at Columbus, N.M.,” not only describes the event but elevates it by inserting the word *impressive*. One can not presume to know what Horne’s intentions were when he manufactured his postcards, but one can gather that he perceived the Anglo American and the Mexican in a totally different light and his captions made that distinction. When Horne photographed anything Anglo American he photographed it in a way that exhibited US superiority in that arena, in this case the customs and practices of the American military. In comparison to the images that display dead Mexicans, the message is clearly biased.

Horne left out certain factual information. For instance, the fact that the dead or wounded left in Columbus or on the path of retreat were not left because the Mexican revolutionaries did

not care about their fellow revolutionaries or did not respect their dead is not communicated. The military operation was quick and precise. It did not leave time for the Villistas to take their wounded or dead. In other cases, like that seen in figure 6, the casualties may have been so great that the revolutionary and federal factions did not always have the logistical capability to keep up with their dead. Without that information, these postcards perhaps signaled that Mexican forces were unchristian-like in their treatment of the dead and unpatriotic as well. According to Arnoldo de León, the Anglo population believed that because Mexicans were culturally and racially different they could not have patriotic feelings similar to their own.²⁴ Therefore, practices born of necessity were interpreted as moral failings on the part of Mexicans. The images found in this section are disguised as mere records of events. These images not only carry information about the latest news from the border and the Mexican Revolution, they are full of written and unwritten messages of how one should perceive oneself and the ~~other~~ other.”

Figures 2-6 show the Mexicans in a wounded or deceased state, rendered defenseless on cots or on the desert floor. They are exhibited like artifacts, as something to be observed and studied. These subjects are seen as savages, hence not deserving of respect or dignity when photographed, as opposed to the subjects in figures 7 and 8. Horne was a modern day traveler and his postcards told tales to Americans living in the interior of the US of the violent races that existed along the border. The belief that Mexicanas/os were violent savages was perhaps in his mind proven by the Columbus raid.

Horne took pictures of Mexicanas/os in situations that he normally would not take of Anglo Americans in similar situations. Horne knew his market well and captured images of dead Mexicans that would sell his postcards. The images of dead American soldiers are captured, but

²⁴ Arnoldo de León, *They Called them Greasers: Anglo Attitudes toward Mexicans* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1983), 62.

are shielded by the caskets carrying their bodies. Anglo Americans did not want to see their own lying dead on the floor or having their dignity stripped away by capturing them in vulnerable situations like those of figure.

Chapter V

MGZÆCPCU'ÆEQTFÆI 'VQ'Y CNVGT

Interpretation of Horne's postcards of women, especially the soldadera, might certainly have differed from person to person. Some consumers of Horne's postcards might have perceived these women as beings that exuded indifference to or complacency about their situation of war and poverty. Others might have seen instead the day to day struggle the soldaderas faced. This struggle took place in both the private and public sectors of their lives. They labored against the sexism existent in their relationships with their families and men and in all institutions in Mexico, in particular the military. Women's participation in the Mexican military is more than evident. Their duties went beyond making tortillas for their soldados; they fought alongside their male counterparts and had begun doing so long before the Spanish Conquest. Scholars, however, according to Elizabeth Salas, have distorted the image of the female soldier. Some scholars depict women as "blood thirsty demons and provocateurs" of male warriors.¹ Through this mystification, the erasure of women's historical impact in military campaigns within academe is significant. This tactic reflects the male's position on the topic of women in the military.

Women are only mentioned when it is absolutely necessary and in most cases in a negative light, hence the absence of a common label for female soldiers. Some of the names given to women that participated in the military are women warriors, camp followers, coronelas, Adelitas, and soldaderas. The first documented reference to this label can be found in Luis G.

¹ Elizabeth Salas, *Soldaderas in the Mexican Military: Myth and History* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 1.

Inclan's novel *Austucia*, published in 1865.² A soldada was a soldier's pay. The Spanish military did not provide the soldier with basic necessities while in the military. Therefore, he employed women as servants. The soldadera was paid to cook and wash for the soldier and in some cases she also served him sexually.³ Women became soldaderas due to a lack of economic opportunities. These women were perceived as mere employees of the soldier rather than soldiers themselves, even after they began to take up arms. After Mexico's emancipation from Spain, the absence of national cohesiveness and economic necessity prompted women from all racial and class affiliations to participate on all sides of military campaigns. Despite their efforts, in many cases military officials perceived women less as heroic figures and more as camp parasites. This perception evolved from being a burden to being labeled as traitors depending on the faction they followed.⁴ This stigma was definitely present in the revolution. Such tactics were used by men as a way to exert their power over women and utilize them when it was convenient for them. In other words, men conveniently took the Mexicana out of the kitchen when it suited them and placed her back there when they were done. Sexist tendencies towards soldaderas always lingered on the surface. Sexism was very much alive in the US as well, which affected the perception of soldaderas. What was interesting about the soldadera's situation was that many Mexicans did not want her as a representation of Mexico, while many in the US insisted on making her the sole image of the Mexicana: dirty, backward, subservient, and as Horne puts it, "full of fleas."

Horne negated the women that fought on the front lines of the Mexican Revolution by only capturing images of Mexicanas as camp followers. The generalas and coronelas are

² Salas, 33.

³ Salas, xii.

⁴ Maria Herrera-Sobek, *The Mexican Corrido: A Feminist Analysis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 70.

nowhere to be found in his postcards. Although camp followers outnumbered the fighting soldaderas, there were quite a few of the latter roaming these parts of the borderland. According to Anne McClintock in Imperial Leather, representations of national power have rested on prior constructions of gender power, such as the militarization of masculinity and feminization of poverty, as a way to ensure that men and women's experiences in coloniality are different.⁵ In essence the images of women and men in Horne's postcards illustrate these differences. Evidently, Horne furthered these constructions of gender and power by ensuring that only men were photographed in military positions while capturing women doing ~~women's work~~ "in the poorest situations. It is difficult to pinpoint Horne's motivation in refusing the fighting women of the Mexican Revolution a space in his postcards, but his need to erase them from history could be based on his economic self interest with some undertones of patriarchal Christianity, which ~~continues~~ to legitimize women's barred access to the corridors of political and economic power."⁶ The soldaderas' image was definitely appealing to some women from the other side of the border. It was common to see El Paso tourists have their photographs taken dressed up as soldaderas, but in reality, perhaps the US market was not willing to see women with guns fighting alongside their male counterparts, but they paid money to see the Mexicana indigent and helpless.⁷

During the height of the Mexican Revolution many scenes that were captured on camera were far from typical. Images of executed bodies, charred bodies of Mexican soldiers, and buildings destroyed by mortar are a few examples of scenes that were not customary in Cd. Juárez. In his short photographic career, Horne captured some aspects of the social history and

⁵ Ann McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 14.

⁶ McClintock, 14.

⁷ David Dorado Romo, *Ringside Seat to a Revolution: An Underground Cultural History of El Paso and Juárez 1893-1923* (El Paso: Cinco Puntos Press, 2005), 92-93.

political upheaval along the border area at the time of the Mexican Revolution. Like many other photographers he made it his business to know where the action was going to take place before it happened. This is evident in the execution postcards in chapter 2. Horne ascertained information to help him capture moments in the revolution that proved lucrative for his business. The major battles fought in and around the Juárez area put various fighting soldaderas within Horne's reach. Thousands of women entered the army and various revolutionary factions for many reasons. Some followed husbands, others joined for food and some were abducted, while a number of Mexicanas joined the revolution eager to fight to better their nation and their own personal situation politically and economically.

A significant figure in the revolution was Coronela Maria Quinteras, a female officer in Pancho Villa's army. Pancho Villa was known not to welcome soldaderas with open arms. In fact, he tried to ban them from his army, but his soldiers protested or simply ignored the ban. Coronela Quinteras, between 1910 and 1913, fought in ten battles and won her "shoulder straps" for her valor, according to the El Paso Morning Times. Her husband also served in the army and both refused to accept money from Villa.⁸ Other women, like Carmen Parra y Alaniz and Luisa Garcia, asked permission of the United States government to join their respective husbands held prisoner at Fort Bliss, which is evidence that they spent some time on the border where Horne might have encountered them. Carmen Parra de Alaniz known as La Coronela Alaniz, played a key role in certain operations in the revolution. For instance, she acted as Madero's messenger and fought in the Villista ranks during the first Battle of Cd. Juárez. She later became a Convencionista and was a messenger to Emiliano Zapata. She was awarded the prestigious Al Mérito Revolucionario title. Her story is recorded in the ~~Relación~~ *Relación del Personal Femenino del*

⁸ Salas, 42.

Archivo de Veteranos de la Revolución.”⁹ La Coronela fought in important battles in Cd. Juárez, Chihuahua, and Ojinaga. The presence of women like Alaniz, Garcia and Quinteras was highly visible in the northern theatre of the Mexican Revolution and some US newspapers, but in Horne’s postcards they were invisible.

By not showing the soldadera’s participation in the front lines, Horne helped maintain social norms regarding women’s roles in society and furthered the negative perception of Mexicanas. Instead, Horne’s depictions of soldaderas in his postcards reify the concept of Mexicanas as subservient and backward. In the same context, Horne indirectly compares American woman to the Mexicana by photographing them in distinct situations, perpetuating the stigma attached to Mexicanas while upholding the wholesome and positive image of Anglo women.

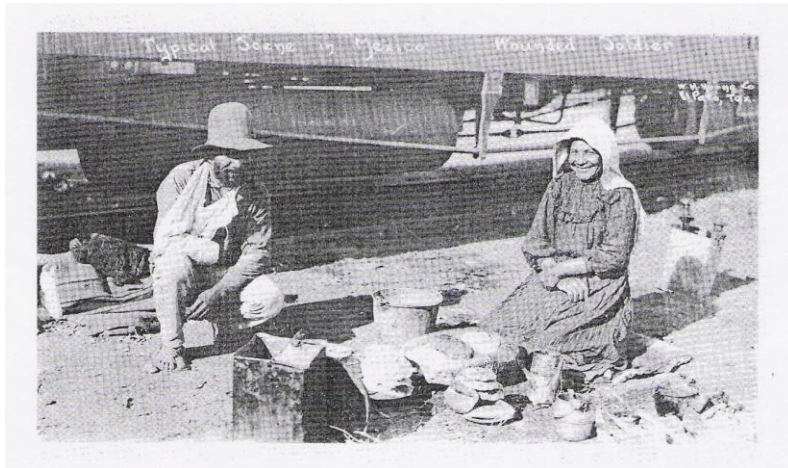


Figure 5-1. PC198 #257. “Typical Scene in Mexico, Wounded Soldier”
Message: No

Figure 1 is a postcard of a man, a woman, their meal, and a train. According to Horne’s caption the man is a soldier, but there is no mention of the soldadera. The man is sitting on his hind leg while resting the other firmly on the ground. In this pose one can see that he is wearing huaraches/sandals instead of boots or shoes, exposing his feet to the elements and to the viewer.

⁹ Maria Herrera-Sobek, *The Mexican Corrido: A Feminist Analysis* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 91.

His right arm is in a sling, presumably. He is wearing civilian clothing, along with a hat. On his left is a middle aged woman kneeling in front of a fire pit. She is wearing a traditional dress with her rebozo over her head. In a subservient position, she kneels on what could be a burlap sack in front of her comal, which lies on top of the fire pit. Tin cans make up most of the couples' cooking and serving ware. The tortillas are made and ready, along with other foods, which are also placed on some sort of sack or piece of cloth to keep them from the dirt beneath them. The area does not look fit to establish any sort of makeshift kitchen. Horne captured this moment right before meal time for the soldado and soldadera and probably right after they arrived on the train, which stands behind them. This image does not appear to be staged, but it is clear that they are posing for the camera as they look towards it and smile. Horne must have been hanging around the area knowing the train would be arriving full of Mexican soldiers. Judging from their smiles, the two subjects do not seem to be bothered by Horne and his camera.

The caption in figure 1 reads "Typical Scene in Mexico..." suggesting to consumers/viewers that this is what one would see daily in Mexico. Trains full of men and women traveling from town to town and battling it out with other factions was typical. The latter part of the caption describes what is evident, "Wounded Soldier." It does not explain the soldier's affiliation. In incomplete and simple terms, the caption describes the scene. What is gripping about Horne's caption is that he totally ignores the other subject in his postcard, the woman. Horne's dismissal of her presence negates her significant participation in the revolution. As limited as his captions are, his dismissal of the soldadera strips her of her human essence. Perhaps her presence in the postcard is evidence enough of her existence, but it does not begin to describe the crucial role these women played. Again, Horne fails to verbalize the revolutionary spirit present in this image.

The subjects in Horne's postcards are usually going about their daily routine, but the issue here is not only what he captured but what he did not. By indicating that he captured typical situations for Mexicanas/os, he makes poverty and violence as natural as the sun. His images of women furthered this naturalization of the Mexican situation by ignoring women that were not in situations of poverty or performing womanly duties. Women had no place in the front lines according to Anglo Americans and Mexicans alike. Journalists John Reed and Ricardo Poza defined the *soldadera* as "sexual beings," lacking self control and morality, while also describing them as brainless, lower class, self sacrificing, and extremely nationalistic.¹⁰ Their military successes and their essential role in the logistical lines are dismissed not only by articles such as Reed's and Poza's but also by Horne's images of women in passive positions, like sitting down instead of standing.



Figure 5-2. Preparing Dinner.

Message: *One of the many groups of women who follow up the Mexican army. Preparing dinner. Note the pool of filth-the fleas don't show. Will write soon. Very busy just now. Soldiers pay day tomorrow. Hope you all ok I am. Yours Walter. Addressed to Mrs. Henry Horne, mother of Walter Horne.*

Figure 2 is a postcard we have already seen, but which also speaks to gender roles. As we have seen, there are three *soldaderas*, a small female child and a late middle-aged man dressed in typical Mexican attire with a disheveled appearance. The *soldadera* in the far back is captured deeply concentrating, either cooking or making tortillas. She is not easily distracted by

¹⁰ Salas, 68.

Horne and his camera. The remaining three people, the man, the child, and a woman are caught sitting by the wall looking towards Horne as he takes their picture. Horne sent this postcard to his mother on September 3, 1912. This specific postcard lacked a caption, but his explanation made up for it. Horne explained to his mother: “One of many groups of women who follow up the Mexican Army preparing dinner. Note the pool of filth. The fleas don’t show.”¹¹ Horne did not hide his disdain for the soldaderas; in fact it is evident in the lack of diversity of Mexicanas found in his collection.

Horne made sure women were captured performing specific duties in specific locations. He captures soldaderas predominantly in sitting positions, as opposed to their male counterparts. This submissive position, along with their disheveled appearance, reinforces what is already thought about Mexicanas and reiterated by journalists. These dirty, submissive, lower class women with no self control accept and enjoy being at men’s disposal, which is evident in their mere presence. Horne’s message to his mother about these Mexican women is a generalization that is partially factual but not completely. The entry, “one of the many groups of women who follow the Mexican Army...” is partially correct, but what is omitted or not known to Horne is that this image only represents one group and not all.

¹¹ Paul J. Vanderwood and Frank N. Samponaro, *Border Fury: A Picture Postcard Record of Mexico’s Revolution and US War Preparedness 1910-1917* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 84.

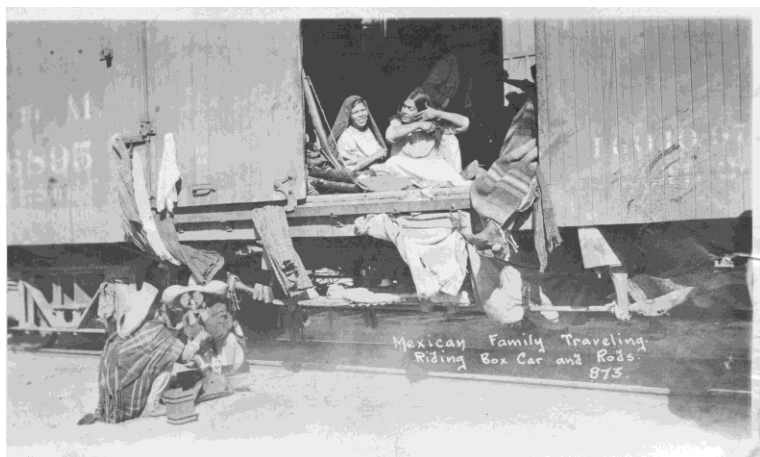


Figure 5-3. PC198 #253. –Mexican Family Traveling Riding Box Car and Rods”
 Message: No

Figure 3 is not far different from other postcards displaying soldaderas and other Mexicanas. The location is different, but the physical appearance of the women, like their clothing and grooming, is similar. According to Horne, figure 3 is of a Mexican family traveling on a train. The box car appears to be full of people. There are two women, again sitting down, on the inside of the box car facing out. The woman to the right is brushing her hair. The woman on the left appears to be looking towards Horne as he photographs them. She is wearing a rebozo over her head. She smiles while the other people seem to be oblivious to the picture taking. One can see a person sitting to the right of the two women. The only part that is visible is this person’s left boot. The rest of his body is covered by a zarape and the box car itself. Underneath the box car are rods that hold the people’s belongings and other people as well. This crowding of people onto trains was common during the revolution. One would see trains carrying soldiers and soldaderas inside, on top and on the bottom of box cars. The train was an efficient way to mobilize large regiments during the revolution, for federales and the revolutionaries alike. Figure 3 also shows two other people somewhat away from the train, squatting on the ground. They are both wearing another form of the traditional Mexican sombrero. They appear to be shielding themselves from the wind and sand with their zarapes. It

is evident that Horne captured this moment during a windy day. The clothing hanging from the box car door handles is captured swaying to the right while a cloud of dust gathers at the bottom center of the postcard. This image does not appear to be staged due to the activity of the people and the objects in it.

The caption, “Mexican Family Traveling Riding Box Car and Rods” is a simple explanation of the people that appear in this image. Many interpretations that can be made by viewers/consumers that are ignorant of the day to day events of the Mexican Revolution could be detrimental to their image. Horne’s image does not explain what circumstances led this family to join the ranks of this military outfit. Viki Ruiz writes that in the early twentieth century perceptions of Mexicanas did not focus so much on their appearance but on their relationships with men, even after the Mexican Revolution. For example, a sociologist in a 1930s study stated that Mexicanas held “traditions of feminine subservience.”¹² “The Mexican woman,” he adds “has been taught as her guide to conduct the vow of the moabitess, where thou goest, I will go. Up and down the road she follows the men of her family...The modern Woman Movement’s demands for economic independence have left her untouched. Uncomplainingly, she labors in the field for months at a time and receives as a reward from the head of the family some gew-gaw from the 5 and 10¢ store, or at best, a new dress. The supremacy of the male is seldom disputed.”¹³ In this image Horne depicts these women as eager to sacrifice the well being of their families in order to follow their men. They appear to be willing to forgo any sense of stability or normalcy. Apparently, Anglos ignored the political and economic situations of Mexicanas.

¹² Viki L. Ruiz, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 8.

¹³ Ruiz, 14-15.

In his postcards, Horne encapsulates the Mexicana's existence as a one dimensional figure vacant of complexities. Mexicanas, but soldaderas in particular, had to navigate through the corridors of sexism within their own relationships with their partners and with the military body they were affiliated with, while simultaneously looking to find day to day solutions to their economic crisis. As the fighting increased, so did their duties.¹⁴ The power to render women invisible is a tactic used by many men, in this case a white man. In order to maintain control over certain communities, men have built a hierarchy where they are found at the top. Women of color with third world status are victims of this violent tactic of invisibility. What is shown in Horne's postcards does not tell the complete story of the soldaderas. The invisibility that women experience in the public sphere is overshadowed by their overwhelming presence in the private realm. Horne's work on the soldadera reflects this tactic. His images of Mexicanas are captured in or around their homes or out in the elements doing "women's work" even though they were active participants in a war. His persistence in keeping Mexicanas in domestic roles is surprising with the vast amount of Mexicanas of all social classes crossing the border almost daily during the revolution. Due to this migration, many Americans feared the mingling between Mexicans (women and men) and Anglo women would lead to the contamination of American society as a whole. For instance, Dr. Roy Garis, a Mexican "expert" from Vanderbilt University, testified before Congress to persuade the United States government to impose anti-immigrant legislation:

Mexican women are prone to adultery...their minds run to nothing higher than animal functions—eat, sleep, and sexual debauchery. In every huddle of Mexican shacks one meets the same idleness...filthy children with faces plastered with flies, diseases, lice...apathetic peons and lazy squaws.¹⁵

Newspapers like the New York Times printed articles on soldaderas. The New York Times article, titled "Women leaders in Revolution," is one of the few positive reviews about the

¹⁴ Elena Poniatowska, *Las Soldaderas: Women of the Mexican Revolution* (El Paso: Cinco Puntos Press, 1999) 16.

¹⁵ Ruiz, 28.

soldaderas and their participation in the fight. This article acknowledges their leadership roles while also describing these roles as “spectacular.”¹⁶ The fact that Horne did not capture high ranking military women even though he had access to them allows one to conclude that he did not believe women should be in such roles. Horne’s typification of the military and the soldaderas’ conditions further cemented this view. His images did not create the stereotypes of Mexicanas/os, but they relied on the consumer’s/viewer’s racial memory, thus reinforcing and perpetuating false notions about Mexicans and their lifestyle.

The soldaderas’ experiences differed from woman to woman. The women captured in Horne’s postcards did not all belong to the same faction or regiment, and their reasons for participating in the revolution differed, thus creating a distinct experience for each individual. If the differences of context are ignored and Western standards are used to judge other cultures, it creates and reifies the “other.” The people that Horne captured with his camera were not mere images of a local people, but racial and gender representations that were connected to “social arrangements and power structures.”¹⁷



Figure 5-4. Pc193 #183. “Insurrectos fighting behind Barricades.”
Message: No

¹⁶ *The New York Times*, 10 March 1911.

¹⁷ Anthony J. Cortese, *Provocateur: Images of Women and Minorities in Advertising* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1999) 13.



Figure 5-5. PC193 #185. ~~Insurrectos~~ near Juarez”

Message: No

Examples of social arrangements and power structures photographed by Horne are visible in figures 4 and 5.¹⁸ Figure 4 is an image taken during a battle in Ciudad Juárez. There are three soldiers with one shot dead barricaded by the building to the right of the men. The soldiers are situated behind a barricade made up of railroad ties with dirt on the right side, which facilitated the soldiers positioning. Sand bags are on top of the railroad tie structure and also approximately six feet behind the soldiers. Towards the top right hand corner are railroad tracks cutting across the barricade. The building that appears towards the top of the postcard and to the right of the soldiers could perhaps be a train depot. There are three soldiers caught aiming their guns. The area looks disorganized and dirty. There do not appear to be any sidewalks or paved streets. Horne provides limited information about the image with his caption, ~~Insurrectos~~ Fighting behind Barricade.” According to Catherine Louis Dunn, wife of Doctor I.J. Bush, one of the battles fought in the city took place at the Bauche, a railroad station south of Juárez.¹⁹ Horne could have taken this photograph during this battle.

Figure 5 shows a mountainous area where two big rocks protrude from the mountain side. The first rock on the left, the smaller of the two, provides shade for one of the insurrectos in this

¹⁸ Although these images are part of Horne’s collection and thus part of the racial discourse, these postcards are used as a frame of reference in this gender analysis.

¹⁹ Friedrich Katz, *Pancho Villa* (Mexico: Ediciones Era, 1998), 125.

postcard. The largest rock provides a sort of platform for this group. Ten soldiers are captured standing, while six others seek shade underneath the rock. All but one of the men photographed are wearing the traditional Mexican sombrero and civilian clothing. Some are showing their guns. The one man that sticks out from the group is wearing a light colored suit with an urban hat. There is no information on the postcard about this man and what he was doing there.

Because there are no pictures available of Horne, one can only presume that perhaps this young man is Horne wanting to share the spotlight with these soldiers. It is possible that Horne staged this photograph with him in it. All of them pose, with a few of them smiling. Others just stare with a look of indifference as the picture is taken. The fourth man from the right, counting the man with only his head showing, poses with his weapon aiming towards the photographer. The caption reads, ~~Insurrectos~~ "Insurrectos near Juárez." It does not say much about the specific area, date, or time Horne photographed them, so knowing if this took place before or after one of the major battles in Juárez is impossible.

Figures 4 and 5 present two groups of revolutionary soldiers, one in the heat of battle while the others are hanging out or waiting for orders outside of Juárez. There are no signs of women in either postcard, although some soldaderas did alter their images to look more like men in order to fight in the revolution. These clear depictions of revolutionary soldiers cannot compare to the conditions in which Horne photographed the soldaderas. These men do not appear to be well off, but the difference here is that they are not captured eating off the ground, dirty, and disheveled. Comments about their hygiene are not written on the caption or as messages. Their presence is acknowledged, at least as a group. When compared to the soldaderas in Horne's postcards, figures 4 and 5 exude dignity, control, and power as opposed to poverty, subservience, and backwardness.

Horne's work encourages racially based perceptions utilized to further define Mexicanas. His images held them captive in somewhat traditional roles of domesticity and an atmosphere stricken with poverty and uncertainty. By polarizing contexts, Horne furthered the militarization of masculinity and feminization of poverty. These illustrations insisted that men and women did not live the revolution in the same way.²⁰



Figure 5-6. PC197 #236. "Preparedness Parade El Paso Tex."

Message: No



Figure 5-7. PC197 #233. "Employees of S.H. Dress Co. in Preparedness Parade El Paso Tx."

Horne's postcards a medium utilized to establish differences between genders and nationalities. Figures 6 and 7 are not only records of a parade expressing El Paso's sense of

²⁰ McClintock, 14. McClintock stresses imperialistic countries have constructed gender roles that have created specific spheres for each gender in post-coloniality.

nationalism and patriotic support; they are postcards of Horne's personal perception of American women in general. These postcards are two of many images that Horne took of American women. Figure 6 shows an unknown group of American women in a state of activism. They stand and walk together in a line and in rows wearing similar attire, including hats. They are also holding and waving small US flags. Their movements seem immaculate and orderly, which reflects their state of being. Spectators are captured on each side of the street, observing these women taking action for their country. Walking in front of the group of women is a man in a suit and a hat who appears to be guiding the women. The streets are lined with spectators on both sides as far as the eye can see. The street looks paved and clean. Tall modern buildings and trees line the street as well. One can vaguely see electric light wiring on the upper portion of the postcard including several street lights.

Figure 7 is not much different than figure 6. In fact, it is the exact location and almost surely the same event; the only difference is the participating group of women. A young boy wearing light colored pants, a shirt, and a newspaper boy's hat is in front of this particular group of women. He is captured carrying a sign that announces the business affiliation of these women. According to Horne's caption, they are employees of the S.H. Dress Company. There are about twenty to thirty women in this group. They are wearing white dresses and carrying white umbrellas with two colored stripes on top. Their patriotism is evident in the waving of the flags. Their upright posture affords them the dignity and assertiveness that is usually nonexistent in the Mexican women Horne depicts. They are caught walking in unison, exhibiting their patriotic support for their country similar to the women in figure 6. This parade not only exhibits nationalism, but also shows that the women that appeared in these postcards are women that work outside the home. It is somewhat of a celebration of the modern American woman. She is

clean, well dressed and groomed, has skills, but, as depicted in the postcard, is guided by a man. The man that appears to be walking ahead of the group could be the owner of the business at which these women are employed which shows that the male is in a position of authority as oppose to the women. Horne's documentation of such exhibitions pits the American woman and the Mexicana against each other.

Postcards of Anglo women doing ~~women's~~ "work" are absent in his collection. Depicting American women only in the public sector helped establish differences between Mexicanas and American women during a time of social and political uncertainty in both countries. Although Mexicanas were photographed in public, their situations varied greatly from those of the Americans. The Suffrage Movement in the US was gathering momentum while Mexicanas were also struggling to assert their status in the revolution and in Mexican society. Horne somewhat captured the American women's spirit of civic participation and liberation from the home while distorting the Mexicanas' role in the revolution. In figures 6 and 7, Horne illustrates American women as wholesome and clean by photographing them in a standing position instead of sitting on the ground doing ~~women's~~ "work." The clothing worn by American women as opposed to their Mexican counterparts is also an issue. Their attire appears to be clean, pressed, and modern, while the Mexicana's ~~choice~~ "choice" of dress lags behind in cleanliness, taste and modernity. Such simplistic comparisons are inaccurate because Horne does not acknowledge the economic, geo-cultural circumstances or class dynamics that lead Mexicanas to dress the way they do.

Spectators and parade participants all wear hats or carry umbrellas. The use of hats or umbrellas to shade them from the elements could be perceived as signs of progress, economic prosperity, and/or cultural difference. These props did exist in Mexico, but seldom do you see a

Mexican holding an umbrella, especially among the poor population. Perhaps the absence of such props enabled consumers of Horne's postcards to make judgments and generalizations about Mexicanas' ability to adapt to their environment with no need for umbrellas and the like. Postcards like figures 6 and 7 do not have captions racially labeling the subjects, but it is evident that Horne purposely photographed these groups of women as representations of American women even though there could have been a few Mexicanas or Mexican American women in the group. Horne's inability to see the Mexican as a clean, intelligent, progressive and assertive citizen of either country is evident in his collection. The absence of images of wealthy Mexicanas in the border areas sheds light on his racial and sexist prejudices. Comparisons of these two groups of women fed into the belief of American racial and moral superiority over "typical" Mexicanas. This difference between the two cultures uplifted one while sinking the other. Again it is partly a case of what Horne did not photograph. One thing missing in his collection are images of Anglo American women captured in the private sector.

One can argue that the Mexican Revolution was a movement towards reform and Mexicanas that joined this movement were not only subservient women following their men, but individuals with a cause to fight. Mexicanas formed part of the revolution to create positive change for women and their children. A witness to the soldaderas' experience described their day as anything but subservience and cowardice:

They used to carry the whole house on their backs. In addition, they carried the small children and rifle in case they had to tangle with the enemy, too. In a bucket they carried what was necessary to cook. Toward the end of the day, they would stop and set up camp and start dinner. Pobrecitas, they suffered a lot.²¹

The participation of soldaderas in the Mexican Revolution, according to some Anglo Americans, was a deviation from social progress. But the soldaderas' experiences cannot be encapsulated in

²¹ Ruiz, 8.

a few images and a few lines on paper. The Mexican Revolution depended on the soldaderas; in fact, they were the lifeline of the revolution. Foraging, cooking, washing, smuggling weapons, carrying a mess hall on their backs, and fighting are a few of the duties they took on. Without the soldadera perhaps the revolution would have been short lived.

CONCLUSION

Horne's postcards portrayed a Mexico and its people in ways that reinforced and perpetuated stereotypes of Mexicans established by Anglo Americans. These false perceptions of Mexico and its people and the hand held beliefs of Anglo superiority, led to the creation of two distinct national identities, those of Mexico and the United States. Consequently, threatened the understanding of the Mexican Revolution by Anglo Americans. The analysis of Horne's postcards is not only imperative but significant in order to allow us to look at the subjects in a non-polarized fashion in which they are photographed.

The Mexican Revolution was an available thus profitable war for businessmen like Horne due to its geographical accessibility. The physical proximity between the United States and Mexico enabled the creation of relationships from the social and economic to the political. The two countries not only shared a border but also a variety of issues affecting all sectors of society. The revolution brought economic hardship to one side while the other prospered in arms and equipment sales. This economic and social connection was what kept El Paso and Juárez thriving. Although these links were still significant at the onset of the Mexican Revolution, the political aspect of this relationship was critical for both countries.

The political association between the US and Mexico was in some cases the US's meddling in Mexican affairs under the cover of national interest and security. The political issues that affected both countries ranged from immigration to labor issues, which furthered the significance of the geographical connection to Mexico. One can say that the revolution was launched from foreign ground through the many relationships that were generated between Mexicans and Americans. This shared geography gave way to movements of people to and from

each country, and at the height of the Mexican Revolution, the politically disenfranchised, the economically neglected, and the upper classes of Mexico crossed the same border to escape the turmoil and possible death. The poor population's movement in the El Paso was limited while the economically advantaged enjoyed free movement in the city. Only the former group seemed to show up in Horne's postcards.

Horne's subjects all seemed to revolve around a common theme. The postcards depicting Ciudad Juárez or Mexicanas/os in positions of subservience, indigence, barbarism and primitiveness are ubiquitous in the collection; Americans and El Paso are photographed in opposing situations. Despite the diversity existent in both cities and peoples, Horne preached to the stigma attached to the Mexicana/o while commemorating the progress and advances of Anglo Americans. Through his postcards, Horne further cemented the Mexicans' status of the Other, the antithesis of the American. Clear examples are found throughout Horne's coverage of the borderland. Depictions of Mexicanas, especially, in and out of the revolution, delivered a harsh blow to all Mexicans. He captured Mexicanas in situations that did not fully describe their plight. The fighting soldadera is nowhere to be found in this collection. His insistence of erasing her, Horne narrowed her experiences and oversimplified them. Horne exacerbated their presumed arrested development with his captions. It is believed by scholars that the status of women speaks of the social, economic, and political advances that a specific society has accomplished. Horne's refusal to illustrate in his postcards that not all women in Mexico were indigent, domestic, and homeless is obvious. Images of Ciudad Juárez and some from El Paso are branded with Horne's "Mexican" seal.

Although Horne's actual images were not manipulated in any way, the subjects captured in these postcards did not fully disclose their reality and their politics. Horne's descriptions, or

the lack thereof, robbed his subjects of their human and political essence while adding touch-up paint to the already formed picture of the Mexicana/o. This is especially evident in the Columbus series and the images of the dead. The constant depictions of dead Mexicanos illustrated the product of an “~~ill~~-moral” character which became evident with Horne’s photographic record of the destruction and death left behind by the Villistas. Simultaneously, he heightened the Anglo American character by displaying the 13th Cavalry casualties in ways that glorified their service. It is important to observe the glorification of service and patriotism was nonexistent in the postcards that showed images of Mexican soldiers.

Horne’s postcard business was successful because he provided what his market wanted to consume. His consumers more than likely had a preconceived notion of themselves and of Mexicanas/os. Horne made sure he found subjects that fulfilled those notions and printed them on cardboard. As these postcards were shipped to major cities around the United States consumers/collectors observed them over and over again. These images stimulated consumers’ racial memory, which in most cases was created by hearsay because most in the interior of the US had never met a Mexican in their lives. First or second hand experiences do not dominate our memory; they are accompanied by silent passengers, stereotypes which can hinder our understanding of subjects situations, lead to false interpretations, and reinforce racialized perceptions of specific groups. According to Geary and Webb, the consumer “~~trans~~forms the image when purchased and inscribes it with her/his private communication.”¹

Horne’s postcards carry distinct messages about the subjects which continue to perpetuate false notions about Mexicanas/os while maintaining the clean and wholesome image

¹ Christraud Geary and Virginia Lee Webb *Delivering Views: Distant Cultures in Early Postcards* (Washington: Smithsonian Institute, 1998), 4.

of the Anglo. Jahoda explains the source and the evolution of the “savage” thoroughly.² In the early 17th and 18th centuries chroniclers who collected travelers’ tales often invented stories of monstrous non-white races. The notion of the savage originated as oral tradition prior to the Enlightenment and worked its way into the colonized areas of the world. As this movement gathered momentum, white Europeans gave the savage the scientific analysis needed to prove the savage’s subhuman state, which resulted in abhorrence and a refusal to include them in society as equals to their white counterparts.³ This is most evident in the Horne collection when one compares the images of Mexicanas/os to those of (Anglo) Americans. The American kept her/his dignity, honor and patriotism in every series of Horne’s postcards, while the Mexican was captured in a way that made her/him appear uncivilized. Other outlets of communication echoed similar notions of Mexicanas/os. Many in the government and in civilian circles expressed that only the Americans, through their intelligence and sense of morality, could establish order in Mexico. Such thoughts of superiority echoed in all sectors of the media when Anglo Americans touched on the subject of the Mexican Revolution.

Horne’s postcards transformed the Mexican Revolution into a spectacle for Anglo Americans to see and entertain their own prejudicial thoughts on the matter. Horne’s postcards were useful in taking the racial discourse about Mexicanas/os and Anglos to another level. This time, Horne provided proof to those that believed firmly in their own greatness and superiority and the other’s natural inabilities. Two cultures faced off with room for only one victor. The Anglo American came out the winner in the match and continued to control the racial discourse.

² The construction of the image of the savage originated in Greece but also saw its maturation throughout the Roman Republic and Roman Empire. This image went further than just giving the person of color animalistic traits, but also attached a childlike attribute to her/him.² In other words, people that were not fortunate enough to be born with a fair complexion and in the boundaries of civilization, that is northern and Western Europe with the exception of Greece, were seen as subhuman and childlike needing guidance from the civilized adults, that is the white European. Gustav Jahoda, *Images of Savages: Ancient Roots of Modern Prejudices in Western Culture* (London: Routledge, 2990), 7.

³ Jahoda, 7.

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