

Radical Border Crossers: The Industrial Workers of the World and their Press in Latin America¹

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Whenever I ask my students to tell me what the I.W.W. was, invariably the first answer that comes up is that it was the acronym for the “International Workers of the World.” Aside from the inaccurate redundancy, I think this answer unwittingly points to an under-appreciated truth about the Industrial Workers of the World—that it was an early 20th-century organization with a truly global reach, filled with activists who eagerly crossed international borders in support of causes that they sometimes strategically framed as local but which clearly fit into a broad plan of worldwide syndicalist revolution linked with anarchism. This goes against the grain of much of the historiography of the organization, which is tied to nation-based studies and often misses the internationalist orientation of the syndicalist movement. Founded in Chicago in 1905 as an alternative to the reformist, craft-union based American Federation of Labor, the I.W.W. spread globally through its industry-based unions, particularly the Marine Transport Workers Union, #510, and through a varied and vibrant press which sought to reach the “unorganizable”—European immigrants, blacks, Chinese, Mexicans, women, children, the unskilled—by way of an appealing revolutionary message that a better world was possible through the application of syndicalist principles of social organization and direct action. In the first three decades of the 20th century, the I.W.W. was able to establish chapters, meeting halls or newspapers in places as disparate as London; Stockholm; Antwerp; Hamburg, Bremerhaven, and Stettin, Germany; Vancouver and Port Arthur, Canada; Adelaide and Sydney, Australia; New Zealand; and South Africa, in addition to textile cities in New

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England, port cities along the Pacific Coast and the Gulf of Mexico including Los Angeles and New Orleans, lumber towns in Texas and Louisiana, and mining towns in Arizona and Minnesota.² Its history within the U.S. has been well documented and interpretations of its importance have been elaborated and revised, based on the newspapers it published, on manifestos and songs, on oral interviews collected in the 1970s, and on mainstream accounts of the repression that its militancy engendered from local police, businessmen, railroad agents, vigilantes and the court system.³ The I.W.W.'s were vilified, beaten, tortured, tarred and feathered, sentenced to long prison terms under conspiracy laws, and occasionally murdered, but they continued to publish their vision of a new society, write songs to inspire action and recruit new members, even as their offices were ransacked and their members forcibly removed from plazas, camps, trains and public spaces. They inspired such fear in those with property that they were run out of towns and sometimes forcibly abandoned in deserts without food, water or clothing.⁴ They got the reputation of being dangerous and persistent.

Such a mobile and storied organization should not have gone unnoticed in Latin America, but historians of that region have largely relegated it to a sidebar of labor history, if they have noticed it at all.⁵ The most detailed treatment we have is a three-decade-old M.A. thesis on the I.W.W. in Chile, which tends to rely more on Wobbly newspapers in the U.S. than on those published in Chile for accounts of strikes, meetings and repression. The author later published a more general book on the history of organized labor in Chile, but the I.W.W. does not feature prominently in that narrative. There have been a handful of articles published on the I.W.W. in Mexico, but overall so little has been unearthed about it that labor historians of Latin America are often surprised to learn that what they considered to be strictly a U.S. organization was active in many countries of their region.⁶ One reason for this lacuna may be that the activities of the I.W.W. do not fall neatly into narratives of radicalism driven by workers in export industries or ones in which anarchism is seen as a primitive stage on the path to stronger forms of unionism tied to political parties. In short, the I.W.W. is a missing chapter in Latin American labor history and the I.W.W. in Latin America is a missing chapter in the global history of the Wobblies. One way to rectify this situation is to view the organization through a spatial perspective.

The geography of the I.W.W. in Latin America is remarkable for its breadth, while the organization is also notable for its longevity, sometimes extending into the 1930s, long after it ceased to be important to the U.S. labor movement, though by this time it suffered from internal splits as well as harsh repression. It took root most extensively in Chile, with locals or newspapers established in the northern mining town of Iquique, the main port of Valparaíso, the capital city of Santiago and the secondary cities of Concepción, Talcahuano and Talca,

beginning in 1918. By 1925, the I.W.W. had an estimated 10,000 members in the Andean country.⁷ The confederation was also active in a number of other Latin American nations during the 1910s and 1920s. Pushed by the open ideological space created by the Mexican Revolution of 1910, the I.W.W. was able to maintain a significant presence in the oil town of Tampico on the Gulf Coast and in Baja California on the Pacific Coast, as well as in the textile city of Orizaba, a mining town in the state of Chihuahua, and the capital of Mexico City. Militants who had been active in the American Southwest were key contributors to this cross-border organizing effort, as we will see shortly. Beyond these two key countries, the I.W.W. also found adherents and sympathizers in the ports of Puerto de Tierra in Puerto Rico, Guayaquil in Ecuador, Callao and Mollendo in Peru, Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, Buenos Aires in Argentina, and Montevideo in Uruguay. The two most interesting points about this geography are that it demonstrates a mobility of both people and ideas across the seas in the 1910s and 1920s and that it is primarily urban in nature, precisely the characteristics most conducive to creating a vibrant alternative press dedicated to disseminating the theory and practice of revolution from around the globe and fomenting local actions to bring about a new society devoid of the exploitative relations that marked the early industrial era.

The organization's varied press provides a useful and underutilized window on its activities, aspirations and limits in many parts of Latin America. Though often the targets of violent repression by the state and by vigilantes, a surprising number of papers survived for more than a year, documenting boycott campaigns and strikes while disseminating translated anarchist and syndicalist tracts from Europe and the United States. Chile featured the I.W.W. organs *La Voz del Mar* and *Mar y Tierra* of Valparaíso, *Acción Directa* and *Hoja Sanitaria* of Santiago, *El Productor* of Iquique, and *Bandera Roja* of Concepción, probably the most extensive I.W.W. press in a nation outside of the U.S. Another I.W.W. press took root in Mexico and along the U.S.-Mexico border and it included *El Rebelde* and *Huelga General* of Los Angeles, *La Unión Industrial* of Phoenix, *El Obrero Industrial* of Tampico, *Palanca Obrera* of Torreón, and *El Comunista de México* of Mexico City. The most consistent publication among these was *Acción Directa*, which published from 1920 to 1927, but *Mar y Tierra* published intermittently over a longer period (from 1911 to 1921); *La Voz del Mar* published over a six-year period (1924-1930) with a significant interruption, while *El Productor* had a run of three consecutive years (1921-1923).⁸ Some of these papers served as the organs for specific occupational groups that published them, such as oil workers in Tampico, seamen in Valparaíso and taxi drivers in Montevideo, and circulation was usually in the thousands, which suggests that the I.W.W. had an influence that was far greater than its modest membership numbers would

indicate.⁹ In general, these papers were four to eight pages, published bi-monthly or monthly, and combined news of local actions and meetings, and descriptions of poor workplace conditions and exploitative treatment, with news of I.W.W. activities throughout the Americas, diatribes against individual employers, and calls to improve support for the organization through the regular payment of dues. With the exception of *El Rebelde*, they did not generally feature the visionary graphics and mobilizing cartoons that made the I.W.W. papers in the U.S. famous, but they did document the cultural aspects of the organization and everyday life, including inspirational poetry, notices of picnics and funerals, advice on hygiene, and information on worker libraries, which has been central to the revision of I.W.W. history toward an entity that operated under international influences.¹⁰

The notion of re-envisioning the I.W.W. geographically as a global defense organization for workers, more along the lines of its stated principles, is not a new one. Marking the centenary of the founding of the I.W.W. in 2005, U.S. social historian Paul Buhle summarized the legacy of the Wobblies, which he characterized as a relatively small organization, propelled by the militancy of a mostly immigrant membership with a utopian vision of a more equitable and collective society built on the basis of industrial unionism, or the One Big Union. He noted that it was undermined by both state repression in the 1920s and internal divisions about centralized leadership vs. decentralized militancy. He traced the persistent memory of the I.W.W. through the Congress of Industrial Organizations' sit-down strikes of the 1930s, in the buttons worn by members of the Students for a Democratic Society in the 1960s, in organizing among timber workers in California during the 1980s and at a union vote at a Manhattan Starbucks franchise that was won by an I.W.W. local in 2004. Then he noted a way in which the federation has become relevant to a new generation of workers and activists:

...The globalism that had been at the very heart of the Wob understanding has become increasingly real in daily life. Workers of many countries now have no choice. They are being forced into solidarity with each other for dignity and survival, even if the official labor leaders maintain an outdated and conservative approach to the rapidly changing world economy. Antiglobalization demonstrations from Seattle to Manhattan to Latin America, Europe and Asia, often brought out Wobbly signs for the best possible reasons. Perhaps after a century, the organic basis for IWW-envisioned success has finally arrived.¹¹

Buhle's assessment puts forward two important ideas. It suggests first that the study of the history of the I.W.W. may be more relevant in an era of so-called globalization than it was in the 1960s and 1970s when the organization emerged from the dustbin as a worthy topic of inquiry, though largely limited to its activities within the United States. It also points to an aspect of the revolutionary project of the Industrial Workers of the World that has not been taken very seriously by historians: that it was an organization devoted to overturning an entire social and economic system, capitalism and "wage slavery", which it viewed as destructive, inequitable and unsustainable. It sought to do this by organizing workers from all types of backgrounds across the globe into industrial unions that crossed national borders, just as capital organized investment and the forms of production. The general trend of historiography on the I.W.W. has been to envision it as a U.S. organization and concentrate on describing local activities such as strikes and free speech fights, and especially the repression of the I.W.W., within the limited context of the first Red Scare. DeShazo and Robert J. Halstead complained in an unpublished article manuscript in 1974 that "historians have generally paid little attention to IWW internationalism,"¹² while three decades later Franklin Rosemont detailed the small amount of attention that key I.W.W. histories devoted to the Mexican Revolution in which hundreds of Wobblies played a role.¹³ Scholars have been reluctant to take the I.W.W. at its word and treat it as a decentralized organization with global aspirations. Viewed with a broader lens, it is clear that the Wobblies had effective and extensive networks that took advantage of local opportunities and conditions, arose in a variety of locales at different times, and gave safe haven to anarchists as they fled repression and rethought strategies of resistance.

This essay explores three key interrelated themes in I.W.W. strategy and ideology and sets them within an international, rather than a national, context. These elements of the Wobbly universe are: 1) the increasing geographic mobility of the modern worker in the early 20th century, especially under the pressure of state repression; 2) the rhetoric of direct action, including respect and dignity of the worker and the unifying notion of solidarity that framed an analysis of the limits of state and employer authority; and 3) the organization's creation of spaces of resistance, in border zones, mass demonstrations and funerals which enabled it to have an influence that went well beyond its limited membership rolls. This article goes beyond previous research by examining in some detail the I.W.W. press that arose in Latin America and along the U.S.-Mexico border zone, as well as relevant archival documents. My intention is to put forward an analysis attuned to geographical mobility that will reveal a more integrated organization than that portrayed in the current historiography.

Mobility and the Geography of the I.W.W. in Latin America

The I.W.W. was an eminently modern organization. It put forward innovative work rules and it argued rationally for a reorganization of society along syndicalist lines, which it deemed

an entirely new departure in the domain of social organization, a discovery that is right now, at this very moment engaged in no smaller a task than revolutionizing the whole world. ... Most every intelligent worker now-a-days recognizes as a fact that capitalism is going to pieces, and that a new system of owning and operating the means of production and distribution is going to take its place. The I.W.W. claims to have discovered that system and is now perfecting it as fast as it can, with the hope of having the structure of the new society ready to take the place of capitalism, when the latter no longer can perform the functions of society.¹⁴

One of the most compelling aspects of its modernist ethos was its promotion of mobility among its adherents as a strategic response to the actions of employers and government agents. It used the U.S. railroad system to mobilize hundreds of workers from around the country to the sites of major strikes or free speech fights. In Latin America, the mobility of I.W.W. militants often paralleled the mobility of capital. Towns that were structured by foreign capital, such as the oil town of Tampico in Mexico or the mining town of Iquique in Chile, attracted I.W.W. followers who recruited migrant workers and engaged in the strategy of direct action. Latin American I.W.W. locals were neither accidental in origin nor centrally orchestrated from the United States, emerging instead from a combination of local necessity and external intellectual and political influences. The appearance of the I.W.W. in Latin America came somewhat later, and a bit more haphazardly, than the pattern it developed within the United States. The areas of Latin America where the I.W.W. was most visible were Chile and Mexico, where industrialization occurred somewhat late and the organization of labor confederations was consequently delayed.

In Chile, the I.W.W. began forming unions just at the close of the First World War. Unlike Argentina, Brazil and Cuba, the Chilean labor movement did not have a significant immigrant component and so the tactic of deporting union organizers, so effectively used elsewhere in the Southern Cone, could not be as widely employed by the government to repress the movement. Instead, I.W.W. members were often pushed from the ports into other regions of the country, a tactic that contributed to the organization's growth. In the eight years following

its first nationwide convention in 1919, the Wobblies established locals in 19 different cities and towns in Chile. Besides dockworkers and seamen, the Chilean I.W.W. also attracted streetcar workers, bakers, teamsters, shoemakers, railroad freight handlers, printers, construction crews and female factory workers to its ranks.¹⁵ It also gained many sympathizers among students.¹⁶ It is interesting to note that many of these occupations were connected to the transport sector.

The main stronghold of the I.W.W. in Chile was the port city of Valparaíso. A Wobbly named Juan Onofre Chamorro, who worked as a sailor and a butcher, gained experience organizing a general strike there in 1913 and eventually went on to publish the I.W.W. newspaper, *Mary Tierra*, in 1917. I.W.W. sailors brought literature into the port and made contacts with port workers. The Marine Transport Workers Union, one of the strongest in the I.W.W., was composed of a large contingent of Spanish-speaking sailors who created an effective informational network along the Pacific and Atlantic Coasts during this period. One U.S. Shipping Board agent claimed in 1922 that the organization “practically controlled all shipping on the Atlantic Coast.”¹⁷ These sailors were joined in Valparaíso by a small group of Wobblies who had been deported from Australia during World War One when the organization was outlawed there.¹⁸ The I.W.W. in Australia attracted an estimated 2,000 members in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and other cities and towns and became perceived as a threat when it launched free-speech fights and parades and mass meetings that drew over 10,000 participants. It established libraries and also stressed anti-militarism in its publications, which were seized in raids by the government, though some copies were sent to sister publications in Latin America. Those deported were convicted of being members of the I.W.W. and advocating anti-war policies. At least 29 Wobblies were deported as part of the suppression of the organization and at least 13 of them were put ashore in Chile in 1918. Eight were placed on one ship, including Tom Barker, one of the most important leaders of the I.W.W. in Australia; two Danes, one of whom had joined the I.W.W. in Seattle; a Russian Jew born in London; two Americans; Alexander Rosenthal, an Englishman; and T. Dillon, an Irishman. This group landed in Chile in August 1918 and discovered that the Valparaíso I.W.W. already had about 300 members and a newspaper. The deportees, who were without spare clothing and few resources, made their way as best they could under these circumstances, some going to Buenos Aires, some to the Chilean capital of Santiago, while others stayed in the port. The British subjects were given a small amount of money upon landing and then were harassed by the local police to the point that they were unable to find jobs.¹⁹ Their fortunes followed different paths.

[Tom] Barker wrote again on 16 December to Laidlaw to say that Rosenthal was earning 300 Chilean dollars working on the local tramway, Muhlberg was boat building, Barker was about to take a job as an assistant to a consulting engineer and Tom Dillon, unfortunately, was in hospital recovering from attempted suicide owing, said Barker, 'to the villainous treatment here.'²⁰

This coalition of itinerant Wobblies, foreign merchantmen and Chilean anarchists had a startling impact on a relatively late developing labor movement that was slow to move from traditional resistance societies to larger confederations, even in its major cities.²¹ By 1920, Barker and Muhlberg were back in Europe, but in May 1921 the 2nd Regional Convention of the Chilean I.W.W. was held in Valparaíso and drew delegates from ten cities, nearly one-third of whom worked in the ports or on ships.²² By the early 1920s, the I.W.W. virtually controlled the docks of Valparaíso and had attracted some 9,000 members.²³ In this decade the Wobblies organized mass strikes, May Day rallies, boycotts and demonstrations in a variety of cities, from the capital of Santiago to the mining port of Iquique and the northern nitrate fields, and from Valparaíso to southern ports such as Punta Arenas and Concepción. *La Voz del Mar* regularly ran boxes in large bold type admonishing its readers to boycott one or another of the shipping companies that were involved in labor disputes. Most interestingly, it also tied the I.W.W. to a tradition of resistance in the port city, predating the union's existence and harking back to an infamous uprising, using the unique link of industrial unionism.

Hacen más de veinte años que en el Puerto de Valparaíso se planteó la idea de laborar en pro de unificar a los trabajadores marítimos de Chile en una gran Unión.

Pero esta noble aspiración, salida del cerebro de un novicio, en aquella época no pudo llevarse a feliz término debido a la falta de cohesión de parte de los trabajadores, que a pesar de haberse portado como verdaderos hombres en la jornada de 12 de Mayo de 1903, desconocían la grandiosidad de una poderosa organización de los trabajadores del Mar.

Y así transcurrieron los años, hasta que las continuas caídas y levantadas, hicieron recapacitar a muchos compañeros y con la aparición de la I.W.W. por primera vez en este Puerto, se ha venido a apreciar más lo que antes se creyó una utopía.²⁴

The I.W.W. also engaged in the struggle to establish the 8-hour day on board steamships that frequented the Valparaíso port. This was waged ship by ship, with a three-day strike in May 1925, until the union won an agreement with the *Compañía Sud America* to pay overtime for work outside of the regular work-day of 7 a.m. to 5 p.m., with two hours off for meals.²⁵ The I.W.W. also fought blacklisting by the shipping firm of González and Soffia and Co.²⁶ In 1922 in Santiago, the I.W.W. became involved in a lock-out of the tile firm Roberto Matta and Company, initiated by a partner who became frustrated with his workers when they did not respond positively to his offer of a football and boxing gloves on condition of leaving the union.²⁷

Not all of the resistance activities in Chile were focused on workplace issues. The “Centro de Estudios I.W.W.” was established in Talca, while in Valparaíso the I.W.W. organized a campaign against the exportation of staple foods such as potatoes and grains from Chile during a time when the rising cost of living was creating misery among workers’ families, and in Concepción the I.W.W. local mobilized a campaign against poor housing conditions that contributed to tuberculosis in worker barrios.²⁸ The I.W.W. was also involved in organizing a protest in 1926 at the corner of Avenida Matta and San Diego, in Santiago, against the planned execution in the United States of Sacco and Vanzetti.²⁹

These activities brought the Wobblies to the attention of the authorities, for which they paid a heavy price. A letter from the Chilean I.W.W. to the Chicago paper *The One Big Union Monthly* in January 1921 described the police crackdown in these terms:

We are passing through a period of repression which for savage ferocity has never been equalled in this country...

There are large numbers of our comrades and fellow workers in the jails of Chile; over 100 in Santiago, 25 in Valparaíso, as many more in Concepción, Iquique, Caleta Buena, Antofagasta, Tocopilla, Punta Arenas and other localities...

They have destroyed and sacked the offices of the Students’ Federation of Santiago and of the local unions of the Industrial Workers of the World in Santiago and Valparaíso...

In the face of the acquiescent [sic] police, a mob of clericals [sic] and patriots, made up of students of the religious colleges and military in civilian clothes, with the national flag and a portrait of the president at their head, proceeded to destroy all that stood for enlightenment and freedom for the workers and producers. They beat up our Fellow Worker Juan Gandulfo, a student, most cruelly,

because he would not obey their demands that he kiss the flag they were carrying...

In Valparaíso the same acts of barbarism took place, the I.W.W. hall being raided by police and soldiers, who entered the hall, revolver in hand, while the fellow workers were holding a special business meeting, and began to beat them right and left, until a couple of our comrades opposed their cowardly brutality and defended themselves with chairs... while other police and soldiers miraculously "found" dynamite and firearms of different kinds in the hall.³⁰

The motif of forced flag-kissing or destroying the flags of the I.W.W. while preserving Old Glory was also a favorite of vigilantes in the U.S. when they raided I.W.W. meetings or abducted Wobblies during free speech fights.³¹ It suggests that the internationalism of the Wobblies was recognized as antithetical to nationalist sentiments, especially during and after wars, and that this stance had definite political costs in any locale. Sometimes these costs were borne at a personal level, such as the case of Juan Demarchi, a foreigner and local I.W.W. leader who was going to be forcibly expelled from Chile in 1926 for supposed vagrancy after residing there for 26 years, working as a carpenter in Valparaíso, and fathering six children with two Chilean wives.³² Following protests, he was apparently allowed to remain in Chile.³³ The punishment of the I.W.W. also became visible on a collective level as issues of *La Voz del Mar* began to carry a box stating "Este periódico está sometido y revisado por la CENSURA MILITAR" and blocks of lines were blacked out in mid-sentence or large parts of columns were covered with the word "censurado" placed vertically on the page.³⁴

Even in the face of police repression and navy scabbing, the I.W.W. remained an important labor organization until the military coup of 1927 which crippled the Chilean left. Not only did the I.W.W. challenge capitalist interests at the workplace, but it took the struggle into working-class neighborhoods as well, organizing rent strikes in Valparaíso and Santiago in 1925.³⁵ It maintained this presence for over another decade, opening another newspaper in 1936 in the port with help from comrades in the United States and providing a free health clinic, library and theater to workers in the capital, which lasted into the 1940s.³⁶ Thus the Wobblies contributed to the maintenance of a working-class culture in Chile in a substantial way well after they had passed their prime as an international organization. The intense repression of the 1920s also affected the geography of the I.W.W. in the Southern Cone by forcing the staffs of newspapers to relocate. *Acción Directa* of Santiago, the most important vehicle for the dissemination of IWW ideas and activities in Chile, published its 50th issue in February 1928 from

Buenos Aires with a new tag line in the masthead: “Edición de los deportados, emigrados anarquistas e I.W.W. de Chile.”³⁷

The case of I.W.W. involvement in Mexican politics is better known. While Mexico had arguably the most advanced labor movement in the artisan period of the 1870s, this had mostly collapsed under the dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz and was in a rebuilding phase when the Mexican Revolution broke out in 1910.³⁸ Anarchists made use of the relative lack of state surveillance during the revolutionary period to establish labor organizations in Mexico City and in other urban areas. Although a Mexican branch of the I.W.W. was not formally organized until September of 1919, at the end of the violent period of revolution, American Wobblies did play a small role in the fighting itself.³⁹ The U.S. I.W.W. had supported the Mexican Liberal Party (P.L.M.), organized by Ricardo Flores Magón, as early as 1906, when both groups were in their infancy. When the P.L.M. attempted to set up an anarchist commune in Baja California in 1911, scores of Wobblies from California and other border states, many bearing European nationalities, joined the force which defended the seized land.⁴⁰ They were led by a truck driver of German parentage from Sonora who was raised in Los Angeles.⁴¹ The commune lasted six months before it was destroyed by government troops, with much of the P.L.M. leadership going into exile in California.

In the period between the fall of the Baja commune and the establishment of a central I.W.W. administration within Mexico, the Wobblies carried out a concerted propaganda campaign through their press, which was established in ports and border cities such as Los Angeles, Phoenix and Tampa. Mexican workers who had migrated to work on mines in Arizona had already encountered the I.W.W., and many of them returned to work in Northern Mexico, bringing syndicalist ideology and strategy home with them. The key newspapers in this group are *El Obrero Industrial*, a four-page “semanario sindicalista” published in Tampa from 1912 to at least 1914, organ of Local 102 whose benefactors had mostly Spanish surnames but which also received aid from I.W.W. locals as far away as Des Moines, Kansas City, Sacramento, San Francisco and Salt Lake City;⁴² *Huelga General*, from Los Angeles, which published at the same time in a bi-lingual edition and which folded in its second year for lack of funds;⁴³ *El Rebelde*, which succeeded it, edited also by José B. Corona, beginning in 1915 and lasting at least until 1917, a four-page bi-monthly; and *La Unión Industrial* of Phoenix, edited by M.R. Cuéllar, another four-page bi-monthly newspaper that came out at the opening of the Mexican Revolution of 1910 and lasted at least two years.⁴⁴ A number of these publications shared members of their executive boards and the interaction with the P.L.M. was significant. According to Josef Barton, “Through the short-lived but aggressive newspapers of the Mexican Liberal Party and the Industrial Workers of the World—thirty-nine of them appeared

between 1907 and 1913—these fragile groups [of migrant workers in Texas] not only maintained connections but even coordinated defense campaigns.⁷⁴⁵

I.W.W. ideas were also brought in to the oil port of Tampico on the Atlantic Coast by the ever-present Marine Transport Workers Union. According to historian Dan La Botz, Herman P. Levine, aka Martin Paley, aka Mischa Poltiovlevsky, a former socialist who turned to anarchosyndicalism, moved to Tampico around 1919 and found that the Spanish-speaking crew of the *C.A. Canfield* had arrived three years earlier and had started recruiting members to the I.W.W. Levine proceeded to ally with other American and Mexican militants and to edit the union's newspaper, *El Obrero Industrial*, before being deported in 1921.⁴⁶ Within a short time, I.W.W. organizers were leading strikes against both oil companies and shipping companies. According to historian Norman Caulfield,

The IWW's actions and the state's use of military force fueled the organizational development and militant character of the region's working-class movement. In late 1916 Mexican IWW organizer Pedro Coria arrived in Tampico from Arizona, where he had been organizing miners and distributing IWW literature. In January 1917, Coria helped establish Tampico IWW union, MTW Local #100.⁴⁷

The I.W.W. also benefitted from the fact that Tampico was located on a railroad line that connected it with the United States. In the small town of González, situated two hours north of Tampico, the union established a farm that housed as many as sixty members as a "waystation" to the oil port. The U.S. Consul reported in 1923 that many of these men were from Los Angeles, including some important leaders.⁴⁸

While the I.W.W. counted approximately 800 members in Tampico in the early 1920s, it had grown strong enough to lead a strike of an estimated 10,000 workers in the port. This power stemmed in part from its organizational ties to the Casa del Obrero Mundial, the anarchosyndicalist organization which grew up in Mexico City during the Revolution. A leader of the Casa, Lázaro Gutiérrez de Lara, had previously been an I.W.W. organizer in San Diego, California, the site of a free speech fight.⁴⁹ The Casa worked in opposition to the reformist CROM (Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana), the state-sanctioned labor federation that emerged from the Constitution of 1917. In the late 1910s, CROM and the American Federation Labor formed an alliance in opposition to the I.W.W. in Mexico. The cooperation between the Casa and the Wobblies, which dated from 1916, became one of self-defense and it allowed the I.W.W. to be effective in a variety of industries, from oil and shipping to mining and

construction in Tampico. Thus, the I.W.W. extended its influence across the international border and the Casa was able to build a significant base outside of its stronghold in Mexico City.

Mexican I.W.W.'s were a diverse group. Besides the occupations already mentioned in Tampico, the I.W.W. attracted railroad workers, as well as printers, streetcarmen and coffee processors in Mexico City, textile workers in Orizaba, bartenders, and even police and soldiers before 1920.⁵⁰ Nationwide, these probably did not exceed five or six thousand at any one time. As in the case of Chile, a number of these occupations feature mobility as part of their daily practice. But their mobility was also augmented by the fact that they often found themselves in living situations in which they were away from traditional limits on their behavior. One writer observes that "Tampico was a city of great tolerance. The usual censors of manners were almost absent. The extended family, the most effective watchdog, hardly existed among the working men, most of whom had migrated to Tampico alone, and church pressure could hardly be felt."⁵¹

Perhaps the most famous of the Mexican I.W.W.'s to cross the border was Primo Tapia de la Cruz. Tapia grew up in the state of Michoacán and left home as a young man for Los Angeles, where he began his ten-year U.S. sojourn in 1910. There he worked for the Flores Magón brothers, who were producing the newspaper *Regeneración*, and from them he learned both English and anarchism. He also became acquainted with the I.W.W. in Los Angeles, and served as a Wobbly organizer, eventually working in construction, mines, a sugar beet refinery and the railroads across an area that ranged from the Rockies to Nebraska and Texas. Primo had great skills as a bi-lingual orator, but the I.W.W. in the U.S. had been severely crippled by the Red Scare. After a failed strike in 1921 he returned to Mexico, joined the Communist Party, helped to organize the League of Agrarian Committees and eventually led an insurrection that seized land in the region of Michoacán. In 1926 he was tortured and then executed by Mexican federales.⁵²

The decline of the I.W.W. in Mexico may have as much to do with internal divisions as with government repression. It is a complicated story involving American opportunists, would-be Communists, re-alignments within the labor movement and the de-radicalization of the Mexican Revolution through the deaths of its primary leaders, including Ricardo Flores Magón, who died in exile in prison in the U.S. The Mexican state proved just as intolerant of syndicalism as its Chilean and American counterparts, outlawing public demonstrations in Tampico, conducting raids on I.W.W. offices and deporting or arresting union leaders. By 1925, the I.W.W. had ceased to function effectively in Tampico.

Although Chile and Mexico witnessed the lion's share of I.W.W. activity in Latin America from 1910 to 1930, there were other zones of I.W.W. organizing, as I have mentioned. The taxi drivers of Montevideo seem to be an unusual case

within the Uruguayan labor movement, not tied to the export-producing sector of the economy, though their affiliation with the anarchist labor confederation F.O.R.U. provided them with an effective leveraging network. Actually, their own informal network of daily interactions involving the city's vibrant café culture may have had the effect of spreading the idea of industrial unionism to waiters and their assistants, who formed a union that adopted I.W.W. principles in 1921.⁵³ The taxi drivers' monthly newspaper, *Hacia la Libertad*, had a press run of 5,000 copies, which must have been several times their union membership, again suggesting a significant influence in the capital city.⁵⁴ It is unclear how the taxi drivers came to be familiar with the I.W.W. in the first place, but as a port, Montevideo surely had members of the Marine Transport Workers Union drifting in and out of its downtown area on a regular basis, probably with Spanish-language newspapers in hand. We have seen that the Marine Transport Workers Union of the I.W.W. was already a significant presence in this city. This was the mechanism for spreading the organization to Peru as relayed in the pages of *La Voz del Mar*, an I.W.W. newspaper published in Valparaíso and carried by seamen up the Pacific Coast. A letter and a story printed in this newspaper in 1925 noted that sailors on two ships of the Compañía Sud Americana de Vapores joined with railroad workers and formed a local of the I.W.W. in the port city of Mollendo.⁵⁵ A strike in support of two fired workers of the Peruvian Corporation, which owned the railroad, was carried out at some risk, but local and global solidarity was central to the workers' motivating ideology.

Como Uds. recordarán el paro de nosotros se llevó a cabo entre los días 18 al 25 p.p.d., en el cual tuvimos el triunfo aunque amenazados por las Autoridades Militares, de ser deportados e internados a las montañas de este País, País en el cual imperan los Sayones, que quieren silenciar la voz del obrero con el terror.

Así mismo queridos camaradas Uds. nos harán el honor de llevar a todos los hermanos de la costa de Chile, nuestro abrazo de amistad como así nuestro mayor deseo de la unificación de el obrero con el obrero, porque, el que vive de sudor y las fatigas del trabajo, no debe conocer límites ni banderas, por esto es que no debemos separarnos de la I.W.W. la cual consideramos el árbol mayor en el mundo.⁵⁶

The Peruvian workers also sent money to *La Voz del Mar*, which responded by requesting that any Peruvian port workers solicit I.W.W. newspapers from crews in transit and that crew members headed for Peru stop by the union local in Valparaíso to pick up packages of the newspaper for transport to the north.⁵⁷

This was not the first incidence of I.W.W. activity in Peru. Two years earlier, the I.W.W. struck the Peruvian Central Lines in support of a veteran railroad worker who had been fired. They won his reinstatement with an industrial action that cut across craft lines on the railroad.⁵⁸

Another site of I.W.W. activity in South America was Ecuador. Alexei Paez maintains that Wobbly ideas circulated from the Chicago newspaper *Solidaridad* and were frequently discussed on Guayaquil's *malecón*, the primary public space of the port city.⁵⁹ The I.W.W. local in the port of Guayaquil was raided by police in 1924, resulting in the wounding of an I.W.W. newsboy, the burning of some 800 anarchist papers and 10,000 copies of the I.W.W. declaration of principles, and the destruction of a printing press and furniture.⁶⁰ What is most interesting about this account is that it confirms that I.W.W. ideas continued to be discussed, debated and violently opposed some two years after the greatest massacre of workers in the city's history, which is commonly thought to have paralyzed the national labor movement for a full decade. Paez reprints a letter from the leader of the I.W.W. in Guayaquil, suggesting that the organization continued to have a presence in the port until at least 1926.⁶¹

Lastly, the I.W.W. as both a new model of organization for workers and an advocate of direct action that bypassed the reformism of political parties exerted some influence on the labor movements of regions where it had no formal presence. In a meeting of labor militants in Rio de Janeiro in 1921, an anarchist-turned-communist "pulled out some papers and, reading aloud, gave a description of the organization of the IWW. He praised it for being 'one single, large union of all the workers, with a single secretariat, a single source of propaganda, and a single coordinating center.' ... The IWW suddenly became the great model. It was discussed in labor union meetings. *A Vanguarda* ran a series of articles, calling it 'a great proletarian organ' and explaining its objectives and methods."⁶²

It should also be noted that many of the I.W.W. locals that emerged across Latin America were in touch with each other. Some exchanged newspapers and made copies available to members, while others reprinted letters of greetings and solidarity, including one sent from Tampico to Chile in 1924 announcing the founding of a stevedores' local and a strike, and another from the "Grupo para la propaganda internacional" in Buenos Aires asking for copies of periodicals to be sent from neighboring countries.⁶³ Ship crews also carried information about the I.W.W. from port to port, including details of repression, which was sometimes reported in the Wobbly press. In response to one of these incidents, *Mar y Tierra* could not resist a bit of nationalist rhetoric mixed with the motif of class struggle:

Y que a pesar de todas las persecuciones, los trabajadores siguen siempre adelante en su obra emancipadora sin amedrentarse ante el peligro de verse linchados o encarcelados por las ordas salvajes del Gobierno y reyes del oro yankee.⁶⁴

But not all ship crews were welcomed with open arms. Jon Bekken writes that in 1925, following a strike called by the MTW along the Eastern U.S. coast in solidarity with British seamen, “The Baltimore MTW forwarded the names of scabs who shipped out to Latin America to the MTW affiliates there, so they could be greeted appropriately.”⁶⁵ This communication was facilitated by the fact that a large segment of the I.W.W. sailors in U.S. ports such as Philadelphia were Spanish, sometimes criss-crossing the Atlantic by way of Cuba, the only recently-liberated former Spanish colony. By some estimates, Spaniards often formed more than half of a ship’s crew and they frequently considered themselves anarchists, socialists and citizens of the world. Peter Cole notes that the “seamen often held their own meetings and established a Spanish-language library of IWW literature, songbooks, and fiction” and read I.W.W. papers like *El Rebelde* and *Cultura Obrera*.⁶⁶

There was also some interchange among activists from different regions, either through the reprinting of their essays and polemics or in person. Raúl Haya de la Torre, the Peruvian student leader who later would lead the populist APRA party, visited the editors of *Acción Directa* and they sent him home with an open letter to the workers of Peru from Luis Castro, the Secretary General of the I.W.W. in Chile, which they also published. It was filled with fraternal sentiments of international solidarity.⁶⁷ Pedro Esteve, who had published the New York-based I.W.W. newspaper *Cultura Obrera* from 1913-1914, had one of his essays serialized by *Bandera Roja* the following decade, beginning with their first issue.⁶⁸ Enrico Malatesta, the Italian anarchist who traveled throughout Latin America during a period of exile in the 1880s, had a short essay on property as theft published by *Hacia la Libertad* in its first issue.⁶⁹ He was one of many European anarchist thinkers whose work appeared in the I.W.W. press in Latin America. Santiago’s *Acción Directa* showed an interest in Mexican politics by reprinting an interview, on its front page, given by Enrique Flores Magón after he arrived back in Mexico from his exile in the U.S. in 1923.⁷⁰ The Valparaíso I.W.W. also maintained contact with the Federación Marítima of Callao, Peru, and the Chilean I.W.W. sent two delegates to the first meeting of the Asociación Continental Americana de Trabajadores in Buenos Aires in 1929, which included representatives of the labor movements in Argentina, Brazil, Uruguay, Bolivia, Paraguay, Mexico and Guatemala.⁷¹

The I.W.W.'s were a varied bunch of workers and revolutionaries, coming from many different countries and cultures and adhering to a range of ideologies that included anarchism, socialism and, on occasion, communism. Very, very few were women, and they tended to be located in women's traditional occupations, such as the group of washerwomen who unionized and adhered to the I.W.W. in Chile.⁷² But what sets them apart as a group from other labor organizations is their signature physical mobility and their social fluidity. Many moved between a number of occupations during their lives. Some were anchored firmly in work that was connected to the street or to movement of some sort—streetcar-men, taxi drivers, teamsters, seamen and railroad workers. Others used the railroad or the ship to move across national borders to take advantage of revolutionary opportunities as they arose or to flee harassment and repression at the hands of police or vigilantes. In many cases, they allied with comrades from different nationalities in the pursuit of a new syndicalist society.

The Wobbly, male or female, Asian or occidental, black, brown, red or white, was only an ordinary human being in physique. He or she was different most of all because of a *message* that was explained, preached, and sung around the campfires of bindlestiffs (agricultural workers carrying bedrolls or bindles) and timber wolves (lumber workers); at mess hall or commissary of hard rock miners and seamen; on the streets of mill villages but also in the social halls of Finnish-American, Hungarian, or Russian immigrants; across the borders in Canada and Mexico by men and women who moved from one job to another; and, for awhile, even in the parlors of Greenwich Village. ... The Wobblies, facing the emerging problem of working people at the dawn of the twentieth century, saw the international mobility of labor as well as capital as inevitable; they looked not to the craftsmen but to the unskilled mass workers in giant factories or agricultural and extractive enterprises, as the central figures in labor's hopes; and...the IWW embraced every worker as a basic principle of solidarity."⁷³

Solidarity and the Appeal of Direct Action

In many respects the following story appears familiar to anyone who has studied worker resistance in the early 20th century: a union calls for an assembly at its headquarters in downtown Montevideo for a Sunday evening in March 1922, after workers have had a chance to spend their day off with their families

and friends at the city's parks and beaches. Hundreds of taxi drivers show up for the meeting, spilling out "halfway into the street." For three hours, members take the podium to discuss the issue of the day and at midnight they vote to go out on strike for 36 hours. Some 20 carloads of workers drive through the city and its suburbs in the early morning hours informing those workers who could not attend the meeting about the impending strike with the result that by four in the morning, no vehicles remain in service and the city, in the eyes of one observer, is "a desert." The major labor organization of Uruguay, the anarchist *Federación Obrera Regional Uruguaya*, throws its support to the strike, in a gesture of solidarity. But here is the unusual part: the strike was called not for an increase in wages, nor for an improvement of working conditions, nor even to publicly chastise an abusive employer. Rather, it was provoked by the threatened detention and extradition to neighboring Argentina of a chauffeur, Ramon Silveyra,⁷⁴ by Uruguayan authorities in the border town of Carmelo. The fugitive had been condemned to prison for 20 years for an unspecified political crime. The union which called the strike, *The Sindicato Unico del Automóvil*, subscribed to the principles of the I.W.W. and it took quite seriously the motto "an injury to one is an injury to all." The taxi drivers employed the strategy of direct action, favored by the I.W.W., to influence a government that they did not support in principle, in defense of a fellow driver fleeing harassment in a neighboring country. But they also engaged in the action as a demonstration of working-class solidarity in support of a collectively envisioned social revolution that crossed national lines and had the power to disrupt daily life in one of the largest capital cities in Latin America.⁷⁵

One of the keys to understanding the I.W.W. as a global network is the universal appeal of its rhetoric and its strategy. Itinerant organizers such as Tom Barker, Pedro Coria, Primo Tapia, and Lázaro Gutiérrez de Lara, crossing oceans, borders and cultures to reach new recruits and aid the actions of established locals, needed a rhetoric that could be easily translated to different situations and which would be inclusive in its appeal. Direct action was simple to understand and attractive because it did not require years of political groundwork and party organizing before it could be deployed. Eschewing partisan politics, direct action focused attention squarely on a range of responses to employer abuse: sabotage and slowdown, boycott and strike. The short-term goal of these actions was self-defense and the possible amelioration of intolerable workplace conditions, while the long-term goal, particularly in the case of the general strike, was the abolition of the wage system and capitalism and the elimination of states that protected them. But before the instruments of direct action could be launched, workers had to be mobilized through words and concepts that were easily shared across borders, often through the medium of the I.W.W. press. The key

concepts in this mobilization were dignity, respect and solidarity, mentioned in Paul Buhle's centenary essay.

Perhaps the primary way that the I.W.W. connected with workers was to talk about exploitation and authority in its newspapers, and here is where it is most clearly linked to anarchism. In the face of the modernist currents of the time that stressed the general progress of society in the machine age, the I.W.W. press frequently referred to workers as "wage slaves" who were abused by capitalists and in need of emancipation, thus bringing traditional imagery from centuries long past to the campaign of contemporary class struggle. The humanity of workers was constantly juxtaposed to the "tyranny" of employers or government employees who abused authority. "Es absolutamente innegable que las condiciones en que se desarrodan [sic] las labores a borda de las naves, come en las embarcaciones menores, es por demas inhumana y bestial," begins a typical call for ship crews to join the I.W.W.⁷⁶ Taxi drivers facing hunger as a consequence of the lifting of their licenses by the city of Montevideo were admonished: "Esto tiene que dejar de existir. O somos hombres y procedemos como tales, or no somos nada."⁷⁷ Here are three more examples of rhetoric from the I.W.W. press that invoked human dignity:

Todos los desheredados que para poder vivir nesecitamos [sic] dependes de un amo que nos explote y use nuestras fuerzas, sujetas siempre al duro rigor de su capricho y bastardas ambiciones, no podemos menos que combenir que somos verdugos esclavos por que no tenemos voluntad propia ni podermos tenerla, para usar nosotros mismos el producto de nuestra inteligencia.⁷⁸

La organización de los *Trabajadores Industriales del Mundo*, es la expresión de la conciencia obrera, con ella se denominan los esclavos que han desechado las tacticas erroneas é ineficases que han adoptado los grupos aislados, es en las que se tiene la firme convicción de que las mejoras parciales ó extremas, han de ser el resultado de las fuerzas unidas de los trabajadores que de acuerdo luchan para conseguir lo que se proponen; los obreros que militan en esta organización han encontrado el camino que nos deberá llevar a nuestra emancipación económica.⁷⁹

Trabajadores de todo el litoral Marítimo: Luchemos por romper con el oprobioso sistema de esclavitud; pero para conseguir este fin supremo, necesitamos hombres que hayan perdido la noción de esclavos y los que aun se sienten apasionados corten las cadena ye se libertan, salgan al campo de la lucha, ya que la nueva hora marca el día de nuestra libertad. Salud y anarquía.⁸⁰

Beyond the notion of capitalism as a new form of servitude, and revolution as emancipation, the rhetoric of the I.W.W. press also questioned the idea of authority flowing naturally from social hierarchy. In cases when the I.W.W. launched boycotts of particular businesses or sought to put public pressure on an employer, the owner was often taken to task for an abuse of authority that undermined the human dignity of the workers he oversaw. The front page of an issue of *La Voz del Mar*, for example, described the poor conditions under which a crew worked on the steamship “Luisa,” owned by W. James and Co.: “Nos dicen los tripulantes que su alimentacion solo se compone de papas molidas, enteras, machucadas, fritas, entajadas, en fin, papas y mas papas.”⁸¹ It then turned its readers’ attention to the engineer:

Merece un párrafo aparte la conducta de este ingeniero conocido por despotismo y desprecio por la gente a bordo. Es el caso que su mal proceder no solo alcanza a los tripulantes sino que también a la oficialidad y los propios pasajeros. Su abuso consiste en mantener a bordo la más criminal escasez de agua, pues su afán es acreditarse ante la Gerencia como el Ingeniero más económico de la costa.⁸²

This notion of dignity and its twin of freedom was not confined to the workplace, but expanded into the rest of the lives of workers as well. In 1925, at a time when the I.W.W. had been severely weakened in Chile by harsh repression, a tenant league was formed in Santiago to combat the high cost of living through a movement to pay only 50 percent of the charged rent on housing. It was led by an I.W.W. militant.⁸³ This movement originated a few weeks earlier in Valparaíso with a demonstration by some 30,000 organized and unorganized workers. One of the things that grew out of this was the private sector campaign for a “rational school” to be built in the neighborhood of Cerro Toro, which the government had neglected.⁸⁴

This extensive effort by the press and militants to develop a class consciousness among a wide range of workers produced solidarity. The concept was explained to readers of the I.W.W. press, though given the early history of general strikes in the region, it was not entirely new.⁸⁵ Still, during the time that the I.W.W. was active in Latin American cities, many of them experienced strikes that crossed occupational lines or demonstrated mass support for non-workplace issues that affected the working class. In time, the I.W.W.’s strategy and ideology reached workers in traditionally artisan trades who were not its primary targets for recruitment. One writer finds that the union “ejerció alguna influencia sobre los gremios de resistencia de los zapateros y la Federación de Obreros de Imprenta” in Santiago, while another notes that the I.W.W. sup-

ported female textile workers in this capital who went out on strike in 1921, in refusal to join a company union, by blacklisting those workers who remained in the factory.⁸⁶ On occasion, solidarity was also expressed internationally by the I.W.W. A case in point is the demonstration that it staged in Tampico in 1926 in support of the Italian anarchists Sacco and Vanzetti, who had been condemned to death in the United States.⁸⁷ At the same time, the locals also pointed to what made their organization unique, in order to differentiate it from other unions, confederations and political parties.

Siempre los I.W.W. estuvimos solos en las protestas en pro de las libertades conclucadas, de los derechos atropellados y de los intereses públicos dilapidados.

Solos abogamos por la libertad de opinión, de reunión y de asociación; solos protestamos contra la usura de los propietarios amparados por el Gobierno y solos gritamos contra la creciente carestía de la vida.⁸⁸

Solidarity, of course, is not unidirectional, and the wide influence of I.W.W. organizing in Santiago was demonstrated by the funeral of a Wobbly student and poet, José Domingo Gómez Rojas, who had been tortured in his prison cell and died in 1921. "His funeral brought out forty thousand people, of all ages and both sexes, paralyzing the industrial and commercial activities of the capitol [sic] city of Chile for the day, and tying up local transportation completely."⁸⁹ Solidarity was also expressed ritualistically and symbolically in annual May Day rallies. These were jointly planned by the I.W.W. and its rival labor confederation, the F.O.Ch., in Chile, in 1922 and 1923, with the I.W.W. continuing to participate through 1926. The two organizations had previously combined to shut down Santiago and Valparaíso in 1921 with general strikes in support of bakers.⁹⁰

Lastly, solidarity was also central to the conception of the I.W.W. as an international movement:

Para esta organización no hay fronteras, no hay intereses locales ni regionales, sino intereses colectivos y generales. La injuria hecha a un obrero, es la injuria hecha a todos los obreros, y aspira a crear lazos solidarios que unen y relacionen todos los esfuerzos de los obreros en pro de su liberación desde el polo Norte hasta el polo Sur.⁹¹

A letter from the General Defense Committee of Chicago appeared in 1923 asking workers in Latin American port cities to organize demonstrations at the

docks where ships carrying North American passengers disembarked. They were instructed to carry placards and flags with messages in English protesting the continued incarceration of 61 I.W.W. prisoners in the U.S.⁹²

Creating Spaces of Resistance and Progress

One way to envision the I.W.W. in Latin America is to see it as an effective creator of spaces of resistance to capitalism and as a promoter of alternative forms of social progress. Its press certainly served as a space of resistance to the pervasive workplace control exercised by abusive employers and to the widespread repression unleashed by various governments on their national labor movements following the First World War. I.W.W. papers not only served as sources of news about local organizing activities and boycotts, but they also put their readers in touch with an international syndicalist movement and, in that sense, the space they created offered a broad vision of the future. The editor of *La Voz del Mar* laid out the lofty goals of his paper:

El trabajador necesita, más que saber lo que le ocurre a Fulano á o a Zutano, adquirir conocimientos sociológicos, impregnarse de ideas, conocer y estudiar los múltiples medios de lucha, y cuanto tenga atingencia con su desenvolvimiento individual y colectivo. En suma, hacerse hombre consciente, luchador ardiente de las reivindicaciones sociales.⁹³

The importance of the press to the organization was seen both internally and externally. The *South Pacific Mail* of Valparaíso made the following assessment of the I.W.W. press in 1920: “Those papers are full of the most blatant blasphemy, calumny of the propertied classes, and incitements to all kinds of sedition and sadism.”⁹⁴ A few years later in the U.S., the *Industrial Pioneer* made this somewhat different evaluation of the role of the press:

Perhaps the most vital part of the Industrial Workers of the World is its press. [...]

The press and the organization are each vitally necessary to the other. We strengthen the organization when we build up the press. It is our chief point of contact with the unorganized whom we must reach to succeed in our revolutionary task of overthrowing capitalism. As we push the press among the unorganized, making

it their spokesman, they will give power to the organization until it shall be invincible.⁹⁵

In 1921, after a wave of repression, *The One Big Union Monthly* proposed the creation of an international I.W.W. press service and a daily press in order to better convince the working class that it should follow the path of industrial unionism.⁹⁶ The press was probably more important to the growth of the union in Latin America than in the U.S. because of the absence of free speech fights in the former which effectively disseminated the I.W.W. program. A lawyer representing imprisoned I.W.W. workers in Chile remarked, perhaps satirically, that while the tactic was no doubt effective, the reason it was not adopted in Latin countries was that workers there were “demasiado sajón” to participate in mass civil disobedience.⁹⁷ In any case, the I.W.W. in Latin America certainly benefited from the network of members who carried newspapers from port to port on the ships that they served on as crew. In one case, besides the request for English and Spanish-language papers from the U.S., there is also the plea from the M.T.W. in Valparaíso to send a printing press the size of the ones that produce *Marine Worker*.⁹⁸ Seven months later the union had collected \$800 to buy a printing press, with the goal of making each ship “a library or a center of propaganda” with everyone on board contributing to meetings and discussions.⁹⁹

The I.W.W. press in Latin America was a key element in the construction of a counterculture. This alternative to capitalist culture was inclusive of a variety of ideological perspectives, demonstrating the flexibility of the organization in the face of shifting political currents, repression, and competition from other labor groups. On one level it sought to educate and reform workers to become model citizens of a new society, in many ways drawing on the earlier efforts of anarchist artisans in Latin America for inspiration. So, for example, carpenters, painters, bricklayers and other construction workers donated their time to re-building an I.W.W. local in an abandoned theatre in Santiago, where they remodeled offices, created a night school, a library and a clinic rented and built with dues paid by their members.¹⁰⁰ Similarly, in Valparaíso, the I.W.W. held its first Literary Musical assembly in the Novedades Theatre, which featured poetry readings and a musical performance by the Trío Jorquera featuring the “tenor infantil” Manuelito Jorquera, and a speech from the Secretary General of the C.R.A. of the I.W.W. in Santiago. But this was not all fun and games. There was also some business taken care of as the assembly adopted accords concerning the maximum weight that porters should have to carry, support for the rent strike, a demand for the 8-hour day.¹⁰¹ Such cultural gatherings did not always take place peacefully. During the rent strike in Valparaíso, a benefit show for the strike committee featuring dramatic and musical performances ended

with a fistfight between attendees and performers, on one hand, and two drunk policemen and a navy sailor, on the other. The Wobblies suffered a destroyed guitar and several were detained by the police.¹⁰²

While constructing a counter-culture, the I.W.W. also fought against aspects of the existing working-class culture that had developed on board ships and in tenements, especially drinking. A lawyer who was portraying a group of I.W.W. prisoners to a judge as respected citizens who were making a useful contribution to society, highlighted their sobriety as a means of undercutting the stereotype of workers as inebriated ruffians: “Así conocí a Hernández, Zamorano, Montoya, Castro y varios otros y, con ocasión de mis viajes a su taller, pude imponerme de que eran unos obreros muy honorables, trabajadores, hábiles en su oficio y, cosa extraña para mí, todo antialcohólicos.”¹⁰³ The I.W.W. press also occasionally campaigned against drinking as the national vice and pointed to the ruination caused by the neighborhood tavern, sometimes resorting to satire to make its point.¹⁰⁴

Perhaps the most interesting intersection of the I.W.W. press with cultural development was the newspaper *Hoja Sanitaria I.W.W.*, published monthly from 1924-1927 in Santiago, consisting of four pages and distributed for free. Much of its work was devoted to combating communicable diseases, including those transmitted sexually. It ran articles describing tuberculosis and its treatment, warning of the dangers of untreated syphilis, promoting the vaccination against rabies for those who had come in contact with afflicted animals, and discussing the proper care and feeding of babies.¹⁰⁵ It also discussed the dangers of lice found in the homes and schools of the poor, particularly in regard to typhus.¹⁰⁶ Hygiene was its byword, and it serialized a book about the subject with anatomical drawings. At the same time, it extolled the benefits of sunlight as a killer of microorganisms. *Hoja Sanitaria* also carried an ad for a clinic, located next-door to a print shop, which was open six evenings a week, and included a price list of treatments. Similarly, it advertised a dental clinic at the same location that gave a 10 percent discount to Wobblies. The newspaper firmly tied the I.W.W. in Santiago to modernism, and to some degree foreshadowed the emphasis on cleanliness that was one of the elements of the populism that arrived in Latin America in the coming decades.

Conclusion

In 1919, an English-language newspaper in Montevideo expressed alarm when New York police discovered that the Secretary of the Maritime Federation of Uruguay had lent support to the I.W.W.’s goal of organizing a general strike,

“which, by holding up the world’s maritime traffic would make them masters of the situation.”¹⁰⁷ Moreover, in 1924, the Marine Transport Workers Union of the I.W.W. selected Montevideo as the site of its second conference, after Cuban authorities made it impossible for the organization to meet in Havana, as it had originally planned.¹⁰⁸ The I.W.W. inspired a fear that far surpassed that warranted by its relatively small membership. The source of that fear was in no small part due to its structure and effective functioning as a truly international organization, able to move people and ideas across borders and to influence a wide array of workers, many of whom were previously among the unorganized. A key instrument in the propagation of its ideas and strategies across cultures was a decentralized but well-connected press that emerged in small and large cities throughout Latin America and which was linked in a variety of ways to its predecessors in the United States and Australia. The press itself was transnational in its orientation, nearly always promoting class solidarity above national identity and crossing borders either in the hands of Wobblies on ships or even relocating in exile.

By adopting a historical perspective that privileges space over chronology, we have been able to reposition the I.W.W. as an international movement within syndicalism which opened up new ways of thought and behavior for workers from Santiago to Sydney, and from Mexico to Minnesota, as they confronted the mobility of capital, the Great War and repression that was both bloody and effective. Their newspapers were destroyed far more frequently than they died naturally, though the latter certainly did happen when financial support dwindled.¹⁰⁹ Still, some papers weathered the storms of destructive raids, deportations of staff and legal banishment to reemerge later, at least briefly.

The I.W.W. in Latin America was a flexible and tolerant organization which had an inclusive orientation, ready to recruit those workers seen as marginal to the labor movement and open to working with anarchists, anarcho-syndicalists, socialists and communists if their joint efforts could be seen as furthering the goals of working class solidarity and did not involve ties to political parties.¹¹⁰ Its connections to anarchism and anarchists appear to be stronger than they were in the United States, where the I.W.W. tended to avoid identification with those currents. Anarchism in Latin America was stronger at a later date than in the U.S., playing a key role in the Mexican Revolution and deeply influencing the labor movements of Chile, Argentina, Uruguay, Brazil, Cuba, Ecuador and Peru. In some ways, it was more respected in the southern region as an orientation and a cultural force. The I.W.W. press often discussed anarchist ideas or historical personages, such as Peter Kropotkin, in its pages and occasionally ran ads that suggested linkages with local anarchists.¹¹¹ So it is somewhat disheartening to

realize that histories of anarchism have consistently marginalized or ignored the contributions of the I.W.W.¹¹²

The extraordinary mobility of the Wobblies was a strength, allowing them to mobilize for defense, to push open new spaces, extend their recruitment efforts and dodge some of the repressive tactics that they confronted. But it also worked to their detriment. Their very ability to appear seemingly out of nowhere engendered fear among local business owners and their allies. Though at times borders were permeable for them, at other times Wobblies got caught in tightening border areas. The Magonista newspaper *Regeneración* (Los Angeles) relates the account of Wobblies branded as insurrectionists for their alliance with Flores Magón's P.L.M. who were trapped between Rurales who wanted to shoot them if they ventured south of the Rio Grande and vigilantes who burned down their headquarters when they remained in the U.S.¹¹³ Like the pirates and gauchos who preceded them, the I.W.W. found that the mobility that they most cherished came under attack by governments that deemed them intolerable and sought to eliminate their free spaces of activity.

NOTES

- 1 The author would like to acknowledge the research assistance of Jessica Stites Mor and Alison Bruey in locating materials in Chile, the very helpful staff of the IISH (International Institute for Social History) in Amsterdam, and the other contributors to this issue, and a reviewer who provided comments on an earlier draft. Support for research was provided by the University of Kansas General Research Fund.
- 2 Peter DeShazo, *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile, 1902-1927* (University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1983), p. 315; Jon Bekken, "Marine Transport Workers IU 510 (IWW): Direct Action Unionism," *Libertarian Labor Review*, No. 18, Summer, 1995, p. 20; John S. Gams, *The Decline of the I.W.W.* (Columbia University Press, New York, 1932).
- 3 The most notable general histories of the I.W.W. within the U.S. are Patrick Renshaw, *The Wobblies* (Anchor Books, 1967); Melvyn Dubofsky, *We Shall Be All* (Quadrangle Books, Chicago, 1969); Joseph R. Conlin, editor, *At the Point of Production: The Local History of the I.W.W.* (Greenwood Press, Westport, Connecticut, 1981); Salvatore Salerno, *Red November; Black November: Culture and Community in the Industrial Workers of the World* (State University of New York Press, Albany, 1989); and Stewart Bird, Dan Georgakas and Deborah Shaffer, *Solidarity Forever: An Oral History of the IWW* (Lake View Press, Chicago, 1985). Bird and Shaffer also made a documentary film entitled *The Wobblies* (Icarus Films, 1979). The centenary of the organization's founding was marked by the publication of a collectively written graphic history, *Wobblies!: A Graphic History of the Industrial Workers of the World* (Paul Buhle and Nicole Schulman, editors, Verso,

- London and New York, 2005); but even this recent publication ignores the existence of the I.W.W. in South America.
- 4 Harold Lord Varney, "The Story of the I.W.W.," *The One Big Union Monthly*, II:2, February 1920, No. 12, p. 46.
 - 5 The synthetic and comparative histories of Latin American labor have tended to devote only a paragraph or two to the I.W.W. Charles Bergquist notes that the I.W.W. "came to predominate in the port of Valparaíso" and mentions a strike there that was broken by scabs but leaves it at that in *Labor in Latin America* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1986), pp. 61 and 64; the I.W.W. merits one sentence in Michael B. Hall and Hobart A. Spalding Jr., "Urban Labor Movements," *Latin America: Economy and Society, 1870-1930* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1989), p. 216; and it receives a single paragraph in Moisés Poblete Troncoso and Ben G. Burnett, *The Rise of the Latin American Labor Movement* (College and University Press, New Haven, 1960) p. 61. Pablo González Casanova's four volume compendium gives less than a page to the Chilean I.W.W. and fails to mention the organization in the history of Mexico, *Historia del movimiento obrero en América Latina*, (Siglo Veintiuno Editores, Mexico, 1984), volume 4, p. 96.
 - 6 Peter DeShazo, "The Industrial Workers of the World in Chile: 1917-1927," M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1973; DeShazo, *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile, 1902-1927*; Norman Caulfield, "Wobblies and Mexican Workers in Mining and Petroleum, 1905-1924," *International Review of Social History*, 40, Part 1, April 1995.
 - 7 DeShazo, "The Industrial Workers of the World in Chile: 1917-1927," pp. 91 and 109. A much higher estimate of 25,000 members is given by Alexander Trachtenberg and Benjamin Glassberg, editors, *American Labor Yearbook, 1921-1922*, volume 4, (New York, 1922), p. 346.
 - 8 DeShazo, *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile, 1902-1927*, pp. 336-337; Osvaldo Arias Escobedo, *La Prensa Obrera en Chile* (Universidad de Chile-Chillán, 1970), pp. 45-81.
 - 9 *La Voz del Mar* had a subscriber base of 1272 and a print run of 2000 in 1925, I:12, March 24, 1925, p. 6; I:13, April 8, 1925, p. 6; *Acción Directa* had a press run of 2000 in 1922, No. 13, Segunda Quincena del Julio 1922; and *Hacia la Libertad* had a press run of 5000, II:3, January 1923, p. 1. These numbers can be compared with those of the well known anarchist daily paper in Buenos Aires, *La Protesta*, which printed 4000 to 8000 copies until 1909 when it began to greatly expand its readership (Juan Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia: Anarchist Culture and Politics in Buenos Aires, 1890-1910*, AK Press, Oakland, 2010), p. 123.
 - 10 Salvatore Salerno, *Red November, Black November*, p. 5.
 - 11 Paul Buhle, "The Legacy of the IWW," *Monthly Review*, 57:2, June 2005, p. 26.
 - 12 Peter DeShazo and Robert J. Halstead, "Los Wobblies del Sur: The Industrial Workers of the World in Chile and Mexico," unpublished article manuscript, October 1974, p. 1, Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs, Walter P. Reuther Library, Wayne State University.
 - 13 Franklin Rosemont, *Joe Hill: The IWW and the Making of a Revolutionary Workingclass (sic) Counterculture* (Charles H. Kerr, Chicago, 2003), p. 88, fn 1. Paul Avrich notes that the Baja insurrectionists "included hundreds of American anarchists and Wobblies,

- among them Frank Little and Joe Hill, the most celebrated martyrs to the IWW cause.” Paul Avrich, *Anarchist Portraits* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1988), p. 209. Mitchell Verter estimates that one-fifth of the “500 soldiers assembled for battle” and provisioned by the John Kenneth Turner and the I.W.W. were actually Wobblies. Chaz Bufe and Mitchell Cowen Verter, editors, *Dreams of Freedom: A Ricardo Flores Magón Reader* (AK Press, Oakland, 2005), p. 78.
- 14 *The One Big Union Monthly*, 1:1, March 1, 1919, pp. 24-25. Charles Bergquist, *Labor in Latin America*, p. 61, mentions an innovative work system pushed by the I.W.W. on the docks of Valparaíso.
 - 15 Peter DeShazo, *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile*, pp. 154, 190; Osvaldo Arias Escobedo, *La Prensa Obrera en Chile, 1900-1930* (Universidad de Chile-Chillán, 1970), pp. 63-81. Women’s involvement with the I.W.W. was greatly limited by their restricted access to the type of occupations in which the Wobblies were most active, such as the docks and ships. There was also a shift in the discourse on women’s revolutionary potential from radical to reactionary, evident in the anarchist press in the 1920s as writers became frustrated with the perceived conservatism of female labor in Chile and in some cases showed outright hostility to women. See Elizabeth Quay Hutchison, “From ‘La Mujer Esclava’ to ‘La Mujer Limón’: Anarchism and the Politics of Sexuality in Early-Twentieth-Century Chile,” *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 81:3-4, August-November, 2001, pp. 543-549.
 - 16 Victor Alba, *Politics and the Labor Movement in Latin America* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1968), p. 250.
 - 17 Quoted in Peter Cole, *Wobblies on the Waterfront* (University of Illinois Press, Urbana and Chicago, 2007), p. 160.
 - 18 This interpretation differs from that of Patrick Renshaw who likens the work of U.S. and Australian seamen in the region from Peru to Uruguay to tree planters, sowing I.W.W. ideas into undisturbed earth that took root later on. See Renshaw, *The Wobblies: The Story of Syndicalism in the United States* (Anchor Books, 1968), p. 235.
 - 19 Frank Cain, *The Wobblies at War: A History of the IWW and the Great War in Australia* (Melbourne, 1993), pp. 262-270.
 - 20 Frank Cain, “The Industrial Workers of the World: Aspects of its Suppression in Australia, 1916-1919,” *Labour History* (Canberra), No. 42, 1982, p. 61.
 - 21 DeShazo notes that the claim by the major confederation, FORCh, that it had 12,000 members in Santiago in 1919, was exaggerated while Sergio Grez Toso writes that the anarchists in Santiago and Valparaíso were still disorganized and divided among themselves as late as 1913 before beginning a period of growth. DeShazo, *Urban Workers*, p. 154; Sergio Grez Toso, *Los anarquistas y el movimiento obrero* (LOM Ediciones, Santiago, 2007), pp. 247-249.
 - 22 *The One Big Union Monthly*, II:6, June 1920, No. 16, p. 57; Peter DeShazo, “The Industrial Workers of the World in Chile: 1917-1927,” unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1973), p. 48.
 - 23 Alexander Trachtenberg and Benjamin Glassberg, editors, *American Labor Yearbook, 1921-1922*, volume 4, (New York, 1922), p. 346; DeShazo, *Urban Workers*, p. 320;

- Andrés Brignardello Valdivia, *Valparaíso Anarquista* (Puerto de Escape, Valparaíso, 2006), p. 79.
- 24 *La Voz del Mar*, II:29, May 1, 1926, p. 2.
- 25 *La Voz del Mar*, I:15, May 20, 1925, p. 1.
- 26 *La Voz del Mar*, I:13, April 8, 1925, p. 1.
- 27 *Acción Directa*, IV:19, Primera quincena, December, 1922, p. 3.
- 28 *Bandera Roja*, I:2, April 1926, p. 3.
- 29 *Bandera Roja*, I:6, July 1926, p. 4. It is interesting that I.W.W. publications in Chile did not invoke the rhetoric of imperialism in discussing the issues of the day. This article, for example, speaks of the U.S. as a “very sad country” and there are other references in the paper’s pages to the tentacles of capitalism, but they are not seen as coming from one particular place nor exercising an all-controlling power. One rare exception was an unspecific complaint against “foreigners” being hired instead of Chilean nationals for the positions of captain, pilot and engineer. *La Voz del Mar*, I: 14, May 1, 1925, p. 2.
- 30 *The One Big Union Monthly*, January 1921, pp. 12-13.
- 31 Grace Miller, “The I.W.W. Free Speech Fight: San Diego, 1912,” *Southern California Quarterly*, 54:3, Fall 1972, p. 225.
- 32 *Bandera Roja* (Concepción), I:4, June 1926, p. 6.
- 33 *Bandera Roja*, I:6, August 1926, p. 5.
- 34 *La Voz del Mar*, I:18, July 17, 1925, p. 6.
- 35 DeShazo, *Urban Workers*, pp. 206-223.
- 36 Jon Bekken, “Marine Transport Workers IU 510 (IWW): Direct Action Unionism,” *Libertarian Labor Review*, No. 18, Summer 1995, p. 20; Tulio Lagos Valenzuela, *Bosquejo histórico del movimiento obrero en Chile* (Santiago, 1941), p. 42.
- 37 *Acción Directa*, No. 50, February 1928 (Buenos Aires, Argentina), p. 1.
- 38 H. Spalding and M. Hall, “The Urban Working Class and Early Latin American Labour Movements, 1880-1930,” in Leslie Bethell, ed., *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, volume 4 (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 338-339.
- 39 Trachtenberg, p. 349.
- 40 Peter DeShazo and Robert J. Halstead, “Los Wobblies del Sur: The Industrial Workers of the World in Chile and Mexico,” manuscript, Wayne State University Archive of Labor and Urban Affairs, p. 23.
- 41 Blaisdell, *The Desert Revolution*, p. 48.
- 42 *El Obrero Industrial* (Tampa), III: 2, April 30, 1914.
- 43 *Huelga General* (Los Angeles), II: 26, March 7, 1914.
- 44 A second incarnation emerged in 1911, edited by José Sousa, but it is unclear if it lasted longer than its first issue. *La Unión Industrial* (Phoenix), Segunda Epoca, Número 1, October 7, 1911.
- 45 Josef Barton, “Borderland Discontents,” in Marc S. Rodriguez, *Repositioning North American Migration History* (University of Rochester Press, Rochester, 2004), p. 173.
- 46 Dan La Botz, “American ‘Slackers’ in the Mexican Revolution: International Proletarian Politics in the Midst of a National Revolution,” *The Americas*, 62:4, 2006, p. 580; DeShazo and Halstead, pp. 29-31.
- 47 Norman Caulfield, p. 57.

- 48 Heidi Zogbaum, *B.Traven: A Vision of Mexico* (SR Books, Wilmington, 1992), p. 2.
- 49 DeShazo and Halstead, p. 25.
- 50 DeShazo and Halstead, pp. 28-29; La Botz, p. 580.
- 51 Zogbaum, p. 20.
- 52 Paul Friedrich, *Agrarian Revolt in a Mexican Village* (University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1977), pp. 58-77 and 128-130; Buhle and Schulman, pp. 217-229.
- 53 *El Productor* (Iquique, Chile) I:1, August 21, 1921, p. 4.
- 54 *Hacia la Libertad*, I:1, November 1922, p. 1.
- 55 *La Voz del Mar*, I:12, March 24, 1925, p. 5.
- 56 *La Voz del Mar*, I:12, March 24, 1925, p. 5.
- 57 *La Voz del Mar*, I:12, March 24, 1925, p. 5.
- 58 Patrick Renshaw, *The Wobblies* (Anchor Books, 1967), pp. 235-236. Renshaw is the only author I found who mentions I.W.W. activity in Peru and the organization does not appear to have launched a press that documented its activities.
- 59 Alexei Paez, *El anarquismo en el Ecuador* (Quito, 1986), pp. 48-49.
- 60 *La Voz del Mar*, I:6, primera quincena de Noviembre, 1924, p. 2.
- 61 Paez, pp. 161-163.
- 62 John W.F. Dulles, *Anarchists and Communists in Brazil, 1900-1935* (University of Texas Press, Austin, 1973), pp. 165-166.
- 63 *La Voz del Mar*, I:8, December 20, 1924, p. 4; *Acción Directa*, No. 13, Segunda quincena, June 1922, p. 4.
- 64 *Mar y Tierra*, I:2, April 17, 1920, p. 4.
- 65 Bekken, p. 20.
- 66 Cole, pp. 66-67.
- 67 *Acción Directa*, No. 13, Segunda quincena, June 1922.
- 68 *Bandera Roja*, I:1, March, 1926, p. 1.
- 69 *Hacia la Libertad*, I:1, November 1922, p. 4.
- 70 *Acción Directa*, No. 25, Primera quincena, July 1923, p. 1.
- 71 *La Voz del Mar*, I:7, November 30, 1924, p. 4; Julio Godio, *Historia del movimiento obrero latinoamericano*, volume 2 (Editorial Nueva Sociedad, San José, Costa Rica, 1983), p. 163.
- 72 *Mar y Tierra*, I:1, April 1, 1920, p. 4. Hutchison notes that although the I.W.W. encouraged women to join unions in Chile, it was also “weakest in the most feminized industries,” *Labors Appropriate to Their Sex: Gender, Labor and Politics in Urban Chile, 1900-1930* (Duke University Press, Durham, 2001), p. 74. The I.W.W. press continued to employ the rhetoric of shared suffering to recruit women, characterizing maids and factory workers who engaged in night work as “slaves” who were victims of “the criminal system that imprisons and tyrannizes us.” *El Productor* (Iquique), I:5, January 27, 1923, p. 1.
- 73 Paul Buhle, “The Legacy of the IWW,” *Monthly Review*, June 2005, pp. 17-18.
- 74 Also spelled “Silveira.”
- 75 This account is based on a broadsheet flyer inserted in the March 1923 issue of *Hacia la Libertad*, II:5, Montevideo, Uruguay.
- 76 *La Voz del Mar*, I:7, November 30, 1924, p. 2.
- 77 *Hacia la Libertad*, I:1, November, 1922, p. 2.

- 78 *La Unión Industrial*, 2:15, March 4, 1911, p. 2.
- 79 *El Rebelde*, I:1, February 5, 1915, p. 4.
- 80 *La Voz del Mar*, I:9, January 15, 1925, p. 5.
- 81 *La Voz del Mar*, I:9, January 15, 1925, p. 1.
- 82 *La Voz del Mar*, I:9, January 15, 1925, p. 1.
- 83 DeShazo, *Urban Workers and Labor Unions in Chile*, p. 223.
- 84 *La Voz del Mar*, I:13, April 18, 1925, p. 1.
- 85 *Mar y Tierra*, I:3, May 1, 1920, p. 4. *Acción Directa* ran a small box with a drawing of a man's face behind prison bars with the text: "RECUERDE COMPAÑERO Los presos de la I.W.W. de Santiago y Concepción claman: SOLIDARIDAD!!" Number 13, Segunda quincena de Julio de 1922.
- 86 Crisóstomo Pizarro, *La Huelga Obrera en Chile, 1890-1970* (Ediciones Sur, Santiago, 1986), p. 68; Hutchison, p. 133.
- 87 Rosendo Salazar, *Historia de las luchas proletarias de México, 1923 a 1936* (Editorial Avante, México, 1938), p. 242.
- 88 *La Voz del Mar*, I:6, p. 8, primera quincena, November 1924.
- 89 Frank J. Guscetti, "The Class War in Spanish-Speaking Countries," *Industrial Pioneer*, 1:2, March 1921, p. 55.
- 90 DeShazo, *Urban Workers*, pp. 187 and 207; *Bandera Roja*, I:4, June, 1926, p. 5.
- 91 *Anarkos* (Montevideo), January 8, 1922.
- 92 *Hacia la Libertad*, II:5, March 1923, p. 3.
- 93 *La Voz del Mar*, I:15, May 20, 1925.
- 94 DeShazo, "The Industrial Workers of the World in Chile," p. 42.
- 95 C.E. Payne "Our Press," *Industrial Pioneer*, July, 1926, pp. 20-21.
- 96 *The One Big Union Monthly*, III:1, No. 23, January, 1921, p. 44.
- 97 Agustín Torrealba Z., *Los Subversivos* (Imprenta Yara, Santiago de Chile, 1921), p. 45.
- 98 Letter from Juan Leighton, General Secretary Treasurer of the Marine Transport Union to Anon., May 21, 1924, Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs and University Archives, I.W.W. Collection, Box 17, Folder 32.
- 99 *La Voz del Mar*, I:9, January 15, 1925, p. 2.
- 100 Agustín Torrealba Z., *Los Subversivos* (Imprenta Yara, Santiago de Chile, 1921), pp. 8-9.
- 101 *Mar y Tierra* I:3, May 1, 1920, pp. 2 and 4.
- 102 *La Voz del Mar*, I:13, April 8, 1925, p. 1.
- 103 Agustín Torrealba Z., p. 7.
- 104 *La Voz del Mar*, I:8, December 20, 1924, p. 6; *Hoja Sanitaria*, I:8, April 1925, p. 1; *Acción Directa*, IV:14, August 1922, pp. 3-4.
- 105 *Hoja Sanitaria*, I:5, January 1925, p. 1; I:8, April 1925, pp. 1 and 3; II:16, May 1926, p. 3.
- 106 *Hoja Sanitaria*, II:16, May 1926, p. 4.
- 107 *Uruguay Weekly News*, July 27, 1919, p. 4.
- 108 Adolfo García, "The Workers Look to Montevideo," *Industrial Pioneer*, January 1926, page 7.
- 109 *Huelga General* (Los Angeles), 2:26, March 7, 1914, Suplemento, p. 1.

- 110 “Summary of minutes of the International Congress of Marine Workers,” March 20, 1926, Montevideo, Wayne State University Archives of Labor and Urban Affairs and University Archives, Collection I.W.W., Box 70, Folder 19.
- 111 *Bandera Roja* ran an ad from the Librería Libertaria in Santiago that listed a book for sale by the French anarchist E. Reclús, I:5, July 1926, p. 6. The I.W.W. local of taxi drivers in Montevideo characterized itself as “anarchist communist” at its founding, *Hacia la Libertad*, I:1, November 1922, p. 3. But there was occasional confusion as to whether the I.W.W. was anarchist in orientation. A notice for a book about the anarchist movement led by Nestor Makhno in Russia carried the headline: “Compañero anarquista o I.W.W.” in *Acción Directa*, No. 48, February 1927, p. 4.
- 112 A recent history of anarchism in Buenos Aires fails to mention the I.W.W., its press, or Tom Barker in its discussion of the anarchist press of that city. Juan Suriano, *Paradoxes of Utopia* (AK Press, Oakland, 2010). Alexander Skirda, *Facing the Enemy* (AK Press, Oakland, 2002) ignores both the I.W.W. and Latin American anarchism. Colin Ward, *Anarchism: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004) mentions the I.W.W. twice in passing but does not discuss its activities or importance. Peter Marshall, *Demanding the Impossible* (Fontana Press, London, 1992) devotes a paragraph to the I.W.W. in Chile, but fails to see its operations elsewhere in Latin America. David Miller, *Anarchism* (J.M. Dent and Sons, London and Melbourne, 1984) refers to the I.W.W. as an American union and characterizes it as “a curiosity,” p. 135.
- 113 *Regeneración*, No. 72, January 13, 1912, p. 4.