

Resistance from Mexico's Northern Periphery: Journalism in El Paso during the Mexican
Revolution

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Introduction

On Mexico's northern border, El Paso, Texas, is a place of transnational negotiation in which various individuals and groups utilize the national boundary to their advantage. During the Mexican Revolution, journalists used the written word to resist, support, and influence the shifting trends in Mexico's polity. From Mexico's northern periphery, journalism in El Paso both impacted and was impacted by the changing tides of the Mexican Revolution. From the early publications of Victor Ochoa, Lauro Aguirre, and Enrique and Ricardo Flores Magón, to those of Juan Hart, Fernando Gamiochipi, and Sylvestre Terrazas, journalism in El Paso played a major role in the Mexican Revolution.¹

In *The Location of Culture*, Homi K. Bhabha articulates a third space in which peripheral signification, collaboration, contestation, and counter hegemony all interact simultaneously.² Applying these dynamics to the Mexican Revolution, this essay approaches the subject of journalistic agency in El Paso as existing in a peripheral space in which revolutionary journalists converge and diverge beyond Mexico's northern border. This essay's objective is to present the role that journalism played in El Paso during the Mexican Revolution. Examining Fernando Gamiochipi's *El Paso Del Norte* and Silvestre Terrazas's *La Patria* newspapers, this essay broadly argues that revolutionary journalism transitioned from being a mechanism of resistance to an instrument of factionalism. In El Paso, Fernando Gamiochipi's *El Paso Del Norte* advocated for the Constitutionalist faction of the Revolution, while Silvestre Terrazas's *La Patria* was conversely anti-Carranza. As such, this essay will comparatively analyze both newspapers within the larger context of journalism in El Paso during the Mexican Revolution.

Various scholars have written about journalism in El Paso during the Mexican Revolution. Robert L. Sandel's 1967 dissertation, "Silvestre Terrazas, The Press, and the Origins

of the Mexican Revolution,” and Elizabeth B. Marek’s 1991 master’s thesis, “La Revolución en el Exilio: Silvestre Terrazas y Su Periódico *La Patria*, 1919-1920,” both bring out Silvestre Terrazas’s transitions as a journalist during the Revolution. Looking at Fernando Gamiochipi, Stanley L. Robe’s *Azuela and the Mexican Underdogs* discusses Gamiochipi’s newspaper, *El Paso Del Norte*, in relation to Mariano Azuela’s renowned *Los De Abajo*. Published in 1979, Robe’s work focuses on Azuela and reveals the significance of Gamiochipi as a proponent of both *Los De Abajo* and revolutionary journalism in El Paso. David D. Romo’s 2005 work, *Ringside Seat to a Revolution*, elucidates the connections between culture, the Mexican Revolution, and journalism in El Paso as a tool of resistance to the Porfiriato.³ Drawing upon these works, I apply them as baseline of analysis for the evaluation of the evolving viewpoints of journalists in El Paso during the Revolution. Fernando Gamiochipi’s changing perspectives of Francisco “Pancho” Villa, and Silvestre Terrazas’s changing stance on American involvement in Mexican affairs are evidenced by Robe, Sandels, and Marek, respectively. What I propose is a synthesis of these works through a reexamination of some of their primary sources. In this approach, the conflicting viewpoints that Gamiochipi and Terrazas have of Pancho Villa and Venustiano Carranza serve as a common denominator through which an overarching analysis of newspapers in El Paso during the Revolution is enabled.

Early Resistance to the Porfiriato and Journalism in El Paso

Article seven of the Mexican Constitution of 1857 guaranteed freedom of the press in Mexico. During the rule of Porfirio Díaz, honest journalism was compromised as Mexican newspapers became subsidized by either “the government, the Catholic Church, or a wealthy politician.”⁴ Francisco Bulnes categorizes the press during the Porfiriato as the “tolerated

opposition,” “the false opposition,” the “foreign press,” “porfirista,” and the “científico-liberal press.”⁵ The Díaz regime subsidized the opposition press, as well as its own. The unsubsidized press complied within the limits of the Porfiriato because Díaz suppressed journalists who did not support his agenda. Díaz controlled the press both indirectly and directly. He delegated supplies and funding for journalists and harassed those who criticized his regime. Robert L. Sandels writes that Díaz preferred to use Mexico’s judicial system to harass journalists and charges state and local politicians with the assassination of journalists during the Porfiriato.⁶

Within this context, many journalists criticized the Porfiriato from across Mexico’s northern border in El Paso, Texas. Between 1892 and 1895, Victor L. Ochoa published *El Hispano Americano* and *El Correo de Bravo*. The Díaz press condemned *El Hispano Americano* for instigating resistance after its coverage of the 1893 Tomóchic rebellion. Even the *El Paso Times* was criticized by the Porfirian press for covering this massacre.⁷ One Porfirian publication called the *Times* a “Hostile Paper.” The *El Paso Times* responded to this criticism by writing that “[o]ur present aim is to draw blushes of shame from editors who receive a money subsidy for suppressing revolutionary news in Mexico and for sending false news reports by wire to the north. Blush you rascals, the ‘hostile paper’ is after you.”⁸ Fred Morales writes that the Porfiriato subsequently banned the *El Paso Times* and arrested its carriers who brought the paper to Juárez. In December, 1893, the pro-Díaz newspaper, *El Revista Internacional*, attacked the *El Paso Times* and threatened anyone who sought to advertise or even purchase it. At this time, Juan Hart owned and edited the *El Paso Times*.⁹

In January, 1894, Ochoa and around sixty-five men from San Elizario, Texas, attempted to start a revolution in Mexico. Ochoa was defeated in Chihuahua and barely escaped with his life.¹⁰ In the aftermath of the revolt, the *El Paso Times* directed an article to Chihuahua’s

governor; it stated that “he knows that the masses are ready for a revolution, and that these movements by...Ochoa are portentous [*sic*] of great evil to him.”¹¹ In 1895, Ochoa was sentenced to federal prison in the United States for violating neutrality laws. During a subsequent *New York Times* interview, Ochoa reflected on the Tomóchic revolt:

I was then editor of a daily newspaper in El Paso, Texas—El Hispano Americano—whose circulation was largely on Mexican soil. A native of Chihuahua, I heard of the massacre of my friends, and published the facts. The paper was excluded from Mexico, and my constituents forced to give it up. Merchants who advertised in it were compelled by the authorities to boycott me.¹²

In Ochoa’s absence, Lauro Aguirre moved to El Paso in 1896 and continued to publish his anti-Porfirian newspaper, *El Independiente* from 309 South Stanton Street. Aguirre was accompanied by the famous spiritual healer, Teresa Urrea. He was implicated in the 1896 Teresita Rebellion in which rebels attacked Nogales, Palomas, and Ojinaga, but was acquitted due to a lack of evidence. Aguirre published several revolutionary newspapers in El Paso, which included *El Progresista*, *La Reforma Social*, and *Voz de la Mujer*. Like Ochoa, Aguirre’s position against Porfirio Díaz stemmed from the Tomóchic massacre.¹³

During 1901, Aguirre’s newspaper, *El Progresista*, which was published from his print shop at 315 St. Louis Street (Mills Street today), vehemently criticized the Porfiriato. It must have touched a nerve because Díaz even threatened to kidnap Aguirre. In 1905, Aguirre began his newspaper, *La Reforma Social*, which was printed at 223 South Stanton Street in El Paso’s Segundo Barrio.¹⁴ At the turn of the century, various Spanish language newspapers existed in south-central El Paso, many of which criticized the Porfiriato: E. Gutierrez edited and printed *El Globo* at 613 South El Paso Street; Estanislao F. Ronquilo edited *El Monitor* at 604 South Kansas; Jesus Gallo edited *El Clarin del Norte* at 402, and after 1907, 803 South El Paso Street; Fernando Gamiochipi edited *El Espejo del Merito* at 318 East 2nd. Street; Jesus L. Moreno edited

El Grito Del Pueblo at 318 South Stanton Street; F.G. Alderete published *La justicia*; and W. Tovyary Bueno edited *La Democracia* at 706 South Utah Street.¹⁵ Many issues of these newspapers have faded into obscurity, yet their presence in the historical record reveals the magnitude in which journalism existed in El Paso and resisted the Porfiriato.

In 1906, Ricardo Flores Magón and Juan Sarabia arrived in El Paso. Lauro Aguirre was involved in the Magonista movement as a local cell leader and continued to publish *La Reforma Social*, which had moved to 403 S. Campbell Street in El Paso.¹⁶ The Magonistas also had a publication of their own entitled *Regeneración*, which began in Mexico City in 1900 and moved to San Antonio, Texas in 1904, after Ricardo Flores Magón was exiled from Mexico. It moved again to St. Louis, Missouri in 1905. Originally established as the voice of the PLM, *Regeneración* posed the greatest threat to Porfirio Díaz. The Díaz regime repeatedly harassed and arrested Flores Magón, and suppressed various other PLM publications that also criticized it.¹⁷ In its first issue, *Regeneración* called for justice and attacked the corruption in Mexico's judicial system, but did not attack the governmental structure itself. Five months later in January 1901, it openly criticized Porfirio Díaz. Díaz had stated that the Mexican government worked through, "Poca política" y "mucho administración," or little politics and more administration. *Regeneración* wrote that Díaz's government was exactly the opposite and that it used "Mucha política" y "poca administración," or a lot of politics and less administration. For Flores Magón, Díaz elusively presented his political bosses as perfect and downplayed social unrest in the countryside. Yet Flores Magón took his criticism a step further by writing that Díaz's corrupt politics actually stopped Mexico's government from functioning effectively. Referring to money stolen from the treasury, Flores Magón wrote that Mexico's ex-treasurer and accountant, F. Espinosa, should have been fired and arrested for negligence, instead of being placed into

another position of political patronage.¹⁸ Although this type of criticism was enough to irritate Díaz and cause Flores Magón's exile from Mexico, it was nothing compared to what he wrote about Díaz while he was in the United States.

In March of 1906, Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magón, and Juan Sarabia arrived in El Paso.¹⁹ By this time, *Regeneración* had increased its resistance to the Porfiriato. Lauro Aguirre smuggled copies of *Regeneración* over the border to Juarez, from where they traveled throughout Mexico via railroad workers who supported the PLM.²⁰ In September, 1906, *Regeneración* issued a proclamation that called the Mexican people to arms under the union of the PLM.²¹ This proclamation to the nation stated:

Fellow citizens: in legitimate defense of trodden freedoms, of violated rights, of the dignity of the trampled patria because of the criminal despotism of the usurper Porfirio Díaz; in defense of our honor and of our enjoyable lives because of a government that considers crime honesty and drowning in blood legal and peaceful intents of emancipation... we rebel against the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz, and we will not abandon our arms that we take up with total justification.²²

On September 15, 1906, Lauro Aguirre printed a letter in *La Reforma Social* to President Theodore Roosevelt that called for United States neutrality and described the Díaz administration as "the most dishonorable and monstrous government of modern times."²³ Shortly afterwards in October, Lauro Aguirre, Juan Sarabia, Ricardo Flores Magón, and Antonio Villareal prepared to attack Juárez from El Paso. Their plan was thwarted when federal authorities raided the *Regeneración* office in St. Louis, Missouri and found a list of PLM members and agents. Lauro Aguirre's name was on the list as a Magonista cell leader in El Paso and U.S. authorities warned Porfirio Díaz.²⁴ On October 19, Magonistas in El Paso initiated the raid, but it backfired on them because of the captured information. Consequently, U.S. authorities arrested Lauro Aguirre and Antonio Villareal, and raided several rooming houses on South El Paso and South Oregon Streets. Magon and Villareal both escaped and met again in California.²⁵ Aguirre was tried and

acquitted, but Juan Sarabia was captured in Juárez and sentenced to seven years in prison at San Ulúa in Veracruz. In his newspaper, *La Reforma Social*, Aguirre advocated for Sarabia's release, but Sarabia remained in prison until Porfirio Díaz resigned and left Mexico in May, 1911, after the Battle of Juarez.²⁶

In 1908, the PLM attempted to launch another revolution from El Paso. Lauro Aguirre, Práxedes Guerrero, and Prisciliano Silva participated in this second movement. However, local, federal, and Mexican authorities disrupted the PLM's efforts once again. Lauro Aguirre was again tried and acquitted. Subsequently, Práxedes Guerrero returned to El Paso in 1909 and published a pro-PLM- anti- Díaz newspaper called *Punto Rojo*. The following April (1910), Díaz offered a \$10,000 reward for Guerrero, American authorities suppressed *Punto Rojo* for libel, and Guerrero was wanted by the U.S. for violating neutrality laws.²⁷

By 1910, *Regeneración* continued to fuel the flames of discontent for the Porfiriato. A passage written by Antonio Villareal reveals its attempt to incite the people to take action: “[t]o Each and every brave Mexican we say: Mexican, your best friend is a gun. Buy it. Let it be a Winchester 30-30. Make sure you have the greatest possible number of bullets. Take care of the gun and learn carefully and skillfully how to use it. It is your ticket to liberty.”²⁸ Between 1893 and 1910, revolutionary journalism in El Paso progressed from criticism to resistance of the Porfiriato. This trend transitioned into rebellion and influenced the next phase of the revolution in which Francisco Madero attempted to launch an attack into Mexico on November 20, 1910.

1911 and the Battle of Juarez: Francisco Villa Emerges and Madero Triumphs

During 1911, a new stage of press coverage in El Paso began as various journalists flocked to El Paso to report the Battle of Juarez. David Romo refers to this period of coverage as “The Revolution as Spectacle.”²⁹ Among the various national and international publications that

covered Madero's May 1911 victory in Juárez, the *El Paso Herald* and the *El Paso Morning Times* printed vivid descriptions of the battle. Both newspapers covered the battle extensively and expressed concern over American interests and safety in both Mexico and El Paso. In April, the *Herald* published an article entitled "American Property in Danger Near Smelter," which reflected the fear of the revolt spilling over the border. Yet at the onset of the battle, the *Herald* also proposed revolutionary concerns in its headline, "Friendliness for Americans Prevented Attack in Juarez Sunday." Another article in that same issue reveals that Francisco Villa and Pascua Orozco had attacked Juárez against Madero's orders and that Madero recalled the attack under the false pretensions that Porfirio Díaz agreed to resign.³⁰ Despite Madero's wish for peaceful negotiations, Villa and Orozco intended to revolt. This is evidenced by a short *El Paso Herald* article which presents that "Villa publically stated in the Popular store in El Paso that he had 600 men and would attack Juarez 'peace or no peace.'"³¹

As the tide of the Battle of Juárez turned in Villa's favor, the *El Paso Morning Times* followed the waves of the revolution. John Middagh writes that as norteño sympathy for the revolution became apparent, the *Times* added a second daily edition and often printed additional extras. Just before the Battle of Juárez, the *Times* printed numerous extras as negotiations ensued between Díaz and Madero. The *Times* mentioned Francisco Villa for the first time on April 21, 1911, and it was Villa who "brought to the *Times* its era of extras," which persisted during the decade after the Battle of Juárez.³² Richard M. Estrada reveals that Madero may have subsidized the *Times* in the same way that Díaz did the foreign press.³³

After the Battle of Juárez, Francisco Madero went to Mexico City and tried to conduct politics under the pre-existing framework of the Porfiriato. He was assassinated during Victoriano Huerta's coup d'état in February 1913. Leopoldo Borrás writes that after Madero's

victory, the Mexican press represented the interests of Mexico's various revolutionary factions. Leonardo Ferreira explains that this was possible because Madero "showed a substantial respect for the press, giving Mexico a Golden Age of media liberty rarely seen."³⁴ Some scholars attribute Madero's permissive press policy to his downfall. After Huerta assumed control, Mexico's press regressed into the Porfirian system of "appointed-state censors, servile pro-government newspapers, and military persecution, arrests, and expulsion of opposition writers."³⁵ Ferreira describes the press under Huerta as "the metropolitan press favoring the regime," the "politically divided newspapers in exile, primarily the United States," and the "foreign journals...which offered [their] columns to the revolutionaries."³⁶ Thus, after Huerta's coup, various revolutionaries and journalists that had supported Madero left Mexico.

Many of these refugees fled to El Paso. In 1913, these included Silvestre Terrazas, who had published a pro-Madero newspaper called *El Correo de Chihuahua*, and Francisco Villa, who had escaped from a Huerta prison.³⁷ Another revolutionary journalist in El Paso at that time was Fernando Gamiochipi, who published the *El Paso Del Norte* newspaper. Elias L. Torres describes Gamiochipi as "one of the precursors of the Revolution." Torres writes that Gamiochipi was "an intense propagandist of the new ideas for which he had suffered countless persecutions in Guaymas and found himself obliged to flee to El Paso where, with great effort and unheard of privations, he installed a press."³⁸ Judging by the dates of his publications, Gamiochipi was exiled by the Porfiriato suppression machine. Subsequently, when Villa arrived "broke and alone" in El Paso on January 3, 1913, he formed ties with Gamiochipi and Theodoro Kyriacopulos, who both enabled his revolutionary network in El Paso. Villa also corresponded with Francisco Madero, Abraham González, and Silvestre Terrazas, who suggested that Villa be authorized to form an army of 500 to 1000 men. Gamiochipi and his network contributed two

thousand dollars towards Villa's army, and the Gonzáles family lent a significant amount of money to Villa. At this time, Silvestre Terrazas published his newspaper, *El Correo de Chihuahua* in Mexico City. In February, Madero was assassinated and Villa swore revenge. He left El Paso for Mexico on March 7, 1913, and formed his famous Division of the North.³⁹

Elias Torres surely knew of the connection between Gamiochipi and Villa because of his interactions with both of them at various times during the Revolution, and it is likely that the three of them interacted in El Paso during 1913. Gamiochipi frequently moved his newspaper and print shop around south El Paso. In 1906 he published *El Espejo Del Merito* at 372 North Sante Fe Street. In 1907 he moved *El Espejo Del Merito* to 407 South El Paso Street. He moved again in 1908 to 405 South El Paso Street, where he continued publishing *El Espejo Del Merito* as the proprietor of the Modern Printing Company. In 1911, Gamiochipi changed the name of his paper to *El Paso Del Norte*. In 1915, Gamiochipi moved to 609 South Oregon Street, where he continued to print *El Paso Del Norte* until 1919, when he moved to 109 West Overland Street.⁴⁰ Torres was the initial property holder of 609 South Oregon Street, and he helped Gamiochipi establish his newspaper and print shop there by loaning him the money to buy the property. Torres and Gamiochipi both supported Madero and remained loyal to Carranza's Constitutionalist government after Villa opposed it. Gamiochipi's unquestionable loyalty to Carranza is evidenced in the pages of *El Paso Del Norte*. Yet Torres connected with Villa as a journalist, confidant, negotiator, and economic advisor. He interviewed Villa during the 1920s and eventually wrote *Twenty Episodes in the Life of Pancho Villa* and various other works on the Mexican Revolution. Friedrich Katz presents that Torres also served as a "semi-official emissary" between Villa and Adolfo de la Huerta. Torres was loyal to Villa and warned him in advance of de la Huerta's opposition to him.⁴¹ Although the relationship between Gamiochipi

and Villa began with their alliance, the Revolution would eventually separate them. This separation is revealed in the pages of Gamiochipi's newspaper, *El Paso Del Norte*.

Fernando Gamiochipi and the Constitutionalist *El Paso Del Norte*

After Francisco Madero's assassination, Fernando Gamiochipi's *El Paso Del Norte* ardently supported Carranza's Constitutionalist movement. Leonardo Ferreira categorizes it as one of many "politically divided newspapers in exile."⁴² *El Paso Del Norte* is famous for its series *Los de Abajo*, which was written by Mariano Azuela in late 1915 and subsequently printed and published by Gamiochipi as a book. Stanley Robe writes that "it was the only Constitutionalist daily in the El Paso-Ciudad Juárez area," which was predominantly Villista.⁴³ Although Robe writes that all of the *El Paso Del Norte* newspaper's employees resided in Juárez, Romo points out that Enrique Aguirre, Lauro Aguirre's son, as well as Alberto Gamiochipi, Fernando's son, both worked for the newspaper and lived in El Paso.⁴⁴ *El Paso Del Norte* did not cover the Revolution objectively, it vehemently attacked its opposition, which included Pancho Villa, Silvestre Terrazas and the *El Paso Morning Times*—both Terrazas and the *Times* supported Villa.⁴⁵ Yet this polemic between Revolutionary factions evolved from a once unified movement against the reactionary Victoriano Huerta.

In 1913, *El Paso Del Norte* reflected the Revolution's evolution against Victoriano Huerta. Its Feb. 20 front page, "Huerta Y Blanquet Traicionaron A Madero: Gustavo Madero Fue Asesinado En El Arsenal," condemns Generals Huerta and Blanquet for the arrest of Madero and describes it an act of treason and treachery. It also describes the murder of Francisco Madero's brother, Gustavo, as an application of the "ley fuga"⁴⁶—Díaz's policy of shooting bandits who resisted authority. On Feb. 21, its headline referred to Huerta and Blanquet as "Los Judas," and a subtitle stated that "Huerta is a degenerate, a coward, an assassin, a traitor, and a

... (the dots inferring vulgarities). After Madero's assassination, its Feb. 23 headline called for a "New Revolution in Mexico."⁴⁷ Thus, after Huerta's coup, myriad articles in *El Paso Del Norte* perpetuated the resistance against Huerta and associated him with Porfirio Díaz.

The 1913 transition of *El Paso Del Norte* from a Maderismo to a Constitutionalist organ is evidenced in its text. On Feb. 27, an editorial stated that "maderismo" is the peoples cause, the cause of law, justice, and legality. It continued that thousands of armed participants in the Maderismo movement wanted revenge.⁴⁸ The next day's issue bellowed, "The New Revolution Grows," as it featured Venustiano Carranza's demand to U.S. President Taft and President Elect, Wilson, not to recognize Huerta's illegal government.⁴⁹ Subsequently, a March headline blared, "Los Contitucionalistas capturan una Aduana Fronteriza," as it referred to the Constitutionalist's capture of Naco, Sonora, between Nogales and Agua Prieta on the U.S. border. In July, an editorial entitled "Viva El Constitucionalismo!" stated that

[t]he faith that we have in the definitive triumph for the cause that we defend, we reason from unconquerable force in order to fight against all adversaries, regardless of how big or powerful they are or seem to be, and this is why, while our brothers fight against the traitorous soldiery on the battlefield, we fight in the arena of journalism, against an enemy yet more powerful than the first: the agents that silence the voice of the people, as well as justice, the treasonous científica and the caciquismo that rules everywhere.⁵⁰

Although the author is not listed, it is likely that these are Gamiochipi's own words. By July, 1913, Villa's success was apparent and, as his Division of the North became more powerful, Gamiochipi's enthusiasm for Villa increased. This is reflected in a cover story that includes a photo of Villa and describes him as "one of those who were predestined to save la Patria from chaos and anarchy."⁵¹ Subsequently, the front pages of *El Paso Del Norte* increasingly glorify Villa as 1913 draws to an end. An issue from late October announced that Villa was moving "Over Chihuahua" and stated that "General Villa's forces brought a magnificent munitions park and a powerful body of artillery that was superior in number to that

possessed by the huertistas in the state.”⁵² A November headline illuminated that “The Column of Gen. Villa is Invincible.” At this point Gamiochipi continuously relished in Villa’s success. The November 27 front page of *El Paso Del Norte* exemplifies this trend in its presentation of “The Victorious General Villa in Ciudad Juarez.” This was surely one of the high points for Gamiochipi’s estimation of Villa, who had left El Paso in March and returned triumphantly in November, 1913.⁵³

The moral polemics of drugs and alcohol even impinged upon the *El Paso Del Norte*’s conflicting coverage of Villa and Huerta. In November, 1913, a public notice by Villa prohibits the use of intoxicating beverages and insinuates that arms and alcohol do not mix. Subsequently, a subtitle inside a December issue reads, “Poor Traitor Huerta, The Marijuana Has Made Him Crazy.”⁵⁴ Thus, Gamiochipi subjectively glorified his allies and vilified his enemies in ways that tapped into the ideological nuances of the Mexican social consciousness and incited the Revolution.

By the middle of 1914, Gamiochipi’s enthusiasm for Villa and the Constitutionalist movement was at its crescendo. On August 16, the front page of *El Paso Del Norte* announced with glee that “El Primer Jefe Toma Posesion Del Gobierno,” as it reported Venustiano Carranza’s possession of the government and provisional presidency in Mexico City. An editorial written by Elias Torres elucidates his discontent with the outgoing Huertistas.⁵⁵ It concluded that

[i]n order to set a precedent and be of rigorous justice, they [the Constitutional government] should extradite these assassins, after they do a thorough investigation of all of their crimes, and give them as much publicity as possible; so that the entire world will know what class of jackals have fled Mexico, and that although the gold that they [Huertistas] have robbed fills their pockets with foreign lawyers that have prevented their extradition, at least, they have achieved two things, that the honorable people have seen them clearly, and that the governments that shelter them know all that they have done, and that their history remains engraved in fire, in order to serve as a warning for future

wicked ones, which make use of the funds adorned of power, in order for them to be implicated in their vile crimes against Law and Humanity.⁵⁶

El Paso Del Norte continued to savor Carranza's success in its August 18th headline, "Hoy Entrara a Mexico El General Carranza," which announced Carranza's entry into Mexico City.⁵⁷ Gamiochipi's hopes for national unity under the Constitutionalist government are reflected in *El Paso Del Norte* at this time. Various headlines, such as "Todos Seran Constitucionalistas" (Everyone will be Constitutionalist) and "Los Hombres De La Revolucion Estan Unidos" (The Men of the Revolution are United) pushed national unity as Carranza attempted to solidify Mexico.⁵⁸ Yet Gamiochipi's doubts about Mexico's ability to unite must have set in long before the Fall of 1914, when Villa's rift with Carranza was finalized.

Only five days after Carranza took Mexico City, two front page letters to Pancho Villa implored him to remain honorable and declared the nation's love for him amidst rumors that he was planning to rebel against Carranza.⁵⁹ In September and October of 1914, Gamiochipi's positive coverage of Villa disintegrated as Villa turned against Carranza. On September 11, *El Paso Del Norte* declared the conduct of Villa's officers "suspicious" as they attempted to incorporate the forces of General Benjamin Hill during a Yaqui raid on Cananea, Sonora. Hill was defending Cananea against the Yaqui in opposition to orders from General Maytorena, who was allied with Villa. On September 24, another edition rang out that Villa was sending ammunition to Sonora in order to assist Maytorena, who was reported as leading two thousand Yaqui's against General Hill. It stated that Villa ordered eight railroad cars of munitions from El Paso to Sonora, but that Hill was under orders from Carrancista General Alvaro Obregon to resist the traitorous Maytorenistas.⁶⁰

The next day's front page announced that Francisco Villa was in "Open Rebellion," and posted a letter from Villa that described Carranza as an anti-patriotic dictator. This September 25

issue of *El Paso Del Norte* was one of the last issues in which Gamiochipi presented Villa through an objective lens. Villa's letter stated that he would revolt if necessary. One article called for Villa's generals to abandon him. Another revealed Villa's contempt for Alvaro Obregon by elucidating telegraph dispatches between Villa and Carranza. It also stated that Carranza had suspended all railroad traffic north of Aguascalientes and that Villa demanded an immediate explanation. Carranza responded that Villa should explain his mistaken conduct in ordering the arrest of Obregon.⁶¹ In response, Gamiochipi printed that

Villa informed the Primer Jefe that he would have ordered Obregon to be detained in Torreon and that his [Obregon's] forces did not represent the National Convention that he would validate in Mexico City on the first of October. And in conclusion, that he [Villa] did not recognize Carranza as the Primer Jefe of the Constitutional Army.⁶²

On October 1, the headline stated, "Carranza Renounced Before The Convention." By October 17, the Aguascalientes Convention had "Usurped The Power of the Nation," and "Los Cientificos" had "Desired To Be At The Side Of Villa."⁶³ Throughout October, Gamiochipi's titles associated Villa with various elements of the Porfiriato. An editorial on October 29 stated that Villa's "Cuartelazo" (military uprising) was "of those that form annals in the black pages of history." Thus, Villa's attack was based on his "savage instincts" and "the ideals of the mob of cientificos that surround him."⁶⁴ This editorial signifies the final turning point in which Gamiochipi solidifies his turnaround on Villa. Gamiochipi describes Villa as a "[t]raitor, criminal, assassin, a little piece of meat in human form [and insinuates more extreme descriptors as he continues] ...o....eso ya es muy vulgar....el nombre para calificar la acción de Villa, no está escrito." He calls Villa the "Atila del Norte" and refers to the Convention of Aguascalientes as a national joke.⁶⁵

For the rest of 1914 and 1915, Gamiochipi's press vilified Villa and presented him through a lexicon of dogmatic hyperbole that relished in his army's misfortune.⁶⁶ This type of

critique coming from El Paso is significant because most norteños in the region supported Villa, who controlled Juárez at that time. Yet Gamiochipi was persistent. Reverberations of Carranza's economic nationalism are evident in late November as headlines, such as "An American Millionaire Helps the Traitorous Villistas" and "Our Invisible Enemy is Wall Street" conflated Villa with Diaz, Huerta and an oppressive American economy. A Nov. 22 article inferred that the "Judas, Villa," purchased arms from the United States for his own absolute power that was backed by "cientificos" and "huertista traitors."⁶⁷ Even in the face of defeat, Gamiochipi mocked Villa. As Villa's forces moved on Mexico City, *El Paso Del Norte* announced the Constitutionalist capture of twenty artillery pieces from Villista general Felipe Angeles. A subtitle added that Villa's currency has "No Value in Mexico."⁶⁸ A Dec. 15 headline proclaimed that "The Coward Villa" fled into northern Mexico, as Villa set off on a campaign against Carrancista General Herrera to open railway lines to the north.⁶⁹ Surely, Gamiochipi himself felt betrayed by Villa.

An editorial entitled "Francisco Villa es un Predestino del mal" describes Villa's actions in reference to Gamiochipi's initial expectations. It states that "[t]he weapon in his [Villa's] hands is not the rapier that seeks the chest of his enemy; it is the dagger that pursues in the dreams of the night, the back of its defenseless victim."⁷⁰ This passage signifies not only Villa's betrayal to the goals of the revolutionary nation-state, but also those of Gamiochipi himself. In this sense, Gamiochipi's hopes and objectives had been instilled in Villa's success, the defeat of Huerta, and the rise of the Constitutionlists. Gamiochipi had supported Villa from the beginning, from the Madero movement and Villa's exile from Mexico in January, 1913. However, Villa stabbed both Gamiochipi and the nation in the back by disrupting the prospect of Carranza's unification of the Revolution under the Constitutionlists. In so doing, Villa not only

perpetuated Mexico's factionalism, he brought it to a new level. This surely irritated Gamiochipi, and it is the primary reason why he consistently referred to Villa as a traitor and attacked him through doctrinaire exaggeration in *El Paso Del Norte* during 1915.

Between April and December of 1915, Gamiochipi's newspaper relished in the downfall of Villa's army and the displacement of many Villistas. Covering the Battle of Celaya, *El Paso Del Norte's* headlines rejoiced in the "Enorme Derrota de Villa" (Enormous Defeat of Villa). On April 16, the front page celebrated Villa's loss of 14,000 men and 30 canons; the subtitle stated that "at the push of the forces of liberty, the hordes of Villa fled convinced of their impotency."⁷¹ This trend continued into the Battle of Leon. On May 13, the front page blared that "Villa has Fallen in the Trap." On June 2, Villa was "Lost," and by June 6, the "Traitors" begged for an armistice. When Carranza subsequently took Juarez in December, Gamiochipi must have drowned in merriment. On Dec. 21, the headline bellowed that "He Has Surrendered The Garrison of Ciudad Juarez" and reported that

Juarez is Ours! The fall of Ciudad Juarez marks the fall of the Porfirian Dictatorship; the fall of the same city under the constitutional army, signaled the fall of the reaction, the complete triumph of the weapons that the people have been obliged to take in order to drive out with equal hardness, bandits, assassins, and reactionaries!⁷²

The article continued to report an exodus of thousands of Villistas from Juarez to El Paso, emphasizing that the principal thieves left in stolen automobiles, one of which carried "one of Villa's women."⁷³ Thus, the 1915 migration into El Paso that had begun after Villa's defeat at Celaya was part of a larger Villista diaspora from Mexico to the United States.

As part of this migration, Mariano Azuela, who had been a doctor in Villa's army, found refuge in El Paso with Gamiochipi and wrote *Los de Abajo*, which was first published in *El Paso Del Norte* as a serial in October, 1915 and later printed and bound by Gamiochipi in 1916.⁷⁴

Throughout the rest of the Mexican Revolution, *El Paso Del Norte* increasingly reduced its focus on Villa and began to cover other issues in the news, such as agriculture, economic development in Mexico, World War 1, and U.S. General Pershing's withdrawal from Mexico. When Gamiochipi covered news on Villa, he continued to relentlessly present him in a way that either vilified or marginalized him.⁷⁵ A 1917 commentary interviewed an ex-villista who, when asked about Villa, replied, "Caramba" and stated that although he preferred Carranza over Villa, he hated them both. Gamiochipi explained that although Villista refugees in El Paso remained strong enemies of "Constitucionalismo," they still could comprehend that "bandido Arango [Villa] could never be an important factor in the destiny of the Mexican Republic."⁷⁶

Gamiochipi's *El Paso Del Norte* constantly criticized the *El Paso Times*. He specifically opposed Ramon Prida, who edited its Spanish section. Gamiochipi and Prida had once both allied in opposition to Huerta, but Prida sided with Villa after the rift with Carranza and published pro-Villista articles in the *Times*.⁷⁷ In December of 1914, an *El Paso Del Norte* article, entitled "Miente 'El Times,'" stated that "[i]n a language that appears to be Spanish, and demonstrates a perfect ignorance of... its trade, 'El Times' published a series of slanderous lies last Sunday," as it referred to a *Times* article that wrote about Carranza's illegal executions. Gamiochipi rebutted that Carranza did not allow firing squad executions to occur without proper judicial procedures. Gamiochipi also wrote that the *Times* published libelous articles for money.⁷⁸ After Carranza's army took Juarez in December of 1915, a story illuminated Gamiochipi's joy in the suppression of the *Times*. It seemingly boasted that the *Times* could not go into "Territory Dominated by the [Constitutionalist] Government" because of its status as a reactionary newspaper. Gamiochipi also insinuated that the *Times* was funded by wealthy Jewish foreigners from the United States.⁷⁹

Gamiochipi was censured by the U.S. government. During the onset of the Pershing expedition in March, 1916, Gamiochipi published an article that suggested that all factions unite against the Mexico's "common enemy," the United States. Gamiochipi was arrested on March 14, 1916, and *El Paso Del Norte* was shut down. The city also shut down *El Rio Bravo* from 310 South Stanton Street, *El Justicia* from 105 North Campbell Street, *Mexico Nuevo* from 712 South Stanton Street, and *La Constitución*, for inciting anti-U.S. sentiments. El Paso's mayor, Tom Lea, allowed Gamiochipi and the others to resume operations on March 18, as long as they agreed to stay out of politics, or at least U.S. politics.⁸⁰

In this sense, Gamiochipi may have emphasized Mexican unity in opposition to Huerta and forces from abroad, but his coverage of Mexican politics hardly advocated solidarity, unless it was under the umbrella of Carranza's Constitutionalist government. Fernando Gamiochipi did not live to see the outcome of the Revolution. He and Carranza both died in 1920, and his son, Alberto Gamiochipi, continued to run the press.⁸¹ Gamiochipi's hopes for a united Mexico under Carranza seemed a reality by mid 1914, but factionalism disrupted his dreams. Subsequently, another journalist in El Paso also hoped for Mexican solidarity.

Sylvestre Terrazas and *La Patria*

Similar to the trends of the Magonistas and Fernando Gamiochipi, Sylvestre Terrazas's experience involved resistance to the Porfiriato, exile, and a transition into factionalism. Terrazas's views only partially overlapped with those of Gamiochipi. Although he advocated Mexican unity, he opposed Carranza and supported United States involvement in Mexico.⁸² Born on December 31, 1873 in Chihuahua, Sylvestre Terrazas was distantly related to the powerful

Luis Terrazas of the Terrazas-Creel political machine that controlled Chihuahua; Silvestre's "maternal grandmother and paternal grandfather were cousins of" Luis Terrazas.⁸³

Silvestre Terrazas attended private school in Chihuahua and Mexico City. In 1896, he returned to Chihuahua and worked on the staff of *La Revista Católica*. Subsequently, he published *La Lira Chihuahuense* and helped edit another publication named *La Revista Católica* in New Mexico. In 1902, he consolidated *La Revista Católica* and *La Lira Chihuahuense* into another newspaper that he had begun to publish in 1899, *El Correo de Chihuahua*.⁸⁴ At first, these publications only critiqued the secular ideology of liberalism. But this changed when Silvestre supported the Mexican workers who turned on the Porfiriato at the Cananea strike of 1906. Following this movement against foreign capital, *El Correo* mirrored Chihuahua's social discontent for the Terrazas-Creel machine.⁸⁵ In April 1907, Silvestre was arrested and held for thirteen days for writing about Enrique Creel's appointment to Chihuahua's governorship by Luis Terrazas, who had just been appointed three months earlier. He was arrested again in May of 1909 for implicating Juan Creel, Enrique's brother, in the robbery of the Banco Minero: the main state bank controlled by the Terrazas-Creel machine. These incidents convinced Silvestre of the despotism and corruption in Mexico's government.⁸⁶

By 1910, Silvestre Terrazas ardently supported Francisco Madero, and *El Correo* helped sway public opinion against Diaz. Terrazas continued to publish *El Correo* in Chihuahua until Huerta's coup in January 1913. After Madero's assassination, he moved to El Paso, Texas.⁸⁷ He returned to Chihuahua in December of 1913 after Francisco Villa controlled the capital. Villa appointed Terrazas to the position of Secretary of State in 1913 and General Administrator of Confiscated Goods in 1914. Under the Villista government, Terrazas published the newspaper, *Vida Nueva*. After Villa was defeated by Carranza and Alvaro Obregon in 1915, Terrazas

returned to El Paso in exile. He began publishing *La Patria* in January of 1919 at 317 South El Paso Street.⁸⁸

Terrazas and Villa respected one another and Terrazas had often given Villa positive press coverage.⁸⁹ Margarita Terrazas, Silvestre's daughter, stated that Villa

appreciated my father for the fact that he had defended him when he didn't even know him. My father had said in one of his newspaper campaigns that the crime committed at such and such a place could not have been committed by the bandit, Francisco Villa...Pancho Villa never forgot that and he became a steadfast friend of my father's. He protected him; he never allowed anyone to touch him and he himself never turned against him.⁹⁰

In February of 1913, Villa, Terrazas, and Gamiochipi had worked together to launch Villa's campaign into Chihuahua. After the 1914 rift between Villa and Carranza, Terrazas became aligned with the former and Gamiochipi with the latter. Yet they must have interacted frequently while in El Paso regardless of their differences. Blanca Rodríguez writes that Gamiochipi sold Terrazas a used linotype press. Although Terrazas later replaced it with a new press, which he used until he stopped publishing *La Patria* in 1925, the initial sale signified a connection between the two journalists in El Paso during the Revolution despite their factional allegiances.⁹¹

Terrazas vehemently opposed Carranza and offered either objective or pro-Villista viewpoints. The first issue of *La Patria* was printed on January 1, 1919. It appeared seemingly diluted by a reference to President Wilson and various international storylines. Yet a small article on its front page entitled "Clarínada De Union," or Bugle for Union, called for a meeting at El Paso's "Liberty Hall." Terrazas sought to unify Mexicans in both the United States and Mexico. A closing statement reveals Terrazas's hope that in the coming days, more Mexicans will follow the example of those that have already united.⁹² Harris and Sadler write that almost seven-hundred people attended this meeting, many of whom belonged to the Mexican Liberal Alliance.

This ties Terrazas indirectly with the Mexican Liberal Alliance, which was actually a Villista and Angelista (Felipe Angeles) “political organization” that opposed Carranza. However, Terrazas’s main goal was to unite and assist exiled Mexicans abroad in the United States.⁹³ Elizabeth Marek writes that during its first two years, the themes *La Patria* covered included the socio-political concerns of Mexicans abroad and their yearning to belong to the patria (i.e. Mexico), as well as world news, the status of Mexican workers in the U.S., and the criticism of Carranza.⁹⁴

In *La Patria*, Terrazas wrote his editorials on the second page in a section called “Policromas.” The fourth issue offered Terrazas’s view on the Mexican Liberal Alliance, as well as the manifesto of the Alliance itself. In “Policromas,” Terrazas wrote that “The Mexican Alliance, whose conditions we have published in another place of this daily, has initiated works of union that we hope to see crowned with success.”⁹⁵ At the end of this editorial, Terrazas revealed his desire for socio-political refugees to repatriate to Mexico: “And it is hoped that *La Patria* will be a factor for the rapid return to this other Patria [Mexico] every day more beloved and missed more every day.”⁹⁶ Thus, it becomes apparent that Terrazas wanted unity, agency, and repatriation for Mexicans exiled abroad. Terrazas defended exiled Mexicans and frequently stated that they were not traitors. He hoped that these refugees could return to Mexico without political condemnation.⁹⁷

In June and July of 1919, the pages of *La Patria* reflected Terrazas’s expectations, hopes, and disappointments. Terrazas’s subjectivity towards Villa is evidenced in the June 3, 1919 headline, “Hay La Gran Expectación Por Conocer La Suerte De Chihuahua” (There is a Great Expectation to Know the Fate of Chihuahua).⁹⁸ This signified the onset of Villa’s last major campaign in Chihuahua, which ended in the 1919 Battle of Juarez, and this headline reflected Terrazas’s desire for and uncertainty of Villa’s success. On June 5, Villa captured Chihuahua. As

Mexican refugees fled to Juárez and El Paso, *La Patria* reported that it was not the immanent Villista attack on Juárez, but their fear of the federal inability to follow orders that made them leave.⁹⁹ Of course, this rightfully insinuates that the federals in Juarez could not defend against Villa even if they wanted to. Thus, Terrazas ridiculed Carranza both indirectly and directly. In his June 15 headline, “Juarez is Falling,” Terrazas relished in Villa’s success in the same way that Gamiochipi relished in his failure. A front page letter from Villa to the people of Juarez appealed to “la misma raza” and requested that they disobey the “dictator’s orders” in order to avoid bloodshed. The subtitle, “The Push of the Revolutionaries is Irresistible” also elucidates Terrazas’s subjectivity in the press.¹⁰⁰ This tone quickly changed into optimism during defeat as U.S. forces intervened. On June 16, *La Patria* reported that the United States taught Carranza a lesson in how to defend a city. Its subtitle blared that “[w]hen los Carrancistas of Ciudad Juarez could not resist the rebel attack, the negro troops of the American 82 Regiment fought and repelled the rebels who twice possessed the city.”¹⁰¹ In this sense, Terrazas hides his disappointment in the Villista defeat by emphasizing the inability of Carranza’s forces to defend without American assistance.

La Patria responded to U.S. intervention in various ways. On June 18, Terrazas strategically juxtaposed the Villista and Carrancista backlash in terms of national honor. One headline presented that “Los Americanos Have Received the Order to Immediately Leave the Republic through the Border.” Another stated that “Today the Carranza Government Says that it Never has nor Never will Request help from the United States.” A section entitled “What Shame for the Carrancistas” presented their conduct as cowardly, traitorous, and without honor.¹⁰² On June 21, *La Patria* posted a letter from Villista General Felipe Angeles which demanded that the U.S explain its motives for invading Mexico and interfering with the revolt. Angeles stressed that

revolutionaries avoided doing harm to American interests and received orders to withdrawal after the U.S. attack because it was not certain if the attack was against or in alliance with Carranza. An editorial stated that the *El Paso Morning Times* and *El Paso Herald* printed that the United States attacked in order to help Carranza. The editorial went on to say that stray bullets also influenced the United States Army to attack because Carrancistas fired those bullets to provoke them into the conflict.¹⁰³ Signed, “Un Mexicano,” it further stated that

[o]ur curses for those traitors and cowards persist; for those degraded carrancistas that have lost their patriotism and dignity, since they have postponed the honor of the Patria, for the vile interests of their party and the particular interests of each one of them.¹⁰⁴

On July 4, the headline of *La Patria* vilified Carranza as “The Dictator,” upon his bid for reelection. The July 8 headline announced that Carranza’s downfall was certain as it referred to Mexico’s circular trend in politics and reported that President Wilson may cease to recognize Carranza.¹⁰⁵

Terrazas hoped that the U.S. would withdrawal its support for Carranza. When Carranza was assassinated on May 22, 1920, *La Patria* coldly declared in bold, “Carranza Dead Assassinated.” After Carranza’s assassination, Terrazas advocated positive relations with the United States and suggested that Americans invest in Mexico.¹⁰⁶ The death of Carranza basically signified the end of the Revolution for Terrazas. Marek writes that Terrazas became increasingly fearful of Bolshevism during the early 1920s. Because of this fear of communism, he adopted a more positive view of U.S. investment in Mexico. Terrazas’s shift from revolutionary nationalist to conservative transnationalist occurred while he was in El Paso.¹⁰⁷

In this regard, Terrazas’s transition during the Revolution is elusive. Considering Terrazas’s biased coverage of Carranza in *La Patria*, Sandels and Marek both view his position as incoherent. For Terrazas, Carranza became the scapegoat for all of Mexico’s problems.¹⁰⁸

Although Terrazas admired Villa throughout the Revolution, by mid-1919 the Mexican Liberal Alliance supported both Villa and Felipe Angeles. At this time, loyalties in the Alliance swayed between Villa and Angeles as members debated their credibility as leaders. Terrazas and Angeles both held similar ideologies that advocated positive U.S.-Mexico relations within which the Alliance could unite all Revolutionary factions; thus, by mid-1919, Terrazas still gave Villa positive press coverage (or objective at best), yet his ideology diverged in favor of Angeles.¹⁰⁹

Villa was assassinated on July 20, 1923. *La Patria* headlined it on July 21: “Francisco Villa Falls Dead in a Fierce Ambush.” Two days later Terrazas runs the headline, “The Tragic Death of Villa.” In *La Patria*, Villa’s assassination made front page news into the middle of August. On August 13, Terrazas printed a statement that Mexican president Alvaro Obregon made to the press on August 10. In an article entitled “El Asesinato De Villa,” *La Patria* made public Obregon’s prior statement to the press that Villa’s assassination was “an act of valor.”¹¹⁰

Silvestre Terrazas returned to Chihuahua, Mexico in 1925. He published *El Correo de Chihuahua* until September 9, 1935. The Governor of Chihuahua, General Quevede, closed down *El Correo* “for political reasons.”¹¹¹

Conclusion

Between 1893 and 1920, Journalists in El Paso provoked discontent within Mexican civil society. During the reign of Porfirio Díaz, the Mexican press was compartmentalized and suppressed. As various journalists became exiled by the Porfiriato, they criticized Díaz from the safe space of El Paso, beyond Mexico’s northern political border. Yet Díaz, Carranza, and Obregón all attempted to suppress journalists in El Paso. *El Paso Times* reporter Chester Chope

wrote that he was almost imprisoned by the Obregón administration for interviewing local witnesses in Chihuahua during the de la Huerta revolt.¹¹²

From the Revolution's incipiency, the press's criticism of Díaz transitioned into resistance and rebellion. After Díaz's downfall, journalists divided into factions that paralleled and supported revolutionary groups on the ground. During 1913, Fernando Gamiochipi's *El Paso Del Norte* supported Francisco Villa as he fought with Madero and Carranza. After Villa opposed Carranza in late 1914, Gamiochipi opposed Villa. Silvestre Terrazas, on the other hand, continued to support Villa and opposed Carranza. Yet by the end of 1919, Terrazas's support for Villa was more rhetorical than realistic, as his ideology diverged from Villa's to Angeles's. In this sense, Villa serves as a baseline of analysis from which to gauge the changing views of both Gamiochipi and Terrazas.

As the Revolution evolved, the Magonistas, Gamiochipi, and Terrazas all appealed to "la Patria" of Mexico. These journalists wrote subjectively and marginalized their opposition. Ultimately, journalists in El Paso advocated their own particular views in their editorials in order to influence the revolution and its outcome. This trend is exemplified in Gamiochipi's and Terrazas's newspapers. In conclusion, journalism's oppositional focus on the Porfiriato broke off into the factionalism that followed the trends of the revolutionary movement. If disillusionment can be described as part of these trends, then Gamiochipi and Terrazas both experienced it during the transitions of the Revolution. While this essay only skims the surface of journalism in El Paso during the Mexican Revolution, it opens the door for further investigation that places El Paso within the larger narrative of North American history.

Notes

¹ David D. Romo, *Ringside Seat to a Revolution: An Underground Cultural History of El Paso and Juárez: 1893-1923* (El Paso: Cinco Puntos Press, 2005), 21-60.

² Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 2-3, 5, 9-10, 41-42.

³ Robert L. Sandels, "Silvestre Terrazas, the Press, and the Origins of the Mexican Revolution" (PhD dissertation, University of Oregon, 1967), 1-238; Elizabeth B. Marek, "La Revolución Mexicana En El Exilio: Silvestre Terrazas Y Su Periodico *La Patria*" (master's thesis, University of Texas at El Paso, 1991), i-197; Stanley L. Robe, *Azuela and the Mexican Underdogs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 1-233; Romo, *Ringside Seat to a Revolution*, 1-65.

⁴ Robert L. Sandels, "Silvestre Terrazas, the Press, and the Origins of the Mexican Revolution," 40-43.

⁵ Francisco Bulnes, *El Verdadero Díaz y la Revolución*, Mexico, 1920, 34-36, in Sandels, 43; Sandels, 44.

⁶ Sandels, 49, 53, 57, 58.

⁷ Romo, *Ringside Seat*, 33-34.

⁸ "The Hostile Paper," *The El Paso Daily Times*, December 21, 1893.

⁹ Fred Morales, "El Paso and Juarez During the Mexican Revolution, 1879-1911," vol. 1, (n.p., El Paso Community College Library, El Paso, Texas), 3-4; Also see Romo, *Ringside Seat*, 33, 36; John Middagh, *Frontier Newspaper: The El Paso Times* (El Paso: Texas Western Press, 1958), 144.

¹⁰ Romo, *Ringside Seat*, 35.

¹¹ "Bloodshed: Victor Ochoa Reported Routed Near Santo Tomas by Federal Troops," *El Paso Daily Times*, 23 January 23, 1894.

¹² "To Mexico For Revenge: Sent to Brooklyn for Filibustering, Ochoa Tells His Story," *New York Times*, August 17, 1895, p. 9.

¹³ Romo, *Ringside Seat*, 30, 32, 37; Fred Morales, "El Segundo Barrio," (n.p. El Paso Community College Library, El Paso, TX), 5.

¹⁴ Morales, "El Paso and Juarez During the Mexican Revolution, 1879-1911," vol. 1, 5-7.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 7-9.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 8.

¹⁷ Rafael C. Puente, *La Prensa en México, Datos Históricos* (México, D.F.: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1962), 223; Sandels, 59; Charles H. Saddler and Louis R. Harris, *The Secret War in El Paso: Mexican Revolutionary Intrigue, 1906-1920* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006-2009), 17.

¹⁸ "Regeneración," *Regeneración*, 7 August 1900, and "Mucha Política, Poca Administración," *Regeneración*, 15 January 1901, reprinted in Armando Bartra, ed., *Regeneracion, 1900-1918: La Corriente Mas Radical de la Revolucion Mexicana de 1910 a través de su Periódico Combate*. 4th ed. (Mexico, D.F.: ERA, 1982), 69, 83-84.

¹⁹ Morales, "El Paso and Juarez During the Mexican Revolution," 7.

²⁰ Saddler and Harris, 18.

²¹ "Proclama A La Nación," *Regeneración*, September 1906, reprinted in Bartra, ed., *Regeneracion, 1900-1918*, 174-175.

²² *Ibid.*, 175.

²³ Richard M. Estrada, "Border Revolution: The Mexican Revolution in the Ciudad Juarez-El Paso Area, 1906-1915" (Master's Thesis, The University of Texas at El Paso, 1975), 36; Lauro Aguirre, *La Reforma Social*, September 15, 1906, in Coleccion Silvestre Terrazas, Microfilm, University of Texas at El Paso Library, MF 561, roll 1. Quote taken from last page of letter, listed as p. 16.

²⁴ Saddler and Harris, 19.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 19-21; Romo, *Ringside Seat*, 57. "More Revolutionists," *El Paso Times*, October 21, 1906.

²⁶ Romo, *Ringside Seat*, 57, 58; Morales, "El Paso and Juarez During the Mexican Revolution," 9; "Defensa Pronunciada Por Juan Sarabia," *La Reforma Social*, 8 January 1907; Estrada, "Border Revolution," 38-43; "Juan Sarabia Díaz," http://redescolar.ilce.edu.mx/redescolar/publicaciones/publi_quepaso/juansara.htm (accessed March 25, 2010).

²⁷ Romo, *Ringside Seat*, 58-60; Morales, "El Paso and Juarez During the Mexican Revolution," 10, 14; Estrada, 48.

²⁸ Antonio Villareal, *Regeneración*, September 3, 1910, in Romo, *Ringside Seat*, 55.

²⁹ Morales, "El Paso and Juarez," 29; Romo, 78-83.

³⁰ Middagh, 146-147; "American Property In Danger Near Smelter," *El Paso Herald*, April 11, 1911; "Friendliness For Americans Prevented Attack in Juarez Sunday," *El Paso Herald*, May 8, 1911; "Almost Made An Attack Sunday," *El Paso Herald*, May 8, 1911, p. 5.

³¹ "Villa Makes Goon On His Threat," *El Paso Herald*, May 10, 1911, p.3.

³² Middagh, 148, 152-153, 159.

³³ Estrada, 75.

³⁴ Estrada, 112; Leopoldo Borrás, *Del Periodismo Mexicano: Del Ocaso Porfirista al Derecho a la Información* (México: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1983), 25; Leonardo Ferreira, *Centuries of Silence: The Story of Latin American Journalism* (Westport: Praeger, 2006), 171.

³⁵ Ferreira, 172.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 172. "Metropolitan newspapers that loyally defended Huerta included *El Imparcial*, *El Noticio*, *El Herald de Occidente*, *El Independiente*, and *La Tribuna*" (*Ibid.*, 172).

³⁷ Elizabeth B. Marek, "La Revolución en al Exilio: Silvestre Terrazas y Su Periódico *La Patria*, 1919-1920" (Masters Thesis, University of Texas at El Paso, 1991), 42-43; Romo, 109.

³⁸ Elias L. Torres, *Twenty Episodes in the Life of Pancho Villa*, trans. Sheila M. Ohlendorf (Austin: Encino Press, 1973), 8- 9.

³⁹ Torres, 9; Paco I. Taibo, *Pancho Villa: Una Biographia Narrativa* (Mexico, D.F.: Planeta, 2006), 167-169; Sra. Luz Corral Vda. de Villa, interview by Richard M. Estrada, Ciudad Chihuahua, Mexico, September 14, 1975, in Estrada, "Border Revolution," 112, n 4; Torres writes that Villa returned to Mexico on March 9, 1913 (p. 9).

⁴⁰ *El Paso City Directory for 1906* (Dallas: John F. Worely Directory Co., 1905), 224; *El Paso City Directory for 1907* (Dallas: John F. Worely Directory Co., 1906), 269; *El Paso City Directory for 1908* (Dallas: John F. Worely Directory Co., 1908), 291; *Worley's Directory of El Paso, 1909* (Dallas: John F. Worely Directory Co., 1909), 251; *Worley's Directory of El Paso Texas, 1910* (Dallas: John F. Worely Directory Co., 1910), 227; *Worley's Directory of El Paso Texas, 1911* (Dallas: John F. Worely Directory Co., 1911), 238; *Worley's Directory of El Paso Texas, 1912* (Dallas: John F. Worely Directory Co., 1912), 226; *Worley's Directory of El Paso Texas, 1913* (Dallas: John F. Worely Directory Co., 1913), 279; *Worley's Directory of El Paso Texas, 1914* (Dallas: John F. Worely Directory Co., 1914), 339; *Worley's Directory of El Paso Texas, 1915* (Dallas: John F. Worely Directory Co., 1915), 255; *Worley's Directory of El Paso Texas, 1916* (Dallas: John F. Worely Directory Co., 1916), 325; *Worley's Directory of El Paso Texas, 1917* (Dallas: John F. Worely Directory Co., 1917), 373; *El Paso City Directory, 1918* (El Paso: Hudspeth Directory Co. 1918), 411; *El Paso City Directory, 1919* (El Paso: Hudspeth Directory Co. 1919), 411.

⁴¹ El Paso County Clerk, Official Public Records, "Release," Instrument No. 00017095360, Jan. 1, 1917<<http://www.co.el-paso.tx.us/clerk/deedsearch.asp>> (11 Mar 2010); David Romo, "Urban History Project: Mapping South Oregon Street, El Paso, Texas" (Essay for Urban History Methods, University of Texas at El Paso, Fall 2009), 10; Ferreira, 172; Friedrich Katz, *The Life and Times of Pancho Villa* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), 70, 722-725, 734.

⁴² Ferreira, 172.

⁴³ Stanley L. Robe, *Azuela and the Mexican Underdogs* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 84, 92.

⁴⁴ Robe, 91; Romo, "Urban History Project," 10.

⁴⁵ Robe, 85-86.

⁴⁶ "Huerta Y Blanquet Traicionaron A Madero," *El Paso Del Norte*, February 20, 1913, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections. University of Texas at El Paso, Microfilm.

⁴⁷ "Los Judas Huerta Y Blanquet," *El Paso Del Norte*, February 21, 1913, and "Nueva Revolucion En Mexico," *El Paso Del Norte*, February 23, 1913, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections, University of Texas at El Paso, Microfilm.

⁴⁸ Antonio Agoyta, Editorial, *El Paso Del Norte*, February 27, 1913, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁴⁹ "La Revolucion Crece Grandemente En Todo La Republica," *El Paso Del Norte*, February 26, 1913, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁵⁰ "Viva El Constitucionalismo!" *El Paso Del Norte*, July 8, 1913, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁵¹ "El Señor Gral. Don Francisco Villa: Algunos Antecedentes De Su Vida Militar," *El Paso Del Norte*, July 29, 1913, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁵² "El Gral. Villa Va Sobre Chihuahua," *El Paso Del Norte*, October 22, 1913, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁵³ "La Columna de Gral. Villa es Invencible," *El Paso Del Norte*, November 1, 1913, and "El Victorioso General Villa En Ciudad Juarez," *El Paso Del Norte*, November 27, 1913, C.L. Sonnechsinn Special Collections.

⁵⁴ Francisco Villa, "Al Publico," *El Paso Del Norte*, November 1, 1913, and "Pobre Traidor Huerta, La Marijuana Lo Tiene Loco," *El Paso Del Norte*, December 30, 1913, p. 4, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁵⁵ "El Primer Jefe Toma Posesion Del Gobierno," *El Paso Del Norte*, August 16, 1914; Elias L. Torres, "Los Crimenes De Huerta," *El Paso Del Norte*, August 16, 1914, p. 2, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁵⁶ Elias L. Torres, "Los Crimenes De Huerta," *El Paso Del Norte*, August 16, 1914, p. 2, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁵⁷ "Hoy Entrada Mexico A General Carranza," *El Paso Del Norte*, August 18, 1914, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁵⁸ "Todos Seran Constitucionalistas," *El Paso Del Norte*, August 20, 1914; "Los Hombres De La Revolucion Estan Unidos," September 15, 1914, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁵⁹ "Importante Carta Al General Francisco Villa," *El Paso Del Norte*, August 20, 1914, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁶⁰ "Se Agrava De Nuevo La Situacion En Sonora," *El Paso Del Norte*, September 11, 1914; "El General Francisco Villa Ha Mandado Municiones A Maytorena," *El Paso Del Norte*, September 24, 1914, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁶¹ "Francisco Villa Sera Severamente Castigado," and "FCO. Villa En Abierta Rebelion," *El Paso Del Norte*, September 25, 1914, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ "Carranza Renunciara Abte La Convencion," *El Paso Del Norte*, October 1, 1914; "La Convencion Usurpa El Poder De La Nacion," and "Los Cientifico Desean Estar Al Lado De Villa," *El Paso Del Norte*, October 17, 1914, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁶⁴ "El Cuartelazo de Francisco Villa y El Cuartelazo de la Convencion," *El Paso Del Norte*, October 29, 1914, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Robe, 85.

⁶⁷ "Un Multimillonario Americano Ayuda A Los Traidores Villistas," *El Paso Del Norte*, November 21, 1914; "Nuestro Enemigo Invisible Esta En Wall Street," *El Paso Del Norte*, November 22, 1914, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁶⁸ "Angeles Perdio 20 Piezas De Artilleria En El Combate Cerca De Guadalajara," and "La Moneda Villista Ha Quedado Sin Ningun Valor En Mexico," *El Paso Del Norte*, December 1, 1914, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁶⁹ "El Cobarde Villa Huye Hacia El Norte De Mexico," *El Paso Del Norte*, December 15, 1914, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁷⁰ "Francisco Villa es un Predestino del mal," *El Paso Del Norte*, December 20, 1914, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁷¹ "Enorme Derrota de Villa" *El Paso Del Norte*, April 8, 1915, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections; "14,000 Hombres Y 30 Cañones Perdio Villa El Combate Al N. De Celaya: Al Empuje De Las Fuerzas De La

Libertad, Huyen Convencidas D'Su Impotencia Las Hordas D'Villa," *El Paso Del Norte*, April 16, 1915, C. L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁷² "Se Rindio La Guarnicion De Ciudad Juarez," *El Paso Del Norte*, December 21, 1915, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Robe, 92. Luis Leal, *Mariano Azuela* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1971), 24-28.

⁷⁵ For examples see *El Paso Del Norte*, January, February, and March, 1917, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁷⁶ "Commentrarios," *El Paso Del Norte*, January 13, 1917, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections. Deroteo Arango was Villa's original name.

⁷⁷ Robe, 86.

⁷⁸ "Miente 'El Times,'" *El Paso Del Norte*, December 23, 1914, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁷⁹ "Que El Paso Morning Times No Pasara A Territorio Dominado Por El Gobierno," *El Paso Del Norte*, December 21, 1915, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁸⁰ "Mexican Paper Suppressed: Carranza Organ Had Sensational Article Calling Countrymen to Prepare for Defense," *The Daily Free Press*, vol. 13, no. 135, March 16, 1916; "Mexican Editor Held: Paper Suppressed," *El Paso Morning Times*, March 15, 1916, p.5; "Papers and Forms of Mexican Newspaper Seized by Police," *El Paso Herald*, March 15, 1916, p. 3; "Spanish Papers Suppressed to Prevent False Reports," *El Paso Herald*, March 11, 1916, p. 2; "Editor Mexican Newspaper Held by Local Police," *El Paso Morning Times*, March 26, 1916, p. 11; "Mexican Newspapers can Publish: Politics Barred," *El Paso Morning Times*, March 18, 1916, p. 7, University of Texas at El Paso Library Microfilm Dept.

⁸¹ Romo, "Urban History," 10.

⁸² Elizabeth B. Marek, "La Revolución Mexicana En El Exilio: Silvestre Terrazas Y Su Periodico *La Patria*" (master's thesis, University of Texas at El Paso, 1991), 142, 151, 158.

⁸³ Blanca Rodríguez, "Fronteras y Literature: El Periódico *La Patria* (El Paso, Texas, 1919-1925)," *Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos*, vol. 19, no. 1(2003): 108; Sandels, 37. Quote from Sandels.

⁸⁴ Sandels, 38-39.

⁸⁵ Marek, 33-36.

⁸⁶ Marek, 39; "Mexican Editor Jailed," *Rake Register*, April 11, 1907, p. 2. Access Newspaper Archive, n.d., < <http://0-access.newspaperarchive.com.lib.utep.edu/Viewer.aspx?img=144060980&firstvisit=true&src=search¤tResult=2> > (6 April 2010); Sandels, 152-154.

⁸⁷ Sandels, 200-201; Marek, 41-43.

⁸⁸ Marek, 43-44; Rodríguez, 109, 118.

⁸⁹ Sandels, 202.

⁹⁰ Margarita Terrazas (daughter of Silvestre Terrazas), interview by Leon C. Metz, October 24, 1967, Institute of Oral History. C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

⁹¹ Rodríguez, 110-111.

⁹² Originally referenced in Marek, 51-52; Quoted from “Clarinated De Union,” *La Patria*, January 1, 1919, Microfilm, University of Texas at El Paso Library, MF 487, roll 1.

⁹³ Saddler and Harris, 355-356; Marek, 51-53.

⁹⁴ Marek, 53.

⁹⁵ “Policromas,” *La Patria*, January 4, 1919, p. 3, Microfilm, University of Texas at El Paso Library, MF 487, roll 1.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Marek, 58.

⁹⁸ “Hay La Gran Expectacion Por Conocer La Suerte De Chihuahua,” *La Patria*, June 3, 1919, Microfilm, University of Texas at El Paso Library, MF 487, roll 1.

⁹⁹ “Chihuahua Sigue Como Siempre Incomunicada Con El Exterior,” *La Patria*, June 5, 1919, Microfilm, University of Texas at El Paso, MF 487, roll 1.

¹⁰⁰ “Ciudad Juarez Esta Cayendo: El Empuje del los Revolucionarios es Irresistible,” and “El Gral. Villa Envía Una Nota Antes De Atacar Juarez,” *La Patria*, June 15, 1919, Microfilm, University of Texas at El Paso, MF 487, roll 1.

¹⁰¹ “E.U. Dan Leccion A Carranza,” *La Patria*, June 16, 1919, Microfilm, University of Texas at El Paso, MF 487, roll 1.

¹⁰² “Los Americanos Reciben Orden De Salir Inmediamente De La Republica Hacia La Frontera,” and “El Gobierno De Carranza Dice Ahora Que Nunca Ha Pedido Bi Pedira Auvilio A Los EE. UU,” and “Que Vergüenza para los Carrancistas,” in *La Patria*, June 18, 1919, Microfilm, University of Texas at El Paso, MF 487, roll 1.

¹⁰³ “A Que Vino El Enviado Especial De Villa,” and “El General F. Angeles Pedia Del Gral. Erwin Explicacion Por El Paso De Fuerzas Ame,” and “La Carrancista de Bulto,” in *La Patria*, June 21, 2010, Microfilm, University of Texas at El Paso, MF 487, roll 1.

¹⁰⁴ “La Carrancista de Bulto,” in *La Patria*, June 21, 2010, Microfilm, University of Texas at El Paso, MF 487, roll 1.

¹⁰⁵ “El Dictador V. Carranza Quiere Reelegirse En La Presidencia,” *La Patria*, July 4, 1919; “La Caida De Carranza Sera Un Hecho Cierta Con El Cambio De Politica Que Habra Hacia Mex.,” *La Patria*, July 8, 1919, Microfilm, University of Texas at El Paso, MF 487, roll 1.

¹⁰⁶ Marek 59, 73; “Carranza Muere Asesinado,” *La Patria*, May 22, 1920. Microfilm, University of Texas at El Paso, MF 487, roll 2.

¹⁰⁷ Marek, 59, 73, 144, 151-152.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 137.

¹⁰⁹ Marek, 137; “Importantes Declaraciones Del Gral. Angeles A La Prensa Asociada,” *La Patria*, June 17, 1919, Microfilm, University of Texas at El Paso, MF 487, roll 1; Saddler & Harris, 355-359, 368; Also see Romo, *Ringside Seat*, 254-255.

¹¹⁰ “F. Villa Cayo Muerte En Una Feroz Embocada,” *La Patria*, July 21, 1923; “La Muerte Tragica De Villa,” *La Patria*, July 22, 1923; “El Asesinato De Villa,” *La Patria*, August 13, 1923, Microfilm, University of Texas at El Paso, MF 487, roll 6.

¹¹¹ Marek, 16; Margarita Terrazas, interview, C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections.

¹¹² Chester Chope (*El Paso Times* Reporter), interview by William Cleveland, July 27, 1968, Institute of Oral History. C.L. Sonnichsen Special Collections, transcript no. 27.

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