‘SIXTEEN TONS’: MINEWORKERS AND THEIR COMMUNITIES IN CLIFTON-MORENCI, ARIZONA AND KIMBERLEY, SOUTH AFRICA, 1880-1910

By

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A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

History Doctor of Philosophy

2013

ABSTRACT

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“‘Sixteen Tons’: Mineworkers and Their Communities in Clifton-Morenci, Arizona and Kimberley, South Africa, 1880-1910” is a comparative study that spans two continents to investigate the intersections of intellectual and working class history in the small mining towns of Clifton-Morenci, Arizona and Kimberley, South Africa. Although formal unions were not open to men in these two areas, workers employed an understanding of citizenship rights and national identity to create and maintain solidarity in the workplace. Their stories provide a new understanding of how workers constructed agency outside of traditional labor unions, and their narratives touch on many fields of history including political, social, gender, and cultural. My dissertation highlights the importance of merging a discussion of labor and working class history with intellectual and political history and provides new insight into how workers have utilized the language of citizenship to advance their rights as workers. “‘Sixteen Tons’” is both a contribution to the growing field of comparative and transnational history, as well as a unique narrative of the nuanced understanding migrant workers utilize. My dissertation is organized in four major chapters.

Citizenship embodied notions of opportunity and privilege in towns that offered little freedom from the everyday strains of mine work for the workers and residents of Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci. Although legal citizenship was defined according to

federal laws, and governed at a national level, community members and the mining industry continually redefined and shaped these precedents according to changing social and economic conditions at the local level (community, municipality, industry). A strong colonial legacy in both regions continued well into the twentieth century presenting

In both Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci, residents created their own notions of "cultural citizenship" for themselves and others despite legal precedents. Citizenship stood for more than simply one's legal status. The term also suggested that one had the ability and rationality to maintain autonomy and freedom, and non-citizens strove to maintain an independent image by appealing to these qualities as well. In the process, these newly created cultural citizenship ties helped to establish stronger worker agency.

This dissertation is a contribution to the growing field of comparative studies that highlights the importance of studying the working class narrative across national borders. From the history of these workers and their communities, I argue that these mineworkers were informed and politically active citizens in their country of work and origin and used this working class intellectualism to mobilize on the mines. Their stories provide historians with a new way of viewing worker agency outside of union organization.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This dissertation is the result of countless hours of advice, support, and assistance from numerous people. Archivists at the Arizona Historical Society archives in Tucson helped me locate many of sources I used for this dissertation. At Arizona State University I had the opportunity to meet Christine Marin, curator and librarian of the Chicano Research Collection at the Hayden library at Arizona State University. She provided me with valuable advice during the research process and I greatly admire her work as both a historian and activist for the labor movement.

I am also very grateful for the hospitality of many of Clifton, Arizona's community members during my visit to the town. Volunteers at the Greenlee Historical Society opened their doors and provided me with a personal tour of their museum. Jeff Gaskin, who lives in the old Morenci Miners' Union Hall, was kind enough to open his home to give me a tour of this important landmark. Although I regret losing his name over the years, the owner of the Gold Panner Grub in Clifton also provided me with a tour of the town and introduced me to several residents in the area.

In South Africa, I met several people during my research whose friendship and support I am very grateful for, including Mantas Zupka, Ivy Kaminski, Paul Robertson, and Natasa Muri. At the Western Cape Archives in Cape Town, I found a great deal of research material for my dissertation thanks to the assistance of staff members. In Kimberley, the staff of the Kimberley Library and the Sol Plaatje Museum were especially helpful in locating research materials for me. I would also like to thank Charmaine McClean of the De Beers archives for her assistance during my research trip.

At Michigan State University, I am grateful to have had the guidance and support of numerous friends and colleagues. Yvonne Tswelelo Chinyanga spent a year instructing me in Setswana, and I am grateful for her assistance and friendship during this project. In 2010, I received a Cultural Heritage and Informatics grant to produce a digital archive of my research (sixteentons.matrix.msu.edu) thanks largely in part to the efforts of Ethan Watrall. Thank you also to MSU faculty members Peter Limb, Rich Thomas, James Anderson, Pero Dagbovie, Laura Fair, Malcolm Magee, John Beck, David Bailey, Dionicio Valdes, Jerry Garcia, Peter Alegi, and Anna Pegler-Gordon for their support throughout this project. My advisor, Lisa Fine, has provided me with valuable feedback throughout this entire process. I am grateful for her support of this project throughout my graduate career and will always admire her dedication to her work as a historian.

Lastly, I could not have completed the many years of research, teaching, and writing without the support of my friends and family. Thank you especially to Jill Kelly, Sakina Hughes, Andrea Vicente, Sonia Robles, Joe Genetin-Pilawa, Nora Salas, Jaime McLean Dalrymple, Dan Dalrymple, Ben Sawyer, Carlos Aleman, Brandon Miller, and Big 80. Special thank you to Lindsey Gish for being an amazing friend throughout the years. My parents, Linda and Pat Sullivan have been my support system throughout this entire process, and I love them very much for it. For Greg Johnson, Matt Husband, Erin Rook, and everyone else who has been there for me throughout the beginning, middle, and (especially) end of this project, thank you.

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INTRODUCTION

Tucked away in the back of one private residence in Clifton, Arizona hangs a forty-foot mural dedicated to the 1983 Phelps Dodge (hereafter referred to as PD) strike. The mural depicts several scenes during the events of the strike, but its overall message is that of unity for the men and women striking, even amidst the repression of Arizona state troopers and the National Guard. Despite this unity, PD forced the union out, turning to scab labor instead, and today, it is thanks to the preservation efforts of one local Clifton resident that the treasured mural remains hidden but still a tangible reminder of the town's volatile labor history. The strike also marked the downfall of union membership in the United States, a decline that has continued for much of the working class sector for the past 30 years.[1] The state and federal government's decisions to use interventional force in the area, was nothing new, as eighty years earlier the territorial government, along with the approval of President Theodore Roosevelt, devised a similar tactic, shipping troops to the area in rail cars during the 1903 Clifton-Morenci strike. In 1983, the U.S. Steel Workers Union provided the organizational force for the strike, but 80 years ago, many workers were not welcome as members of the Western Federation of Miners union and relied upon other means of organizing.

Both before and during the events of the 1903 strike, it was the mining industries and the workers and communities that shaped social and political debates of immigration and citizenship rights at the turn-of-the-twentieth century. Mining towns, especially

[1] U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Union Members Summary*, January 27, 2012. Accessed April 2012. http://www.bls.gov/news.release/union2.nr0.htm.
In 1983, union membership was at 20.1 percent compared to today's figure of 11.8%.

those isolated from the power and influence of a centralized authority, became spaces in which residents, politicians, workers, community leaders, and industrialists could create and test their own understanding of citizenship rights. In the United States, it was often unclear to whom these privileges belonged and who remained outside of the periphery of citizenship, and an exact clarification of who was a citizen was only first placed into the language of the Constitution with the passing of the 14th Amendment in 1868 with the end of slavery.[2] Yet, although most Americans were willing to accept the abolition of slavery as a consequence of Confederate defeat, many of the debates over the rights of black Americans would not be settled for over 60 more years.[3]

Even though these debates surrounded the legal status of black Americans, they were not the only group to negotiate their status within the U.S. Arizona, a territory that had come into the United States' possession only 50 years earlier, became a region where many residents negotiated their own identities as both Mexicans and Americans. In Arizona Territory, a boom in the copper industry at end of the 19th century created a high demand for unskilled labor and caused many workers to reshape their understanding of the important role they held as both workers and citizens. For many of the Anglo

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[2] Section 1 of the 14th Amendment states:
All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

workers in Arizona's mining regions, presumptions of racial superiority were historically embedded in their understanding of citizenship and continued to shape many people's opinion of who was and was not entitled to the privileges of American citizenship.

The overlap of worker rights and citizenship rights was not a phenomenon unique to the United States, however, and situating the topic within a comparative context can help to both bridge the narrative of workers across national borders as well as disprove assumptions of American exceptionalism. In South Africa, the discovery of mineral-rich areas gave Britain a renewed interest in colonial conquest, and the legal status of Africans living within the British Cape Colony became a topic of great debate. Enfranchisement was the paramount issue for many leading African intellectuals who fought to maintain citizenship rights within the colony, but enfranchisement debates and the meaning of citizenship was important for many Africans outside of intellectual circles, especially to workers whose labor was becoming an increasingly important part of the Cape Colony's economy. During a territorial war in South Africa and the ongoing enfranchisement debates, these men looked to the British Empire to protect their rights. In Arizona, mineworkers utilized their own understanding of citizenship to demand the right to protest in the workplace after legislation restricted their ability to earn a living wage.

Most of the workers that voiced their concerns about citizenship rights, government protection, and treatment in the workplace were not legal citizens. Almost none of the African men working at De Beers were financially eligible to vote in any

[3] Although the 14th Amendment to the Constitution guaranteed citizenship for all people born in the United States, with the exception of Native Americans, the US Supreme Court upheld their citizenship status as "separate but equal" in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896). This status would not be overturned until the 1954 Supreme Court Case, *Brown v. the Board of Education* in which separate but equal was overturned.

Cape Colony election, and the British Empire had no legal code for defining imperial citizenship.[4] In Clifton-Morenci, many workers were born outside of the US and did not seek legal citizenship during a period in American history that viewed immigrants as dangerous foreigners. This dissertation, however, does not focus on legal definitions of citizenship in these two areas. Rather, it investigates the cultural formation of citizenship in both regions and investigates workers' and their communities' own understanding of the meaning of citizenship. At the turn of the twentieth century, worker movements in Clifton-Morenci and Kimberley were rooted in a nation-wide debate surrounding citizenship rights. I argue that mineworkers and their communities in both Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci employed their own understanding of citizenship based upon both cultural understandings of the title as well as the rhetoric of political intellectual leaders to strengthen their position as both laborers and residents. These beliefs provided a common understanding of worker and citizen rights and became the foundation from which workers fueled their own protests in the work place.

The working communities of Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci possessed a cultural understanding of the protection and rights citizenship guaranteed them. In *Becoming Imperial Citizens*, Sukanya Banerjee argues that the process and language Indians used to define their citizenship within the British Empire became an important part of their transition to legal citizenship in later decades.[5] Although Indians were not fighting for legal citizenship, they used the language of imagined (or as they called it, imperial) citizenship to articulate their understanding of inherent rights that came with being a part

[4] Sukanya Banerjee, *Becoming Imperial Citizens: Indians in the Late-Victorian Empire* (Durham [NC]: Duke University Press, 2010), 6.

of the British Empire.[6] In addition to formulating the groundwork towards becoming a legal citizen, this process ultimately embedded a critique of colonial policy.[7]

In this dissertation, I have found that a similar evolution occurred in the mining towns of Kimberley, South Africa and Clifton-Morenci, Arizona. Mineworkers and their communities began to organize for rights both in and out of the workplace in greater numbers after intellectual and community leaders began to articulate a discussion of citizenship and enfranchisement within their respective countries. Clifton-Morenci and Kimberley's characteristic frontier – an area where law, politics, and society were continually shaped and defined according to residents – became a fitting place from which many of its residents shaped and defined their own rights and status. Neither territorial Arizona's borderland region nor the bordering (between the Boer Republic and British Cape Colony) diamond mining area of Kimberley could claim to be a sovereign nation-state, and legal citizenship was not clearly defined in either area. Yet for workers in Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci, the language and process of understanding citizenship became a tool with which to strengthen their position and agency as workers of the two dominant industries – Phelps-Dodge and De Beers. Mineworkers and their communities did not embrace an imagined citizenship, but rather, a perceived citizenship that called upon central government authorities to honor their workplace and citizenship rights when they were threatened by the control of local and industrial leaders.

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[5] Ibid., 4.

[6] Sukanya Banerjee, *Becoming Imperial Citizens: Indians in the Late-Victorian Empire*, 4. There was no definitive code for British imperial citizenship that Indians could claim.

[7] Sukanya Banerjee, *Becoming Imperial Citizens: Indians in the Late-Victorian Empire*, 4..

In coming to define themselves as citizens, workers in Arizona and South Africa not only sought protection of their rights from government authorities, but also created a new national identity for themselves and their communities. In both Arizona and South Africa, workers were drawn to the minefields from different nations, cultures, languages, and histories. In Clifton-Morenci, the traditionally Mexican-only organization, *Alianza Hispano Americana*, welcomed Italian members as the two groups of workers were united against the implementation of anti-immigrant labor legislation. In Kimberley, men from culturally and ethnically diverse African nations became united after a territorial war, labor shortages, and a new allegiance to the British Empire solidified a new national identity for the men living and working in the Cape Colony.

In studying the construction of a worker/citizen identity, I have sought to understand both the importance of the term for workers and their communities, as well as the social, cultural, economic, and political qualifications of citizenship.[8] In an era before legislation outlined specific citizenship eligibility, race largely determined a person's ability to assimilate to citizenry. In the United States, prior to solidifying citizenship processes, immigrants were forced to prove their "whiteness" to obtain citizenship. Although the 14th Amendment was aimed at creating a uniform federal citizenship law, formal citizenship was available only to black and white American males. People that remained outside these binary racial categories who sought naturalization often were forced to prove their whiteness, renounce their ethnic heritage, and even relinquish opportunities to travel abroad to visit relatives. Even prior service in

[8] Ibid., 7. Banerjee argues that referring to the "various articulations of citizenship" allows us to take into consideration of the qualities that make a citizen.

the U.S. military and paying taxes did not guarantee U.S. citizenship. In South Africa, colonial policy makers sought to systematically control the African population by gradually erasing citizenship rights for all Africans. Using racially embedded notions of inferiority, legislatures argued that social and cultural practices prevented many Africans from acquiring the civility needed to be citizens. Although socially, economically, and culturally assimilated men initially held some rights as citizens of the Cape Colony, by the early 20th century, these had been almost completely revoked for all Africans. Workers in Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci, however, retained their own understanding of citizenship rights that paralleled their vision of labor rights.

Internal Colonialism Scholarship

A long history of internal colonial scholarship first led me to begin exploring the intersection of worker and citizenship rights within these two areas. Beginning in the late 1960s, internal colonialism concept became popular with historians who wanted to use previous colonial scholars' research to understand the political, economic, social, and cultural disadvantaged to those populations that did not fall into the traditional model of colonialism, but shared many similarities nonetheless. These studies were important because they developed in response to movements of political liberation within pluralist societies.[9] In "Internal Colonialism and the Ghetto Revolt" Blauner argued that black

[9] Most significantly, the study of internal colonialism is, in part, a response to the Chicana/o and Black Liberation movements of the 1960s. See also Joseph Love, "Modeling Internal Colonialism: History and Prospect," *World Development* 17, 6 (1989): 907.

ghettos are themselves political educational and economic colonies.[10] His study opened the door to a variety of social, political, cultural, and economic circumstances that could be viewed through a colonial lens. In the 1960s and 1970s, Chicano historians began to use the term widely to describe the condition of Mexican Americans living in the U.S. Joan Moore's "Colonialism: The Case of Mexican Americans" was a response to Blauner's understanding of internal colonized populations as powerless victims of hegemony. Although Moore argues that Mexican Americans are also an internally colonized population in the U.S., she points to the vibrant and autonomous Mexican American culture that moves the subjects out of the victim-only category.[11]

The popularity of internal colonial studies increased throughout the second-half of the 1970s with historians applying the theory to the U.S.S.R., Thailand, Ireland, and Native American populations.[12] Although the theory provided historians with a comparative and historical context for understanding social, economic, and politically exploitative relationships, the theory lacked structure and consistency, and historians began to apply it to almost any marginalized population. In 1984 Robert Hind argued that internal colonialism had become problematic because there was no agreed

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[10] Robert Blauner, "Internal Colonialism and the Ghetto Revolt," *Social Problems* 16, 4 (1969): 393-408.

[11] Joan W Moore, "Colonialism: The Case of the Mexican Americans," *Social Problems* 17, no. 4 (1970): 464.

[12] Michael Hechter, *Internal Colonialism: The Celtic Fringe in British National Development, 1536-1966*, 1st ed. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1977). See also Alvin W Gouldner, "Stalinism: A Study of Internal Colonialism," *Political Power and Social Theory* 34, 1 (1980): 209-260; Bruce London, "Internal Colonialism in Thailand: Primate City Parasitism Reconsidered," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 14, no. 4 (1979): 485-513; Gary Anders, "The Internal Colonization of Cherokee Native Americans," Development and Change 10, no. 1 (1979): 41-55.

methodology; the theory covered could a "lengthy chronological span;" the objective of the colonizer and the identity of the colonizer and colonized could be vague; and the theories could be difficult for historians who accept only irrefutable documentation.[13] After the publication of Hind's article in 1984, internal colonial theories and comparatives began to drop dramatically from the discipline. The concept had become too vague to be used as a tool for analysis, and historians largely dropped the theory from their studies for the next two decades.

Although internal colonial studies waned during the late 1980s and 1990s, Linda Gordon's *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction* (2001) reopened the concept through a different lens of analysis. Situating her study in the same area of Clifton-Morenci, Arizona, Gordon points to the connection between Mexicans in a "southwestern colonial territory" and colonial subjects abroad in areas like South Africa. Gordon argues that, if historians can understand the parallels between events such as the U.S. annexation of Mexico and the British annexation of South Africa, it allows U.S. historians to remove themselves from ideas of American exceptionalism and place the United States in a global context.[14] Economics alone, however, cannot explain the racial system embedded in the area where, for example, white union members refused to allow Mexicans membership into their Western Federation of Miners Union and Mexicans were asked to

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[13] Robert Hind, "The Internal Colonial Concept," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 26, no. 3 (July 1984): 553-554.

prove their whiteness for legal citizenship.[15] Ann Stoler's edited volume *Haunted By Empire* offers a study of the intimacies of empire – the ways in which colonial society was structured by what went on in people's own homes rather than just what people did in public. Stoler points to the important ways in which the "politics of comparison" can open "unexpected and subjacent connections" between colonial actors.[16] It is within this volume that Gordon is able to hone her discussion of internal colonialism in, "Internal Colonialism and Gender." She uses internal colonialism as a metaphor for distinguishing between different types of domination arguing, "internally colonial practices have shaped American racisms and nationalisms."[17] She contends that internal colonialism is too abstract to be narrowed into a specific Marxist theoretical discourse, but can still be

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[14] Linda Gordon, *The great Arizona orphan abduction*, 1st ed. (Cambridge Mass. ;London: Harvard University Press, 2001), 179-80. Gordon wants us to see the experience of Mexicans in the Southwest as a colonial experience that shares many similarities with black South Africans. Here she is referring to the parallel experiences of social constructions of race and economic exploitation that arose after the Mexican-American War in 1848 and the growth of British Imperialism during the South African Wars of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

[15] Ibid., 181.

[16] Ann Stoler, ed. *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, American encounters/global interactions (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 5. Despite the important contributions *Haunted By Empire* makes to the field of post-colonial history, Professor of English Jon Smith's criticism of the volume in *The Journal of American History* argues that post colonial literature studies such as Barbara Ladd's *Nationalism and the Color Line in George W. Cable, Mark Twain, and William Faulkner* (1996) and Suzanne Bost's *Mulattos and Mestizas: Representing Mixed Identities in the Americas, 1850-2000* (2003) have already explored the intimate connections between colonial actors. Yet, his critique fails to recognize the important contribution the volume makes to comparative historical research. See Jon Smith, "Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History," *The Journal of American History* 93, no. 4 (2007): 1273-1274.

[17] Linda Gordon, "Internal Colonialism and Gender," in *Haunted by Empire*, 428.

useful to historians.[18] Analyzing gender as an important category of social construction, Gordon argues that internal colonialism is a metaphor and an analytic abstraction for understanding the social, political, and economic relation between two groups.[19] When historians understand the theory through this analysis, it helps to explain relationships in certain societies better than words like "racism" and "exploitation" can.[20]

While older internal colonial theories neglected social and cultural aspects of domination, Gordon argues that employing the concept of internal colonialism is especially useful when looking at the history of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the US where, after the signing of the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo became United States residents by both default and economic need beginning in the second-half of the nineteenth century.[21]

Gordon's essay presents an enticing window for U.S. and colonial social, political, and economic comparison. Robert McMahon argues that works like Stoler's and Gordon's provide a new understanding of colonial/post colonial studies through a comparative analysis. McMahon finds comparative postcolonial studies especially intriguing when one considers the comparison of "imperial management:"

> If one assumes that common strategies of imperial management and control exist across time and space, then one would expect to detect patterns of behavior

[18] Ibid., 427.
[19] Ibid., 428.
[20] Ibid., 430.
[21] Ibid., 434.

> common to those on each side of the divide separating rulers and ruled in American and European overseas empires.[22]

Stoler, Gordon, and McMahon and other historians of postcolonial and comparative studies have contributed important scholarship that refutes notions of American exceptionalism and replaces it with a comparative discussion of imperial management. Although an important part of my own research is to present a comparative discussion between political management systems in Arizona and South Africa, it is not the central aim of my research. Rather, "Sixteen Tons" presents a comparative analysis of the very parallel responses which two groups of mineworkers and their communities had to the development of imperial management. Like many labor historians who have illuminated the ways in which laborers and the working class have asserted a sense of agency to secure workplace demands, "Sixteen Tons" also investigates the demands of workers in Clifton-Morenci and Kimberley but suggests that these are also important movements when considered through a discussion of imperial management. In doing so, I examine the faceted concept of citizenship and national identity. Although internal colonial studies highlight parallels between US and imperial power structures in both the private and public sphere, my own research looks at how workers and their communities responded and shaped their own understanding of these power relations. In many cases, workers were not attempting to gain legal citizenship, but certain rights associated with being a citizen.

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[22] Robert J. McMahon, "Cultures of Empire," *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 3 (December 1, 2001): 892. McMahon, a historian of U.S. foreign relations contends that research that draws direct connections between American overseas relations and European empires provides a fruitful comparison. He argues that, despite the attention that historians have given to colonial/post-colonial studies, there has not been enough attention to discuss the parallels between North American and European empires.

My research is also an attempt to bridge a gap between very similar discussions of labor and working class history where workers fought for rights in the workplace with that of postcolonial and comparative studies where citizens fought for rights within their countries. I have found many parallels in the social, historical, and political contexts of these two areas that have resulted in the marginalization of the rights of workers and citizens.[23] Bridging the gap between these two historiographies is important to gain a fuller understanding of how workers defined and perceived their rights both within the workplace, as well as within the national government.

Labor and Working Class Ideology

When looking at the intersection between postcolonial comparative studies and labor and working class history, there have been a number of narratives that look at the intersection of working class political ideology. There have been two main narratives that looked at the rise of antebellum labor and working class ideology. In 1970 Eric Foner argued that the Republican Party was born out of a free labor ideology – a concept that many northerners considered to be economically and socially superior to slave labor. The free labor ideology was partly embedded in Protestant work ethnic but also grounded in the ideas of Jacksonian Democracy – that all men should have the opportunity for upward social mobility and to rise above the wage labor system.[24] Although Foner prefers to

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[23] Here I use the terms postcolonial and comparative studies to refer to the important body of literature that has stemmed from the new generation of internal colonialism scholars such as Linda Gordon and Ann Stoler who engage in a comparative discussion of North American and European imperialism.

[24] Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 12-19. It is important to note that the democracy and equality that most Northerners embraced in the Jacksonian Era referred only to white males.

define free labor as an ideology – a "system of beliefs, values, fears, prejudices, reflexes, and commitments," his work provides an intriguing perspective for understanding the knowledge and values of laborers as encompassing a segment in intellectual history as well. Sean Wilentz's *Chants Democratic* expands on Foner's argument asserting that Republicanism was appealing to the Artisan class but also contrasted with their own beliefs of the division of skilled labor. He argues that a growing political consciousness created stronger class awareness.[25]

Leon Fink's *Workingmen's Democracy* explores working class political ideology during the Gilded Age of America. His narrative explores the political ideology of workers in the Knights of Labor arguing that the organization developed a class-conscious labor movement whose goal was to create a true workers' democracy. His narrative uncovers the strong interest and connection with national politics that workers possessed.[26] Fink, Wilentz, and Foner provided the first discussion of the connection between labor and intellectual history, but their books, focusing mostly on the history of white male artisans and laborers during the 19th century just begin to touch on the diversity and complexity of American labor history and political thought. Revisiting his book in 1995, Foner admitted that his original analysis did not consider the origins of this political ideology, nor did he think about the ways in which people defined citizenship, giving it a unitary concept instead.[27] "'Sixteen Tons'" will expand on this discussion of

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[25] Sean Wilentz, *Chants Democratic: New York City & the Rise of the American Working Class, 1788-1850* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).
[26] Leon Fink, *Workingmen's Democracy: The Knights of Labor and American Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983).
[27] Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men*, x.

political ideology as well as provide a historical context for looking at how workers understood the concept of citizenship. This dissertation will also provide a narrative of labor and working class political ideology during the turn-of-the-twentieth century.

Intellectual Working Class History

My own research is largely influenced by the post-colonial research of historians like Stoler and Gordon, as well as the ideological history of researchers like Foner, Wilentz, and Fink. "Sixteen Tons" is an attempt to bridge these works through a comparative analysis of political ideology and working class history. An understanding of the historical foundations of colonialism in each area is important because workers in Arizona and South Africa situated their own understanding of citizenship within the context of colonial Mexico and colonial South Africa, respectively. Workers in Arizona could trace their own understanding of nationalism and citizenship rights back to middle of the nineteenth century when their ancestors fought in the War of Reform for their own *libertad* against intervening French forces. In South Africa, the debate over African enfranchisement within the Cape Colony was ongoing at the height of diamond mining production, and workers and their communities responded in much the same way as their Mexican counterparts – demanding labor rights and political rights while simultaneously creating a sense of worker solidarity through a common national identity. While Africans in Kimberley were attempting to carve out an identity as British subjects in the midst of colonial domination that was eroding their rights, in Clifton-Morenci, a colonial legacy, embedded in centuries of economic exploitation and racial domination helped to shape the social and political agenda for Clifton-Morenci at the turn-of-the-twentieth century.

In his 2010 essay, "Intermediaries of Class, Nation, and Gender in the African Response to Colonialism in South Africa, 1890s-1920s" Peter Limb argues that historians have tended to gloss over workers' political responses to colonialism because they have only focused on the "upper echelons" of African leadership. He points to the many ways in which African leaders served as intermediaries between colonizers and the African common population.[28] Situating a discussion of intellectual and post-colonial studies within the field of labor history, this dissertation extends the discussion of intellectual and political history into the field of labor and working class history.

Additional Historiography – Mining

This dissertation is, in part, influenced by the theoretical research of postcolonial studies and labor ideology, but it is not the first research to cover these two mining regions. In 1987, both Robert Turrell and William Worger published books that detailed the Kimberley diamond fields.[29] Although both historians cover roughly the same period (1870s-1890s), the books present very different narratives of the diamond mining industry. Worger outlines the economic effects on the region with the onset of mining, giving most of his attention to the struggle between storeowners and mine companies, and the evolution of mining legislation. Turrell provides a more detailed account of mineworkers themselves and discusses African migration to the minefields, the

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[28] Peter Limb, *Grappling with the Beast: Indigenous Southern African Responses to Colonialism, 1840-1930* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 53. In addition to waging strikes in the late 19th century, Africans also created petitions, chose delegates to talk to employers, and addressed complaints to the Protector of the Natives in an effort to obtain their workplace demands.

implementation of the Pass System, the Black Flag Revolt, and segregation in living quarters. Although both narratives provide detailed accounts of the social, political, and economic conditions of Kimberley during its initial phases of industrial expansion, both authors limited themselves to English and Afrikaans sources, leaving out valuable information about African workers' sense of identity and community within these mining towns. Aside from mining, it is unclear what workers did or how life as a mineworker shaped their identities.

In 1994, Patrick Harries filled the cultural and social gap of Worger's and Turrell's research with *Work, Culture, and Identity*. Harries provides a more thorough look at African migrant mineworkers as well as their communities of origin. He highlights the reciprocity of cultural exchange among the diverse groups of workers that entered the minefields, and argues that miners' decision to adopt European names, clothing, and religious practices became a way to create a sense of social cohesion to a newly established working community.[30] His narrative provides important details concerning the shifting culture and identity of men entering the minefields, covering practices like *bukhontxana* (mine marriages) and the informal economy.

In the same year that Harries published his important social and cultural narrative on African mineworkers, Dunbar Moodie's *Going for Gold: Men, Mines, and Migration* brought a second social and cultural study to African mineworkers on the goldmines.

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[29] William H Worger, *South Africa's City of Diamonds: Mine Workers and Monopoly Capitalism in Kimberley, 1867-1895* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987). See also Robert Vicat Turrell, *Capital and Labour on the Kimberley Diamond Fields, 1871-1890* (Cambridge [Cambridgeshire]: Cambridge University Press, 1987).

[30] Patrick Harries, *Work, Culture, and Identity: Migrant Laborers in Mozambique and South Africa, C.1860-1910*, (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1994), 49.

Although Moodie does not specifically cover Kimberley's diamond miners, his work provides important insight into the role of the moral economy. He argues that workers expected and demanded fair labor practices. If workers were not given time off for holidays, for example, they would protest or strike if necessary.[31] Workers developed social networks to retain a sense of familiarity to the workers' newly constructed social environments. Moodie also looks at mine marriages in the compound environment as a practice that served to mimic gender relations in home life. Although these compounds were restricted to males, an age hierarchy provided a patriarchal framework with older miners taking the "husband" role and younger miners playing the "wives." [32] Both Moodie and Harries extend the previous historiography to include both a cultural and social analysis of the mineworkers, and their research leads to a better understanding of mining history from the workers' perspective.

Arizona's extensive mining history has also yielded several books on the topic. James Byrkit devotes much of his narrative, *Forging the Copper Collar,* to the political and economic history of Arizona's copper mining regions, as well as a structural look at the Western Federation of Miners (WFM).[33] In 1995, Philip Mellinger provided a more

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[31] T. Dunbar Moodie, *Going for Gold: Men, Mines, and Migration*, Perspectives on Southern Africa 51 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 281.

[32] Ibid., p. 134. Moodie explains that workers played out gender roles most emphatically at parties where young miners would mask their masculinity by wearing strong perfumes, fashioned "breasts", and skirts to attract a *xibonda* ("husband"). When young boys felt they were old enough, they would announce to the *xibonda* that they were ready to receive a "wife" for themselves, at which point the relationship would terminate.

[33] James W Byrkit, *Forging the Copper Collar: Arizona's Labor Management War of 1901-1921* (Tucson, Ariz: University of Arizona Press, 1982).

in-depth analysis of the mineworkers themselves in, *Race and Labor in Western Copper*, examining the demographics of Arizona's copper miners, and copper companies' common practice to divide workers according to race - a procedure that made collective action difficult among workers.[34] Mellinger also details the many benefit societies that were an essential part of mineworkers' experience in Arizona. Ethnic groups often created benefit societies to assist workers and their families in their working environments, especially if a sickness or death would occur within a worker's family.[35] A large portion of my discussion of Clifton-Morenci unionism relied upon Mellinger's very detailed discussion of labor activity in the region in the early part of the twentieth century, despite the different conclusions that we sometimes reached.[36] These books provide an important discussion of the role of community organizations that provided opportunities of worker solidarity outside of formal labor unions.

More recent narratives of the copper mining region have focused more on a study of the community, highlighting both the cohesion and tension between the communities.

Byrkit looks at the WFM's affiliation with the AFL, the growth of the Progressive movement in Arizona Territory, and the development of mining regulations within Arizona's early state legislature.

[34] Philip Mellinger, *Race and labor in western copper : the fight for equality, 1896-1918* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995), 18, 20. Mellinger highlights the cooperative efforts of Cornish and Irish miners (former enemies) with the arrival of European and Mexican immigrants. Later introductions of larger groups of mineworkers lead to a division of Anglo, Chinese, and Mexican workers that was upheld through both companies' division of labor as well as social and communal divides.

[35] Ibid., pg. 9. A more detailed discussion of ethnic groups and benefit societies, is covered in Chapter 2 of Lizabeth Cohen's *Making a New Deal: Industrial Workers in Chicago, 1919-1939*. Cambridge University Press, 1990.

[36] Mellinger, *Race and labor in western copper : the fight for equality, 1896-1918*, 65. Mellinger argues that politics and labor were not connected in Clifton-Morenci during the 1903 Strike because strike leaders were not politically active at that time.

Linda Gordon's study of the Clifton-Morenci area creates a vivid picture of community life for the mining town, and intersections of race, class, and gender are central to her narrative.[37] Racial stereotypes were imbedded in the language of opponents of Mexicans' adoption of children within these communities, and many Anglo women pointed to Mexican women's immoral behavior, and proclivity towards feeding their children beans and tortillas[38]. Although Gordon's book focuses less on the mineworkers themselves and more on their family and communities, she provides valuable insight into the importance of the domestic sphere of Clifton-Morenci. Undoubtedly these concepts were transmitted inside the actual working environments for miners. Although Gordon's work focuses largely on the divisions between the Anglo and Mexican communities, Phylis Martinelli highlights the solidarity that the Italian and Mexican communities shared largely due to a common Latin identity. Spanish became a common language between the two groups and she points to a shared bond that the two ethnic groups formed that differentiated themselves from the Anglo community and became a tool for organizing on the minefields.[39] Her work adds a new layer to the complex community relations that were highlighted in Gordon's book and suggests that ethnic bonds played an important role in worker solidarity in the region. Similar to Moodie and Harries' work in South Africa, these two community studies highlight the complex social and cultural connections within this isolated mining region.

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[37] Gordon, *The great Arizona orphan abduction*. See page 9 for a more detailed discussion of Gordon's book.

[38] Ibid., pg. 75.

[39] Phylis Martinelli, *Undermining race : ethnic identities in Arizona copper camps, 1880-1920* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009), 138.

Comparative Studies

The social, economic, political, and cultural connections between Clifton-Morenci and Kimberley were embedded in the parallel development of these two mining towns. Despite the distance between them, the timeline of early settlement and expansion coincided together during an era when mining technology and the growth of large mining industries made a demand for large numbers of unskilled laborers an increasing necessity. After settlers began initial mining efforts in the 1860s, people began migrating to the regions in large numbers in the 1870s and 1880s. Unlike the copper mining process, which required more time and labor to make a profit, hundreds of miners came to the Kimberley region hoping to acquire wealth through diamonds. By the 1880s, however, large corporations, mainly Phelps Dodge in Clifton-Morenci, and De Beers in Kimberley had gained almost complete control of mining operations in their respective regions.

Previous historians have recognized and written about the parallel development of the mining industry in the U.S. and South African through a comparative analysis. Similar to early studies in internal colonialism, this research provides a close analysis of racial divisions within the context of industry and capitalism. William Worger's "Convict Labour, Industrialists, and the State in the U.S. South and South Africa, 1870-1930" comparatively considers the issues of race and class and the direct correlation to criminalization. Worger points to the importance of a comparative study in this instance because both the U.S. and South Africa saw a rise in criminalization with the development of convict labor in low-income areas of black residency. Although the U.S. South and South Africa were different geographically, politically, and demographically,

Worger argues that these differences were overshadowed by the similar experiences of daily life and the dominating influence of industrial power to ensure profitability.[40]

Similarly, Peter Alexander comparatively examines coal miners in Alabama and the Transvaal. He also comparatively considers race divisions in industry, and he asks why in Alabama, both black and white mine workers participated in a work stoppage, while only white workers in the Transvaal participated in a similar event. He argues that a high concentration of corporate power and wealth, combined with powerful state intervention in the Transvaal kept black and white workers separated.[41] While my own research considers racial division in the workplace, a comparative look at workers' response to current and historically embedded notions of colonialism, racial division, and social and cultural assimilation is central to my research. Researching the topic of response and reaction from a comparative lens has enhanced my dissertation in important ways, and many of the observations that I have found in the history of Arizona – a conscious discussion of citizenship, for instance, I may have not recognized the significance of, had I not found a very similar discussion of in South Africa.

Methodology/Sources

Perhaps one of the biggest challenges with comparative research is trying to balance the uneven amount of sources for the two regions. The British colonial government kept meticulous records of all political and municipal activities prior to the Union of South

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[40] William Worger, "Convict Labour, Industrialists and the State in the US South and South Africa, 1870-1930," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 30, no. 1 (March 2004) 63-86.

[41] Peter Alexander, "Race, Class Loyalty and the Structure of Capitalism: Coal Miners in Alabama and the Transvaal, 1918-1922," *Journal of Southern African Studies*30, no. 1 (March 2004) 115-132.

Africa in 1910, and these provided me with important insights into the relationship between African mine workers and the Cape Colonial officials during the height of Kimberley's mining period. The National Archives of South Africa's Cape Town Repository housed several important collections for my research. Records of the Native Affairs Department reported on the health of mineworkers in the compounds (especially scurvy and smallpox), labor recruitment, and provided annual reports.[42] Many Africans used the Native Affairs Department as a mediator for disputes, and the issues addressed are housed here. Additionally, the Office of the Resident Magistrate in Kimberley furnished detailed reports of the De Beers compounds, hospitals, and detention complex. The Cape Town Repository also housed Kimberley's town council minutes that provided important details about the growth of the area during the mining boom of the late 19th century. In addition to the large inventory at the National Archives of South Africa, the National Library of South Africa in Cape Town housed papers and correspondence from South African activists Olive Schreiner and Samuel Cronwright-Schreiner.

During a research trip to Kimberley, I was given a personal tour of De Beers' company archives. Passing through row after row of clearly marked boxes of mineworker records, the archive director pointed out a large card catalog filled with information of workers employed during the late 19th and early 20th century that I might have found interesting. "Of course," she added, "none of this information will be of use to you in your own research." I took the hint and left the archives empty-handed. Despite the setback from De Beers, I was fortunate enough to come across several of the

[42] The British Cape Colony established the Native Affairs Department in 1894 to protect

corporation's records dating from 1889-1909 housed at the Kimberley Africana Library. The Library also contained correspondence from the first diamond discovery in the region, as well as several detailed photographs depicting life in the compounds. Kimberley is also the home to the Sol Plaatje Museum, and it was here that I found correspondence between Plaatje, a proponent of African rights and an intellectual leader, and the De Beers Corporation.

At Michigan State University, the library contained many of the sources that provided a voice for the African community. *Koranta ea Becoana* (Friend of the BaTswana) was Sol Plaatje's SeTswana language newspaper published in Mafeking and distributed to the SeTswana-speaking community throughout South Africa. Africans' own letters to the newspaper became one of the few available sources for uncovering Africans' opinions concerning their rights within the Cape Colony and British Empire. A series of interviews conducted by the Cape Colony during franchise debates also provided a detailed discussion of public opinion concerning the rights of Africans.[43]

In Arizona, sources that provided a voice for mineworkers were more difficult to come across. The Arizona Historical Society in Tucson contained collections of several different newspapers including the *Tombstone Epitaph, Arizona Republican*, and the *Copper Era*. Tucson also housed a large collection of local photographs of the Clifton-Morenci region, documenting the public and private lives of workers and their families. The Isaac Taft Stoddard collection contained correspondence between Governor

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the wellbeing of indigenous Africans in the area.

[43] The Native Affairs Commission conducted a series of interviews between 1903-1905 with men from diverse backgrounds asking them questions about Africans' capacity and ability to responsibly utilize the franchise. The Commission posited questions and pushed interviewees to respond negatively to possibility of African enfranchisement.

Stoddard and the Federal Army during the Clifton-Morenci strike of 1903. At Arizona State University, a collection of letters from William Brooks to his mother uncovered the role of socialism in the region. Spanish language newspapers, including Ricardo and Jesús Flores Magón's *Regenación* as well as *El Observador Mexicano* were valuable sources for uncovering news for the Mexican and Mexican American communities. The United States 1910 census also became an important source for demographic data about the Clifton-Morenci region. 1910 marked the first year that the Census included the racial designation of "other" and my research uncovered important distinctions between those Mexican-born residents that were designated into categories of "white" or "other."

Organization of Dissertation

"Sixteen Tons" begins with a short history, and description of the town, its industries, and its people. Chapter One, "When a Frontier Becomes a Town: A Profile of Clifton-Morenci" argues that the region embraced a border identity in more ways than just its close approximation to the U.S. Mexico border. Many of its Mexican residents retained a border identity, embracing and adopting both Mexican and American identities. The area itself, maintained a border identity, symbolic of mythic western frontier but swiftly transitioning into a growing settlement. As copper mining began to draw more workers to the area, stories of gambling saloons and wild west outlaws were replaced with schools, churches, and cultural organizations, due largely to the increasing number of women and families moving to the area. I also pay close attention to the physical border and the increased security at the Mexico-U.S. border that resulted from an increase in anti-immigrant legislation. In this chapter I also look at the role of community where organizations like the *Alianza Hispano Americana* were central in helping to create

worker solidarity that transcended ethnic divisions between Mexican and Italian community members.

Chapter Two, "Cecil Rhodes Final Project: Kimberley, South Africa" begins with the early history of diamond mining and describes the transition from independent river diggers to larger scale dry digging operations. I also trace early legislation aimed at preventing Africans in the area from obtaining mines, effectively ensuring their position as unskilled wage laborers. I also describe Cecil Rhodes' vision for Kimberley's white community and the contrasting compounds that housed African laborers. Inside the compounds, workers created their own communities, filled with small entrepreneurial projects, classes for reading and writing, religious groups, and leisure activities.

In Chapter 3, "The Roots of Citizenship" I look comparatively at the historical foundations of workers' and their communities' understanding of citizenship and nationalism. In South Africa, African intellectual leaders adopted the rhetoric of both the American Reconstruction civil rights movement as well as the egalitarian ideals of British liberals to fight for African rights. African intellectuals helped to spread their advocacy for civil rights throughout the region through independent African-language newspapers, which advocated ideals of common citizenship for all Africans in their pages. Newspapers like *Koranta ea Becoana* reported on African political events, as well as colonial and imperial headlines, encouraging Africans' to view themselves as citizens of multiple *lefatshe* (nations). In Arizona, workers' understanding of citizenship and national identity were conceived in values and beliefs of previous generations who had fought for a more representative federal government during the Reform War of 1857 as well as a growing political interest with the rise of Zapotecan nationalist Benito Juárez to

the Presidency beginning in 1858. A generation later, industrial expansion under the Porfiriato led to the growth of a Mexican working class and increased worker resistance in response to President Diaz's land reforms. By the turn-of-the-twentieth century Mexicans' disillusionment in Díaz paved the foundation for Revolutionary activity a decade later as more and more Mexicans became attune to their own understanding of citizenship rights. In Arizona, workers used this historically embedded understanding of citizenship to fight for rights as workers and citizens within the territory.

In Chapter Four, "A Company of Workers, an Empire of Citizens," I highlight two events that triggered worker solidarity that transcended ethnic divides – the 1903 strike in Clifton-Morenci and the Siege of Kimberley (1899-1900). These two episodes sparked debates from workers, labor organizers, community leaders, and politicians concerning the rights of workers. The 1903 strike in Clifton-Morenci marked the first time both Italian and Mexican workers organized to protest legislation that would result in a decrease in the daily wage. Workers organized without the support of an official union, but instead used the organization of traditional mutual aid societies. Strike leaders stressed that they had the right to protest as citizens of the United States, and it was mainly Italian and Mexican workers that rallied behind this strike. Government officials and local newspapers also employed a discussion of workers' status as citizens of the United States, and underscored a legal understanding of the term that characterized the strikers as dangerous immigrants that threatened the peace and stability of the area. On the diamond fields of Kimberley, the war and Siege of Kimberley between 1899-1900 led to a series of work stoppages as well as labor shortages that gave workers a new sense of solidarity and identity. At the height of the War, De Beers' African employees

organized their largest strike to date, organizing across ethnic divides that had previously separated workers from striking on a large scale. Workers and members of the community articulated a keen interest and understanding of enfranchisement and citizenship in both interviews with the Native Affairs Department as well as in newspapers.

I conclude by looking briefly at labor activity and major events immediately following the end of my study in 1910. By 1907, an economic depression in both the U.S. and Europe caused a value of diamonds to decrease dramatically and 16,000 Africans were laid off. The industry would never be the same, and De Beers soon invested money and labor in new regions of southern Africa.[44] In Arizona, the copper industry continued to grow. In 1915, as the United States sat on the brink of entering a World War, workers organized once again in the hopes of gaining wages more in line with their Anglo counterparts. Bearing signs with slogans that said, "We will not have more Czars," it was obvious that national and international politics had once again helped to fuel worker demands.

Although the ideology of workers' struggle to define and shape meaning to their understanding of citizenship is a topic that has received little attention from historians, the root of the argument is one that has been at the forefront of a national debate in America since the abolishment of the slavery institution. Over a century after workers contested understandings of citizenship on the mining fields of Clifton-Morenci and Kimberley, the meaning of citizenship and the objectives of the 14th amendment are questions that remain current to contemporary politicians and society.

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[44] Worger, *South Africa's City of Diamonds*, 304.

CHAPTER 1: WHEN A FRONTIER BECOMES A TOWN: CLIFTON-MORENCI, ARIZONA

Situated approximately 150 miles from Mexico, Clifton-Morenci was a border town in more ways than one. In the remote mountains, it was a border between frontier and civilization. Residents interviewed decades later often recalled the towns' gunfights, battles with the Apache, outlaws, prostitutes, and gambling halls. These stories helped to shape the towns' legacy - one that continues to give the area a romantic allure over the kitsch tourism of areas like nearly Tombstone. Despite the memories of former residents who seemed drawn to the romantic image of their frontier town, it was business interests, industrialization, and residents from diverse backgrounds, interests, and identities that shaped Clifton-Morenci. Although the town may have appeared isolated and unruly, like its developing counterpart in Kimberley, Clifton-Morenci was becoming increasingly structured in both the mining industry and in the town.

Clifton-Morenci was also a border between Mexico and the U.S. Although geographically the sister towns do not lie on the US/Mexico border, both Mexicans and Americans frequently moved across the border with ease at the turn of the century.[1] Many residents called both the US and Mexico home. As restrictions on other immigrant groups increased, however, Mexicans became subject to nativist views towards immigrants and migrant labor would also create new prejudices both in and out of the workplace.

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[1] Patrick Ettinger, *Imaginary lines: border enforcement and the origins of undocumented immigration, 1882-1930*, 1st ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 124.

Because they inhabited these spaces, Clifton-Morenci's residents maintained border identities. Migrants to the area brought national identities, customs, ideologies, and transnational ties to create a stronger community. Organizations established out of common ethnic identities later evolved to welcome Clifton-Morenci's diverse population. Italian workers began frequenting Mexican *mutualistas* just as Mexicans frequented Italian religious services.[2] While some identities become more permeable over time, their lines were in constant contention with a new growing solidarity as mineworkers. Residents, company owners, and lawmakers of Clifton-Morenci negotiated and assigned their own understandings of where the town and its people stood on its many borders.

Contested Lands and Colonial Legacies

Stories of early Clifton-Morenci stir up an image of a wild frontier town where it is difficult to separate fact from folklore. Many of these stories reflect the region's contested territory, diverse population, and an ongoing struggle to define and maintain power and control. In Clifton-Morenci, like other towns in the Southwest, residents, business leaders, and politicians held contested ideas of what the future of the West should encompass.

Part of this tension arose in part due to a long history of conflict and attempted conflict with the Apache along the borderlands. For centuries, colonists and settlers along the border maintained a relationship with indigenous societies that was predicated in part on a system of captivity and exchange within the region. James Brooks argues that "prolonged and intensive" relationships between *pobladores* (village settlers) and nomadic Indian societies, led to the captivity of women and children as "customary

[2] Martinelli, *Undermining race: ethnic identities in Arizona copper camps, 1880-1920*,

symbols of exchange."[3] Between 1600-1847, thousands of Indian and hundreds of Spanish women and children became a crucial part of the borderlands political economy.[4] The commonality in which these exchanges took place is exemplified in one of Brooks' stories in which "…local traders like Jose Lucer and Powler Sandoval would purchase Mexican captives from Comanches at Plains outposts like "Quitaque" in Floyd County, Texas, giving, for example, "one mare, one rifle, one shirt, one pair of drawers, thirty small packages of powder, some bullets, and one buffalo robe" in exchange for ten-year old Teodoro Martel of Saltillo, Mexico."[5]

Following the Mexican-American War of 1846-1848, these relationships of captivity and exchange began to fall apart. Settlement and industrial expansion increased tensions with Apache, and soon captivity exchange was replaced with the intervention of the U.S. Army. These tensions culminated during a series of violent conflicts fought between the Apache and the Mexican and United States governments between 1849-1886. Residents living in the borderlands region were accustomed to reading accounts of attacks on civilians and lived with the reality of the dangers that existed in the region due to tensions with the Apache. In October 1883, a group of Apaches under the leadership of Juh and Geronimo managed to successfully raid ranches in Chihuahua, Mexico stealing

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[3] James Brooks. "'This evil extends especially ... to the feminine sex': Negotiating captivity in the New Mexico borderlands," *Feminist Studies* 22, no. 2 (1996): 281.

[4] Ibid., 280.

[5] Ibid., 283-83.

over 70 horses.[6] Many encounters were violent and provided a grim reminder to settlers along the border that they were never far from this violence.[7]

This violence along the borderland region was typified in the legendary story of the McComas family who attempted to travel through New Mexico territory on a trip that included a visit to Clifton. As Hamilton McComas, along with his wife Juniatta and 6 year-old son Charlie, led his buggy through the Big Burro Mountains of western New Mexico Territory, the family came upon a group of Apaches. Although the events surrounding the attack are unknown, Hamilton's body was later found with at least five bullet holes. Juniatta was found further up the road, naked, having died from a single blow to the head. Their son Charlie was never found.[8] By 1890, the violence along the borderlands region had become such a problem that the *Chicago Daily Tribune* reported in June that, "Mexicans are giving much encouragement to the (settlement) of Mormon

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[6] "Mexicans Outwitted By Apaches," *New York Times*, October 28, 1883, 3. *Proquest Historical Newspapers*, accessed June 2012.

[7] "More Murders by Apaches," *Los Angeles Times*, April 28, 1886. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F00914FF3D5E15738DDDA10A94DC405B8684F0D3, accessed June 2012. In April 1886, there were a reported 40 deaths of both Mexican and American citizens in Arizona Territory's Santa Cruz Valley.

[8] Don Cline, "Tragedy struck in New Mexico territory when three members of the McComas family met Apaches," *Wild West* 11:3(1998), 3. In 1959, Jason Betzinez, a former Apache warrior, recalled in his book, *I Fought with Geronimo,* that a group of Apaches took Charlie into Mexico's Sierra Madre where an Apache family adopted him. This story was first confirmed in 1933 when WPA field writer Francis Totty published a letter from Calvary office Bretton Davis, who claimed to have seen the kidnapped boy living among the Apaches and under the care of Chief Bonita. See also, Francis Totty, "Southwest Crossroads— Charlie McComas Still Alive", March 7, 1933, http://southwestcrossroads.org/record.php?num=940, accessed June 2012.

colonists, as they will aid in destroying the Apaches and are rapidly developing the agricultural resources of the State."[9]

The use of captives may have eroded with the intervention of the Mexican and United States governments, but residents in Clifton-Morenci would recall at least one story in which this legacy of captivity remained. During the summer of 1885, Lieutenant J.D. Parks led the Clifton-Duncan Rangers into battle with a group of Apache men at Doubtful Canyon, located approximately 200 miles northwest of Clifton-Morenci. The struggle led to the death of 25 Apaches and the kidnapping of one Apache infant. In a fate similar to that of Charlie McComas only two years earlier, Parks was rumored to have kept the young Apache and raised him as his own, giving him the nickname, "Doubtful Parks."[10] The Southwest region was a place where people of diverse backgrounds and identities often came in contact with one another. Although an official reign of colonialism ended with Mexican independence in 1821, the region continued to be a contested area of power. With increasing settlement, industrial investment, and expansion, tensions between Apache and migrants to the area increased dramatically. In the late 19th century, these tensions encouraged a heightened sense of vigilantism on the frontier.

The heightened sense of vigilantism and moral authority was also a reaction to the towns' early reputation as a lawless and unstructured mining town and frontier region. In

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[9] "A Running Fight with the Apaches," *The Daily Reporter*, June 12, 1890, http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1907&dat=18900612&id=HXthAAAAIBAJ&sjid=2tkEAAAAIBAJ&pg=661,3685003, accessed June 2012.

[10] Clifton-Duncan Rangers, "The Clifton-Duncan Rangers", n.d., Jennie Parks Ringgold Collection, Arizona Historical Society (AHS).

1858, a gold rush in an Arizona southwest mining camp quickly transformed the area into Gila City. According to one observer in the area, within a few months, the mostly male and lawless establishment "contained everything but a church and a jail."[11] In the vast desert and mountainous terrain of Arizona territory, law was difficult to enforce. In the aftermath of the Civil War, neighboring Texas maintained a reputation as one of the most lawless states until the Texas Rangers began a successful campaign to rid the state of outlaws.[12] Many felons were driven to Arizona where the vast terrain and close proximity to Mexico made it an ideal place to escape the law. Territorial newspapers began reporting on the "Cowboys" who became known in the region for their criminal activities.[13] By the early 1880s, news accounts of these Cowboys in Arizona territory warned readers that their presence stood in opposition to a sense of civility in the area:

> The outlaws of Arizona…are known as rustlers. They are the same breed, however, as the cowboys of Colorado and Texas. Being further away from civilization…they have become habitually vicious. (He is) lazy, foul-mouthed, desperate, intemperate, full of swagger and bravado, and careless as well of his own life and property as those of others. He wears a buckskin suit, with a hat having a rim wide enough to cover his ears and neck and tuck in at the collar-band. In his leather belt hang two large and fine revolvers, generally self-cockers, and in one boot-leg, held in place by two slits in the leather, rests a knife of

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[11] Larry McBiles, "A History of Mining in Arizona: The Mission, Means, and Memories of Arizona Miners.," *Arizona Mining Association* (2012), http://www.azmining.com/images/HISTORY_FULL.pdf, accessed May 2012.

[12] Jeff Guinn, *The Last Gunfight: The Real Story of the Shootout at theO.K. Corral--and How It Changed the American West*, 1st ed. (New York, NY: Simon & Schuster, 2011), 90-91.

[13] Ibid., 95. "Cowboy" was a term dating back to the Revolutionary era referring to men that would watch over cattle but who gained a reputation as troublemakers in the west. By the late 1870s, the term was synonymous with thugs and criminals in the Western frontier.

> murderous pattern…No Apache that ever lived had less regard for life than they.[14]

With upwards of 5,000 residents, boomtowns in La Paz and Tombstone embodied the similar characteristics of lawlessness that was heightened due to increasing cowboy gang activity.[15] Though in its heyday towns like Tombstone contained respectable theaters, restaurants, and social clubs, it became most notable for its practices in vice, where cockfighting and saloons bred gambling habits and women danced in immodest costumes at the Birdcage Theater.[16]

It was this tension between frontier outlaws and moral reformers that brought a thirty-second shoot-out into the national spotlight on October 26, 1881. At the site of the O.K. Corral on the streets of Tombstone City Marshall Wyatt Earp and his vigilante partners Doc Holiday and Virgil Earp became immortalized into Western folklore with a shootout between the three men and five cowboys. The midday fight in the center of town left three of the cowboys dead and led to subsequent battles and deaths of men from the Earp clan and cowboys. But for some people in Arizona the gunfight suggested that the West could not be ruled through vigilante force alone. As Arizona Territory remained on the cusp of statehood, Arizona's political, business, and community leaders repudiated vigilante behavior.

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[14] "Arizona Cowboys," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 22, 1882. *Proquest Historical Newspapers*, accessed June 2012.

[15] Larry McBiles, "A History of Mining in Arizona: The Mission, Means, and Memories of Arizona Miners.," *Arizona Mining Association* (2012), http://www.azmining.com/images/HISTORY_FULL.pdf, accessed May 2012.."

[16] Odie B Faulk, *Tombstone: Myth and Reality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972), 116, 122-23.

Only a few years later, Wyatt Earp would be remembered as the man that brought vigilante justice to the West. In 1887, the *Los Angeles Times* recalled that, before the action of the Earp brothers, the cowboys:

> …had done as they pleased, murdering and robbing with none to molest….They had for several years kept the portion of Arizona in which Tombstone is situated, completely terrorized. The law was defied and the officials powerless to enforce it…If (Wyatt Earp) had been a man-killer and avenger, he has been so in the cause of justice and in a conflict with the most dangerous and treacherous elements of life in wild communities on the frontier.[17]

Yet, vigilante justice was not always popular, and others in the region viewed the slain cowboys as innocent victims. The following day of the gunfight, the bodies of Frank and Tom McLaury and Billy Clanton were laid out on the street under a sign that read "MURDERED IN THE STREETS OF TOMBSTONE." During their funeral, the local paper *The Tombstone Nugget*, reported the estimated 2,000 people that packed the streets, "the largest (procession) ever witnessed in Tombstone. More than 300 additional people followed the procession to Boot Hill cemetery where the men were laid to rest.[18] In April 1882, President Chester A. Arthur called for the use of military forced to assist civil authorities in Arizona Territory in combating "armed bands of desperadoes known as cowboys" who have committed "depredations" both in Arizona Territory as well as "predatory incursions made there from into Mexico."[19]

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[17] "The Earps," *Los Angeles Times*, February 13, 1887. *Proquest Historical Newspapers*, accessed June 2012.

[18] Steven Lubet, *Murder in Tombstone: The Forgotten Trial of Wyatt Earp* (New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 2004), 58.

[19] "The Arizona Cowboys," *New York Times*, April 28, 1882. *Proquest Historical Newspapers*, accessed June 2012.

For Americans, these events symbolized a mythic rugged western frontier that refused to fold to the political, social, and economic trends of modern America. Following the Civil War, America's economy began to rapidly transform from once small local units of business and industry into large corporations.[20] Mark Twain called the era the "Gilded Age" observing that the period was filled with greed, political corruption, and excessive wealth and grandeur. While the transition brought convenience and abundance into many Americans' lives, the negative effects of the era led many to question these immediate conveniences. American culture also reflected Twain's critique of the era. In a period where men like Andrew Carnegie, J.P. Morgan, and John D. Rockefeller controlled the wealth and power of the United States, Americans flocked to Buffalo Bill Cody's plays and Wild West Show to witness the heroes of Americas frontier, hoping to capture an glance of a vanishing past. Despite critiques' harsh reviews, people attended his plays in such large numbers that he quickly became a familiar name across the U.S. and Europe.[21] Cody promised audiences that his theater show would, "awaken memories of past excitements among the boys, and lead the elders to seek illustration of what has formed the subject of many a take of adventure since the East began the work of peopling the great West."[22] Much like the appeal of Cody's shows, Arizona Territory was seemingly a place that represented a world far removed from the growing industry and capitalism of the modern world.

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[20] Charles Calhoun, ed., *The Gilded Age: Perspectives on the Origins of Modern America*, 2nd ed. (Lanham, Md: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007), 11.
[21] Sandra K Sagala, *Buffalo Bill on Stage* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 2.
[22] Ibid., 65.

Yet, the rapid expansion of large-scale mining following the completion of the transcontinental railroad in 1869 meant that Clifton-Morenci was a region that witnessed dramatic growth and industrial expansion in a short amount of time. Although Frederick Jackson Turner argued that, "the iron, the coal, and the cattle…have all fallen under the domination of a few great corporations,"[23] in reality, it was the great corporations that shaped the towns' growth and brought diverse groups of people together. In Clifton-Morenci, much of the town was built and owned by the Detroit Copper Company and Phelps-Dodge. Although many residents embraced the towns' frontier legacy, both the towns' residents and industry leaders attempted to define social, political, economic, and cultural dominance. Many residents continued to idealize the towns' frontier legacy, and shaped their own ideas of identity, freedom, democracy, and order.

In 1902 novelist Benjamin Franklin Norris stated, "We liked the frontier. It was romance, the place of poetry of the Great March, the firing line where there was action and fighting, and where men held each other's lives in the crook of the forefinger."[24] Its disappearance inspired Americans like Teddy Roosevelt who had loved "the rough, free life" that the West had once offered, to write a collection of stories about Lewis and Clark, the Alamo, cattlemen, and ranches.[25] To Easterners, perceptions of the West could take on a nearly religious quality as people traveled via railcars to tour the wild western frontier.[26] Clifton-Morenci's frontier image was eroding by the turn-of-the-twentieth

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[23] Frederick Jackson Turner, "Turner: The Frontier In American History", 1893, chap. IX, accessed, March 2012, http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/TURNER/.

[24] Athearn, *The mythic West in twentieth-century America*, 14.

[25] Theodore Roosevelt, *Stories of the Great West* (New York: The Century Co., 1910).

[26] Athearn, *The mythic West in twentieth-century America*, 132-3, 141.

century, but many of the towns' residents continued to embrace a romantic vision of the past that was not burdened with the complexities of modern life, and where self-sufficiency reigned over bureaucracy.

From Copper Camp to Company Town

The town of Clifton-Morenci grew during the late 19th century and became a major supplier of copper for the United States, and the residents, political officials, and capitalists envisioned their own idea of what their copper-driven community could be. The mineral brought people of diverse backgrounds and identities to the region together. In 1583 the Hopi encountered Spanish explorer Antonia de Espejo, who recognized mineral dyes painted on their bodies. Hopi guides led the Spaniards to their mines where, much to their disappointment, they found the Hopi had been mining copper rather than gold or silver in the mines.[27] In, prior to Clifton-Morenci's establishment, a group of volunteer Union soldiers rediscovered the mineral in the area.[28] Henry Lesinsky was the region's first investor in copper, when he found the ore in an old Mexican mine on Apache land. After paying off the Arizona Territory attorney general, he traveled across the border to hire Mexican workers who had experience working with copper.[29] It was this discovery that led to the growth of the towns of Clifton and Morenci. Clifton was founded in 1872 and may have been named after an old prospector, Henry Clifton, or

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[27] Ojibwa, "Ancient America: Aboriginal Mining," *Daily Kos,* June 10, 2012, http://www.dailykos.com/story/2012/06/10/1098894/-Ancient-America-Aboriginal-Mining.

[28] Phelps-Dodge, *Morenci Fact Sheet* (Phelps-Dodge, March 1895), Clifton-Morenci mining ephemera, AHS.

[29] Gordon, *The great Arizona orphan abduction*, 29.

after its physical appearance – a shortened form of Cliff-town.[30] Morenci was first a mining camp named Joy's Camp after mineral surveyor Miles Joy but was later changed to Morenci after another copper mining town in Michigan of the same name.[31] The close proximity of the two towns led some to refer to the region together as "Clifton-Morenci." The region, surrounded by mountains, separated Morenci approximately 6,000 feet above Clifton. Over the next few years, the towns began their transformation from pack-mule camps to mining towns as infrastructure and capital came to the area. The first railroad in the area was completed in 1879 with the first locomotive coming a year later.[32] Phelps-Dodge first appeared in the area in 1881 followed by the Arizona Copper Company in 1883.[33] These two large companies signaled the start of a mass migration to the area as men learned of the good pay available in the copper mines.

Clifton-Morenci's first few years were less like a community than a ramshackle of rough men and few women where the main leisure time activities included drinking and gambling. The towns' first residents were housed in crude living conditions consisting of tents, shacks and barracks.[34] Most men arrived to the area single, or would send money home to their families, but few women occupied the town during the early years. Clifton-

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[30] Kenneth Arline, "Clifton's Past to be Saluted," *Phoenix Gazette*, October 4, 1973, Clifton-Morenci mining ephemera, AHS. Morenci's namesake is more easily attributed to another copper mining town in Michigan of the same name.

[31] Phoenix Gazette, "Site of Old Morenci Sinking Away," *Phoenix Gazette*, October 6, 1972, Clifton-Morenci mining ephemera, AHS.

[32] Phelps-Dodge, *Morenci Fact Sheet,* Clifton-Morenci mining ephemera, AHS.

[33] Ibid. National Register of Historic Places, *National Register of Historic Places: Registration Form - Clifton Townsite Historic District*, n.d., Arizona Historical Society, Tucson Clifton-Morenci mining ephemera, AHS.

[34] Gordon, *The great Arizona orphan abduction*, 59.

Morenci's early history is filled with the folklore reminiscent of a wild frontier town and many of the first residents became mythic to many of the area's later residents, and generations of locals continue to pass on their stories. The famous cliff jail, one of the first structures visitors encounter among entering Clifton, was blasted from the natural rock cliff in 1881 by Margarito Barela. The job was a dangerous and difficult task that left its creator greatly relieved once it was completed. Barela celebrated his accomplishment with several glasses of mescal until he became overly rowdy and began shooting his gun. The celebration granted him two instances of fame – that of the Cliff Jail's creator and first prisoner.[35] Other inhabitants of Clifton's jail were also symbolic of the wild frontier character of the towns' early history. Men like Red Sample, Tex Yorkey, Dan Down, Billy Delaney and John Heath became part of regional popular memory – one that embellished Clifton-Morenci's rough and tumble past. Residents remembered that Heath opened a saloon in the area while the rest of his gang held up banks, mine companies and stores – always leaving Heath's gambling establishment untouched. C.M. Clark, a local, recalled that, locals were all aware of the gang of men's misdeeds but who flocked to the area for the Arizona Copper Company's high pay in the early 1880s.

The early mining camps were so far removed from civilization that groceries and other supplies were delivered on packs via mules.[36] Prior to the settlement of women in the area mine workers depended on the makeshift "hotels" for board. Jake Abrahams became well known in the area for his hotel consisting of long board and batten with a

[35] Arline, "Clifton's Past to be Saluted."

canvas roof. He filled the large room with 64 canvas cots that were rented at $1.00/night. Locals named the structure "telephone row" because conversations could be heard distinctly at the other end of the building.[37] Another famed early resident of the area was Dona Juanita, the first woman in Clifton. Henry Lesinsky, one of the early founder's of the Clifton Camp, convinced Dona Juanita to come to Clifton from Silver City, New Mexico in 1879 to work as a laundress for the growing camp's workers. According to Lesinsky, Juanita was not easily convinced that life as the lone female of Clifton would be easy, and she "made a bundle of stipulations" before deciding to take Lesinsky's offer. In addition to relocation fees, which she requested in the form of a special carriage used to transport herself and her belongings to the area. She also requested that both her and her nephew, Pedrito be provided with provisions and arms during their stay in Clifton. Lastly, fearing that her new business could easily be mistaken by some men in the camp, Juanita insisted on putting a sign above her business: "NO ADMITTANCE HERE EXCEPT ON LAUNDRY BUSINESS".[38]

These stories have remained part of the folklore of the town's history, and, other than oral histories passed down through generations, they are difficult to document. Yet they are representative of the important frontier identity that so many of the towns' residents embraced. Even by 1900, these stories had become part of the town's legacy and were a reminder that Clifton-Morenci remained an area where the residents carried their own sense of law and order over the area.

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[36] Phoenix Gazette, "Site of Old Morenci Sinking Away." Clifton-Morenci mining ephemera, AHS.

[37] The Arizona Republican, "Clifton Memories", April 18, 1925, Clifton-Morenci mining ephemera, AHS.

Clifton was divided between north and south Clifton as well as divided east and west by the San Francisco River. While most of Clifton-Morenci's Anglo residents lived in south Clifton, most Mexican and Italian families lived in north Clifton's Chase Creek district – and on the surrounding hill as well as in Morenci.[39] Today, Clifton's vibrant past remains in the many abandoned buildings lining Chase Creek. It was here that gambling saloons, dance halls, vaudeville and silent film theaters, and even a bowling alley and shooting gallery once stood.[40] At the end of the day, it was not uncommon for workers to make their way from the Arizona Copper Company smelter on the eastern side of Clifton to the Old Buffet Bar Saloon. Although the location of the bar may have led in part to its popularity with workers, this may also be attributed in part to the bar's large supply of whiskey, which was readily available for take out for anyone with a jug.[41] By 1900, the copper industry had turned Clifton-Morenci into a modern oasis in the midst of the barren territory of eastern Arizona.

Unlike the vast array of businesses that lined Clifton's Chase Creek district, Morenci developed largely under the supervision and control of the Detroit Copper

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[38] Arline, "Clifton's Past to be Saluted," Clifton-Morenci mining ephemera, AHS.

[39] Lydia Beck Kohn, "Lydia Beck Kohn Interview", May 25, 1990, AV 0471, AHS. See also, Phylis Cancilla Martinelli, *Undermining Race: Ethnic Identities in Arizona Copper Camps, 1880-1920* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009), 149.

[40] Glenn Burgess, ed., *Mt. Graham Profiles*, vol. II (Thatcher, Arizona: Graham County Historical Society, 1988), 448.

[41] Charles Spezia, "Historic Chase Creek," Brochure, 1990, Clifton-Morenci mining ephemera, AHS.

Company.[42] Sitting nearly a mile above Clifton, Morenci was, and continues to be a company town.[43] In 1897, Phelps Dodge bought the Detroit Copper Company's interests and invested heavily in the town. A giant company store, which one writer commented, "no establishment devoted to the sale of general merchandise…will compare with this store in the unique and charming little mining town of Morenci…" boasted an assortment of clothing, food, jewelry, hardware, liquor, and embalming goods. Within the next year, mining interests had also invested in a library/gym, a hotel, a school, and a railway.[44]

By 1900, the copper demand grew even larger than it had in previous decades. After Nikola Tesla's demonstration of AC current to a public audience at the 1893 World's Fair, homes began to be wired for electricity, and the production of copper for wires greatly increased the value of the mineral.[45] The *Copper Era* reported in 1901 that, "There is every indication that the demand in Europe will continue and go on increasing...London alone is expending over $30,000 in equipping electrical roads.[46] Increasing jobs and stability also brought women to the area. By 1900, there was a clear

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[42] Gordon, *The great Arizona orphan abduction*, 31. The Michigan connections here are not a coincidence. William Church founded the Detroit Copper Company after receiving financial support from an investor from Detroit. He named Morenci after a copper camp in Michigan.

[43] John Collins Rudolf, "Copper's Every Dip Is Felt in Arizona," *The New York Times*, November 28, 2008, sec. Business, http://www.nytimes.com/2008/11/28/business/28copper.html, accessed January 2012. In 2007, Freeport-McMoRan bought out Phelps Dodge. Today the housing in Morenci remains in the possession of the company.

[44] Burgess, *Mt. Graham Profiles*, II:167.

[45] McBiles, "A History of Mining in Arizona: The Mission, Means, and Memories of Arizona Miners."

population of married homeowners living in Clifton-Morenci that worked both unskilled and semiskilled jobs in the copper mines. Many workers owned their own homes (including around half of the Mexican population).[47] Although these rooms were often little more than shacks built with scrap material (especially for Mexican workers who were paid significantly smaller wages), they became spaces for family and friends to gather and strengthen community ties in the two towns.

As the demand for copper grew, so too, did the towns. In 1896, the Arizona Copper Company employed more than 300 men and distributed $35,000 per month among its employees.[48] By 1903 that number had grown to nearly 2,000 men who worked day and night in the mines.[49] Company ownership varied widely in mining towns throughout the territory, and Clifton and Morenci alone maintained different levels of ownership. Although both Clifton and Morenci began as mining camps, Morenci remained much more rugged than Clifton for many years. Workers lived in shacks and tents and their only source of waste management became the gulches in the town.[50] The poor sanitary conditions of Morenci existed until 1897 when a fire destroyed most of the town. Detroit Copper Supervisor, Charles Mills, used the opportunity to rebuild the

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[46] Copper Era, "Copper is King," *Copper Era*, March 14, 1901, AHS.

[47] Mellinger, *Race and labor in western copper : the fight for equality, 1896-1918*, 37.

[48] Daily Citizen, "Clifton," *Daily Citizen*, July 22, 1896. Clifton-Morenci mining ephemera, AHS.

[49] Gordon, *The great Arizona orphan abduction*, 33. William Brooks, "December 9, 1904", December 9, 1904, William E. Brooks Collection, Arizona State University Archives (ASU).

[50] Gordon, *The great Arizona orphan abduction*, 173.

town, this time with the financial backing of the Detroit Copper Company.[51] In addition to the company houses built for employees, the Detroit Company also built a hotel, gymnasium, church and a schoolhouse (which the Detroit Copper Company paid two-thirds and the Arizona Copper Company paid one-third).[52] Morenci residents could shop at the Detroit Copper Company store which newspapers hailed as "one of the largest and handsomest store buildings to be found anywhere in the Southwest."[53] Credit was always extended to workers, ensuring their continual debt to the store and company.

Clifton, although dependent upon the copper industry for its survival, was less a company town than a town with a powerful company in it. The store, works, and offices of the Arizona Copper Company were on the west side of the San Francisco River and residences and independent businesses on the east side. The result was a town, less like a company town, and more like two separate towns divided by the San Francisco River.[54] Although Clifton did not have company houses or amenities like Morenci, most people in the town still shopped at the Arizona Copper Company store. Although a few smaller businesses operated in the town, residents remembered the company store as a place where you could by nearly anything you wanted. Lydia Beck, a native of Clifton remembered that the company store as the place where her family shopped because "it had everything in it".[55] The store boasted several departments including, dry goods,

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[51] Ibid.
[52] "Clifton and Morenci," *Arizona Bulletin*, May 24, 1901, Clifton-Morenci mining ephemera, AHS.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Daily Citizen, "Clifton."
[55] Kohn, "Lydia Beck Kohn Interview," May 25, 1990, AV 0471, AHS.

notions, furniture, shoes, hats, tailoring, tack, hardware, drugs, alcohol, and building supplies. The store also carried a selection of caskets, ensuring that customers could depend on the store for their needs from cradle to grave.[56]

The wide selection of goods available in the company stores of Clifton and Morenci could largely be contributed to the growing population of women starting to reside with their husbands, brothers, and sons in area. Copper companies understood the power that women brought with them as residents in Clifton-Morenci, both in terms of a stable workforce, as well as consumerism. They used consumerism as a point of attraction to draw women to the otherwise isolated area, and advertised the modern conveniences of the company store as evidence of a more tame version of the copper camps that they may have heard about:

> Man may go alone into places taking chances for his own welfare, but he will hesitate when it comes to taking mother, wife, sisters, and children. Morenci in this particular is singularly fortunate, due in a large degree, of course, to the fact that the two powerful Companies owning the land upon which the town is located, thereby prohibiting the location thereon of any of the vicious or lawless element. All of this has tended to build up a strong moral tone, and organize a moral force which would discountenance and debar of itself any attempt at invasion by the undesirable class.[57]

Rather, residents could find new "indulgences" in the form of a cheese case of "American, Swiss, Brie, Cream, Fromage and enticing Roquefort, in array that simply invites the appetite," or in the lingerie department where women could choose from the "manufactories of St. Gallen, Switzerland with every fascinating and dainty lace from the

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[56] Arizona Bulletin, "Arizona Bulletin - Special Souvenir Edition", 1903, Clifton-Morenci mining ephemera, AHS. Copper Era, "Arizona Copper Company, Ltd. Store Department Ad", May 1, 1901, Clifton-Morenci mining ephemera, AHS.

[57] "Arizona Bulletin – Special Souvenir Edition," 1903, Clifton-Morenci mining ephemera, AHS.

Irish Torchon to the Valencienes Chantilly…which wear out the eyes of the peasant lace makers of France."[58] The descriptions were hardly the type of items that were reminiscent of the frontier vision of the towns' early history, but they symbolized the towns' transformation into family-based establishments.

The legacy that began with Clifton's first woman, Dona Juanita, led to the transformation of rugged mining camps into a community of citizens of Arizona's previously unsettled territory. Women helped to shape the activities and organizations that would give rise to the decades of collective organization that largely defined the region's workers. Women contributed to the workforce by preparing meals and keeping a home for workers and their contributions inside the home made working life easier for the men.[59] Their contributions reached far outside the home as well. Mine workers employed at Phelps-Dodge and Detroit Copper Company rarely made enough money to support their families, and as a result, women often sought out employment as well. The lower wage paid to Mexican workers meant that Mexican women, especially, had to find other means of work.[60] Single men that made up the workforce of Clifton-Morenci relied on working women for meals, shelter, and sex. Women taught in the towns' schools and worked in their stores as well.[61]

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[58] Arizona Bulletin, "Arizona Bulletin - Special Souvenir Edition."

[59] Gordon points out that women's domestic labor eased the burden of mine work for men and their families in many ways. "men returned home, slept, and ate at various hours, and depended heavily on women's labor." Gordon, *The great Arizona orphan abduction*, 124.

[60] Ibid., 129-131.

[61] Kohn, "Lydia Beck Kohn Interview," May 25, 1990, AV 0471, AHS.

Women brought more than just their labor to Clifton-Morenci. Many women also brought a sense of moral authority to the area that was, in part, based upon their identity as frontier pioneers whose participation in the public sphere included efforts to reform and "civilize" the old mining camp into a community.[62] This may have been due in part to a more dominant role that many women played in day-to-day politics and society on the western frontier. In *Doing What the Day Brought*, Mary Rothschild argues that women "fared better in the West than they did in other sections of the United States" partly because there numbers were lower and made men more accepting of women in nontraditional positions.[63] Although male acceptance may have contributed in part to women's political and social activity in the west, in Arizona Territory, this participation was also largely initiated through women's activism in the creation of Arizona's constitution and a push to extend women's suffrage within the constitution. Within the Territory, women organized suffrage associations and pushed for constitutional representation.[64] This activity extended into the local level and was especially prevalent in Clifton-Morenci where it was the area's Anglo women that envisioned and shaped

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[62] Linda Gordon discusses the importance of pioneer identity for Anglo women in *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*, 162-164.

[63] Mary Aickin Rothschild, *Doing What the Day Brought: An Oral History of Arizona Women* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992), xx.

their vision of respectable community life. Gordon argues, "Many of the Anglo women leaders had a sense of belonging, pride, and entitlement, which arose from their identities as pioneers, settlers who had experienced hardship," noting that many of leading women in the region had been in the area prior to widespread settlement.[65] Converting Clifton-Morenci from a saloon and gambling frontier into a stronger family-oriented community was important for many women. In the remote copper mining region of Clifton-Morenci, drinking became one of the few ways to escape the difficult and monotonous life of mine work, and women recognized the necessity of combating the practice. Local papers echoed women's concern about men's use of alcohol.[66] Women sometimes became so desperate to combat the evils of alcohol that they relied on elixirs, which advertised to cure "your husband, brother, father, or any of your relatives afflicted with the Disease of Drunkness (sic)." These "cures" usually relied on one key ingredient to work – alcohol.[67]

The frontier of southern Arizona Territory was dramatically transformed by the turn-of-the-twentieth century. Canvas encampments were replaced with company stores,

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[64] Ibid., xxv-xxvi. Leaders of Arizona's suffrage movement, included Josephine Hughes of Tucson, Frances Munds of Prescott and women from the Mormon community including Mary J.R. West and Mabel Ann Morse Hakes. Despite their campaign, women's suffrage did not get the support it needed in Arizona's first Constitutional proposal in 1891. Although the suffrage bill was passed in the territorial legislature in 1903, Territorial Governor Alexander Brodie vetoed it. Two years, after Arizona gained statehood in 1910, the state legislature passed the "Women's Suffrage Initiative." It is also important to note that most of the leaders of Arizona Territory's suffrage movement were Anglo women. For a detailed discussion of political activity of Clifton-Morenci's Mexican women, see Chapter 4.

[65] Gordon, *The great Arizona orphan abduction*, 161.

[66] "Do You Realize That You Are Intoxicated?," *Arizona Bulletin*, July 3, 1903, Clifton-Morenci mining ephemera, AHS.

schools, and permanent settlements largely funded by mining interests. The growing demand for labor in the mines compelled the companies to invest in the infrastructure of region, but it was the residents of Clifton-Morenci that built the community. Women became the organizational backbone of Clifton-Morenci and brought tradition and structure to the area. Their practices would become essential to the development of worker agency, and would provide an organizational foundation for uniting the region's diverse population of workers.

Between Mexico and America

The border culture along northern Mexico and Southern U.S. is a central characteristic to understanding the complex and increasingly tense relationship between the Mexican, Italian, and Anglo community in Clifton-Morenci in the late 19th and early 20th century. Although people could easily cross the newly created border in the nineteenth century, by the turn-of-the-twentieth century demands for immigration legislation made border crossings increasingly difficult and led to anti-immigrant sentiment Although Clifton-Morenci is situated approximately 150 miles north of the border, its close proximity brought a mix of both Mexicans and Americans into the region. But a growing anti-immigrant sentiment, along with increased immigration restrictions would change local perceptions of migration many of whom felt the need to secure the border from outsiders.

Families chose to migrate to Arizona territory for many reasons. For some, the region offered refuge from more dangerous portions of the country. Turbulent relations between Mexicans and the Yaqui in San Miguel forced Julia Yslas Vélez's family to

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[67] Copper Era, "Cure Drunkeness Advertisement," *Copper Era*, January 17, 1901, AHS.

migrate to Arizona territory in 1916 [68] Following the Gadsden and Guadelupe treaties in the mid-1800s, the border created transnational economic opportunities for workers and for many, transnationalism was a common part of one's working experience rather than a struggle with identity. Recalling her own family history, Arizonian Carlotta Silvas Martin pointed out that her own father had crossed Arizona's border several times as a teenager where he worked as a farm and ranch worker before becoming a miner in later years.[69]

Under the liberal economic policies of Díaz, American investment in Mexico grew and further expanded into the copper mining region of the US Southwest.[70] Between 1890-1900 Mexico's exports grew 144% as Mexico expanded their mining industry. Unprecedented demand for copper, zinc, graphite, and antimony expanded mining industries throughout the country. A large demand for Mexican henequen, an agave fiber used for twine binding with the McCormick reaper, returned profits from 50-600%. While industrialists used these profits to expand rail lines, increasing productivity, Díaz encouraged foreign investment with tax exemptions and subsidies and provided duty-free imports on machinery for industries.[71] At the same time, these liberal economic policies decreased Mexican wages and increased the prices of food and goods. The growth of railroad lines into and out of Mexico via El Paso became a common form

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[68] Patricia Preciado Martin, *Songs My Mother Sang to Me: An Oral History of Mexican American Women* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1992).
[69] Ibid., 199.
[70] Patrick Ettinger, *Imaginary lines : border enforcement and the origins of undocumented immigration, 1882-1930*, 1st ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009), 13.

of transportation for immigrants – both legal and illegal. In 1882, a completed rail line linked the port city of Guaymas in southern Mexico with US/Mexico border in Arizona.[72] In 1890, President Harrison claimed that:

> The intercourse of the two countries, by rail, already great, is making constant growth. The established lines and those recently projected add to the intimacy of traffic and open new channels of access to fresh areas of supply and demand.[73]

These factors, coupled with the development of the railway in Mexico, led increasing numbers of Mexicans into northern Mexico and Southern US looking for better wages and standards of living.[74] Many of the Mexican workers that came to work in the copper mines in Clifton-Morenci came from Guanajuato, Aguascalientes, Michoacán, and Sonora where they had worked in mining industries previously.[75] The growing economic partnership between the US and Mexican governments transformed the borderlands into an economic possibility.

As economic circumstances and the growth of modern rail lines made border crossing easier, restrictions soon became more common. Chinese immigrants became the target of early immigration restrictions. The Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882 banned Chinese immigration into the U.S. Because Chinese came to the US largely to work

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[71] Colin M MacLachlan, *Mexico's Crucial Century, 1810-1910: An Introduction* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 156-158.

[72] Oscar Martínez, *U.S.-Mexico borderlands : historical and contemporary perspectives* (Wilmington DE: Scholarly Resources, 1996), 87.

[73] Ettinger, *Imaginary lines*, 13.

[74] Ibid., 125. Railway construction relied on increasing numbers of Mexicans, but these same lines carried Mexicans north and into the US where they found more secure and better paying jobs.

[75] Michael Casillas, "Mexicans, Labor and Strife in Arizona, 1896-1917." (Masters Thesis, University of New Mexico, 1979), 23.

under contracts, the Foran Act of 1885 banned selected industries from using contract labor.[76] The Law was partly a response to the depression of 1883-1886 and partly a response to craft unionists' demands to protect labor from immigrants. These initial restrictions would soon influence border security between the US and Mexico.

Prior to the 1900s, Mexicans crossed the border freely, as seasonal workers who were not subject to the same restrictions and fees that US immigration authorities placed upon European and Asian immigrant groups.[77] In 1900 and 1902 Canada heightened immigration restrictions along their borders, sending a wave of immigrants attempting to smuggle into the U.S. via the Mexican border.[78] By the turn-of-the-twentieth century, there was not only a steady stream of Mexicans crossing the U.S. border, but an increasing number of Chinese immigrants crossing into the U.S. as well. Mexico's declining economy also added to the increased border traffic. In 1893, the *New York Times* reported that, "scores and probably several hundred" Chinese had illegal crossed into the US with the aid of a Mexican guide. The men, who all spoke fluent Spanish, were most likely pushed out of the country with the economic depression and had come to the US seeking work.[79] Although Chinese immigrants made up approximately ¼ of the workforce in Clifton-Morenci in 1883, by 1900 there were only 65 left employed in

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[76] Ettinger, *Imaginary lines*, 33. Although the Foran Act banned the use of contract labor in some industries, it also excluded those employed in performance art and domestic industries.

[77] Ibid., 124.

[78] Ibid., 80.

[79] New York Times, "Chinese Tramps From Mexico," *New York Times*, August 11, 1893, http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F1071EF93F5515738DDDA80994D0405B8385F0D3, accessed June 2012.

the mines of Clifton.[80] While immigration legislation limited the number of Chinese immigrants allowed to work in the U.S., the expanding copper industry continued to rely on cheap labor for the mines.

The migration process was more complicated than simply crossing a border for Italians living in the Clifton-Morenci region, yet many had already settled in the West during industrialization. With these roots already established, Italians originating from the northern regions of Piemonte, Liguria, Lombardy, and Trent as well as southern Italians from Calabria and Sicily soon joined already established Italian communities in the American southwest where they readily took jobs in the mining industry alongside their Mexican counterparts.[81]

Although the restrictions of the 1880s were not specifically targeted at Mexicans, the execution of these anti-immigration laws would influence how Americans viewed Mexican immigrants and the border. These restrictions underscored the importance of race, class, and ethnicity in border control. The Chinese Exclusion Act, argues Patrick Ettinger in *Imaginary Lines*, "ultimately racialized the national border and shaped the practice and culture of undocumented immigration and immigration law enforcement."[82] Because the Immigration Act primarily affected working class migrants, law enforcement agents targeted workers crossing the border for work. By the 1890s, the Act had led to an established immigration control agency along the U.S. and Mexico aimed at keeping out

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[80] Gordon, *The great Arizona orphan abduction*, 100-101.
[81] Martinelli, *Undermining Race*, 5.
[82] Ettinger, *Imaginary lines*, 35-36.

illegal immigrants.[83] For residents of Clifton-Morenci, the new restrictions meant that the border was no longer a simply a place where cultures converged, but where they were divided.

Between immigrant and American

Despite their close proximity to one another, Anglo workers tended to remain separate from their Mexican and Italian counterparts. This segregation was apparent in all spheres of life in Clifton-Morenci. William Brooks worked for the Standard Copper Mine when he observed the separate dining spaces for Mexican and Anglo workers within the mining boarding house.[84] Children also remained in separate spheres from their Mexican counterparts, who did not attend the same schools. Lydia Beck Kohn recalls that she did not play with Mexican children because they lived in different areas of town, yet given the small size of Clifton at the turn-of-the-twentieth century, her childhood experiences suggest that parents did little to encourage bonds between Mexican and Anglo youth in the area.[85]

Mexican, Italian, and Anglo workers also maintained separate community spheres, but regardless of ethnicity or citizenship, Clifton-Morenci's women took on leading roles in evolving the early mining camps into well-established communities. Women in these communities helped to relieve the monotony of small town life by hosting and organizing cultural events for residents. In keeping with the spirit of taming the rowdiness of the early days, women helped to bring organized, civil, and peaceful

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[83] Ibid., 36.

[84] William Brooks, letter, January 5, 1905, William E. Brooks Papers, ASU.

[85] Kohn, "Lydia Beck Kohn Interview," May 25, 1990, AV 0471, AHS.

community gatherings to the area. Their actions both strengthened community ties by providing a strong social network for residents, yet also created cultural and national divisions between the towns' residents. This divide was especially prominent between Mexican and Anglo women who frequented separate spaces and organized separate events. Anglo women in Clifton-Morenci organized Christmas pageants, Fourth-of-July celebrations, and various dances and fundraisers. Events like the "Ladies' Bazaar" held in 1901 were organized to give women the opportunity to sell handmade items and other donated goods and to raise money for the church and Sunday school. [86] Events at the annual Fourth of July celebration held in 1901 included horse races, a "handsomest lady" contest (with a $20 prize), vocal music of "national songs", and a large display of fireworks.[87] Mexican women also kept a close-knit community and held similar events that celebrated their Mexican heritage. Events like *Dieciséis de septiembre* were important dates of social gathering for the Mexican community and provided the residents with an opportunity to socialize outside of the home, as one resident describes:

> Friday was the ninety-fourth anniversary of Mexican independence from Spain. The 16th of September corresponds to our 4th of July. They celebrated in the day time and at night gave a large ball. The Mexican girls were out in full force under unordinary circumstances.[88]

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[86] Oliver Ambrose Risdon, *Risdon Photograph Collection*, ca 1910. Copper Era, "The Ladies' Bazaar," *Copper Era*, January 31, 1901, AHS.

[87] Arizona Bulletin, "Fourth of July Celebration", June 14, 1901, Clifton-Morenci mining ephemera, AHS.

[88] William Brooks, "September 18, 1904", September 18, 1904, William E. Brooks Papers, ASU. Brooks refers to the women being out under "unordinary circumstances" because, as he argues, they usually do not leave their homes unless accompanied by their husbands.

Religion was also an important factor in the organization and growth of community for Clifton-Morenci's residents. Religious days like *el Dia de San Pedro y San Pablo* were "almost like Christmas" to some families and remained ways of reaffirming family, tradition, and community in the isolated mining region.[89] In addition to patriotic celebrations, Mexican families in the region placed great importance upon religious celebrations. For many, religion encompassed more than just a weekly visit to the church or annual celebrations. Recalling her experiences with religion, Livia León Montiel said, "A cradle Catholic, that's what I call myself, because with my religion there is just no question; it's inbred in you. There is that Divine Power up there that guides your life every day that you get up."[90] Religion played a central role in bringing together the Mexican and Italian residents and forged a sense of community. Although it was unusual to see Mexican and Anglo residents of Clifton-Morenci interacting with one another in their daily activities, the Italian and Mexican communities maintained a much stronger bond with one another. Mexican and Italian communities often lived side by side one another, frequented the same Catholic churches, and intermarried .[91] After the government began to effectively ban Chinese immigrants from working in the United

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[89] Martin, *Songs My Mother Sang to Me*, 4.

[90] Ibid., 19.

[91] Gordon, *The great Arizona orphan abduction*, 102. In addition to attending church together, Italian families donated stained glass windows for Clifton's catholic church that was attended by the Mexican and Italian residents. Risdon, *Risdon Photograph Collection*, PC 204, AHS.

States, Italians became an important part of the workforce at Clifton-Morenci. By 1900, they made up 90% of the Southern Europe population in the area.[92]

Like Clifton-Morenci, other communities throughout the United States harbored strong intercultural alliances between Italian-Americans and other ethnic groups that helped to create working class solidarity. In Ybor City in Tampa, Florida, for example, Italians joined Cuban and Spaniard radicals working in the cigar industry to fight for worker rights. Workers relied upon a shared "latin" identity between Italian, Cuban, and Spanish groups. Workers often listed to *los lectores* read radical novels and newspapers from lecterns, giving them access to new political theory and knowledge.[93] In San Francisco, the Italian and Spanish communities formed a special branch of the IWW.[94] In Barre, Vermont, granite workers from Carrara, Italy working class militancy was sustained through music traditions and by displaying red flags.[95] Several factors seem to have contributed to the bond forged between the Mexican and Italian communities. In *Undermining Race*, Phylis Martinelli argues that a shared Latin identity contributed to the close bonds between the two cultural groups. Romance languages, and especially, Spanish, became a common language spoke by both groups. Spanish language newspapers could often be easier for the Italian-speaking community to read as well, and

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[92] Martinelli, *Undermining race : ethnic identities in Arizona copper camps, 1880-1920*, 5. Southern Europeans included groups of Greek, Portuguese, and Spanish workers, in addition to Italians.

[93] Philip V. Cannistraro and Gerald Meyer, eds. *The Lost World of Italian American Radicalism: Politics, labor, and Culture*, Italian and Italian American studies (Westport, Conn: Praeger, 2003), 14.

[94] Ibid., 25.

[95] Ibid., 15.

they were often shared between the two groups.[96] Both groups frequented the same community events and flew green, white, and red flags, which became symbolic of "allegiances outside the boundaries of the red, white, and blue."[97] This coalition became an effective means for workers to exercise their rights as employees and residents of the copper area. When Phelps-Dodge attempted to construct rail lines through Morenci's Slag Town district in 1897, the mostly Mexican and Italian residents fought back, demanding concessions.[98] Residents were forced to move, but were given reparations in the form of mine claims.[99]

Mexican *mutualistas*, however, became one of the most effective means of coalition between the two groups. Membership into the Clifton-Morenci branch of the *Alianza Hispano Americana* was by invitation only, and Italians' close living and working relationship with the Mexican community gave them the opportunity to become invited members of the organization. Since most Italians could also speak Spanish, meetings were conducted in this common language.[100] This organization would become key to the initial success of the 1903 strike that was largely mobilized by the Italian and Mexican community.[101]

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[96] Martinelli, *Undermining race : ethnic identities in Arizona copper camps, 1880-1920*, 126.

[97] Ibid., 142.

[98] Ibid., 138. Martinelli points out that the Italians were much more vocal about the demands than the Mexican population due to tensions between the Mexican and Anglo population during the Spanish American War.

[99] Ibid.

[100] Ibid., 142.

[101] I discuss this event in full detail in Chapter 4.

To suggest that the cultural divide that existed in Clifton-Morenci was limited to simply immigrants and Americans, however, is an oversimplification of the complex relations among residents of the area. These relationships demonstrate that categories of race, class, and ethnicity all interacted with each other to create complex understandings of citizenship that may not have been evident outside of the borderlands where race continued to constitute a clear designation for who qualified as an American. In *Borderline Americans* Katherine Benton-Cohen argues that "Mexican" and "white" were not racial categories that were clearly different but ones that often overlapped in the borderlands region in ways that complicated who was and who was not an American.[102] In Clifton-Morenci, Mexican and Anglo residents from the borderlands region most likely shared similar histories and ideologies. Here, a violent history with the Apache might have complicated the division between white and non-white where, Cohen argues, "Apaches were not Americans, but Mexicans might be."[103]

The role of the environment must also be considered when looking at the complex history of Anglo/Mexican relations along the borderlands region. The importance of water as a commodity in Arizona's arid climate led to a long history of Anglo and Mexican partnerships based upon water rights. In Mexico, pueblos held water rights for running water from natural streams for all to use. This law of *publici juris* was superior

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[102] Katherine Benton-Cohen, *Borderline Americans: Racial Division and Labor War in the Arizona Borderlands* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2009), 8.

[103] Ibid. Mexican and Anglo relations with Apaches are discussed in more detail on pages 2-4.

to individual proprietorship.[104] The construction of an *acequia* or canals for irrigating land, however, required a license granting permission for any privately, municipally, or state-owned land. Early mining regulations followed the doctrine of appropriation in which water rights were granted to the first landowner to use the water source and could be sold separately from its adjoining land property. Often residents would come together to fight for land and water rights, dig ditches, or form contracts that crossed race, class, and nationality lines.[105]

These types of complex relations could also create divisions within the communities as well. Mexicans, for example, remained divided socially, culturally, and economically in many instances. Gordon describes the cultural division between the Mexican and *norteño* population in the area as a perceived difference in both character and color.[106] Lightness, rooted in part in ideas of Spanish Imperialism, identified upward mobility.[107] In both daily practices and identity it was difficult to label many residents as Mexican or American. More Mexicans were losing the traditional food and dress practices of their homeland as modern conveniences such as industrially milled

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[104] Samuel C Wiel, *Water Rights in the Western States. The Law of Appropriation of Water as Applied Alone in Some Jurisdictions, and as Applied Together with the Common Law in Others.* (San Francisco: Bancroft-Whitney Co, 1905), 5.

[105] Benton-Cohen, *Borderline Americans*, 35. Benton-Cohen points out that it was not uncommon for an individual in possession of water rights to redirect the water to irrigate a different piece of land or to sell water rights separately from land rights.

[106] Gordon, *The great Arizona orphan abduction*, 53. In addition to geographic differences, Gordon points to the religious divisions between the north and rest of Mexico. A " vigorous urban life, a strong sedentary Indian culture, and economically vigorous church also separated the two groups of Mexicans. Further, anthropologist Ana María Alonso points to a "strained masculinity" in *noteño* culture in which the fighting tradition with Apaches shaped a *norteño* masculinity rooted in "valor and honor, bravery and rationality" that contrasted with the *broncos* that were both hated and feared.

wheat flour, wood stoves, and modern sewing machines became a part of everyday life.[108]

The division within the Mexican community is also evident when analyzing census material. When census collections mandated racial labels for the residents of Clifton-Morenci, the cultural division between Mexicans was evident in the marks of the towns' enumerators. The 1910 census provided enumerators with somewhat more complex categories of race than previous censuses, and for the first time, added the term "other" to the list of racial categories.[109] This new addition to the census provided researchers with more detail about one's racial and ethnic make-up, as well as confusion or misinterpretation.[110] Between April 15 and May 14, 1910, Dr. B. Jones and Claude Hooster collected census data for Clifton and Morenci (*Table 1*). They were directed to use their own discretion when classifying racial categories of residents, and their responses suggest that one's spouse, income, occupation, living area, and culture all played a role in determining one's race. Although it is impossible to tell if their labels

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[107] Ibid., 54.

[108] Ibid.

[109] The 1910 census instructed enumerators to write, "W" for white; "B" for black; "Mu" for mulatto; "Ch" for Chinese; "Jp" for Japanese; "In" for Indian. For all persons not falling within one of these classes, write "Ot" (for other), and write on the left-hand margin of the schedule the race of the person so indicated." US Census Bureau, *Measuring America: The Decennial Censuses from 1790-2000.* Department of Commerce, Issued September 2002. For this particular case study, I used the 1910 census to document the prescribed racial labels for Mexicans in Clifton-Morenci. The 1900 census relied on five labels – white, black, Chinese, Japanese, and Indian. The 1910 census provided two other categories – mulatto and other. The enumerators' decision to use the "other" rather than "white" category provides insight into how race was constructed and viewed in the area at this time.

were determined independently or if there labels were prompted by the responses of interviewees, the labels demonstrate that being "Mexican" could mean many different things. Above all, it suggests that Clifton-Morenci's population was not divided solely between Anglo and "other."

	Clifton	Morenci
Total Population	4923	5110
Number of People labeled "other" with Mexican description	3011	3534
Percentage of People Labeled "other"	61.1%	69.1%

Table 1: Data for 1910 Census, Graham Country, Districts 41-44. In 1910, well over half the population of Clifton and Morenci fell into the category of "other". For interpretation of the references to color in this and all other figures, the reader is referred to the electronic version of this dissertation.

Following the directions of the 1910 census, Hooster and Jones labeled most Mexican residents (those born in Mexico and of Mexican descent) as "other", and wrote "Mexican" in the margins next to their names. Although national precedents, like the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and *In re Rodriguez* established people of Mexican descent living in the United States as eligible for citizenship, the inconsistent labels of Clifton-Morenci's enumerators demonstrate that, in Arizona's frontier, one's racial and citizenship status were not grounded in these federal precedents. In the isolated mining region of Graham County, tucked away within the hills and boulders of Arizona's vast land, these national standards seemed to matter very little and were often lost to the precedents of social law.

[110] The two enumerators for the Clifton-Morenci region, Claude Hooster and "Dr. B. Jones" were both misdirected about how to label Clifton and Morenci's Mexican population and had to correct nearly half of their racial labels.

In some cases, culture and identity seems to have played a part in the choice of labels given to residents despite their country of origin. Men like Porfirio Garcia, Jesus Garcia, and James Brow were labeled as "other" despite their own and their parents' Texas origins.[111] Although the majority of Mexicans in Clifton-Morenci were labeled "other" and distinguished as "Mexican" in the margins of the census, those men and women of Mexican descent that were labeled white often shared similar socioeconomic characteristics.[112] George Soltero emigrated from Mexico to the US in 1898. He lived with another man, listed only as "M. Balin" who was also a recent immigrant from Russia. Together the two worked as plumbers in the area. Unlike his neighbors, some who had been born in Mexico, and others in Texas, the enumerator labeled Soltero as "white", rather than "other", despite his clearly Mexican roots.[113] It is not clear if Hooster's label was just a misprint or oversight, or if his trade made Soltero whiter than his neighbors. Other families seemed to marry into a "white" racial label. The widowed Theodora Harart, spoke Spanish and was born, like her parents, in Mexico. Her marriage to a man from Wisconsin, however, seemed to have been a reason for the enumerator labeling her as "white."[114]

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[111] All three men spoke English and reported that their families had spoken English as well. It should be noted, however, that Texas was part of Mexico until the end of the Mexican American War in 1848.

[112] Despite residents' country of origin, many were labeled "other" if their parents were born in Mexico.

[113] Both Soltero's parents had been born in Mexico, and Soltero was listed as speaking Spanish, although, he probably also spoke English as did his partner.
Year: 1910; Census Place: Clifton, Graham, Arizona; Roll T624_39; Page: 4B; Enumeration District: 42; Image: 929.

[114] Year: *1910*; Census Place: *Clifton, Graham, Arizona*; Roll: *T624_39*; Page: *7A*; Enumeration District: *0041*; Image: *890*; FHL Number: *1374052*.

When Claude Hooster reached Julian Gabaldon's home on April 28, he had already spent several days meticulously labeling the race of each individual that he counted. Like many of his neighbors, Gabaldon spoke Spanish, was a recent immigrant from Mexico (1900), and came from a Mexican family (both Gabaldon's and his wife Concepcion's parents were Mexican). Similar to Soltero, however, Gabaldon was labeled white, along with his wife and son.[115] Their wealth, combined with Concepcion's educational background and ability to speak, read, and write English most likely determined the entire family's white racial status. Gabaldon worked as a merchant at the time, unlike many of his neighbors who were listed simply as "laborer" or "none". The Gabaldon family also seems to have embraced the *norteño* identity that Gordon refers to. The Gabaldon's resided in a large, ornate house made of wood, rather than the more common and cheaper adobe material. The house was complete with stained glass windows and a wrap-around porch. In a remote mining town like Clifton, luxuries such as these were difficult to come by and were usually reserved for the wealthiest residents in the town. The Gabaldons also celebrated both their Mexican and American identities. In a photograph taken by the town's photographer, O.A. Risdon, Concepcion stands outside of her home with flags of Mexico and the US decorating the front porch. The Gabaldons'

[115] Gabaldon and his family received clear "W" labels that were not amended. Further, unlike many of Gabaldon's neighbors he was not labeled "Mexican" in the margin of the census. Year: 1910; Census Place: Clifton, Graham, Arizona; Roll: T624_39; Page: 14A; Enumeration District: 42; Image: 948.

wealth, education and social status provided them with the opportunity to be something besides the "other". [116]

The mining industry also ruled, in part, the complicated dynamics between immigrant and Anglo, Mexican and norteño, and Italian and Mexican. Mexican and Italian workers were consistently paid lower wages than their Anglo counterparts. In 1903 job classifications for mineworkers included laborers, miners and timber men. Copper companies consistently gave the job of laborer more to Mexican and Italian laborers rather than their Anglo counterparts. White laborers were paid 2.50 a day while Mexican and Italian were paid $2.00 a day. For miners, a more skilled position, whites were paid $3.00 a day and Mexican and Italian workers were paid $2.50 a day. One of the best paying semi-skilled jobs in the copper mines, a timber man, was paid $3.00 a day despite ethnicity.[117] Skilled laborers, regardless, of ethnicity, were paid relatively well. At the Detroit Copper Company in 1902, workers employed in specialized furnace work, the blacksmith shop, the machine shop, or as carpenters made anywhere from $3.00-$4.00 a day.[118] It is interesting to note, that, more skilled work tended to pay equally regardless of the employee's race and/or ethnicity.

Membership into the Western Federation of Mineworkers (WFM) was also a key point of division between workers in Clifton-Morenci. Despite the division of the WFM

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[116] Hooster also applied a similar categorization to Refugio Munjara, a 52 year-old merchant living in Clifton who had immigrated to the US in 1880. Despite his Mexican heritage, he also was labeled as white. Hooster labeled his wife and seven children, however, "ot". Year: 1910; Census Place: Clifton, Graham, Arizona; Roll T624_39; Page: 14A; Enumeration District: 42; Image: 948.

[117] Mellinger, *Race and labor in western copper : the fight for equality, 1896-1918*, 39.

from the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in 1897 largely due to the WFM's socialist political leanings, as well as its Socialist President Ed Boyce, the WFM membership in Arizona remained conservative in their stance towards Mexicans, whom they refused to admit as members.[119] To Arizona mineworkers in other parts of the territory, Clifton-Morenci was largely considered to be a Mexican camp. In towns like Globe, for example, many Anglo workers considered Mexicans' willingness to work for consistently lower wages as a sign of their inferior labor as well as a threat to the security of their own higher wages.[120]

Company newspapers also reinforced ethnic divisions for better and for worse. Newspapers like *The Copper Era* provided its own idea of what the cultural and racial divisions in the area should look like. Individually, Mexicans were often negatively represented in the company's newspapers. Although Anglos were almost always distinguished by their names, Mexicans were often nameless. In 1901, the paper reported on counterfeit money that was found in the possession of "Monroe Lessering and four Mexicans."[121] Even when reporters were writing about a single person, the use of racial classifications continued to hold precedence over accurate and factual reporting:

> It seems that a Mexican employed in one of the shafts…threw a lighted cigarette into a keg of powder in one of the drifts…The Mexican had come out near the mouth of the drift…[122]

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[118] Ibid., 41. Mellinger notes that, although there were a few Mexican and Italian workers employed in these skilled positions, most of these jobs went to Anglo workers.
[119] Ibid., 4.
[120] Ibid., 22-23. For a more detailed discussion of Mexican workers and the WFM see Chapter 4.
[121] Copper Era, March 7, 1901, AHS.
[122] Copper Era, June 27, 1901, AHS.

The nameless faces of the Mexican community in these reports suggest that Phelps Dodge, like other copper companies, wanted to maintain a distance between its readers and Mexicans in the area. Yet, the company also knew that this division had to be constructed delicately. With the strong anti-Mexican sentiment that was, at the very least, present in the locals of the Western Federation of Miners, Phelps-Dodge did not want to jeopardize its supply of cheap labor. The paper also reported on Mexican events with a sense of assurance to Anglo readers that Mexicans were, for the most part, not a threat to their security or national identity. During a *Cinco de Mayo* celebration, the paper reported that "good music" and "many excellent speeches" were heard at the event, but, more importantly, "nothing of a disorderly nature happened to mar the pleasures of the day." The newspaper's accounts of other Mexican events stressed a shared American identity within the community. During the planning of a Mexican Independence Day celebration, the event was disrupted by news of the assassination of President McKinley. Upon hearing news of the President's death, the *Copper Era* reported, "…(Mexicans') sorrow was almost as great as that of the Americans, as President McKinley had the respect, confidence, and admiration of the Mexican people." Although the celebration went on as planned, the paper stressed the importance of an American presence at the Mexican holiday:

> A large platform was erected on Railroad Avenue, which was tastefully decorated with evergreens, the national colors of Mexico and the United States being everywhere in evidence, while the flags of the sister republics waved gracefully side by side. The pictures of Guadaloupe, of Washington, of Juarez, and McKinley – the latter draped in crape – adorned the speakers' stand.[123]

[123] The Copper Era, "The Copper Era", September 19, 1901, AHS.

In these reports, mine owners could both promote stable working relationships while also delicately protest the anti-Mexican sentiment that abounded in the Anglo community.

Although company newspapers could create their own idea of what an acceptable migrant family might act and participate in, most of the families within the region were keenly aware of changing conceptions of the border and the politics of citizenship. For many, tradition and family were important tools for recalling one's national identity. Many families could easily trace the changing political border with their own family's history:. Livia León Montiel recalled, "The paternal side of my family…were here before Arizona became part of the United States. My great grandfather was present at the signing of the Gadsden Purchase in 1853."[124] Other family members recalled the importance of celebrating national holidays of both Mexico and the U.S. Carlotta Silvas Martin noted the importance of recognizing patrons in both countries:

> We…celebrated *Las Fiestas Patrias* (Homeland Celebrations) – *el 16 de septiembre, el 5 de may* (sic); and also July 4. Some men in town knew a great deal about Mexican history and politics, and they were very involved in these celebrations. We'd have patriotic speeches, a queen and princesses, a parade with floats, and a picnic with races and pie contests.[125]

Clifton-Morenci existed as an area isolated from the rest of the world and, for the residents of this region, its frontier status meant that the town was ruled by a sense of vigilantism in addition to established law. The struggle between legal borders, citizenship status, and racial categories were not determined by law, but rather, by the towns' residents. By the turn-of-the-twentieth century, however, stronger border

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[124] Martin, *Songs My Mother Sang to Me*, 3. Here it is important to note, that Montiel was not a resident of Clifton-Morenci, but of Tucson, Arizona. I chose to use her story because it is one of the few preserved voices of a Mexican woman living in Arizona during the turn-of-the-twentieth century.

security, segregated residential areas, social and ethnic organizations, and a territory on the verge of becoming a state were replacing much of this early frontier law. The influx of women into the area greatly changed the look of Clifton-Morenci from a mining camp into a mining town complete with businesses and community events. This transition was necessary to stage the massive strike that was organized in 1903 and would later be organized with the help of the IWW in 1915. The wild frontier offered drinking, gambling, prostitution, and work, but it offered little semblance of an organized community. With women and families came events and organizations. These organizations would help to generate a cross-cultural organization of workers who would bring their demands to the attention of location, territorial, and national government.

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[125] Ibid.

CHAPTER 2: CECIL RHODES' FINAL PROJECT: KIMBERLEY, SOUTH AFRICA

Kimberley, like Clifton-Morenci, is a town built upon its rich mineral deposits. Located approximately 1,000 km northeast of Cape Town, Kimberley is situated in central South Africa far removed from other areas of settlement, yet also embodied the many characteristics of a border town. The town, founded in the diamond-rich area near the confluence of the Vaal and Orange Rivers, sat on the contested borders between the British Empire's Cape Colony and Afrikaner Republic's Orange Free State. Political borders in South Africa's frontier were in a period of transition in the late 19th and early 20th century, as they were on the contested terrain of the U.S. southwest borderlands. In the northwest region of the southern Africa were independent Tswana *Merafe* (chiefdoms) and to the east territories still remained in possession of the Swazi, Zulu, and Mpondo. But much of southern Africa's territory remained in a state of transition at the turn-of-the-twentieth century. While Africans continued to fight for their own independence and land, both Afrikaner and British forces attempted to expand their territorial holdings, although their political boundaries were vast and difficult to enforce in the sparsely populated border territory.[126] At the confluence of these contested lands, sat one of the richest deposits of diamonds in the world.

Kimberley was also a frontier town, founded first in the 1870s on the site of early diamond encampments where diggers brought laborers and sometimes families in the

[126] Leonard Monteath Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 3rd ed., (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 109.

hope of finding the minerals. As fortune seekers quickly came to the region in large numbers, locals named the area appropriately, "New Rush." The town, however, resembled a cratered marked and canvas shanty landscape rather than a town. Yet the British Empire quickly realized the value of the land was in the growing number of diamonds being excavated on an yearly basis. In 1873, Cape Colony officials and mining investors renamed New Rush Kimberley – in honor of Cape Colony Secretary Lord Kimberley.[127] The name reflected a larger struggle between Africans, Afrikaners, and British political leaders concerning ownership of the land, as well as a struggle between diggers and the Cape Colony concerning the future of industry. Claim owners hoped that there would be no state limitations placed upon the diamond industry and that claim owners alone could determine the production scale.[128] The Cape Colony, however, depended on the large amount of licensing fees collected from claim holders, and in 1874, Lieutenant-Governor Southey introduced an ordinance that would limit the number of claims any one individual or company could have to ten. In response to public demand to create legislation limiting black labor in the mines Southey argued that British citizens' color should not determine legal rights.[129]

As in Clifton-Morenci, Kimberley's mineworkers inhabited borderland areas, crossing national lines frequently coming to and from work and home. Although unions were non existent for African workers, they brought their own history, traditions, and experiences to the diamond mines where they successfully sought out retribution for

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[127] Brian Roberts, *Kimberley: Turbulent City* (Cape Town: D. Philip in association with the Historical Society of Kimberley and the Northern Cape, 1976), 115.
[128] Worger, *South Africa's City of Diamonds*, 26.

abusive working conditions, unfair labor practices, and pay practices. Workers maintained a border identity built upon their own background as BaTswana, Xhosa, and Pedi as well as a growing understanding of their own role in southern Africa's changing political and economic status.[130] The growing demand for African labor both in the mines as well as during times of war defined a new solidarity among the workers that was rooted in a new nationalism that transcended ethnic divisions. Within the industrially controlled living quarters of the De Beers compounds workers developed a surprisingly vibrant community where this new identity thrived.

Unlike the neighborhoods and community organizations that workers and their families carved out in the mining towns of Clifton-Morenci however, workers of De Beers were subject to strict social, political, and economic control as migrant workers. De Beers founder Cecil Rhodes was a savvy businessman and was responsible for much of the living and working conditions that mineworkers, both African and Anglo, experienced when they came to the compounds. The diamond-mining town would be his last project, and in many ways, the entire town of Kimberley was also a project of Rhodes. Rhodes understood that profitability was in maintaining a level of both control and satisfaction for his employees was just as important as mining diamonds, and he

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[129] Ibid., 29.

[130] Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 127. Office of Protector of Natives, Kimberley, 9 January 1892, Blue Book Report on Native Affairs, January 9, 1892, National Archives of South Africa (NASA). My research on the history of African mineworkers in Kimberley has largely been influenced by the BaTswana press due to the numerous sources uncovered in Sol Plaatje's SeTswana language newspaper, *Koranta ea Becoana.* In Kimberley, the BaTswana made up the majority of mineworkers at De Beers. Throughout this dissertation, I have attempted to identify BaTswana sources when possible and to identify BaTswana as a group that may not necessarily reflect the collective history of all African workers at De Beers.

placed great care in creating a community for his white employees and their families. Rhodes had a different vision for his African employees, however, who remained relegated to the living quarters of the mining compounds. Here, Rhodes emphasized efficiency and control over community, yet the men who migrated to the mines developed their own sense of community and suggest that communities are not defined by the infrastructure and establishments that are built around the people, but by the people themselves. Just as South Africa's diverse populations attempted to carve out their own territory within southern Africa, workers in De Beers carved out communities that were rooted, in part, in border identities and the common work experience of diamond mining and living in the compounds. Historian Dunbar Moodie describe these migrant workers in the transition of reconstructing their social identities as "men of two worlds,"- one world that included their home, family, community, and kinship ties and the other world of migrant work. Moodie argued that self-identity is the product of one's own social surroundings, and for the men of two worlds this self-identity changed with their environment.[131] By the turn-of-the twentieth century, these two worlds had begun to merge for many of De Beers' employees.

Before the Rush

Mining capitalists hoped to attract a steady number of workers to the mines who would work for low wages on fixed contract terms. Most mineworkers at De Beers worked for three months and returned home before coming back to the mines to make more money, ensuring De Beers a cheap and consistent source of labor. Though De Beers recorded

[131] Dunbar Moodie, *Going for Gold: Men, Mines, and Migration* (Berkley: University of California Press, 1994), 14-16.

Zulu, Xhosa, and Griqua employees, among others, many were Batswana and occupied the land within the vicinity of Kimberley.[132]

Before BaTswana, Pedi, Zulu, and Ndebele men began traveling in increasingly large numbers to the diamond fields in the late 19th century, many would have recalled the stories of family members from generations before who began working for white employers decades prior to the discovery of diamonds in the area. During the 1820s British settlers began to occupy the Xhosa-occupied Zuurveld, and many Xhosa established economic relations with colonists by working for white farmers for a few months at a time. Although the Xhosa eventually responded to the increased settlement of their territory by organizing a guerrilla war, imperial forces were able to force a peace treaty with Xhosa chiefs in 1835.[133] Further wars among the Xhosa and the colonial government led to the systemic destruction of food supplies and forced removal of the Xhosa.[134] Cape Colony Governor Sir George Grey instituted programs in the area aimed at civilizing the Xhosa – employing them in public works such as digging roads and irrigations ditches. Missionaries hoped that these programs would teach the Xhosa the value of working in a wage economy, but the Cape Colony also benefitted from the much needed infrastructure.[135]

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[132] Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 127. Office of Protector of Natives, Kimberley, 9 January 1892, Blue Book Report on Native Affairs, January 9, 1892, National Archives of South Africa (NASA).
[133] Leonard Thompson, *A History of South Africa* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2001), 75.
[134] Ibid., 77.
[135] Ibid.

The SeTswana began working for Afrikaners as more and more families initiated the move to the frontier region and away from the encroaching political and social influence of the Cape Colony and British Empire in the early 19th century. By 1840 approximately 6,000 Afrikaners had begun migrating north and east out of the Cape settlement. The Batswana of the Kwena *morafe* (chiefdom) migrated to the Western Transvaal in 1844 where Boer Voortrekkers hired them as farm hands.[136] Later, forced labor would push the Kgatla, Malete, and Tlokwa to the Afrikaner farms where they were coerced into servitude.[137] Early resistance from the Ndebele and Zulu kingdoms were returned with armed resistance from the Boers, but by the 1850s, the Afrikaner population had drawn up a state constitution and gained British recognition of the independent South African Republic.[138]

The new Republic, however, was unable to maintain peaceful relations among surrounding African chiefdoms, and in 1858 Afrikaner and Sotho tensions led to the commando invasion of Lesotho with the destruction of villages. The Sotho leader Moshoeshoe was eventually victorious after maintaining a stronghold at Thaba Bosiu and hoped to establish stronger diplomatic relations with the British and to form an alliance against the Afrikaner Republic. Moshoeshoe demonstrated a keen understanding of the importance of maintaining diplomatic relations with the Cape Colony and recognized the British power held the greatest influence over southern Africa. With the British

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[136] Isaac Schapera, *Migrant Labour and Tribal Life, a Study of Conditions in the Bechuanaland Protectorate* (London: Oxford Univ. Press, 1947), 25.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 101-02.

guarantee of protection, Lesotho was incorporated into the British Natal colony in 1867.[139]

The complex history of the immediate and surrounding territory created tension from the many groups that attempted to lay claim to the diamond region – a problem that was heightened by the discovery of diamonds. Various nations widely contested the territory where diggers were first drawn to in large numbers, and the discovery of diamonds increased interest along the northern Vaal River. Despite formal political boundaries drawn up between the Cape Colony and Afrikaner republic, the diamond fields remained contested territory among African chiefdoms like the Barolong and Batlapin.[140] As a new rush of workers made their way to the diamond fields, territorial disputes would shape identities, influence relationships, and eventually bring a new sense of union to the ethnically and nationally diverse groups.

The New Rush Frontier

The De Beers legacy and story of the diamond rush began with a young Afrikaaner boy named Erasmus Jacobs. During the summer of 1866, Jacobs was resting under a tree when he noticed a "*mooi klip"* (beautiful stone) lying on the ground.[141] Jacobs slipped the stone into his pocket, and it went unnoticed until one afternoon when he and his sister

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[139] Ibid., 106-07. The annexation created the British colony of Basutoland. Less than a year later, the British ignored these diplomatic relations and settled the land without first communicating with the Basotho. Forcing the confinement of the Basotho into smaller, less-fertile lands, the British were able to expand their influence and territorial holdings in the east.

[140] George Mccall Theal, *South Africa (the union of South Africa, Rhodesia, and all other territories south of the Zambesi)*, 10th impression (7th ed.) ed. (London,, 1910), 346, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/wu.89095906210, accessed April 2012.

were playing a game known as "five stones" with it. A visitor noticed the unusual stone the children were playing with and took it with him. He traveled to the Cape Colony with the stone where an expert examined it and determined it to be a diamond. It weighed 21 ¼ carats and was originally named the "O'Reilly diamond" after the man that took it to the Cape Colony to be sold. The governor of the Cape Colony, Sir Philip Wodehouse, purchased it for £500, and it later became known as the Eureka diamond.[142]

The small independent diggings of the early diamond rush were vastly different from the controlled production of the De Beers Company in later years. The first diggers mined on the banks of the Vaal River just south of present-day Kimberley during this early period of makeshift mining and housing. Diggers worked independently on a small scale, usually employing no more than one partner and three or four African assistants.[143] The vast flat landscape of the Vaal River region soon became dotted with shallow mining pits where diggers used shovels, sieves, and wooden tubs to dig, sort, and wash their findings. The diggings featured the typical characteristics of most mining camps – male dominated areas with an abundance of gambling, drinking, and crime. In keeping with the description of these typical masculine culture tent towns, one journal

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[141] Although Jacobs claims that he made the discovery alone, he claims that he was with an African man that was looking after his family's sheep.

[142] Erasmus Jacobs, "Affidavit from Erasmus Jacobs", June 10, 1918, MS 21, Kimberley Africana Library (KAL).

[143] William H Worger, *South Africa's City of Diamonds: Mine Workers and Monopoly Capitalism in Kimberley, 1867-1895* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1987), 12. Diggers were not allowed to have more than five African assistants.
John M. Smalberger, "The Role of the Diamond-Mining Industry in the Development of the Pass-Law System in South Africa," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9, no. 3 (January 1, 1976): 420.

belonging to an early digger described his most important possessions being a long tin shed, a showerbath, and a bottle of Usher's Whiskey.[144]

Initially, many diggers were Afrikaners that had come from nearby farms and sometimes brought their families and servants with them.[145] Early river diggings yielded some diamonds, but diggers moved their ventures inland from the Vaal River as word of dry diggings became more promising.[146] The diamond discovery in the 1860s also led to the first generation of mass migration of southern African mineworkers who were drawn to the mines for the opportunity to make money as colonial currency became an increasingly necessary part of many Cape Colony residents' lives. A Hut Tax was implemented in areas as early as 1857, and Africans became increasingly interested in obtaining money for purchasing goods, including clothing, firearms, and cattle.[147] During their trek to the diamond fields, many made arrangements with a local storekeeper to supply their families with food and a small amount of money while they worked.[148] By 1871, almost 50,000 men had come to the diamond fields from regions in southern Africa as well as parts of Britain, the U.S., and Australia.[149] Early dry diggings relied on the same technology of river diggings for mining diamonds, with the addition of a

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144 "Diary of an Unknown Digger", June 29, 1886, MS 22, KAL.

145 Smalberger, "The Role of the Diamond-Mining Industry in the Development of the Pass-Law System in South Africa." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 9, no. 3 (January 1, 1976): 420.

146 Duminy and Sabatini, *50 Years on the Diamond Fields 1870-1920*, 11.

147 Registrar of Natives, *Report from Registrar of natives to Secretary to Prime Minister*, July 22, 1901, National Archives of South Africa Cape Town Repository.

148 Registrar of Natives, *Registrar of Natives to Secretary of Prim Minister* (Kimberley, SA, July 22, 1901), National Archives of South Africa Cape Town Repository.

washing machine that would assist in sorting diamonds.[150] After mining the hard blue layer of ground (later named "kimberlite" after Kimberley), diggers transported it back to their compounds:

> The "compound"…is in reality the digger's home. Here he erects a simple tent or builds a permanent house, with tents for his Kaffir workmen, whom he generally feeds, and stables for his horses. He digs a well, sets up his washing machine for diamonds, and gathers about him a host of windlasses, runners, buckets, shovels, picks, sieves, old wire rope, and odds and ends of digging tools.[151]

Safety was not a top priority for the many diggers that worked in these mines. Diggers worked individual claims using pick axes and shovels to rapidly remove the ground while men above sorted through the ground for diamonds. With no safety regulations, falling rocks and ground collapses were a common occurrence.[152] As claim holders excavated their holdings deeper, walls and floors often caved in on diggers. Individual claims had reached 80 feet deep by 1872. The series of roads leading to individual claims in the Kimberley mine had completely caved in, leaving a pattern of small islands dotting the giant pit. The danger of this work - the frequent nature of cave-ins, and the large number of workers needed to mine these deepening excavations soon changed diggers' opinions of African labor. With a constant shortage of laborers, and no

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149 Worger, *South Africa's City of Diamonds*, 15.

150 Diamonds would be washed, not to clean the dirt from them, but to sort them from ground material. Diamonds would sink to the bottom while the dirt would float to the top, making it easy for diggers to separate diamonds.

151 William J. Morton, "The South African Diamond Fields, and a Journey to the Mines," *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* 9 (January 1, 1877): 80.

152 Duminy and Sabatini, *50 Years on the Diamond Fields 1870-1920*, 26.

short supply of employers seeking them, Africans could easily search out claim holders willing to pay the highest wages for the dangerous work.[153]

In addition to the constant dangers that came with mine work, reports of worker abuse were frequent, and diggers were free to use their own discretion in how they treated their assistants. One digger observed this treatment first hand, recounting the swift actions placed upon two workers:

> Two Basutos set on an overseer. The white man punished them awfully when he recovered from his surprise – beating them into a jelly and pounding them all over with a pick handle. The other (workers) were at first inclined to help but gave up when they saw how their friend was being mauled. After the licking the poor (men) were dragged before a magistrate and got ten lashes apiece. This is the only way to deal with them as if they once thought they had the upper hand neither life nor property would be worth a minutes purchase.[154]

Before the establishment of high security compounds in later years, these early reports of violence towards African workers ensured that diggers remained in control of their workforce.

By the early 1870s, diamond diggers worked in five major mines within the Kimberley area – Dutuoitspan, Bultfontein, De Beers, Kimberley, and (later) Wesselton mines.[155] During these early days of mining independent diggers attempted to establish legislation to control the organization of labor in the area. On January 13, 1872, a

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[153] Worger, *South Africa's City of Diamonds*, 19-20.

[154] Duminy and Sabatini, *50 Years on the Diamond Fields 1870-1920*, 11., July 13, 1886, June 29th, 1886.
The author wrote about a similar incident only a couple weeks earlier in which "a tall half-caste in a blue dress" beat a Pondo man. He was sent to jail and fined five shillings.

[155] Lunderstedt, Steve, *The Big Five Mines of Kimberley* (Kimberley, SA: Kimberley Africana Library, 2002).

meeting of diggers in Dutoitspan secured Africans' role as workers on the diamond fields:

> That in the opinion of this meeting it is undesirable that licenses for claims be granted to natives, for the following reasons – first, because it would render the checking of theft of diamonds an impossibility; secondly, because any native allowed to dig for diamonds must also be allowed to sell them, and consequently no check could be placed on native holders of licenses turning diamond brokers for dishonest servants; thirdly because…it might cause great poverty and destitution amongst those unlucky, while, in all probability, the more fortunate would spend their money on liquor, and frequent crimes and disturbances would be the result.[156]

The urgency to control the labor force in the diamond mines became a priority for the Colonial government, as well. In 1872 the Cape Colony issued a proclamation prohibiting Africans from diamond trading or claim ownership. In addition, any African found "in precincts of the camp without a pass signed by his master or by a magistrate" was subject to imprisonment or corporal punishment.[157]

To help regulate the labor force, especially during times of decreased diamond prices, the Cape Colony began to enforce strict pass laws that would help to control the supply of labor, but these laws had a much earlier history rooted in the pre-industrial days of diamond mining. Pass laws were one way early mine owners attempted to control their workforce.[158] Before the development of large mining companies like De Beers, white diggers insisted upon legislation to control the movement of African assistants to

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[156] Smalberger, "The Role of the Diamond-Mining Industry in the Development of the Pass-Law System in South Africa," 422.

[157] "1872. Proclamation - The O'Malley Archives", accessed February 2012, http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv01538/04lv01646/05lv01683.htm.

[158] Turrell, *Capital and Labour on the Kimberley Diamond Fields, 1871-1890*, 28.

put an end to diamond thievery.[159] In 1873, Governor Barkly issued Government Notice No. 68 in Griqualand West, which required Africans seeking work to carry a pass and to obtain a new pass once work was acquired. Each pass cost workers one shilling.[160] The Pass Law established in July 1872 required all African workers to register and carry a pass which was to be with them at all times and shown to anyone who demanded it. If African workers did not register, or if they were caught without their passes, they were subject to arrest.[161] In one year alone, the number of arrests for being in camp without passes went from 95 in 1875 to 971 in 1876.[162] Despite the violence and threat of arrest, men continued to migrate to the area in great numbers. Between 1871-1875 approximately 50,000-80,000 Africans migrated to Kimberley, often traveling to the fields without their families.[163] These early trips to the mine were often very dangerous and sometimes resulted in the death of workers before they even made it to the fields. Men arrived in Kimberley often famished and exhausted from their trip and most needed several days of rest before they could begin work in the mines. During this time, workers were forced to purchase food, shelter, and clothing at inflated costs. Some men would never live to see a single workday.[164]

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[159] Smalberger, "The Role of the Diamond-Mining Industry in the Development of the Pass-Law System in South Africa," 429.

[160] Ibid., 431. Griqualand West was annexed by the British shortly after the discovery of diamonds in the area.

[161] Worger, *South Africa's City of Diamonds*, 116-117.

[162] Ibid., 122-123.

[163] Turrell, *Capital and Labour on the Kimberley Diamond Fields, 1871-1890*, 19.

[164] Patrick Harries, *Work, Culture, and Identity: Migrant Laborers in Mozambique and South Africa, 1860-1910* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann Press, 1994), 31-32.

Although workers were subject to regulation before even arriving in Kimberley, early pass laws were difficult to enforce, and the high demand for labor (Africans made up approximately 90 percent of the workforce in the mines) gave Africans an upper hand in negotiating high wages. The production of diamonds necessitated increased labor demands, and the boom periods of 1878-81 and 1886-90 required upwards of 30,000 men to work the mines.[165] By July 1876, private companies rapidly began to take over ownership in the mines, with five major London importers controlling the market. On April 28, 1880 several shareholders formed the De Beers Mining Company, with Cecil Rhodes serving as first secretary to the company.[166] Labor was transformed, but positions of hierarchy remained similar with many white diggers taking jobs as wage-earning overseers and many African workers continuing to be employed in the most dangerous and physically demanding positions.[167] As mining production rose, however, the need for labor grew, and African workers used the labor shortage to their advantage, often holding out for better wages. Despite the early legislation implemented by diggers and the growing number of arrests due to the pass laws, African workers still maintained the high position in labor negotiations. On October 14, 1884 the *Diamond Field Times* reported on the new phase in diamond mining in which "cooperative digging on a large scale in which our beloved black brother is about to become a new and powerful factor in

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[165] R Turrell, "Diamonds and Migrant Labour in South Africa, 1869-1910," *History Today* 36, no. 5 (May 1986): 47.

[166] Lunderstedt, Steve, *The Big Five Mines of Kimberley*, 23. The law limiting the number of claims any one company or individual could own was repealed in 1876.

[167] Turrell, *Capital and Labour on the Kimberley Diamond Fields, 1871-1890*, 87.

the 'legitimate' winning of diamonds on these fields…" noting that some companies were offering workers 25% value of all diamonds that they found.[168]

The editor of the *Diamond Field Times* did not consider the power and influence the Cape Colony government and mine owners would establish to ensure the restriction of Africans to mostly unskilled labor. A series of events after this report would forever transform Kimberley's mining industry, effectively ending the upper hand that Africans held over the diamond industry. The introduction of underground mining in 1885 led to new forms of control, mainly the compound system. Mine owners argued that the underground mining process required stricter forms of surveillance.[169] Compounds restricted the movement of workers even further, but more importantly, gave companies a steady supply of labor. Compounds essentially imprisoned Africans for their contracted period of labor, giving them very little opportunity to search for higher wages.[170]

Between 1886-87, mine ownership was largely restricted to two major companies – De Beers and Kimberley Central. By March of 1888, Rhodes, along with Barney Barnato, Alfred Beit, and F.S.P. Stow formed De Beers Consolidated Mines Limited, effectively monopolizing Kimberley's diamond industry at the time and providing Rhodes with the opportunity to expand business ventures outside of mining.[171] Rhodes' power expanded beyond industrial sectors, however, and in 1890, he became Prime

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[168] Diamond Field Times, *Diamond Field Times*, October 14, 1884, microfilm, Michigan State University Archives (MSU).

[169] By the mid 1880s, mine owners realized that more diamonds could be mined deep underground where the blue kimberlite ground was plentiful.

[170] Turrell, "Diamonds and Migrant Labour in South Africa, 1869-1910," 48-49.

minister of the Cape Colony. As the need for abundant labor in his industry became increasingly clear, Rhodes continued to push for the complete disenfranchisement of the African population. During a speech in Parliament in 1887, Rhodes stated, "The native is to be treated as a child and denied the franchise. We must adopt a system of despotism, such as works in India, in our relations with the barbarism of South Africa."[172] In 1892, the Cape Franchise and Ballot Act eliminated much of the African vote by raising the qualification from £25 to £75.[173] An 1893 mining law established a labor hierarchy that dictated that Africans, Coloureds, and Asians were not permitted to "prepare charges, load drill holes, or set fire to fuses."[174] The Glen Grey Act of 1894 went further transitioning the communal land tenure system to individual ownership (primogeniture) that would ensure a large population of men would be forced to take jobs in the Cape Colony. The act also established a labor tax, forcing men to find a source of income.[175] Further legislation within the Kimberley area insured that mineworkers remained efficient and ready to carry out their jobs. In 1885, the mining boards of Dutoitspan, Bultfontein, and De Beers requested a curfew law. The result was a "curfew bell" that

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[171] Worger, *South Africa's City of Diamonds*, 219-225. The De Beers Mining Company's Trust Deed limited the business ventures of the company to mining only. This new company gave Rhodes the freedom to expand into other industries as well.

[172] "1892. Cape Franchise & Ballot Act - The O'Malley Archives", n.d., http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv01538/04lv01646/05lv01703.htm, accessed February 2012.

[173] Ibid.

[174] "1893. Mining Law - The O'Malley Archives", n.d., http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv01538/04lv01646/05lv01704.htm, accessed February 2012.

would alarm all African men to be in their abodes. Unless employers gave workers special permission, men had to return to their compounds at the sound of a 9 pm curfew bell.[176]

The growth of the number of criminals meant an increase in even cheaper and steady supply of labor for Rhodes and De Beers, and convict labor quickly became an important part of De Beers' operations.[177] De Beers began to rely so heavily on convict labor that the Chamber of Commerce of Kimberley began speaking out against its use, citing that it was "somewhat alarming and threatened to disorganize the labor market."[178] By 1890, De Beers used 650 compounds with the number growing each year. De Beers constructed a new convict station in 1893 to accommodate a growing number of men, and by 1894, the number of convicts increased to 1,000. During the annual meeting, the Board of Directors explained the importance of using convict labor in the company:

> The average cost of convicts was £28 during last year. This includes all cost for guards, food and clothing, also medical attendance. This cost is very small when we take into consideration that a long sentenced convict who has become accustomed to the work will do double the amount of work that the ordinary free boy will do, who receives 18s. to 20s. per week.[179]

Both the demand for labor as well as African workers own demand for accommodation within the workplace helped to provide them with some benefits as

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[175] Richard Bouch, "Glen Grey before Cecil Rhodes: How a Crisis of Local Colonial Authority Led to the Glen Grey Act of 1894," *Canadian Journal of African Studies / Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines* 27, no. 1 (January 1, 1993): 1-2.
[176] *Diamond Fields Herald*, "Curfew Bell" March 19, 1885, microfilm, MSU.
[177] De Beers cost to employing convict labor was housing and food. William Worger discusses convict labor in detail in chapter three of *South Africa's City of Diamonds*.
[178] *Diamond Field Times*, September 8, 1884, microfilm, MSU.

mineworkers. In Natal, for example, Zulu working class conscious was rooted in part from the idea of *ubuntu* (hospitality). Historian Keletso Atkins uses this concept of *ubuntu* to explain Zulu expectations in the workplace:

> Meat, drink, and lodging were to be given as a social right and duty that, at some future date, the wayfarer was expected to reciprocate. Considering the many times they had proffered hospitality and entertained white people calling at their kraals, Africans must have been taken aback…by the insulting reception they met with in the towns.[180]

De Beers hired independent recruiting agents to advertise and organize migrant labor to the region to both accommodate and control worker demands in the diamond fields.

The job of recruiting agent became a popular industry for many white and Coloured men seeking work in the mines as well. Agents competed among each other to bring large numbers of workers to mining companies, sometimes offering false promises of the work that they would be required to do in the mines.[181] By 1898, inconsistencies in the promises of recruiting agents and actual wages and working conditions once employed had become such a problem that the Resident Commissioner of the Bechuanaland Protectorate complained:

> …all the agent cares about is to get as many boys as possible. If these agents were persons who really interested themselves in the boys they engaged, and saw that they were fairly treated and looked after when they got to the mines, there would be little to say against the system, but, with few exceptions, the natives are persuaded to leave their homes under promise of high wages, etc., which are

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[179] De Beers Consolidated Mines, LTD, *Second Annual De Beers Report, 1890*, March 31, 1891, Kimberley Africana Library.

[180] Keletso E Atkins, *The Moon Is Dead! Give Us Our Money!: The Cultural Origins of an African Work Ethic, Natal, South Africa, 1843-1900*, Social history of Africa (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1993), 121.

[181] In May 1900 the Protector of Natives recorded one incident in which workers refused to enter the mines to work after a recruiter told them their work would not involve going into the mines. I discuss this event in more detail in Chapter 4. Monthly Report of the Protector of Natives, May 2, 1900, NA 259, NASA.

> seldom paid, or if presumably paid there are so many reduction made that the native seldom gets what he was led to expect.[182]

The government issued Proclamation Number 6, stating that all labor recruiters must obtain a government-issued license for work to better control these inconsistencies and to ensure that workers would continue to migrate to the mines in large numbers.[183]

De Beers hired agents to negotiate fixed amounts of labor with migrant workers. Recruiting agents advertised work in African newspapers in the hopes of attracting large numbers of workers to the mines. Frequent labor shortages, along with competition from gold and coalmines within the region, pushed recruiting agents to advertise special incentives, outstanding safety records, and high wages for potential employees. In the diamond and coal industries, men were generally paid piece rates for tasks completed (number of cars loaded, number of holes drilled, etc.). The frequency at which recruiter advertisements appeared in papers suggests that there was a high demand for labor in the region, and men could scan newspapers to compare paying rates, contract terms, and provided benefits to select the work that most suited their own needs. One recruiter for a diamond mine in nearby Koffiefontein advertised a daily breakfast of coffee and *phaleche* (cornmeal paste) and wheat flour meal in the evening. On two Sundays out of the month, the company also provided vegetables served with a pound of meat.[184] A recruiter for the Cornelia mine in Viljoensdrift ensured that workers would receive "good

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[182] Schapera, *Migrant Labour and Tribal Life, a Study of Conditions in the Bechuanaland Protectorate*, 26.
[183] Ibid.
[184] "*Kompani ea Koffyfontein"* ("Koffiefontein Company"), *Koranta ea Becoana*, February 7, 1903, microfilm, MSU.

care and nice sleeping places" in a "wide compound."[185] Other contract agents urged men to ride the train to the diamond mines rather than walking "140 miles to work by foot in Transvaal where there is no money."[186]

These men, in turn, usually needed the permission of their leaders to come to the mines. When Batswana men wanted to go to Kimberley to work, they had to first "*go koka tsela*" (to ask for the road), or ask permission to take the journey to Kimberley.[187] In 1896, The Employment Bureau of Africa (TEBA) became the first centralized recruitment agency and was responsible for "the recruitment, transportation, and repatriation of migrants."[188] Workers usually worked 3-6 month contracts and companies usually offered workers incentives for fulfilling the terms of their contracts, such as paying for transportation back home. Manhood figured prominently in the identities of mineworkers both before and during the transition to migratory labor. For Mpondo and Xhosa workers, manhood or *ubudoda* was achieved through presiding over a rural homestead. With a changing economy, however, the concept also became defined through men's ability to establish a successful career as a migrant worker and to provide for his family back home.[189]

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[185] "*Kabonako! Kabonako!!*" ("Hurry! Hurry!!"), *Koranta ea Becoana*, January 31, 1903, microfilm, MSU.
[186] "Kompani ea Koffyfontein," *Koranta ea Becoana,* microfilm, MSU.
[187] Schapera, *Migrant Labour and Tribal Life, a Study of Conditions in the Bechuanaland Protectorate*, 90.
[188] Merle Lipton, *Men of Two Worlds* (Kimberley, SA: Anglo American Corporation, De Beers Consolidated Mines and Charter Groups of Companies, 1980), 98.
[189] T. Dunbar Moodie and Vivienne Ndatshe, *Going for Gold: Men, Mines, and Migration* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 22.

Workers were also aware of their ability to leave and enter the workforce at their own convenience. During the South African War, it became difficult for De Beers to compete with the military that paid high wages, offered food, and less laborious work than that on the mines.[190] Work and celebrations at home also took priority over work in the diamond fields for the men. In 1904, the Board of Directors at De Beers reported, "When rains come, a large percentage of Africans want to return home to plow land. When crops are ready, men want to go home to help with harvest and also beer drinking festivities and it is difficult to maintain full labor."[191] As a result, De Beers was forced to maintain a level of satisfaction for its employees. Unlike many of the company's white workers who took up permanent residences in the town with their families, the majority of Africans working in the mines remained part of a temporary pool of contract labor. The company learned to accept labor shortages at various times during the year, especially during harvest seasons. However, the company's ability to provide some level of incentives and flexibility proved to be effective. By 1909 the company reported that labor supplies were met without the use of recruiting agents or extra money.[192]

Rhodes and his company also exercised a level of control in working with medical professionals to assure that there would not be a labor shortage due to disease. In *Divided sisterhood*, Shula Marks argues that the mineral revolution "transformed

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[190] De Beers Consolidated Mines, LTD, *De Beers 13th Annual Report*, June 30, 1901, De Beers Annual Reports, KAL.
[191] De Beers Consolidated Mines, LTD, *De Beers 16th Annual Report*, June 30, 1904, De Beers Annual Reports, KAL.
[192] De Beers Consolidated Mines, LTD, *De Beers 21st Annual Report*, June 30, 1909, De Beers Annual Reports, KAL.

South Africa's disease patterns and its medical care."[193] This was especially true in Kimberley, and the De Beers Mining Company was at the center of the controversy surrounding the response to smallpox in the area.

Smallpox first entered the diamond fields in November 1883 when a group of Mozambican migrants were stopped on the outskirts of Kimberley after they appeared to have a skin affliction. They were placed in isolation and kept in a building on a farm outside of town.[194] When Kimberley's doctors came out to inspect the men, they unanimously declared the disease to be smallpox. Leander Starr Jameson, one of Kimberley's most reputable doctors, added "the disease was undoubtedly smallpox."[195] At a special medical board meeting to discuss their findings shortly after, Jameson retracted his earlier diagnosis, noting that the disease was neither contagious nor lethal. Dr. Murphy agreed with Jameson's new diagnosis, while Drs Grimmer, Otto, and Smith remained firm in their belief that the disease was smallpox.[196] A week later, Jameson took it upon himself to distribute "pink slips" around the region, stating that the afflictions found on the migrants was not small pox, but "a bulbous disease around the skin."[197]

Although Jameson's actions seemed unusual, an explanation of his history in Kimberley and close relationship with then-President of De Beers, Rhodes, sheds

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[193] Russel Viljoen, "The 'Smallpox War' on the Kimberley Diamonds Fields in the mid-1880s," *Kleio* 35 (2003): 6.
[194] Ibid., 7.
[195] Ibid.
[196] Ibid.
[197] Ibid., 8.

important light on his actions. Jameson had come to Kimberley a few years earlier and quickly developed a close relationship with his patient, Cecil Rhodes. Rhodes, who suffered from respiratory and heart conditions, trusted the reputable work of Jameson, whom the towns' residents knew as "Dr. Jim."[198] Jameson, like Rhodes, was an unmarried man and the two would live together after Rhodes' longtime live-in companion Neville Pickering died in 1886.[199] Similar to Rhodes, Jameson remained a bachelor his entire life, noting about the prospect of being married, that he was not interested, "never, having felt the least inclined in that way."[200]

When small pox hit the Kimberley area in 1883, Rhodes was serving his first term as President of De Beers. He was fully aware that the disease would be detrimental to the supply of labor, especially if African chiefs, who were responsible for sending much of the labor to Kimberley, knew that smallpox was in the area.[201] Essential trading with African nations like the Basuto, could also be threatened. Rhodes stated, "We will not get wood from the Basuto women, and the mines will have to close down, as we have no

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[198] John Marlowe, *Cecil Rhodes; the Anatomy of Empire* (London: Elek, 1972), 94-95.

[199] Ibid.

[200] Robert I Rotberg, *The Founder: Cecil Rhodes and the Enigma of Power* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 127. For a more detailed discussion of Jameson and his role in the Jameson Raid, see Chapter 4. Although my own research is not concerned with uncovering Rhodes' personal life, it is important to note that his intimate relations with men are important to understanding why men like Jameson were willing to compromise their reputation and life careers for Rhodes. Although Rhodes' own personal acquaintances, as well as historians, have written extensively on the life of Cecil Rhodes, Brian Roberts provides the most extensive discussion of Rhodes' intimate life in, *Cecil Rhodes and the Princess*.
Richard A McFarlane, "Historiography of Selected Works on Cecil John Rhodes (1853-1902)," *History In Africa* 34 (2007): 442.

[201] Viljoen, "The 'Smallpox War' on the Kimberley Diamonds Fields in the mid-1880s," 10.

coal here."[202] Rhodes and Jameson successfully managed to put an end to the news of smallpox, but an estimated 600 workers would perish from the disease and lack of sanitation between 1883-1884.[203]

Although Kimberley doctors would eventually curb widespread infection with a strict vaccination policy and regulated quarantined periods, medical professionals, mine owners, and newspaper editors continued to explain the spread of the disease through racialized stereotypes. When a group of Asian workers in Kimberley were discovered with small pox, the *Diamond Field Times* explained the disease came about because "the coolies herd together like pigs."[204] Leading citizens applied the same argument to African men coming to the mines, explaining that the smallpox in Kimberley was a modified version that resulted in the particular lifestyle of the men.[205] By the 1890s, however, it was clear that the practice of racializing the disease would not curb the spread of small pox in the region. For companies like De Beers, the problem of combating disease could be detrimental to both the supply of labor as well as companies' ability to control labor as well. In June 1901, African dockworkers in Port Elizabeth went on strike after holding a public meeting, and informing doctors that they refused to be vaccinated for the bubonic plague.[206] Rumors of the effects of the vaccination, including possibly death, circulated throughout the workforce. Dockworkers argued that, if they the

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[202] Ibid.
[203] Ibid., 12.
[204] Diamond Field Times, "Small-Pox case found amongst coolies," *Diamond Field Times*, October 4, 1884, microfilm, MSU.
[205] Viljoen, "The 'Smallpox War' on the Kimberley Diamonds Fields in the mid-1880s."
[206] Port Elizabeth is located approximately 700 km south of Kimberley.

government forced vaccinations upon them, then poor whites that lived in "dingy little houses" should also be vaccinated.[207] De Beers ensured a similar incident would not happen at the diamond mines by incorporating a strict practice of initial vaccines, quarantine, and adequate hospitals for its workers.[208]

Controlling the workforce through company-regulated health care provided one example of the ways in which De Beers dictated the private affairs of workers once they were inside compound walls, but nothing represented the disturbing lengths they were willing to go to control the African labor force like the detention houses. All workers that fulfilled their contracts were forced to spend upwards of one week inside of De Beers' detention houses before being permitted to return home. Detention housing, De Beers argued, was a "necessity" in assuring that workers did not swallow diamonds that could be collected after running their course through their systems.[209] Workers' time spent here was uncompensated and mandatory. Upon visiting the detention houses in 1903, the Chief Registrar of Servants in Kimberley provided grisly details of workers' experience inside:

> The Detention Houses in connection with the different Compounds are constructed of wood and iron, with cement floors, and have no furniture whatever. Into these sheds, Natives who wish to go out of the Compounds, their Passes having expired, are placed for five days, from Monday morning to Saturday morning. Their clothes are taken from them to be searched and they are served

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[207] "*Peco ea Buboniki*" ("Thrashing of Bubonic Plague"), *Koranta ea Becoana*, June 15, 1901, microfilm, MSU.

[208] De Beers Consolidated Mines, LTD, *Second Annual De Beers Report, 1890*, De Beers Annual Reports, KAL.

[209] Office of Chief Registrar of Servants, "Office of Chief Registrar of Servants to Secretary of Natives Affairs Department", February 25, 1903, National Archives of South Africa Cape Town Repository.

> out with blankets, (the same ones as were used by the Natives in the last Detention) these blankets, I am informed, were never washed.
>
> The Natives hands are then placed in hard leather gloves, with no fingers, and about the size of lawn tennis racquets, these are padlocked round the wrists. Several performances are gone through, which must be a degradation to the Natives, to ensure that no diamonds are concealed about their persons. Their food which they get free, is handed to them by the Guards who always remain inside the Detention House. There must be a great deal of discomfort in eating with these gloves on, and as for drinking, this is mostly done, as a dog, or other animal would, by bending down to the ground on all fores.
>
> The Natives while confined in these houses, are obliged to go to the earth closet, so many times, and those who do not, are suspected of having swallowed diamonds, and are kept in a few extra days and given a dose of medicine…In some of the Compounds the Natives are allowed a bath, but in the West End Compound, the Protector of Natives informs me they were not allowed one.[210]

After making a few suggestions to improve workers' conditions, including washing the blankets, disinfecting the floors, and being permitted one bath, the Registrar concludes, "I have no wish to interfere with the present system…it is a necessary precaution which the De Beers Company must take to protect it against heavy loss."[211] The detention houses represented both Rhodes' and De Beers' ability and willingness to eliminate rights of workers to secure maximum profits. Though workers at De Beers maintained a strong sense of community and autonomy in many ways, these practices foreshadowed the eradication of African rights for generations to come.

Outside the Compound Walls

Rhodes vision for controlling African labor in the mines was dramatically different from his vision for De Beers' other workers. African migrant workers were the most vital

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[210] Office of Chief Registrar of Servants, "Letter from Office of Chief Registrar of Servants to Secretary of Native Affairs Department, Cape Town", March 16, 1903, NA 589, NASA.
[211] Ibid.

employees in the process of mining diamonds at De Beers, but they were not the only one. The company also employed hundreds of white workers who did not reside in the compound areas. For these men, Rhodes also took great care and consideration into creating living quarters that would ensure that De Beers would retain a steady supply of skilled laborers and mine managers to run the mines. Kenilworth was Rhodes' personal vision of what a model village should look like, and he invested a great deal of time, money and energy into assuring that workers would be comfortably housed here. When the village first opened to De Beers employees in 1889 there were 24 houses for families with 48 quarters for single men.[212] The demand for the villa-like housing was so popular, that by 1899, there were 119 homes housing a population of over 500.[213]

Kenilworth was located approximately two and a half miles outside of the town of Kimberley, and provided a private oasis of broad avenues, nurseries, orchards, private gardens, tennis courts and recreation grounds for its residents.[214] Unlike the compounds, workers were not required to live in Kenilworth, but many found the affordable housing in the village to be an excellent alternative to the dusty and industrial environment of Kimberley. Rhodes personally put great care and time into the village, with a large part of his efforts invested in the planting and maintenance of the numerous trees in the residential area. The broad avenues were lined with gum, fir, and pepper trees.[215] Rhodes also had a deep interest in fruit cultivation and worked with California fruit

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[212] De Beers Consolidated Mines, LTD, *Second Annual De Beers Report, 1890*, De Beers Annual Reports, KAL.
[213] William Douglas Mackenzie and Alfred Stead, *South Africa: its history, heroes and wars* (Co-operative Pub. Co., 1899), 376.
[214] Ibid.

growers. Kenilworth's orchard, which contained 5,800 fruit trees and 2,600 vines, was so productive that it provided a return investment for the De Beers company.[216]

Outside of Kenilworth, De Beers' white employees could enjoy numerous activities in Kimberley and on the outskirts of the town. One visitor to the area in 1899 noted that the "dreary" atmosphere, with "heaps of debris from the mines adding to the desolation" were not enough to prevent the town from at least being "lively." Outdoor games, bicycling, picnics, dances, concerts, and dramatic performances all helped to provide some form of entertainment for De Beers' employees.[217] On the weekends, workers and their families could go to Alexanderfontein Hotel on the outskirts of Kimberley where the owner, Mrs. Bisset hosted numerous balls and dances. De Beers was so invested in keeping its white employees content, that it invested money into building an electric tramline to the hotel.[218]

Between the stark contrast of Kimberley's white community and the migrant community inside the compound walls, another group called Kimberley home since the start of the diamond rush. The Malay Camp, as it became known, was established in 1871 after a group of Malay diggers came to the diamond fields. By 1877, as many as 600 people, including men, women, and children lived in the camp. The group included descendents from India, China, and Japan as well as Malaysia, Java, Bali, and Indonesia.

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[215] Ibid.

[216] De Beers Consolidated Mines, LTD, *De Beers Sixth Annual Report, 1894*, June 30, 1894, De Beers Annual Reports, KAL. De Beers Consolidated Mines, LTD, *De Beers 14th Annual Report*, June 30, 1902, De Beers Annual Reports, KAL.

[217] Mackenzie and Stead, *South Africa*, 368.

[218] De Beers Consolidated Mines, LTD, *De Beers 15th Annual Report*, June 30, 1903, De Beers Annual Reports, KAL.

Most maintained their traditions in food, language, dress, and religion, giving the region an array of cultural institutions.[219] The camp grew to become one of the most vibrant communities in the area and became a middle ground in which people of all ethnic backgrounds interacted.[220]

The Malay Camp was home to numerous activities and organizations, as well as community leaders. Intellectual leaders within the Maylay Camp including Sol Plaatje and Isaiah Bud-M'belle called the neighborhood home and would play a vital role in providing a voice to Africans through their newspaper, *Koranta ea Becoana*.[221] By 1890, Malay, Coloured, and African residents played cricket in an inter-town tournament, and in 1892, the camp's residents established the Griqualand West Coloured Cricket Union.[222] The residents of the Malay Camp also frequented dances and balls in the community. One former resident of Kimberley recalled a dance hall just outside of Kimberley that was filled nearly every night with residents of the Malay Camp. "The white people who were inclined to try their luck among the dark-skinned beauties had to

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[219] Louis Mallett, *The Malay Camp, Kimberley: Forceful Removal Imposed by the Apartheid Regime: A Light-Hearted Look at the Living of Folks of All Nationalities, Colours, Cultures, Customs, beliefs and Religions* (Kimberley: Sol Plaatje Educational Trust, 2007), 23.

[220] Between 1652-1749, the Dutch East India Company brought slaves from eastern Asia to South Africa. The people of the Malay Camp were descendents of these people. Vida Allen, "Malay Camp: A Forgotten Suburb" (McGregor Museum, 2006).

[221] See Chapter 3 for a detailed discussion of these African intellectuals.

[222] Allen, "Malay Camp: A Forgotten Suburb."Although I was unable to find a direct link between the Cricket Union and the workers in De Beers, men inside the compounds often played cricket and likely participated in the sport with the residents of the Malay Camp.

do so with some caution, as their…cavaliers were exceedingly jealous and saucy."[223] Though workers at De Beers remained inside the compound walls for most of the duration of their contract periods, this lively community outside of the compound more than likely served as a source of information, entertainment, and refuge for workers migrating to and from the mines.

Inside Compound Walls

Though workers at De Beers were allowed to exit the mines for a few short hours after work and during time off on Sundays, their lives during the extent of their contracts existed mainly within the walls of the compound. When Flora Shaw, Colonial Editor to the *London Times*, was informed that the compounds of Kimberley did not allow a single woman to live inside, she exclaimed, "Ah, now I know what you call a compound. It is a Monastery of Labour." Rhodes most likely would have agreed, and inside the compounds, the systematic control of workers became a way to ensure a steady supply of labor to the diamond mines. Although Cecil Rhodes took great care to ensure the white employees of De Beers lived in a well-cared for community, outfitted with the most modern conveniences, inside the walls of the compounds, workers were deprived of their families, their freedoms, and necessary infrastructure. Yet, visitors like Flora Shaw recorded a different life inside the compounds. Workers were left to their own means to create a sense of community, and the daily activities inside the compounds suggest that the development of community was not bound to the infrastructural constrictions of De Beers, but by the complex social system workers developed for themselves. Inside the

[223] Louis Cohen, *Reminiscences of Kimberley*, Kimberley series no. 7 (Kimberley, South Africa: Historical Society of Kimberley and the Northern Cape, 1990), 202-203.

compound walls, workers grew accustomed to, and began to rely upon, the company, resources, and shared experiences of fellow workers.

By 1898, there were ten compounds under the direction of De Beers, with the largest containing 2,800 men. The compound structures were vast open roof enclosures made of corrugated iron and mesh netting (*fig 4*). Inside, numerous large cabins housed workers' sleeping quarters. Other features included a swimming pool, compound stores, hospital, and church. Rhodes, an enthusiastic arborist, also provided a few shade trees to escape the hot Kimberley sun. The mesh netting hung over the top of the compound ensured that diamond thieves could not toss their findings over the walls to collect later.[224]

Men inside the compounds came from all over southern Africa, yet quickly developed a common language derived from the Xhosa and SeTswana languages that many of the workers spoke. Despite the close confines of the compound, men developed their own communities that resembled a town buzzing with activity at all hours of the day.[225] After working their normal eight-hour shifts, men returned to the surface to take in their evening activities. Workers made their own meals, usually consisting of a porridge of mealie meal, sorghum, or samp.[226] If men had a bit of extra money and did not want to make their own meals, there were numerous "al fresco restaurants" that one

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[224] *Diamond Field Times*, "Life in the Compounds" Christmas Edition, 1898, "Labour" KAL.

[225] Mining shifts were divided into three shifts of eight hours/day ensuring that there were always men awake in the compound area. De Beers Consolidated Mines, LTD, *De Beers Fifth Annual Report*, June 30, 1893, De Beers Annual Reports, KAL.

[226] Both mealie meal and samp are corn products. "McGregor Museum Exhibit on Food" (Kimberley, SA, 2010).

could choose from. In the De Beers West End compound, for instance, one worker that had lost his leg in a mining accident continued to make money inside the compounds after managers granted him permission to open a restaurant.[227]

Although men were undoubtedly exhausted after working in the hot, heavy air of the mines for eight hours, Sundays were a day of rest, and it was on this day that the workers' community life was most vibrant. In addition to a number of men who ran coffee shops and compound cafes, men brought other trades to the compounds. "Sandy" was a popular barber in one compound where he kept a large clientele:

> His scale of charges is about on a par with the swagger hairdressing establishments of Bond Street, but his methods are very different. As most of his customers like a close cut, the scissors are almost entirely discarded in favour of the clippers.[228]

Other men worked Sunday jobs as tailors where they maintained an impressive "skill and speed with which they manipulate their sewing machines."[229] Others operated more dubious businesses that still maintained success in the densely populated compounds:

> Sometimes a Kafir (*sic*) doctor may be seen with his "bones" all cast before him in a contemplative study of their respective positions…he is endeavouring to conjure from the vast spirit world some occult information concerning the future or past, the relations or antecedents of the credulous native who has paid his shilling, and waits with unmurmuring patience for its equivalent. It appears that the shilling is a condition of successful divination.[230]

Other men used their leisure time for other activities. Playing music in the compounds was a way for workers of the same ethnic group to bond. Because so many men had come to the mines with only a few personal belongings, men relied on their own

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[227] *Diamond Field Times*, "Life in the Compounds."
[228] Ibid.
[229] Ibid.

ingenuity to create instruments out of materials available to them. Basutos gathered to play reed whistles, drum, and dance; the Tsonga made *imbilas*, xylophone-like instruments made out of wood and dynamite boxes; and the Zulu played the *gubo*, a bamboo rod strung with a single string that was plucked.[231] Other men filled their time playing *umugala*, a game played by digging small holes into the ground to transfer stones between two opponents.

The efforts of missionaries also contributed to a number of leisure time activities for mine workers. Missionaries in the late nineteenth century relied on the moral and ethical lessons found in sports like cricket. African societies, already accustomed to contests of skill and strength, quickly adapted the game as their own pastime.[232] In the compounds where equipment was limited, men constructed wickets out of paraffin tins.[233] Workers also had the opportunity to improve their English-speaking skills with a missionary-organized debate society.[234]

For many workers, the ability to purchase new goods with money earned in the mines became a new and important exercise in consumerism. During their few hours of time permitted outside of the compound, workers purchased a variety of luxury goods that were available to them for the first time in Kimberley's many shops and street vendors. Vendors imported mass-produced second-hand clothing from England to

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[230] Ibid.

[231] Ibid. Henry Balfour, *The natural history of the musical bow: a chapter in the developmental history of stringed instruments of music* (Clarendon, 1899), 25.

[232] Alan G. Cobley, *The Rules of the Game: Struggles in Black Recreation and Social Welfare Policy in South Africa* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1997), 18.

[233] *Diamond Field Times*, "Life in the Compounds."

migrant workers and workers, in turn, purchased goods to take home to their families. Workers often returned home with, not only the money they had saved from work, but also with small luxury items including imported cottons, liquors and sugar.[235] Distilled liquor was an especially important marker of distinction of a migrant worker. "European liquor" was imported into Kimberley where it was often diluted with water and then flavored with other ingredients to give it a very distinct flavor from the *bojalwa* that many migrants were used to drinking. Back home, as the popularity of drinking spread, canteens became important places for rural Africans to socialize and gather news.[236] For workers and their families, these small purchases, along with the ability to purchase good on credit and cash were just another reminder that they were increasingly becoming a integral part of the colonial society.

Between BaTswana and *Badumedi*

The experience of living, working, and participating in the compound communities fostered shared identities among workers, and these took different forms. Like workers and their communities in Clifton-Morenci, by the late 19th century, many workers selectively chose to remain devoted to some traditional practices, while embracing new aspects of European culture and identity. This practice of negotiating between two cultures and traditions was not new for African workers. Although many workers maintained an identity with a specific chiefdom, this chiefdom was often subject to a

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234 "Debate Society," *Koranta ea Becoana*, August 1, 1903, microfilm, MSU.
235 Patrick Harries, *Work, Culture, and Identity: Migrant Laborers in Mozambique and South Africa, 1860-1910*, 101.
236 Ibid., 103.

history of conflict prior and during European contact.[237] Prior to colonialism, it was common for rival chieftains to compete with one another to attract followers, as it was the number of followers that determined the strength and power of chiefdoms.[238] During periods of hardship, Africans also sometimes chose to adopt the identity of another chiefdom. In 1835, Moshoeshoe, leader of the Basotho, claimed that, "'the Basuto were originally Baquaina' from the northern Transvaal, who had 'left the country of their forefathers in consequence of oppression and poverty.'"[239] It was from these pre-colonial struggles for power and land that many Africans first encountered the process of cultural exchange and contact. For many, the process of adopting or rejecting certain European practices would have already been a familiar practice from which one could benefit from doing so. By the late 19th century, Africans continued to change Chiefdom alliances. These exchanges were further intensified through new social divisions that resulted from mining.[240]

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[237] It should be noted here, that I am referring to general rivalries among Chiefdoms and not necessarily to the concept of *mfecane*. While South African historians had referred to a period of widespread violence and chiefdom warfare in the early part of the 19th century as *mfecane*, more recent analysis by historians like Norman Etherington have argued that the concept of mfecane is an academic invention. He argues that, firstly, there is no evidence to prove that southeastern African had maintained a state of relative peace prior to the period of *mfecane* and, secondly, that there is "very little to no evidence" that southeastern Africa erupted with Chiefdom violence in the early 19th century. Norman Etherington, "A tempest in a teapot? Nineteenth-century contests for land in South Africa's Caledon Valley and the invention of the mfecane," *Journal of African History* 45, no. 2 (2004): 205-207.

[238] Ibid., 212.

[239] Ibid., 213.

[240] Thompson, *A History of South Africa*, 107.

Spiritual and religious belief became another aspect of identity that could divide workers of the same ethnic group, as well as unite workers from different ethnic groups, further blurring the line between traditional identities and industrial ones. Missionaries led religious crusades to spread Christianity and end traditional practices like polygamy and bride price, but these campaigns were met with both resistance and acceptance from Africans, many of who made personal choices about the benefit and disadvantages to adopting new identities and cultural practices that were rooted in a long legacy of already doing so.[241] Batswana workers used the term *badumedi* or "believers" to identify those people that chose to accept Christianity.[242] The acceptance of Christian practices and beliefs provides one example of the way in which many Batswana workers reconciled their own transition as part of a larger nation and empire. Within the compound, missionaries and Christian African workers held regular religious services to teach men about Christianity. Gwayi Tyamzashe came to the diamond fields in 1887 to teach the men about religion:

> Many of (the workers) never heard the name of Jesus Christ until they came to these diamond diggings. Some of those who listen to the preaching of the Gospel give up the idea of the gun and desire to learn more of the good news of salvation…Some have come with Dutch spelling books, some with Sesuto, and others with presents intended to soften my heart – as they expressed it – as to be persuaded to teach them.

While missionaries preached to a united group of Christians, Africans engaged in debates of the contested Christian identities and traditional practices like bride marriage. Choosing to identify as a *modumedi* often meant that one had chosen to adopt certain European practices as well, and these often remained in contention with traditional

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[241] Atkins, *The Moon Is Dead! Give Us Our Money!*, 3.

practices. The practice of *bogadi*, or bridewealth, was one example of a custom that would split the BaTswana *madumedi* from those Africans that chose to maintain traditional practices.[243] Using local SeTswana newspapers as a medium through which to voice their opinions, BaTswana remained divided over the necessity of the practice as well as its symbolic value. Some *badumedi* believed *bogadi* symbolized nothing more than the commodification of women and children within BaTswana society. Missionaries relied upon the words of the Bible to help eliminate the practice and drew upon stereotypes that deemed traditionalists as uninformed, old-fashioned, and unprogressive. One missionary explained:

> God simply gave Adam a woman in the beginning and also gave him children; there was no *bogadi* at all other than thanking God for his gifts. Today also, God has appointed the man for the woman and the woman for the man, not by payment…This practice of *bogadi* is an activity that was done by people of long ago who did not know anything about God.[244]

Others refused this interpretation of *bogadi*, insisting it was a necessary practice that set SeTswana marriage apart from European marriage. Some Batswana felt abandoning the practice of *bogadi* meant that one was adopting the customs of an enemy:

> …as I have said the missionaries want chieftainship and you disagree with me. But I know you; you are not God. You can prohibit your own children from (attending) boys' and girls' initiation, but leave mine alone…I don't want (Christian) faith. It is lies that it promotes. Europeans have long been deceiving us.[245]

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[242] The phrases *badumedi* and *modumedi* refer to believer(s) and believer respectively.

[243] Part T. Mgadla and Stephen C. Volz, eds.*Words of Batswana: Letters to Mahoko A. Becwana, 1883-1896* (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society, 2006), 123. The practice of *bogadi* reinforced familial ties between Batswana families through the exchange of bridewealth (usually in the form of cattle) from the groom's family to the bride's family.

[244] Alfred Wookey, "Bridewealth" in *Mahoko A Becwana*, October 1883, in Ibid., 139.

[245] Mosimanyane, "A Lion Cub is Roaring" in *Mahoko A Becwana*, September 1890, in Ibid., 129.

For others, *bogadi* was a practice that some were unwilling to compromise, even as *badumedi* who may have adopted other European practices. Oganne Keaokopa argued, "I have left the powerful things of rulers such as boy and girl initiation rites; I see that they are bad. But as for *bogadi*, I don't see anything bad about it. I will not leave it…"[246] The debates surrounding *bogadi* suggest that African migrant workers already possessed complicated identities that would divide Chiefdoms, communities, and families, yet many held political, cultural, economic, and religious reasons for accepting or rejecting European culture.

Crying Evils

Bogadi provides one example of the ways in which African migrant workers contested, accepted, and debated changing cultural practices and traditions, but new practices popular in the compound communities, such as drinking and gambling, also created debate surrounding the importance of traditional practices at the intersection of work and industry. While management and government officials attempted to eliminate practices of gambling and drinking within the compounds, workers and their communities engaged in lively debates about the implications of these restrictions and their influence on traditional cultural practices. Gambling and drinking were part of many workers' lives despite management's attempts to curb them. The practice of both gambling and drinking together, threatened the labor supply, as men that had fallen victim to the practices had little to show from their contract labor after retuning home from the mines. Management and Native Affairs officials understood that the labor contracts, often

[246] Ibid., 143.

negotiated with heads of African nations, were delicate relationships that had to be satisfactorily fulfilled by both parties. If men returned home with little to no money, it would be almost impossible to retain the large supply of labor needed. In a letter to the Native Affairs Department, the Protector of Natives urged the office to quickly take care of the matter:

> …The enormous (practice) of gambling, in the Compounds, for high stakes, demands repression with a very firm hand, as in many cases the Natives…leave the mines perfectly penniless and destitute, and the families…have to be told that their husbands or fathers have parted with all their earnings under this pernicious practice…I am unable to the present state of affairs to cope with this crying evil.[247]

To help curb the gambling problem, management banned playing cards within the compound. Despite this, gambling remained a part of the compound community economy, and some men relied on gambling as an additional source of income. Smuggled playing cards, that could be purchased in Kimberley for 6 shillings were sold in the compounds for 20-40 shillings.[248]

Management also attempted to put an end to the amount of alcohol consumed both in and outside of the compounds. Alcohol was not generally permitted inside the compound walls, but outside, management and Cape Colony officials had to compete with storeowners whose businesses thrived on workers' alcohol consumption. The question had become so important to Cape Colony officials in 1889 that they sent a series of questions to missionaries and public officials in Kimberley addressing alcohol usage among Africans. These questions included:

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[247] Office of Protector of Natives, "Letter to Under Secretary for Native Affairs, Cape Town from Office of Protector of Natives, Kimberley", April 1, 1891, NA 455, NASA.

> "When black people are allowed to drink and buy alcohol as they like, what does alcohol do to them? What does it do to their bodies and their feelings? Does it destroy or build?"
> "How has it been with those who have gone to work and have been confined [in compounds] without any access to alcohol?"[249]

One savvy business owner used the store's close proximity to the Registrar of Natives office to make money off the sale of alcoholic drinks:

> The place next to the office does a splendid business as the men waiting for passes, often as many as a hundred, lounge about and as often as not go into the bar, sit there and drink, and by the time they are ready to leave are either incapable or in a noisy condition.[250]

The state denied liquor licenses to those people that would not refuse service to Africans, and even clothing stores were reported to have kept secret stashes of alcohol to sell to Africans.[251]

In the Kimberley region, *bojalwa* or "Kaffir Beer" as the white population knew it as, was the main drink of Africans and topic of much debate at the turn-of-the-twentieth century.[252] The consumption of bojalwa within Kimberley provides an example of the unique ways in which traditional practices were reshaped and became central topics of debate in industrial environments. *Bojalwa*, a sorghum beer, provided an important source of nutrition for BaTswana. In Kimberley, the use of *bojalwa* remained an important factor in combating malnutrition in the mines as well, but the drink also

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[248] Office of Protector of Natives, "Letter to Under Secretary for Native Affairs, Cape Town from Office of Protector of Natives, Kimberley", June 6, 1891, NA 455, NASA.
[249] *Words of Batswana*, 163.
[250] Natives Registry Office, "Letter from Natives Registry Office in Kimberley to Secretary of Native Affairs Department", September 1906, AG 1667, NASA.
[251] Ibid.
[252] *Bojalwa* is the sorghum-based SeTswana beer. The Zulu referred to this as *utywala*.

became popular for mineworkers who consumed the drink at one of the many local canteens in the region that served the drink to Africans. From November 1899 – June 1900 Kimberley banned the sale of liquor to Africans. All men that entered the compounds were searched for liquor, and if it was found, it was destroyed at the gate.[253] However, management failed to realize that the beer was a nutrient-rich staple in many workers' diet that helped to curb major illness. Although the Rose-Innes Liquor Act of 1898 forbid the manufacture of "Kaffir Beer" in the Cape Colony, management reconsidered the ban after scurvy threatened the labor supply even further.[254] By 1904, the Prime Minister of the Cape Colony announced, "a decided improvement in the condition of our compound natives through the medicinal administration of Kafir beer."[255] Despite management's best efforts to completely eliminate the drink, it was clearly an essential part of many workers' diets.

Missionaries and some *badumedi* became increasingly vocal about the evils of *bojalwa* for the BaTswana. Like *bogadi*, their criticism sparked an important debate over the importance of maintaining African traditions within the adoption of European ones and highlighted close and uncomfortable spaces that European and African culture shared with one another. One Motswana, Yane Sebogodi, shared a story with his fellow BaTswana concerning *bojalwa*:

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[253] Testimony of Hon. Mr. R. Jameson, M.L.C. (Natal) 20th May, 1904, South African Native Affairs Commission and Great Britain, *Report of the Commission with Annexures and Appendices ...: 1903-5* (Cape Town: Cape Times, Ltd, 1904)., Vol III, p. 750.
[254] Secretary of Native Affairs, "Letter from Secretary of Native Affairs to Prime Minister", February 7, 1901, National Archives of South Africa Cape Town Repository.

> …I was taken to a very large house, and inside this house there was a glorious radiance…There were two foods – bread and milk. These were the foods for the crowd, and they all ate this food to their satisfaction…They said, 'You say your food is alcohol. Alcohol is not food, it is a pit of fire [hell]. Food is this that we have."[256]

Supporters of *bojalwa* consumption made a clear distinction between the drink and its European counterpart arguing, "when Tswana beer still contains its grain mash, it will not do anything to anyone…it is the European one that…intoxicates a person."[257] Others showed distrust for the European practice and distinguished between *bojalwa jwa Sekhoa* (European beer) as a "thing that ruins people" and *bojalwa jwa BaTswana* (BaTswana beer).[258]

The discussion surrounding traditional BaTswana practices of *bogadi* and *bojalwa* consumption highlights the growing debate that many African migrants faced as their transition into the formal labor economy reshaped their identities. Like their American counterparts in Arizona, African workers in Kimberley's diamond mines maintained border identities in which they actively chose to accept, reshape, and contest their identities as members of African chiefdoms as well as migrant workers that were an integral part of South Africa's growing economic and industrial system.

A Different Type of Frontier

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[255] Prime Minister of Cape Colony, "Letter from Prime Minister of Cape Colony to Secretary of DeBeers", February 12, 1904, National Archives of South Africa Cape Town Repository.
[256] Yane Sebogodi, "A Dream" in *Mahoko A Becwana*, November 1890, in *Words of Batswana,* 169.
[257] Sakaria Mophuting in *Mahoko A Becwana*, January 1892, in Ibid., 183.
[258] Ibid., 163, 183.

Kimberley, like Clifton-Morenci was a frontier in which the roles of workers, employers, community members, industrialists, and politicians were in a process of continual transition and negotiation. Yet the level of cultural and political control over migrant workers to the diamond mines provided a distinct difference in workers' experiences in Kimberley and how they acted out their own sense of culture, community and agency in the workplace. Historically embedded practices of control was a part of the diamond industry from its foundation in southern Africa. Claim holders, industrialists, and politicians imposed physical violence; racially discriminatory legislation; notions of cultural superiority/inferiority; and infrastructural controls to limit worker rights and manipulate the supply of labor for their own profit. Rhodes and De Beers maintained a level of control over the town and its people that could not be matched in copper mining regions of the American southwest. The company shaped their own versions of community and working life and maintained unprecedented levels of control over its employees. Kenilworth became Rhodes idyllic vision of what a community could look like – filled with orchards, gardens, and wide avenues. Rhodes envisioned and executed a different plan for his African employees, and once inside the compound, men's freedoms were severely restricted. Yet, to view this system of industry and labor as a relationship of victim and victimizer would short change the history of African migrant labor as well as overlook the agency of workers.

Before migrating to the mines in search of work, many Africans already had a long history of culture exchange, conflict, and accommodation with both Anglos as well as within their own society. Inside the compound walls of De Beers' industry, worker community flourished as men reaffirmed traditional identities and developed new ones.

It was not the process of cultural exchange that was new, but for many, an identity as workers who were a vital part of an expansive economic system was.

CHAPTER 3: THE ROOTS OF CITIZENSHIP: THE GROWTH OF NATIONALISM AND POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS IN MEXICO AND SOUTH AFRICA

The experience of living and working within the mining industry would shape the lives of workers and their communities in Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci as they negotiated their local identities as employees, co-workers, members of a community, and members of a family. In Chapters one and two, I demonstrated the ways in which members of these mining towns actively shaped, accepted, and rejected social and cultural identities and alliances. On a national level, intellectual leaders raised broader questions of citizenship, national identity, and citizenship rights in ways that influenced workers' identities and alliances. Although workers may not have been formally educated in the national and international affairs of their migrant and home countries, they turned to newspapers, community organizations, and intellectual leaders to inform their opinions and understandings of political and social events on the national and international level. As political activists and intellectual leaders led debates concerning citizenship and national identity, they articulated the important role that workers and their communities possessed on a national level as citizens. Leaders articulated these ideas in speeches and relied on the independent press to distribute their message of political critique and reform to citizens on the ground. In both the United States borderlands and South Africa, mine workers and their communities expressed growing discontent towards increasing political oppression against their own rights and maintained a keen understanding of the important role they played in these national debates.

Even though mine workers in Clifton-Morenci and Kimberley made up part of the population of unclassified citizens whose status was not clearly defined, they remained

informed and active participants in national and international political discourse. Workers in Arizona maintained close ties to their neighbors and families across the border as the political atmosphere in Mexico became increasingly turbulent. In South Africa, liberal British policies suggested a future of racial equality, yet Africans found their rights and their enfranchisement within their own country eroding. The political turmoil in both regions affected all residents of the country and workers remained closely connected to the national politics of their countries. Workers' protests in both Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci were not simply isolated events fueled by poor wages or working conditions. They also reflected other demands – that as citizens of the US and South Africa, they should be justly treated – a demand that was evinced in the words of South Africa and Mexico's leading political activists at the time. The social and political protests articulated by political and social activists in both South Africa and the US borderlands reflected the discontent and desires of citizens during political and socially turbulent times. Those on the ground who experienced and understood them on local terms translated these protests. For workers in Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci, actions of labor unrest were not just the result of poor working conditions or a demand for better pay. This unrest was also a product of workers' dissatisfaction and aspiration for a more just environment on both a local level within the workplace and on a national level as citizen rights within the country.

Within this chapter, I examine the intellectual groundwork of activists and citizens who helped lay the foundations for workers' response to citizenship and national identity and the intellectual connection to workers at the local level. Activists and intellectual leaders used their influence within the independent press to raise important

issues surrounding local, national, and international politics; the importance of citizenship and political participation; and the role of manhood within one's community and family. The response of workers and their communities during two key events – the 1903 Clifton-Morenci strike and the 1899-1900 Siege of Kimberley, when workers unified their local and national identities as laborers and citizens were rooted in these issues as well as workers' own history.[259] This keen understanding of workers' rights and citizenship rights spurred worker resistance in both areas and shaped identities in complex ways on local and national levels.

The Failure of Liberalism and the African Political Consciousness

In South Africa, De Beers' diamond empire ruled the city of Kimberley and its communities much as colonialism had done in South Africa for centuries. Between 1880-1913 De Beers Consolidated Mines established uncontested power over Kimberley's residents and the company's employees.[260] Outside of the compound walls, however, intellectuals hoped to convince Cape Colony politicians that British liberalism should protect the rights of all Africans.[261]

In Great Britain, social liberalism was rooted in the economic, political, and social outcomes of industrialization, as social and political activists grew increasingly

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[259] A detailed explanation of the events surrounding the Siege of Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci Strike, will be described in Chapter 4.

[260] De Beers consolidation occurred from 1880-89 with the incorporation of the French Company, Kimberley Central Mining Company, Griqualand West Company, and the Bulfontein Consolidated Company. For the next decade Rhodes' company would have a complete monopoly over South Africa's diamond mining industry.

concerned with the rights of citizens and their livelihoods. In response to social critiques concerning equality as well as growing expansion of the British Empire, Queen Victoria proclaimed in 1858, "all shall alike enjoy the equality and impartial protection of the law…" after Great Britain claimed sovereignty over India.[262] As the British seized control of the Cape Colony, colonial politics in the Cape established limited protections for Africans in part to separate themselves from Dutch colonists and their enslaved African populations.[263] The 1806 Proclamation of the British outlawed the capture and selling of slaves in South Africa and the abolition of slavery throughout the British Empire came in 1833.[264] Representative government came to the Cape in 1853 with the establishment of parliamentary self-government, and the Cape Constitution retained the promises of liberal development of the British Empire.[265] Franchise included all males

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[261] Throughout this section, I refer to the term liberalism to mean social liberalism rooted in social justice and social reform through state intervention. This is an important distinction from the idea of Classic Liberalism rooted in laissez-faire economics. Richard Hudelson, *Modern Political Philosophy*, (Armonk, N.Y: M.E. Sharpe, 1999), 37-38.

[262] Banerjee, *Becoming Imperial Citizens*, 22.

[263] Stanley Trapido, "From Paternalism to Liberalism: The Cape Colony, 1800-1834," *The International History Review* 12, no. 1 (February 1, 1990): 82. Between 1799-1802, the Khoisan joined with the Zuurveld Xhosa in an uprising against Khoisan slave owners in Graaf Reinet. The British viewed the urgency of quelling slave rebellions as especially high after the recent successful revolt of slaves in Saint-Domingue.

[264] "1806. Proclamation The British - The O'Malley Archives", 1806, http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv01538/04lv01646/05lv01648.htm; "1833. Abolition of Slavery Act - The O'Malley Archives", 1833, http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv01538/04lv01646/05lv01662.htm.

[265] By 1853 the Cape Colony controlled domestic policy, although the British government retained a veto. Catherine Higgs, *The Ghost of Equality: The Public Lives of D.D.T. Jabavu of South Africa, 1885-1959* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1997), 6.

living in the Cape Colony who possessed property valued at £25 or more.[266] Although the Constitution excluded many Africans from enfranchisement, a growing population of wealthy and mission-educated Africans became active participants in Cape Colony politics. In contrast to the Boer Republics, where Native Policy did not include political equality, the Cape Colony represented Africans' access to participatory democracy and citizenship rights.[267] African intellectuals like John Tengo Jabavu, editor of the South African newspaper, *Isigidimi samaXhosa* (The Xhosa Messenger), became so inspired by this ideal equality and the promises of the British Empire that Cecil Rhodes' own declaration of "Equal rights for all civilized men" became Jabavu's creed as well.[268]

Although this new liberalism had many supporters, including some leading African intellectuals, this ideology was itself a flawed equality that did little to support African rights. The British Empire and Cape Colony could comfortably promote their ideal equality because the property requirements excluded most Africans from enfranchisement. In the Cape Colony, legislatures became so concerned with the African franchise that the 1892 Franchise and Ballot act raised the property qualification to £75 as more and more Africans became eligible to vote.[269] As Cape Colony legislation began to slowly erode the rights of Africans, intellectual leaders began to distinguish between

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[266] "1853. Cape Constitution - The O'Malley Archives", 1853, http://www.nelsonmandela.org/omalley/index.php/site/q/03lv01538/04lv01646/05lv01671.htm, accessed March 2012.
[267] A. P. Walshe, "The Origins of African Political Consciousness in South Africa," *The Journal of Modern African Studies* 7, no. 4 (December 1, 1969): 589.
[268] Higgs, *The Ghost of Equality*, 6.
[269] Ibid., 7.

the social justice ideology of the British Empire and the "brutal regimes" of the Cape Colony.[270]

Quintessential "Cape liberal" African politicians like Davidson Don Tengo Jabavu and Sol Plaatje advocated for "common citizenship" that was "rooted in 'the meritocratic Christian values of the late Victorian era, in which race was supposedly no criterion for citizenship.'"[271] Their alliance with and faith in British liberalism remained steadfast throughout the debates surrounding African citizenship during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. British liberalism established a sense of hope for the future of African enfranchisement, and ultimately, citizenship, but many other factors also fueled the growth of African political consciousness. The spread of missionary education established Christian beliefs throughout the southern Africa region and gave Africans new tools for widespread dissemination of information, mainly reading and writing. In the mines, and elsewhere, the introduction of wage labor provided Africans with purchasing power and integrated them into the developing economic market. Influential African intellectuals like John Tengo Jabavu and, later, Sol Plaatje would support the idea that Africans could and should be provided with the opportunity for equal citizenship.[272]

South Africa's mission-educated and wealthier African citizenry were responsible, in part, for the change of African political consciousness throughout the

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[270] Walshe, "The Origins of African Political Consciousness in South Africa," 584-85; *Grappling with the Beast*, 5.
[271] Higgs, *The Ghost of Equality*, 1.
[272] Walshe, "The Origins of African Political Consciousness in South Africa," 583.

region. They used the press as their main weapon of activism and promoted the idea that Africans were also citizens of the Cape Colony. Their beliefs were not simply, 'equality for all Africans,' however. Often, finances, conflicting political views, and their relationship with 'friends of natives' both complicated and hindered the rights of Africans.[273]

John Tengo Jabavu was one of the first Africans to use the press as a tool for distributing political news to the Xhosa-speaking population of South Africa. Raised in Heraldtown with a missionary upbringing, Jabavu took an interest in journalism and eventually became editor of *Isigidimi samaXhosa* (Xhosa Messenger) in 1881. Finding an interest in reporting politics over the religious-based information of *Isigidimi*, Jabavu often detailed Parliamentary debates and information about political candidates.[274] In 1884, he founded the first African secular newspaper, *Imvo Zabantsundu* (Native Opinion) and continued to advocate a "common citizenship" based upon social liberalism for southern Africa.[275]

Despite Jabavu's support for African rights, his work underscores the very different opinions that many South African leaders held despite their claims for equality. Jabavu maintained very controversial views on many key issues later on in his life and would distance himself from much of the African population. Despite Jabavu's initial support for social liberalism, he aligned himself more and more with the Afrikaner

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[273] 'Friends of Natives' is a term used to describe white supporters of African political and social causes. Brian Willan, *Sol Plaatje, South African Nationalist, 1876-1932* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 47.

[274] Mcebisi Ndletyana, ed. *African Intellectuals in 19th and Early 20th Century South Africa* (Cape Town: HSRC Press, 2008), 34.

Republic and the Afrikaner Bond party, so much so that he would later advocate to eliminate African enfranchisement altogether.[276] While intellectuals like Plaatje championed the British cause during the Anglo-Boer, Jabavu viewed the British as aggressors interfering with the authority of the Boer Republics.[277] Jabavu's continued support of liberals who would later advocate the end of the African franchise resulted in the formation of a rival paper, *Izwi Labantu*, in 1897. The paper's title, meaning "The Voice of the People," suggested a forceful and more militant tone to advocating African Nationalism than Jabavu's "Native Opinion."[278] His views demonstrate the very complex issues and diverse alliances that African intellectuals held at this time.

One of Jabavu's most outspoken opponents was Sol Plaatje, a man who was also a key figure in the relationship between De Beers and the outside Kimberley community. He, like many other Africans not employed by the company, lived in Kimberley at the time and made up a permanent community outside of the netted walls of the De Beers compound. Although not a mineworker himself, Plaatje committed himself to instilling a sense of African nationalism and British loyalty to underscore workers' civic entitlements. His alliance within of the "petit-bourgeois" class has continued to be a topic of debate for historians, but his commitment to keeping workers informed citizens

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[275] Ibid., 35. Higgs, *The Ghost of Equality*, 1.

[276] Despite Jabavu's initial support of the British's civilizing mission for Africans, he argued that the Anglo-Boer War was an act of provocation on the part of the British. Human Sciences Research Council, *African Intellectuals in 19th and Early 20th Century South Africa*, 37.

[277] Ibid.

[278] Ibid., 48-50.

of their empire is obvious in his work as a journalist.[279] As Africans struggled for enfranchisement, leaders like Plaatje provided a voice for Africans as well as a wealth of political news.

Plaatje grew up on missionary stations in Bethanie in the Orange Free State and Pniel near Kimberley. He would remain in Pniel, working as a teacher in the mission before taking a job as a postmaster in Kimberley in 1894.[280] Other leaders within the African community like Isaiah Bud-M'belle and Patrick Lenkoane were also included in Plaatje's circle of friends in Kimberley. Many had a formal education through missionaries, were active voters within the colonial government and placed great importance upon being leaders for the African community.[281] In Kimberley, Plaatje was an active member of the South African Improvement Society, an organization that encouraged improvement through education as a means towards equality with all South Africans.[282] He also organized town hall meetings for Africans and invited political candidates to speak to them. The meetings were catered to those who could not speak English, and an interpreter translated political speeches for non-English speakers. For

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[279][279] See Peter Limb, "Sol Plaatje Reconsidered: Rethinking Plaatje's Attitudes to Class, Nation, Gender and Empire," *African Studies* 62, 1 (2003) 33-52. Limb argues that historians have oversimplified Plaatje's role as being one as a "pro-Empire 'petit-bourgeois,'" but historians also need to consider Plaatje's relationship with African workers through his work as a journalist. 36-37.

[280] Brian Willan, ed. *Sol Plaatje: Selected Writings*. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1996), 6-7.

[281] Brian Willan, *Sol Plaatje: South African Nationalist, 1876 -1932,* 34, 35, 38.

[282] Ibid., 36

"The South Africans Improvement Society", *Diamond Fields Advertiser,* 23 August 1895, microfilm, MSU.

those voters who could speak English, Africans attended "nearly every one of the meetings…held by the white people in their halls."[283]

Leisure time activities also became an important part of the development of Kimberley's petit-bourgeois class. On March 19, 1897 both Plaatje and M'belle participated in the Philharmonic Society debut. The *Diamond Fields Advertiser* noted that the program continued "modern part songs, selected solos, the famous Bushman Song, Kaffir ditties, with clicks, the first Christian converts among the AmaXhosa Kaffirs, whose name was Ntsikana Gaba."[284] English sports, mainly cricket, were also a growing pastime of Kimberley's petit-bourgeois class. Missionaries had brought the game to South Africa as a way to emphasize Christian values and morals for Africans, but Kimberley's African community quickly made the sport their own. M'belle organized leagues and even persuaded De Beers President Sir David Harris to donate the silver Barnato Cup (named after De Beers co-founder Barney Barnato) to the interregional black cricket league "in the hope that it would foster and improve cricket standards."[285]

As a member of the petit-bourgeois class, Plaatje was neither an outspoken opponent of DeBeers nor a radical activist for the workers of the company. Plaatje recognized the power and strength of DeBeers as much as he did the Cape Colony and remained committed to strengthening an alliance between the company and the African

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[283] South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-05, "Minutes of Evidence, Vol. IV, Cape Town: Cape Times LTD Government Printers, 1904, p. 267.
[284] Brian Willan, *Sol Plaatje: South African Nationalist, 1876-1932*, 45.

community. Along with other leaders of the African community, he wrote to the company asking for "financial aid towards defraying the necessary expenses" of a YMCA within the Maylay Camp in Kimberley, adding:

> Your Company is known to be always willing to help institutions which are, as ours, non-political and non-denominational. We earnestly hope, nay believe, that our request will not be in vain as this is the first and only request from the native inhabitants of the Fields to you.[286]

When Plaatje left Kimberley in 1898 to take a job as a court interpreter in Mafeking, he began providing workers with a voice through their own newspaper. The spread of written language as a result of missionary work throughout the region provided an outlet for introduction of newspapers in workers' native language.[287] In South Africa, newspapers in workers' native languages offered an alternative to an otherwise Euro-centrist view of news. The development of numerous papers between the 1850s – 1910s allowed the Batswana to have more control in the type of news that was distributed to their people. News centered on the politics, social gatherings, and important events of the Batswana rather than on the news of Europeans. At the height of diamond mining in

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[285] Alan Cobley, *The Rules of the Game: Struggles in Black Recreation and Social Welfare Policy in South Africa*, 19. Brian Willan, *Sol Plaatje: South African Nationalist, 1876-1932*, 45.

[286] SPM, Plaatje correspondences, 1896-1906. Letter addressed to Directors of De Beers Consolidated Mines Co. LTD, 21 September 1896, Sol Plaatje Museum (SPM).

Additional signatures include "John Cowan (West African), TD Lewkwane (Basuto), J. Bud M'belle (Fingoe), JJ Mgwalo (Dipondo)"A reply from the Secretary of De Beers to Plaatje reveals that De Beers was not willing to help fund the cost of the YMCA.

Kimberley, Batswana mine workers relied on the weekly distribution of *Koranta ea Becoana (*Friend of the Batswana) to remain informed about news around Kimberley, as well as that of their homelands.[288]

The first issue of *Koranta ea Becoana* appeared April 1901 as a supplement to the English newspaper, *Mafeking Mail*. In 1901, Plaatje, along with the financial backing of *Kgosi* Silas Molema, expanded the size of *Koranta ea Becoana.* The paper was distributed to Tswana speakers in Johannesburg, Bloemfontein, Thaba Nchu, and the mining town of Kimberley.[289] It was distributed to Tswana communities throughout the Transvaal, including Kimberley. The paper brought information of regional, national and world news, but the editors remained committed to reporting on the news of the Batswana. Travels of the *diKgosi* (political leaders), deaths, and community events were important news for the Batswana. As a political activist for the African population, Plaatje also reported on the work of prominent activists all over the world.

For many Africans migrating to the mines for the first time, the paper provided a wealth of information that would not have been as readily available in their rural homelands. Batswana mineworkers in the compounds eagerly awaited the weekly distribution of the paper in their native language. Although migrant workers came all

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[287] The development of the first form of written SeTswana is accredited to the London Missionary Society (LMS) between 1820-1840 with the help of some bilingual speakers. Variations of the written language continued to develop from the Wesleyan Missionary Society (WMS) and Paris Evangelical Missionary Society (PMS). Part T. Mgadla and Stephen C. Volz (eds.) *Words of Batswana*: *Letters to Mahoko A Becwana: 1883-1896*. (Cape Town: Van Riebeeck Society for the Publication of South African Historical Documents, 2006), 3.

[288] Ibid., xxi.

[289] Brian Willan, *Sol Plaatje: South African Nationalist, 1876-1932*. (London: Heinemann, 1984), 99.

over southern Africa to work on the diamond mines, Kimberley's close proximity to the Bechuanaland Protectorate brought many SeTswana-speaking people to the diamond fields. Despite mandatory compound lodging and strict curfew rules, workers remained informed about life outside of the minefields. One observer of the compounds noted that "the Native newspapers are read by a considerable number and it is wonderful to discover how well informed the Native are regarding all that is going on outside the Compounds."[290] Those that could write were also actively engaged in sending letters to the editor and participating in political and social debates. At times, it was even difficult for editors Plaatje and Molema to manage all the letters that they received, yet De Beers employees like D.D. Mosoate made sure their frustrations were heard:

> I'm talking to you about people like me who pay money to *Koranta ea Becoana* and I incur expenses with postage stamps and paper, and I am attempting to write the editors about my complaints but they are not being printed…I receive this newspaper every week and I do not see the words I have written.[291]

Readers of *Koranta* remained informed and active participants of the Cape Colony, as much as they were permitted, and the newspaper was one of the few links to this participation. Just as they looked to the newspaper to bring news about their African communities, subscribers also read integrated stories about the colonial government, as well as the empire. Plaatje and Molema urged readers to be informed and active citizens (as much as possible) within the colonial society. During an interview with the Native Affairs Commission Plaatje elaborated on the reasons influencing his decision to start a paper:

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[290]"The Kimberley Compounds" *The Christian Express (South African Outlook)*, Mowbray, Cape Province: Outlook Publications, 1903, 76.

Native Affairs Commission (NA): What is your object in carrying on this paper?
Sol Plaatje (SP): Supplying information to my people.
NA: What kind of information?
SP: About what is going on all over the country.
NA: What is your object in doing that; do you want to enlighten them?
SP: Yes; that is my wish if I can.
NA: Enlighten them in the politics of the country?
SP: Not only in politics, but in the welfare of the people generally.[292]

Plaatje, like other social liberals at this time, advocated for equality based upon "civilizing" agents (mainly property ownership, a formal missionary education, and some level of cultural assimilation) in the hopes that the voting rights that were given to Africans living in the Cape Colony would be extended throughout the entire South Africa region after the Second Anglo-Boer War.[293] Plaatje attempted to use the strained relations between the British Cape Colony and Boer Republic to Africans' advantage, yet he refused to ignore obvious signs of the government's disrespect for the African community. When the *Moroa Kgosi* (leader's son) traveled to the Cape Colony, the editors of *Koranta* expressed their dissatisfaction in the Colonial government for not showing the honored guest the respect he deserved. Although Plaatje refers to the Cape Colony as "*Pusho ea rona*" (our government) a respectful reception for the *Moroa Kgosi*

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[291] D.D. Mosoate, "Go Morulaganyi" (To the editor) *Koranta ea Becoana,* 4 April 1903, microfilm MSU.

[292] South African Native Affairs Commission and Great Britain, *Report of the Commission with Annexures and Appendices ...*, Vol. IV, p. 264. A more detailed explanation of the Native Affairs Commission interviews is in chapter 4.

[293] Brian Willan, introduction to *Native Life in South Africa* by Sol Plaatje (Ravan Press, 1982), 2.

was something he felt "we deserved." [294] Reporting on the news of SeTswana politics (often in English and SeTswana) also demonstrated that Africans already were adjusted to establish political systems and could easily adjust to the role of citizen of the Cape Colony as well.

Although the Plaatje maintained a strong allegiance to the British Empire and Cape Colony, he also used his paper to critique the powerful diamond mines in Kimberley, including De Beers.[295] In one particular instance, the controversial response of *Koranta ea Becoana*, concerning the death of a mineworker in the Kimberley Mines, suggested that men seeking work in the mines should look elsewhere:

> These instances occur with terrible frequency, but the Rules of the companies are so fine that the criminals can after each such cause of homicide safely walk into Court and jargonize in the face of the Coroner: "is it I, was it I?" The Investigation is a mock and the trial is a farce.
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> …This butchery is becoming so common that the greatest and most humane deed in which one can exert his energies, is to advise the Natives to seek labour wherever they can, but steer clear of those licensed shambles – the Kimberley Diamond Mines.[296]

The words served as a warning, not just to African mineworkers, but also to the Anglo population as well, as Plaatje made a conscious decision to print the article in the English section of the paper. Aside from personal accounts, the newspaper was one of the only sources of information that Africans could rely on to report on the harsh realities of mine

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[294] "Likgaolonyana" (Little Areas). *Koranta ea Becoana*, September 7, 1901, MSU. When interviewed by the South African Native Affairs Commission in September 1904 Plaatje claimed that he wrote both the SeTswana and English articles for his paper solely. South African Native Affairs Commission, 1903-05, "Minutes of Evidence, Vol. IV, Cape Town: Cape Times LTD Government Printers, 1904, p. 267.

[295] For a detailed discussion of the role of Africans during the Anglo-Boer War, see Chapter 4.

[296] "The Kimberley Mines" *Koranta ea Becoana*, May 2, 1903, MSU.

work. The article was not well received by some members of the white community, and in *The Kimberley Free Press*, readers' opinions expressed that *Koranta*'s claim of the dangerous working conditions were "devoid of fact and true knowledge" and that accidents were often caused by workers "own stupidity and carelessness."[297] One disgruntled reader even went as far as to state:

> [Natives] should be taught that they *may not* and *shall not* be allowed to issue broadcast (and with impertinent impunity) a pack of lies concerning the British treatment [of them]…who are…treated a great deal better and much too leniently by their British masters than they deserve…The idiotic super-education of a S.A. [Native] has become…the curse of South Africa…[298]

The author's hateful words were a harsh reminder to the African population that, despite the efforts of leading citizens like Plaatje, Africans were not allies of the British Empire, but rather, servants with few rights.

Koranta ea Becoana was a newspaper that represented Plaatje's vision of an African identity that blended Western ideas of civility. In addition to learning about political events, Plaatje often drew upon themes of manhood, rooted in monogamous marriages, hard work, and supporting one's family. Writing about a speech that Booker T. Washington addressed to an audience in the United States, Plaatje described Washington's story of one former slave, who, with some hard work and motivation, was able to support himself and his family:

> He was determined that it was not enough to be free bodied, but that he had to take action. He will increase his freedom with something greater. When he started working he did not have a hat, jacket, shoes, or money to buy a cow, but his wife strapped him up and he became a cow himself so that he could pull the plow and his wife was helping him by steering the plow from behind. In that year

[297] "About Town" *Kimberley Free Press*, May 9, 1903.

[298] "A Native Paper Re the Mines" *Kimberley Free Press*, May 16, 1903, microfilm MSU. I chose to remove racist language from this letter.

> he bought two oxen and in the next year he bought a donkey. Then he bought two more donkeys. Now he has his own big farm and nice house and beautiful children that have been brought up well. Now he is truly free.[299]

In the article, Plaatje informed readers that, if they would only listen closely to the words of Washington, they would all benefit from his advice. Plaatje encouraged a sense of masculine duty to his family, encouraging readers that freedom could only come to those that worked for it.

Plaatje's publication also carried advice for women on how to behave in a proper manner. In Kimberley, some women supported themselves and their families by working as *shebeen queens* (bar owners) in Kimberley.[300] Plaatje's paper discouraged this type of behavior in women and warned of the consequences of engaging in such disreputable work. He argued that, "all women working in bars have bad behavior" and recounted one alleged story of a barmaid who left her husband for a patron shortly after their marriage.[301]

In addition to informing readers of proper gender roles, Plaatje used his paper to promote Western education and praise those Batswana who accelerated in the fields of math, reading, and writing.[302] It was common to find Plaatje discussing education in his paper in the form of a competition between Batswana *merafe* (chiefdoms). Plaatje reported on the distribution of his paper and praised the northern *merafe* for their high subscription

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[299] "Booker T. Washington," *Koranta ea Becoana,* April 15, 1903, microfilm MSU.

[300] David Coplan, "The Emergence of an African Working-Class Culture," in Marks and Rathbone, *Industrialization and Social Change: African Class Formation, Culture, and Consciousness, 1870-1930*, (New York: Longman, 1982), 363.

[301] "Barmaid," *Koranta ea Becoana,* October 15, 1903, microfilm MSU.

[302] "*Tsa Dithuto,*" *Koranta ea Becoana*, September 6, 1902, microfilm MSU.

(and thus, high readership) rates.[303] He also published exam scores for Batswana pupils and published the names of those students that received high marks in school.[304]

For both readers of *Koranta ea Becoana* as well as the many that most likely gathered around to listen to a reading of Plaatje's paper, political news was one of the most common topics discussed. Plaatje presented readers with political news and events on a local, national, and international level, and paid close attention especially to political news in Great Britain. Plaatje reported on the activities of important members of the Batswana community, as well as tensions between Batswana *diKgosi* (chiefs) and Colonial officials.[305] During the South African War he reported heavily on the fighting between British and Boer forces, referring to the fighting British and their allies as, "*thaka ea rona ea likoaloi*" (our peers).[306] Plaatje also carefully followed political events in the United States, perhaps finding a connection to parallel debates of rights and equality for African Americans and Africans. He reported on the death of President McKinley and President Roosevelt's reception of the Kaiser of Germany's son in 1902.[307]

Plaatje's paper was an invaluable resource for the Batswana community and provided readers with a sense of their position within a larger national and political context. But his paper also represented his own vision of what the future of African

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[303] *Koranta ea Becoana*, March 15, 1902, microfilm MSU.
[304] "*Dithuto,*" *Koranta ea Becoana*, January 31, 1903, microfilm MSU.
[305] "*Likgaolonyana*," *Koranta ea Becoana*, September 7, 1901.
[306] *Koranta ea Becoana*, March 22, 1902.
[307] "*Mafokonyana,*" *Koranta ea Becoana*, September 21, 1901. *Koranta ea Becoana*, March 15, 1902.

society should look like and encouraged the adoption of European social and cultural customs. Just as Plaatje maintained a careful identity as both a Motswana and a British subject, he encouraged his readers to do the same.

Socialism and the Left in South Africa

Sol Plaatje was an important leader in African involvement in and the dissemination of information of Cape Colony politics, but his strong liberal beliefs advocated realistic equality for few Africans in the Cape Colony. The paradox of Victorian social liberalism, however, was that the "civilizing mission was never complete."[308] Citizenship and enfranchisement would always remain out of reach for Africans. Social liberalism provided a gateway for addressing social and political inequality, but equality based upon economic qualifications (and the obvious gendered restrictions) could hardly be considered equality for all. But by the turn-of-the-twentieth century, activists of leftist politics were advocating equality rooted in harsh critiques of capitalism and South Africa's rapidly growing industrial sector. Socialism became an international movement throughout the late nineteenth century that maintained strong opposition to the international capitalist system.[309] Although advocates of socialism like Olive Schreiner and her husband, Samuel Cronwright-Schreiner promoted equality in South Africa, it was very different from the equality of social liberals like Plaatje.[310] This leftist tradition is enshrined in the writings of Olive Schreiner, who was never a self-proclaimed socialist,

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[308] Banerjee, *Becoming Imperial Citizens*, 7.

[309] Allison Drew, *Discordant Comrades: Identities and Loyalties on the South African Left* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 2.

[310] Throughout this section, I will refer to Samuel Cronwright-Schreiner as "Samuel" and Olive Schreiner as "Olive."

but who spent much of her time with British socialists like Eleanor Marx, Havelock Ellis, and Edward Carpenter before moving to South Africa.[311] Along with her husband, Samuel Cronwright-Schreiner, the couple maintained an intimate knowledge of Cape politics and the Colony's interest in the diamond industry, especially. Although organized Socialist gatherings occurred in Cape Town in the early 1900s, the Schreiners advocated their political message in Kimberley as well as on an international scale.[312]

Olive Schreiner, sister of Cape Colony Prime Minister William Schreiner, maintained a personal relationship with many South African political figures early in her life and provided a political insider's perspective on the Cape Colony government.[313] As late as the 1890s Olive maintained a positive outlook on benefits of colonialism and was inspired by social liberalism arguing that, "Socialism is only one-half of the truth, individualism is the other half."[314] It is clear from Olive's early letters, that she was a great proponent of imperial expansion throughout southern Africa. She initially, supported Cecil Rhodes' political career and expressed her admiration for him on several occasions in letters to friends in 1891:

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[311] Drew, *Discordant Comrades*, 9. Eleanor Marx was a leading advocate of the Socialist movement in England and the youngest daughter of Karl Marx. Havelock Ellis was a founding member of the Fabian Society, a British socialist organization. Edward Carpenter was a leading social reformer and outspoken advocate of socialism.

[312] I would like to emphasize, that while the Schreiners were certainly sympathetic towards the Socialist cause, I have found no evidence that they were self-proclaimed socialists.

[313] S.C. Cronwright-Schreiner, "South Africa," (address presented at the Holmfirth Division Liberal Association, Penistone, England, April 21, 1900). William Philip Schreiner served in parliament as a representative to Kimberley before serving as Attorney General under Cecil Rhodes. He would become Prime Minister of the Cape Colony in 1898.

> [Rhodes] is much greater than I…One naturally feels anxious about him. Any accident to him would, I believe, mean the putting back of our South African development for fifty years…
> Perhaps in no country has so much ever hung on the life of one man. It is a bond of sympathy between us that you share my view of his genius.[315]

Over the next five years, a series of events would forever change her opinion of Rhodes and her position as political activist in South Africa as she began her partnership with Samuel Cronwright.

Samuel Cronwright was born in the Cape Colony in 1863, and, as he would often point out, was of "unmixed British blood."[316] He would later attend college before deciding to take a job on an Afrikaner farm. It was his experiences here that would lead him to become more aware of his own upbringing and prejudices towards the Afrikaner people:

> Like almost all English people reared in towns in the Colony, especially in the large and purely English towns, I imbibed from my earliest childhood these strong and unreasoning anti-Dutch prejudices…[317]

Samuel would also question the motivations of the British Empire as political heads expanded territorial holdings. Speaking as one of the few opponents to Cecil Rhodes, he, along with several other farmers, started the Cradock Farmers' Association, a small

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[314] M.C. Steele, "Olive Schreiner and the Liberal Tradition," *Zambezia: The Journal of the University of Zimbabwe* 9, no. 1 (1981): 178.
[315] Olive Schreiner, *The Letters of Olive Schreiner, 1876-1920*, ed. S.C. Cronwright-Schreiner (Boston: Little Brown and Co., 1924), 206-207.
[316] S. C Cronwright Schreiner, *The Land of Free Speech. Record of a Campaign on Behalf of Peace in England and Scotland in 1900* (London: New Age Press, 1906), xiii. Cronwright-Schreiner would refer to his bloodline repeatedly as a way of demonstrating his neutrality towards his sympathy of Boers during the Second Anglo-Boer War.
[317] Ibid., xvi.

representative group of mostly English farmers that Samuel hoped would one day come to represent a larger progressive party for the Cape Colony.[318]

In 1894, Olive Schreiner met Samuel Cronwright during his active development of a progressive party in opposition to the Afrikaner Bond Party.[319] He was frustrated by the growing power of Rhodes as a leader in the party and believed that his popularity was derived from his economic prowess rather than his political views. Samuel understood that Rhodes was a capitalist before a politician, and addressed this sentiment throughout many of his speeches and writings:

> Mr. Rhodes, with his Chartered and De Beers influence, had a strong and servile personal following. Solidly backed by this following he was forcing through the House the most pernicious capitalistic legislation, mainly oppressive to the Natives – a policy which is always sure of a strong backing in the House if a man will so demean himself as to utilize it; for the Natives have very few real friends.[320]

Olive Schreiner and Samuel Cronwright were married February 24, 1894 after much hesitation on Olive's part. Only a few years earlier, Olive confessed that marriage seemed an unlikely possibility for herself stating, "When I find a man as much stronger than I am…then I will marry him…I do not think there is such a man."[321] Samuel Cronwright did possess the "strength" that Olive desired and the progressive views that Olive held dearly herself as a Victorian-era feminist. In a move that was probably both

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[318] Ibid., xxi.

[319] The Bond Party was the Afrikaner political party of the Cape Colony and the party Cecil Rhodes belonged to.

[320] Cronwright-Schreiner, Samuel Cron. 1906. *The land of free speech. Record of a campaign on behalf of peace in England and Scotland in 1900*. London: New Age Press, xxi.

[321] Olive Schreiner, *The Letters of Olive Schreiner 1876-1920* (Boston: Little-Brown, and Company, 1924), 90.

an illustration of his feminist views as well as a political strategy designed to make himself more prominent figure in South Africa, Samuel Cronwright adopted Olive's last name upon her request. From this point forward, Samuel Cronwright-Schreiner and Olive Schreiner became dedicated to both a progressive Anglo-Afrikaner alliance as well as the fair treatment of African people within the imperial government.

Although the Schreiners' political position concerning the Cape Colony, Afrikaner Republic, and African populations is a complex one, they were much more aggressive in their critique of the Cape Colony and the diamond industry compared to Plaatje, perhaps unaware of the strategic importance of an African-Anglo alliance in the post-war years in the hopes of securing African enfranchisement throughout South Africa.[322] As a couple that was intimately connected to the internal affairs of Rhodes' political machine, the Schreiners often pointed to the clear connections between South African politics and the country's growing mining industry. The Schreiners, and especially Samuel, became outspoken opponents of the growing power of De Beers and the exploitation of its workers.[323]

Although Samuel was a leading critique of Rhodes and De Beers in the Kimberley community during the early twentieth century, his work has largely been ignored and overshadowed by the political activism and literary achievements of his wife, Olive

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[322] David McNab, "Herman Merivale and the Native Question, 1837-1861," *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 9, no. 4 (December 1, 1977): 359.

[323] Willan, *Sol Plaatje, South African Nationalist, 1876-1932*, 47. Willan argues that in Kimberley the African community relied on the support of 'friends of natives' to entrust their best interests. Samuel Cronwright-Schreiner was a "household" name "in native circles throughout the length and breadth of the land." Speaking of Samuel, Jonathan Jabvu stated, "Few as they are, we believe that men of Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner's stamp will some day succeed in emancipating us from slavery…"

Schreiner.[324] In particular, Samuel's criticism was aimed at Cecil Rhodes who continued to be a trusted politician for many Anglos and Afrikaaners.[325] Samuel made a life for himself as a writer and politician and used both of these careers to unite Anglo and Afrikaner and promote the social and political rights of Africans. Like Plaatje, he shared little in common with the men who worked at the De Beers mines, yet both activists understood the close relationship between Rhodes, De Beers, and the Cape Colony. As an activist in Kimberley, Samuel became a familiar name to people that read local papers and attended community meetings in the town, but his controversial stance towards the British Empire and Cecil Rhodes made newspaper headlines around the world.[326]

As a Victorian-era feminist whose opinion of Rhodes, De Beers, and the benefits of colonialism were continually evolving, Olive's influence in these speeches was also clear. She emphasized the importance of worker agency, arguing that groups like women

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[324] Despite the dozens of books that have chronicled the life and works of Olive Schreiner, historians have not written about the important activism of Cronwright-Schreiner.

[325] Theodore Wirgman, "Mr. Rhodes and South Africa" *The Times*, February 9, 1897, 14. In a letter to the editor Wirgman discusses the large crowds of Afrikaner supporters that had come to support Rhodes' success in adding Rhodesia to the British Empire.

[326] "Dinner to Mr. Cronwright-Schreiner," *The New York Times*. April 5, 1900, http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=F50816F8385D12738DDDAC0894DC405B808CF1D3. Accessed March 2012. "Boer Sympathizers Mobbed," *The New York Times.* March 13, 1900. http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=FA0612FB3E5B11738DDDAA0994DB405B808CF1D3. Accessed March 2012. These headlines appeared after Cronwright-Schreiner toured England to speak against Rhodes. As the headlines reveal, his speeches were not well-received by some audience members. It is interesting to note that the above stories were not mentioned in the *London Times*, despite the numerous opinion pieces about Cronwright-Schreiner that appear throughout this year.

and laborers made up some of the "most vital and world-wide movements of the present day".[327] Although Olive had previously been a great admirer of Rhodes and the benefits of colonialism, she maintained an avid stance of supporting laborers and particularly, the role of women in the labor movement. In her 1911 book, *Woman and Labour* she recalls one conversation with an African woman that illuminates her initial support of colonialism as a larger fight for women's rights:

> In language more eloquent and intense than I have ever heard from the lips of any other woman, she painted the condition of the women of her race; the labour of women, the anguish of woman as she grew older, and the limitations of her life closed in about her, her sufferings under the condition of polygamy and subjection; all this she painted with a passion and intensity I have not known equaled…[328]

Olive's initial support of Rhodes and his mission civilizing mission was soon shattered with the news of Rhodes' corrupt manipulation of events surrounding the Anglo-Boer War, and in January 1896 she admits to a friend that, "Perhaps no man has ever thrown away such chances of writing his name in "good" across the face of the great country as Rhodes has thrown away here in the last four years."[329]

In 1894, the Schreiners moved to Kimberley where they continued to press a progressive political agenda for South Africa. Samuel took his message abroad, hoping

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[327] Ibid., 97. Although numerous scholars have emphasized the important role of Olive Schreiner's contributions to Victorian feminist literature, her most prominent works were all written prior to her marriage to Samuel Cronwright. Olive spent much of the rest of her life writing about the political corruption of the Rhodes administration and the social destruction resulting from capitalist interest within South Africa.

[328] Olive Schreiner, *Woman and Labor* (S.l.: F.A. Stokes, 1911), 5-6.

[329] Olive Schreiner to William Thomas Stead, 4 January 1896, National Archives Depot, Pretoria, Olive Schreiner Letters Project transcription. http://www.oliveschreiner.org/vre?view=collections&colid=152&letterid=11.

to gain the support of the British. In Kimberley, Samuel also witnessed the conditions of workers in the DeBeers mines for the first time. His observations would refine his activism and bring mineworkers into the foreground of his speeches. Samuel spoke harshly of De Beers' treatment of its workers in the mines many times during his tours of England. In April he traveled to the small town of Penistone in South Yorkshire and addressed members of the Holmfirth Division Liberal Association. Here Samuel denounced the combined power of Rhodes as a politician and industrialist and of De Beers. He argued that this concentration of power had detrimental effects for Africans as well as the entire country. Referring to the Second Anglo-Boer War as a "Capitalist's War", Cronwright-Schreiner argued that a Cape Colony victory would only further the interests of mining capitalists:

> The result of the (Second Anglo-Boer) war would be that South Africa would be handed over, tied hand and foot, to a small gang of mining capitalists…(mining groups) would be able to run the country pretty much as they liked…One end they have in view is a reduction of wages and another is the introduction of the "Compound" system, which is one of the worst systems which ever degraded a modern State.[330]

Samuel spoke against the 1899 South African War, arguing that "Dutchmen" viewed it as a war with mining interest and not the British, and that Rhodes owned the press in South Africa and had misinformed its citizens about the war.[331] Although Samuel's speech was aimed at promoting peace during the war, he maintained a harsh critique of De Beers and the growing mining industry, arguing that the industry did little to protect the rights of workers residing in the compounds:

> These thousands of Natives are shut in by high barbed-wire fences. They return to the compounds to sleep. These thousands of natives are shut up in these

[330] S. C Cronwright-Schreiner, *South Africa* (Holmfirth, England: Eli Collins & Co, 1900), 12.
[331] Cronwright-Schreiner, *South Africa*.

> prisons (one of which, at any rate, is wholly or partially netted over with wire netting like a bird cage) for months at a time.[332]

Samuel also pointed to a growing African unity brought about by the increasing injustices of mining groups:

> The Natives…seeing clearly that this war has been brought about by men whose primary object is to reduce their wages and practically enslave them, are upon the same side. The Bond and the Natives have thus adopted what I hold to be the only truly progressive policy, for the great question in South Africa now is whether we are to become a self-governing people or whether we are to be handed over tied hand and foot to a gang of unscrupulous speculators.[333]

On August 20, 1896, Samuel presented a speech that he and Olive wrote concerning the current political situation of the country. Speaking at the Kimberley Literary Society, Samuel argued that Rhodes, like other capitalists' only interest was to expand their territorial holdings. In the Boer Republic's mineral-rich territories, Samuel argued that Rhodes' alliance with the Afrikaner Bond party was strictly connected to his mineral investments:

> … we are enabling (monopolists) to grasp adjacent territories still uninhabited by the white man, so that when the mass of civilized men shall enter into occupation there, they will find nothing of value left for themselves in that state which, by their labour, they will have to build up; the alien will already have set his grasp upon all that is fair or rich…he comes from a foreign clime, and sweeps bare the virgin land before him like the locust; and, like the locust, leaves nothing for his successors but the barren earth.[334]

It was within the Samuel's criticism of De Beers and capitalism in general that their activism differed from that of men like Plaatje. At the turn-of-the-twentieth century social liberals relied on a definition of equality for all that depended on one's economic,

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[332] Ibid.

[333] Cronwright Schreiner, *The Land of Free Speech. Record of a Campaign on Behalf of Peace in England and Scotland in 1900*, xxix.

[334] Olive Schreiner and Samuel Cron Cronwright-Schreiner. 1896. *The political situation*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 16.

political, and social integration into a capitalist system. For activists like Samuel and Olive, who at least maintained socialist tendencies, a critique of the capitalist system itself conflicted with liberals like Plaatje who tended to view Africans' integration and assimilation into the colonial economic and social system as an important part of their advancement and equality. The Schreiner's harshest attacks of Rhodes and the De Beers mining company escalated in 1902 after the South Africa Conciliation Committee published a brochure written by the Schreiners entitled, "Some Vital Facts about Kimberley and Johannesburg."[335] Although only four pages, the pamphlet provided some of the harshest criticism of Rhodes and De Beers known to exist at this time. The Schreiners described the transition of Kimberley as an independent community to a dependent mining town, held at the mercy of De Beers and void of autonomy:

> [Prior to amalgamation] independent newspapers existed, public meetings of a free people were held, and everything was criticized fearlessly. Natives and whites were free, and the whole of the throbbing townships were happy and prosperous…What life exists there now is centered around its two great holes…Public life is dead, the natives who work in the mines are shut up in prisons, euphemistically called 'compounds,' and the whites are held in the hollow of the hand of 'the Company.' [336]

The Schreiners' critiques of De Beers at this time remained focused on a cleverly crafted discussion of the growing political influence and power of diamond magnates like Rhodes, the stagnation of the economic system due to the power of De Beers, and the decreasing rights of Africans. Throughout the remainder of the pamphlet, his criticism

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[335] Frederic Mackarness, *South African Conciliation Committee: Its Objects* (London: South African Conciliation Committee, 1902). The South Africa Conciliation Committee, of which Cronwright-Schreiner was a member, was an organization that advocated an alliance between Afrikaner and Anglo groups, and opposed the Second Anglo-Boer War.

[336] S.C. Cronwright-Schreiner, *Some Vital Facts about Kimberley and Johannesburg for Working-Men and Friends of the Native* (London: South African Conciliation Committee, 1902), 2.

remained focused on the devastating effects the De Beers Company had, not only on the African worker, but his entire family:

> During these months of incarceration the natives are separated from their women folk and families. The consequence is one of the most striking and shocking features of the compound system. A number of the lowest, drink-besotted, coloured prostitutes…When the natives come out for a short spell these unhappy women receive them. It is no doubt convenient, from the standpoint of the Company…it probably prevents the natives from going away, for most of them have come long distances…If it were rigorously put down, I have no doubt it would react "injuriously" on the supply of native labour.[337]

The Schreiners', like Plaatje, seemed to be interested in bringing their message to the African population and used *Koranta ea Becoana* as their forum to do so. In addition to letters to *The Times* of London the Schreiners also sent letter (printed in both SeTswana and English) to *Koranta ea Becoana*. As an advocate of both Anglo/Afrikaner alliance, as well as a proponent of Africans' rights, the Schreiners faced difficulty promoting a political stance that often conflicted with Plaatje's pro-British messages during the War. In one such letter to SeTswana newspaper, *Koranta ea Becoana*, Samuel addressed editor Sol Plaatje:

> I have seen your newspaper and am happy of the progress of the Batswana…I trust you know me very well to understand my attitude on black people has not changed. The tension is to resolve any challenges. I think you will keep a level head and be partial.
> …Just get a clear grasp of your policy and support it through thick and thin, strenuously, but not racially. I detest claims or disabilities founded on a person's

[337] Ibid., 3.

> race or colour. I feel sure you will keep a level head and wield a temperate pen.[338]

Just as Plaatje remained committed to keeping Africans informed of their role as citizens of the British Empire, Samuel Cronwright-Schreiner remained committed to addressing the rights of workers at De Beers as well as the company's close political association with both the Cape Colony and Boer Republic. Together, Plaatje and Schreiner would help to bring the workers of DeBeers into center of debate about Africans' future roles as citizens within their own country. Despite both Plaatje's and the Schreiners' support for African rights, Plaatje was unable to come to terms with the Schreiners' direct critiques of the Cape Colony and De Beers. As an African that fought to protect Africans' diminishing civil rights, it is difficult to assume that Plaatje either completely supported or disagreed with the Schreiners' criticism of De Beers. Plaatje was, after all, a man that met the financial qualifications for voting, yet the walls of the De Beers' compounds were always in sight. Undoubtedly, if Plaatje was optimistic about Africans' future, the Schreiners' speech would provide him with good reason to reconsider his understanding of the Cape Colony, the Boer Republic, and the future for Africans. Although few correspondences remain between Plaatje and the Schreiners,

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[338] S.C. Cronwright Schreiner, "Tsa Bakoaleli" and "Englishmen and the Koranta" *Koranta ea Becoana*. September 13, 1902. The first letter is a translation from the SeTswana version of Schreiner's letter. The second letter appears in the same paper but is printed in English. Samuel's letter is somewhat vague, but the date of its publication provides some important clues into the "challenges" Schreiner was referring to. Published on September 13, 1902, this letter comes directly after the end of the South African War. The editors of *Koranta ea Becoana*, along with leading figures within the Batswana community, supported a pro-British stance during the war, thus creating an underlying tension between Schreiner and his African constituents. Despite these tensions, editors of *Koranta ea Becoana* appeared to have maintained positive relations with the Schreiners, and freely published Samuel's letters throughout the paper's publication.

their relationship remained most likely friendly, despite the division in political ideology. Years later, Plaatje would name his daughter Olive after the activist.[339]

In the years following these initial franchise debates, Africans would witness their citizenship rights erode even further as the Cape Colony continued to slowly disenfranchise all Africans. The Union of South Africa in 1910 helped to alleviate tension between the Anglo and Afrikaner populations but marginalized the African populations even further. This was exemplified in the 1913 Natives Land Act in which the "Native" population was restricted to 7.3% of the total land in the country and forbidden from purchasing land outside of the reserves. The Act secured Africans' role as disenfranchised citizens within the newly formed country. Although national unity existed on a much smaller scale – as Xhosa, Zulu, Batswana, and Matabele – Africans' integration into the political and economic colonial system sparked debates about their status as citizens within the Cape Colony and British Empire. South Africa's intellectual leaders remained divided in their opinions concerning the pressing topic of citizenship and enfranchisement for Africans, but their words would help to guide Africans' understanding of their own identity in this changing society. It was not just working conditions and pay alone that would spur worker agency and protests in the compounds in South Africa. Intellectual leaders in South Africa discussed the increasingly important role Africans played as members of the Cape Colony and Empire. Debates surrounding the political rights of *diKgosi*, Afrikaner Republics, and the British Empire brought new questions concerning the citizenship and civil rights for Africans. Other intellectual leaders, like the Schreiners, articulated a harsh critique of capitalism and the treatment of

[339] Cherry Clayton, "Militant Pacifist: Olive Schreiner Rediscovered," in *The Flawed*

African workers. These issues would be important to understanding the growing discontent of workers within the mines at the turn-of-the-twentieth century.

A New Nationalism in Mexico

Leadership from activists like Plaatje and the Schreiners, along with the power of the African press, shaped an understanding of political consciousness for Africans that was rooted in the social liberalism and socialism movements of Europe. These European movements influenced a similar combination of activist leadership who created a powerful intellectual history in Mexico in which the role of the peasant and working class populations were placed within a national context. It was during the political turmoil of Mexico's struggle for independence as well as its civil war and French occupation that Mexicans formed many of the ideas of nationalism, and thus, citizenship rights. While political and intellectual leaders articulated these ideas, they were a part of most Mexicans' identity. These experiences created common cultural, social, and political bonds for citizens and would be the heart of workers' labor activity and agency.[340]

Many of the participants who stood their ground on the hill occupying the mill were a part of Mexico's national history and already understood the importance of asserting their rights as both workers and citizens. Both their generation, as well as the generation preceding them, had lived in Mexico during a period that saw dramatic change in the way residents viewed themselves in relation to their fellow citizens, their

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Diamond: Essays on Olive Schreiner, 40-54 (Sydney: Dangaroo Press, 2001), 47.

[340] Leon Fink suggests that these common bonds were an important part of worker mobilization for Guatemalan workers who mobilized in South Carolina in the 1990s. Fink argues, "The combination of group ties and the necessity of relying on those ties in an alien environment creates an opening for worker mobilization.
Leon Fink, *Workingmen's democracy : the Knights of Labor and American politics* (Illinois University Press, 1983), 4.

workplace, and their country. The War of Reform, followed by the invasion of Napoleon III and the French instillation of Maximillian divided the country between liberal and conservatives, but was also responsible for the dispossession of land for indigenous communities. The War also marked the rise of liberalism, and especially popular liberalism, created a new national unity for the displaced peasant class and growing working class of Mexico. Like social liberalism in South Africa, liberalism in Mexico brought the ideas of human rights and the integration of populations into democratic processes. In Mexico, liberalism was based upon a secular and individualistic doctrine in which characteristics like popular elections, freedom of the press, religious freedom, and free trade throughout the country were all promoted as values that would improve the political and economic position of individuals and the country.[341]

In Clifton-Morenci, activists adopted these political ideologies and applied the same critiques to industry and capitalism as socialists – just as activists like Olive and Samuel Schreiner had in South Africa. This growing political consciousness, integrated with a leftist critique of capitalism, embedded the notion of citizenship rights and worker rights in many Mexicans. Before the battle that would bring U.S. Federal Troops to Clifton-Morenci in 1903, these rights would be tested on the minefields of Mexico where workers gained important successions and recognition of union organizations and articulated by activists in both Mexico and Arizona.

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[341] Popular liberalism refers to the political ideology adopted by Mexico's "popular sector" of peasants and a growing number of proletariat textile workers, blacksmiths, shop clerks, etc. that gained popularity during the mid-19th century. Guy P. C. Thomson, "Popular Aspects of Liberalism in Mexico, 1848-1888," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 10, no. 3 (January 1, 1991): 265, 267, 273. In Arizona, as I discuss later in this

By the middle of the 19th century, Mexico had become divided between the conservative faction, which remained supportive of the clergy and the new Mexican monarchy, and a new liberalism that originated as a patriotic opposition to the empire.[342] Backed by Mexico's official army, conservatives were able to win initial victories, but the war also became a point of national unity for an otherwise diverse and divided Mexican population. Military leaders drew upon a new national identity, telling followers that they were all Mexicans, fighting for *libertad* and would receive the benefits of citizenship.[343] For groups who identified more with their indigenous ties, like the Zapotecans of Oaxaca, fighting in the War of Reform provided them with new rights as Mexican citizens. The period marked one of the first times in which many Mexicans united under a new national identity and recognized the value of citizenship:

> Almost all Mexicans had to make the choice (to support the Empire or the Republic)…the French Intervention brought home to Mexicans that they were Mexicans, that they belonged to a nation larger than the *patria chica* that had claimed their individual loyalty up to that time…[344]

After the liberals victorious defeat of conservative forces, many people would continue to define their political culture according to the history of the war.

The war left a ravishing economic toll on the country for both Liberals and Conservatives. Both sides borrowed money at "ruinous interest rates."[345] Creditors in

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chapter, socialist activists in Clifton-Morenci provided a strict critique of capitalism that clashed with liberal viewpoints which viewed industry and capitalism favorably.

[342] Guy P. C Thomson, "Popular aspects of liberalism in Mexico, 1848-1888," *Bulletin of Latin American research* 10, no. 3 (1991): 265.

[343] Patrick McNamara, *Sons of the Sierra: Juárez, Díaz, and the People of Ixtlán, Oaxaca, 1855-1920* (Chapel Hill N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 48.

[344] Thomson, "Popular Aspects of Liberalism in Mexico, 1848-1888," 270.

[345] Colin M MacLachlan, *Mexico's Crucial Century, 1810-1910: An Introduction* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2010), 89.

England, France and Spain demanded repayment from the now bankrupt country. In 1862 30,000 French troops landed in Veracruz harbor in an attempt to seize control of the weakened Mexico hoping that restoring the Church and traditional values would be met with widespread support. In 1862, as troops moved in, Liberal forces were able to break French advancement in what became known as the *Cinco de Mayo* victory.[346] The liberal victory would be momentarily short-lived, and in 1864, in an attempt to sweep up control of the country and restore the monarchies of Mexico, Napoleon III instilled Emperor Maximilian as the new ruler of Mexico.[347] Napoleon's premature withdraw of French troops, however, backed by US pressure for France's exit of the country, left the new Emperor with little support.[348] On June 19, 1867, a French firing squad executed the Emperor for ordering the execution of Liberal opponents without trial.

Liberals' victory over conservative and French opponents marked a turning point in the Mexico's political culture. With more active participation from residents of the country, many people began to view themselves as Mexicans for the first time. The war, especially for the people who were directly involved in it, changed how they viewed their relationship with the country, and they would not forget their sacrifices. McNamarra highlights this type of popular thought in *Sons of Sierra*:

> Along with every name of every solider who ever fought in the Ixtlán National Guard was a story about war and its consequences on everyday life in rural Mexico…these veterans and their families would not allow political leaders to

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[346] Ibid., 93-94.

[347] A second Mexican monarchy was established in 1864 after President Benito Juárez failed to pay debts to creditor nations of Great Britain, Spain, and France. Napoleon III led the invasion into the country.

[348] MacLachlan, *Mexico's Crucial Century, 1810-1910*, 99. Although the neighboring US was busy fighting its own Civil War to involve itself with the struggle in Mexico, shortly after the end of the Civil War in 1865, Secretary of State William Seward demanded the withdraw of French troops, whom he claimed violated the Monroe Doctrine.

> forget the sacrifices they had made for the sake of saving the nation from foreign invaders and rival politicians.[349]

At the heart of the new political culture there were debates about the rights of individuals within peasant communities. The war provided otherwise socially marginalized groups of people with a new national identity, and thus, brought into question the meaning and rights of citizenship for many people for the first time. These same ideas would bring otherwise culturally and ethnically separated peoples together in Clifton-Morenci a half-century later as the Italian and Mexican communities joined together in community organizations to combat the induction of the 8-Hour law.

The events of the next several decades would continue to draw Mexico's marginalized residents into the political arena. The Zapotecan national Benito Juárez returned to the presidency in 1867 following the end of French rule. Juárez's return to power marked the start to an era dominated by men with Zapotecan ties that would last through the Mexican Revolution. With the Presidency of first Juárez and then Porfirio Díaz, the Mexican peasantry and later, working class, found renewed strength and interest in intellectual debates concerning citizenship rights and national identity:

> ….Zapotec soldiers and their families found new opportunities to assert their own interests in political disputes as loyal citizens of the nation. These people would eventually argue that citizenship rights were not granted and guaranteed by the state or a political ally in high office. Rather, the rights of citizenship were defined and defended by communal participation in struggles over national defense.[350]

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[349] Patrick J McNamara, *Sons of the Sierra: Juárez, Díaz, and the People of Ixtlán, Oaxaca, 1855-1920* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 95.
[350] McNamara, *Sons of the Sierra: Juárez, Díaz, and the People of Ixtlán, Oaxaca, 1855-1920*, 3.

It was not just the start of Zapotecan reign that drew many Mexicans into a strong interest in national identity and citizenship rights.[351] Following Juárez's reign, however, the Porfiriato brought decades of social, economic, and political turmoil that would continue to engrain the importance of activism within the country. The new era of the Porfiriato would be a benchmark period for Mexican citizens. Many would remember their sacrifices and the allegiance they had pledged to their country during the civil war. In 1884, Díaz set aside government funding for three hundred educational grants in Oaxaca for "children of those who were killed in the wars of the Reform and Intervention."[352] As President Díaz turned his interests away from the people of Mexico and towards foreign investment and infrastructural development, many Mexicans continued to turn to their understanding of citizenship rights to protest the government.

In February 1883, an agrarian uprising known as *la Comuna* occurred in Ciudad del Maíz and San Luís Postsí where villagers responded to the loss of their land by destroying archives, looting haciendas, and taking over crops.[353] Loss of land became a frequent occurrence as Díaz welcomed new businesses into the country. Although the sale of land was not new, many capitalists and business leaders tended to ignore old traditions of exchange rooted in the moral economy – such as funding religious services

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[351] The Zapotecan populations of Oaxaca were descendents from the pre-Columbian indigenous civilization of the same region. The ascendency of two indigenous Zapotecans to the Presidency was significant to peasants in all regions of Mexico, in addition to those in Oaxaca. Currently there is no literature on the importance of Popular Liberalism specifically on the people of Sonora.

[352] McNamara, *Sons of the Sierra*, 114.

[353] Juan Gomez-Quinones, "Social Change and Intellectual Discontent: the Growth of Mexican Nationalism, 1890-1911" (PhD Diss: University of California, Los Angeles, 1972), 197.

or celebrations as a type of rent payment for use of the land. As a growing number of outside businesses began to profit from these lands, leaving many villagers in poverty and without land to farm, revolutionary leaders found new critiques in Díaz's push to bring economic investors into the country.[354]

In 1885 the Spreckels family of C&H Sugar completed a rail line connecting the US and Mexico. The construction was typical of the Porfiriato and Díaz's new interest in American business and development in the country.[355] An economic crisis, coupled with a poor harvest season in 1891, closed many mines in Mexico and led to increased food prices due to the shortage. By the spring of 1892 it was clear that many Mexicans had moved away from supporting their Zapotecan President and held organized demonstrations protesting his reelection. Students, workers, and even some *mutualista*s (the same organizations that would help to mobilize workers in Clifton-Morenci a decade later) organized the demonstrations, shouting insults at the government press and clergy.[356]

The Growth of the Mexican Working Class

Before many mineworkers made their way north to work in the mines of Arizona Territory, they had first worked in the mines of Mexico where an increasing number of men were seeking employment in the country's growing industries. In Clifton-Morenci,

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[354] Christopher R Boyer, *Becoming Campesinos: Politics, Identity, and Agrarian Struggle in Postrevolutionary Michoacán, 1920-1935* (Stanford, Calif: Stanford University Press, 2003), 71-72.

[355] Lowell L Blaisdell, *The Desert Revolution: Baja California, 1911* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1962), 26.

[356] Gomez-Quinones, "Social Change and Intellectual Discontent: the Growth of Mexican Nationalism, 1890-1911," 206.

employers valued the experience that many Mexican workers brought to the mines from northern Mexico. The Porfiriato resulted in approximately 134,500,000 acres of land being lost to personal friends of the President and to foreign investors, and, as in South Africa, the outcome was both a choice to work in the developing industries in northern Mexico as well as a forced push to these industries due to the great loss of land.[357] These new industries became testing grounds for workers to assert a sense of agency and their rights. Although Díaz represented a symbol of hope and democracy to many of the country's peasants and workers, years of unfulfilled promises fueled resentment and retaliation in many voters' minds. As Mexican workers migrated to industrial areas for work, they became increasingly exposed to and involved in the national and international news of their country, leading to their increased participation in the political process. Much of the voting population began to question the policies of the Díaz regime, and the growing working class became a key group in these debates.

Most of Clifton-Morenci's Mexican population was part of a two-step migration process that would eventually lead them to the southeastern portion of Arizona Territory. Many were first rural peasants that traveled to northern Mexico to work in Mexico's growing industrial sectors. In addition to helping to build Mexico's expanding rail transportation, many also worked in American-owned copper mines in the region.[358] The transition to work in the United States was a logical step for many. Mining industries in the United States paid more money and traveling to the U.S. became much easier with the expansion of rail transportation linking the U.S. with Mexico. As in

[357] Gordon, *The great Arizona orphan abduction*, 48.
[358] Ibid., 49.

Kimberley, companies in the U.S. hired recruiters to bring men north to the mines. These *engachistas* or *enganchadores* brought men to the U.S. in rail trains, transferring the cost of transportation fares to employers who would then take the payment out of workers' paychecks. Since American companies owned most of the mines in Mexico, it was easy to transfer employment to mining industries located in the U.S.[359]

Prior to the Porfiriato, some labor organizing occurred within Mexico but was usually trampled by strong government resistance under the reign of Benito Juárez's successor, Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada. On August 1, 1872, miners at the Real del Monte mine in Hidalgo struck after their employer reduced their wages. Workers demanded their original daily wages, as well as a reduction in hours. Tejada's government quickly rounded up the strikers and deported many to Campeche and Yucatán. During the same year another walkout at La Fama Montañasa factory on September 9 resulted in federal intervention once again as Tejada sent army troops to quell the strike.[360]

In response to Tejada's stance on labor, Díaz was initially an attractive alternative for many voters of the growing working class. He appealed to the workers of Mexico because of both his pro-working class policies, as well as the history that he embodied for many workers:

> For many urban workers, the mestizo general, surviving hero of many key battles against the French, seemed to embody many of their aspirations of popular liberalism that were rooted in the Constitution of 1857, not least of which were his initial promises of no reelection and rule by law.[361]

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[359] Ibid., 49-51.

[360] John M Hart, *Anarchism and the Mexican Working Class, 1860-1931* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1978), 49-50.

[361] John Lear, *Workers, Neighbors, and Citizens: The Revolution in Mexico City* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2001), 114.

Although many workers in Mexico initially supported Díaz, his policies neither reflected strong support of the working class nor strong opposition. During the late 1870s and 80s, Díaz sought support of the working class through moderate labor movements by providing subsidies and meeting places for labor organizations that were not radical, such as the *Gran Circulo de Obreros de México* and the *Congreso Obrero*.[362] Díaz's gestures of support were enough to help achieve an overthrow of the Lerdo de Tejada administration and provided a strong foundation for the new working class interest in national politics.[363]

Although the mining industry of Porfirian Mexico saw limited worker resistance to labor practices and conditions, the growth of the Mexican workforce and expansion of mining industry by the late 19th century changed this.[364] The workforce expanded from 692,697 in 1895 to 803,262 in 1901.[365] Men from across the country were driven to the mines for various reasons. A poor growing season, or the loss of land altogether, forced some *campensinos* to the mines for more money. Workers were driven north, and into the Southwest United States as well, where wages were often double what they would make in Mexico.[366] The expansion triggered the growth of workplace activism as

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[362] Ibid., 113-114.
[363] Ibid., 114.
[364] McNamara, *Sons of the Sierra: Juárez, Díaz, and the People of Ixtlán, Oaxaca, 1855-1920*, 107.
[365] Gomez-Quinones, "Social Change and Intellectual Discontent: the Growth of Mexican Nationalism, 1890-1911," 51.
[366] William E French. *A Peaceful and Working People Manners, Morals, and Class Formation in Northern Mexico*, 1st ed. (Albuquerque, N.M: University of New Mexico Press, 1996), 41-43.

laborers began demanding better treatment in the workplace. Zapotec men and women, for instance, who had a history of supporting the Porfirato and Zapotec leaders before and after the War of Reform took mineral findings as part of "their inherited ancestral rights" defending their actions from the sacrifices they had made to their country decades earlier.[367] Workers began to voice new demands, and unions began to rise in popularity. *Liga Obrera, Union de Obreros, Union de Mineros,* and *La Confederación del Trabajo* all formed during the late 19th century and included many groups of workers that were disenchanted with Díaz's reign and wanted to keep the leader from intervening in their growing labor movement.[368] *Mutualistas* were also an important tool for educating and organizing workers, despite the fact that their primary function was to provide financial assistance for families of injured or deceased workers.[369] Some *mutualistas* offered classes either independently or in conjunction with the government for workers. These new organizations only helped to further seal Mexicans' identity as citizens of their country and defenders of these rights.[370]

Unquestionably, the Mexican working class grew at the same time that resistance towards Díaz also grew in the country. But many historians have questioned the actual

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[367] McNamara, *Sons of the Sierra: Juárez, Díaz, and the People of Ixtlán, Oaxaca, 1855-1920*, 107.

[368] Gomez-Quinones, "Social Change and Intellecual Discontent: The Growth of Mexican Nationalism, 1890-1911," 51; Hart, *Anarchism and the Mexican Working Class, 1860-1931*, 57.

[369] Lear, *Workers, Neighbors, and Citizens*, 107.

[370] Ibid. One area where Mexicans were not able to dominate in unions was the American-owned Cananea Consolidated Copper Company. Anglo workers organized under the WFM, excluding Mexican workers from their union. Shortly after, Mexican workers replaced union sympathizers.

contributions of the Mexican working class to the origins of this resistance. In "The Working Class and the Mexican Revolution," Alan Knight argues that the origins of the Mexican Revolution resistance were strictly a "rural phenomenon."[371] Although workers may have responded to events, Knight maintains, they did not initiate them, reserving this credit for Mexico's rural peasant class. Knight argues that a lack of common basis (workers did not have "any history as a group"), as well as the urban environment (where workers were more likely to have higher literacy rates) made their beliefs more like those of Mexico's growing urban middle class.[372] Yet, his analysis of the working class provides an oversimplification of this growing population, and does not illuminate the complexity of who made up this group of citizens. Other scholars have shown that the working class maintained ties to both the rural and urban areas of Mexico. William French draws a distinction between the *gente decente*, members of a growing and vocal middle class, and the *población flotante* (floating population) made up of the unemployed, marginalized artisans, *campesinos*, and temporary wage laborers that were drawn into urban environments for work.[373] Of all the divisions that existed in turn-of-the-twentieth century Mexico, the divide between the *gente decente* and the *población flotante* was one of the most significant and suggests that many of the men who came to industrialized areas to seek work may have had more in common with the rural

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[371] Alan S Knight, "The Working Class and the Mexican Revolution, circa 1900-1920," *The Journal of Latin American Studies*, 16, no. 1 (May 1984): 51.
[372] Ibid., 51, 55.
[373] William French, *A Peaceful and Working People Manners, Morals, and Class Formation in Northern Mexico*, 3-4.

environment and its people than the moral middle class.[374] In addition to the social and cultural ties that the *población flotante* maintained with the rural population, many of these men were migrant laborers who maintained physical ties to rural homelands as well. Mineworkers, especially, made up an important part of this group and maintained rural connections to their homeland as well as to the growing industrial north where they sought work.[375]

The men and women of the *población flotante* brought together the radicalism of the peasant class with the intellectual rhetoric of the urban population. The Mexican working class shared an inherent sense of nationalism and citizenship rights with rural peasant groups. *Mutualista* organizations organized protests against the Mexican leadership and remained politically active organizations. They looked to the Constitution of 1857 to appeal to individual rights when they felt that theirs were in danger.[376] The tradition of popular or "folk liberalism" was based on the struggles fought between conservative and liberal factions during the 19th century, but it was the unsatisfactory leadership of Díaz that rejuvenated a sense of citizenship rights and (later) revolutionary action within Mexico. [377]

Magón and the PLM

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[374] Ibid., 5. French points to the moral movement of the *gente decente* to transform the *población flotante* as part of the reason that such a social and cultural division existed between the two groups of workers. The *gente decente* often viewed this group as being ignorant, apathetic, and drunk, among other things. Many tried to instill middle class values and morals upon the floating population.

[375] Lear, *Workers, Neighbors, and Citizens*, 92.

[376] William French, *A Peaceful and Working People Manners, Morals, and Class Formation in Northern Mexico*, 6-7.

By the turn-of-the-twentieth century many people began to feel abandoned by Díaz despite their loyalty towards him. A generation earlier, the President had built support for his continuing presidency by recognizing the sacrifice the people of Mexico had made during their years of service through programs like veterans' pensions. Now these programs were corrupt. This alienated previous generations who had fought with him against conservative and French factions. Monica Cruz de Pérez, a widow of a prominent veteran from the Ixtlán district wrote to Díaz to complain that neither she, nor several other veterans, had received pensions for almost an entire year. Although Díaz's hired local official, Guillermo Meixueiro, had told them that the government had put an end to the pension program, the people wrote to Díaz directly, believing (correctly) the official was stealing the money for himself. Although Díaz corrected the situation, the incident was representative of a younger generation of Porfiriato officials who did not respect the strong relationship that Díaz had built with these soldiers and their families.[378]

Although Díaz was able to intervene directly in some cases, a new generation of both citizens and politicians grew further apart in their goals and understanding of each other. Ricardo Flores Magón and the *Partido Liberal Méxicano* presented one of the only serious challenges to the Díaz regime and became the new symbol for democracy for many Mexicans.[379] Citizenship and national identity were shaped for many Mexicans on a tradition of liberalism, but it was the teachings and anti-Díaz rhetoric of Magón that helped to refuel an understanding of these rights. Magón reflected a new

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[377] Ibid., 7. French coins the term "folk liberalism" in his book.

[378] McNamara, *Sons of the Sierra: Juárez, Díaz, and the People of Ixtlán, Oaxaca, 1855-1920*, 118-120.

[379] Hart, *Anarchism and the Mexican Working Class, 1860-1931*, 88.

generation of Mexicans – educated and discontent with the leadership of the Porfiriato.[380]

Magón believed that Mexican citizens could be educated and active on Mexico's social, economic, and political issues during the Porfiriato.[381] By 1888 the Mexican government had subsidized 30 newspapers in the capitol, 27 in the states, and almost all of the local press. *Regeneración* was Magón's solution to providing an independent and informative newspaper for Mexico's working class.[382] The paper's message was one of dissent against the Federal government through education reform for Mexico's population.[383] Like *Koranta ea Becoana*, Magón's newspaper, *Regeneración*, was politically focused but provided readers with a much stronger critique of the country's leader, President Díaz and his administration who Magón often referred to as despots.[384] In addition to harshly critiquing the central government in Mexico, Magón used the paper as a tool with which to enlighten Mexican's citizens of their country's laws. *Regeneración* presented readers with advice for dealing with civil infractions and possible arrest within the country. Focusing on violations that would most likely have

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[380] Gomez-Quinones, "Social Change and Intellectual Discontent: the Growth of Mexican Nationalism, 1890-1911," 137.
[381] MacLachlan, *Mexico's Crucial Century, 1810-1910*, 110.
[382] Juan Gómez-Quiñones, *Sembradores, Ricaŕdo Flores Magon Y El Partido Liberal Mexicano: A Eulogy and Critique* (Los Angeles: Aztlán Publications, 1973), 25; Blaisdell, *The Desert Revolution*, 6. Gómez-Quiñones argues that the working class was the main group of readers for *Regeneración*.
[383] Gómez-Quiñones, *Sembradores, Ricaŕdo Flores Magon Y El Partido Liberal Mexicano*, 17.
[384] "Regeneración," *Regeneración*, August 7, 1901, http://www.archivomagon.net/Periodico/Regeneracion/PrimeraEpoca/PDF/e1n49., accessed June 2012.

had the greatest effect on his working class audience, *Regeneración* provided workers with a legal education concerning their rights as Mexican citizens. One article, for example, pointed to the District Attorney General's false accusations that a law existed in which smoking and spitting was prohibited. The law, *Regeneración* explained:

> *Por supuesto que esa ley solo existe en el cerebro del Sr. Procurador, pues hasta ahora no sabemos que ley prohiba fumar y escupir* (Of course, that law only exists in the mind of the Attorney General because until now we do not know of any law prohibiting smoking and spitting)."[385]

Rent disputes were also a common problem that many workers would have encountered, and Magón provided readers with a detailed understanding of rental contracts and tenants legal responsibilities. Magón discussed codes of Civil Procedure and warned readers that any contract in which the rent was over 100 pesos per year must be included in writing.[386] News articles like these exhibit Magón's emphasis on the importance of public constitutional and legislative knowledge, and Magón explained the importance for all Mexican citizens to have an understanding of their rights as citizens. He argued that President Díaz had taken advantage of the apathy of Mexican citizens to develop his dictatorship, and that "tyrannical government tend to give their action a veneer of legality…"[387] *Regeneración* was an educational tool for the working class and became an important resource for its readers to understand and engage their rights within a democracy.

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[385] Regeneración, "Se Prohibe Fumar Y Escupir", August 7, 1900.

[386] "*Algo sobre lanzamientos,"Regeneración*, August 15, 1900. http://www.archivomagon.net/Periodico/Regeneracion/PrimeraEpoca/PDF/e1n2.pdf , Accessed June 2012.

The Left in Clifton-Morenci

In June 1903, Magón was prohibited from publishing his paper in Mexico. Rather than giving up his efforts altogether, Magón moved to San Antonio, Texas where he began publication of his paper once again in 1904.[388] Even before relocating to the United States, Magón's paper was most likely brought to workers in the bordering territories, and as a result, *Regeneración* was able to easily reach a wide southwest distribution of as many 20,000 regular subscribers by 1905.[389] As workers from northern Mexico migrated to the mines in Arizona, they brought with them Magón's message of political dissent and a better understanding of citizenship and national unity that would ultimately create a bond between workers in Clifton-Morenci. Clifton-Morenci's community was filled with political activists, many who promoted socialism as an attractive alternative for workers. As in South Africa, activists brought strong critiques concerning political leaders, the rapid growth of power of wealthy industrialists, and the continuing cycle of oppression that many workers faced. In Clifton-Morenci, these were issues that many migrant workers seeking to escape low wages and political instability in Mexico were well familiar with.

Clifton-Morenci had its own group of community leaders engaged in a critique of Díaz and the Porfiriato. One such activist in Clifton-Morenci, Teresa Urrea, became a revolutionary symbol to many Mexicans both within Mexico as well as in the borderlands

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387 *"La Constitucíon Violada*," *Regeneracion*, March 15, 1901. http://www.archivomagon.net/Periodico/Regeneracion/PrimeraEpoca/PDF/e1n30.pdf, Accessed, June 2012.

388 Gómez-Quiñones, *Sembradores, Ricaŕdo Flores Magon Y El Partido Liberal Mexicano*, 24-25.

389 Ibid., 25.

region. Teresa Urrea became better known as St. Teresa de Cabora – a spiritual healer for her fellow community members and a symbol of political freedom for many of her follows throughout Mexico and the U.S. Southwest. Born in Sinola, Mexico in 1873, Teresa began training as a folk healer (*curandera*) at a young age. In addition to learning medicinal benefits from herbs and folk remedies, she reportedly also assisted women in labor by placing them under a trance.[390] As part of her spiritual journey, she claimed to have been visited by the Virgin Mary after lying in a coma-like trance for several days. Upon her awakening, she claimed that the Virgin had asked her to seek out people in need with her special healing powers.[391]

By 1889, Teresa Urrea had amassed a large following among Mexicans both locally and nationally.[392] The revolutionary figure became a social advocate for the peasant class in Mexico, telling the Yaqui, Mayo, Tarahumara, and Tomochitecho people of Northern Mexico that God had intended for them to have the lands that were being taken from them during the Porfiriato.[393] Her work as a spiritual healer in both a medicinal and political sense became so important that, in 1891 during the rebellion at Tomochic, rebels defeated Díaz's troops, shouting "Viva la Santa de Cabora" in honor of

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[390] Armando Rosales, ""Teresa Urrea: La Santa de Cabora Inspired Mexican Revolution," *EPCC Borderlands* (El Paso Community College, 2011): 6, accessed April 2012, http://start.epcc.edu/nwlibrary/borderlands/28/urrea_comp_6713.pdf.

[391] Gordon, *The great Arizona orphan abduction*, 83.

[392] *Latina Legacies: Identity, Biography, and Community*, Viewpoints on American culture (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 102.

[393] Armando Rosales, ""Teresa Urrea: La Santa de Cabora Inspired Mexican Revolution," 6.

Teresa.[394] Following the rebellion, Díaz ordered Teresa and her family into exile, calling her the most dangerous girl in Mexico.[395] Although Teresa most likely claimed that she was never a revolutionary figure in the years preceding the Mexican Revolution in 1910, she was undoubtedly a spiritual figure who became a symbol for political resistance and someone that remained connected to revolutionary politics.[396]

In 1892, Mexico's, General Abraham Bandala marshaled Teresa and her father, Tomás Urrea, to the port city of Guaymas. Bandala reported to Mexico's Secretary of War that Teresa's hometown of Cabora had become "rife with political conspirers."[397] Hoping to avoid arrest, Tomás and Teresa moved to the United States in 1892.[398] When they crossed the border at Nogales, she was so well known in the borderlands region that hordes of people welcomed her at the train station as a police escorted her to a hotel.[399] Her popularity in Clifton-Morenci among residents was due in part to her work as a healer as well as the revolutionary spirit she embodied for many Mexicans. In Clifton, she was also a popular community leader, earning the praise of other Mexican revolutionaries in Arizona who described her as a "visionary woman" who inspired "an apocalyptic revolution".[400] In the U.S., Teresa's religious and political inspiration

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[394] *Latina Legacies*, 104.
[395] Armando Rosales, ""Teresa Urrea: La Santa de Cabora Inspired Mexican Revolution," 6.
[396] Gordon, *The great Arizona orphan abduction*, 84.
[397] *Latina Legacies*, 106.
[398] Ibid.
[399] Ibid.
[400] Armando Rosales, ""Teresa Urrea: La Santa de Cabora Inspired Mexican Revolution," 7.

activism most likely fueled her passion for defending the rights of Mexican migrant workers. In the same year that workers in Clifton-Morenci struck for better wages, she helped to organize the Union Federal Mexicanos for railroad workers when she moved to Los Angeles in 1903.[401]

During Teresa and Tomás' time in Clifton-Morenci, Teresa continued to work as a healer and most likely as a revolutionary figure, although she maintained a low profile politically, probably fearing arrest.[402] Both her and Tomás, developed a close relationship with Lauro Aguirre and Flores Chapa. These two important revolutionary figures in nearby Solomonville established *El Independíente*, a newspaper in 1896. The revolutionary paper brought the ideas of national identity, citizen rights to the Mexican community in Clifton, Morenci, and Solomonville through a critique of Díaz and his policies. On February 5, 1896, they published the *Plan Restaurado de Constitucíon* in which they argued Díaz's policies were in violation of Mexico's 1857 Constitution, citing electoral fraud, property violations, an agricultural monopoly, and the exploitation of mineworkers. The paper was widely distributed throughout the southern Arizona region.[403] Aguirre and Chapa's paper, like Magón's *Regeneracíon*, was a vehicle to teach Clifton-Morenci's residents about their rights as citizens as well as the connection between these citizenship rights and the rights of workers. For workers and their communities in Clifton-Morenci, revolutionary figures like Teresa, Lauro, and Flores provided a source of inspiration and connected them to the political struggles in Mexico.

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401 *Latina Legacies*, 113-114.
402 Ibid., 109.
403 Ibid., 106.

In both Clifton-Morenci and Kimberley, political activists and intellectuals connected workers and their communities to their role as citizens of a country and inspired workers' protests on the ground. This inspiration was found in the words of the independent press – from papers like *Koranta ea Becoana*, *El Independiente*, and *Regeneracíon*. In Kimberley, Plaatje's paper promoted hard work, a formal education, and loyalty to the British Empire as themes for Africans' success and future enfranchisement in South Africa. Yet, he also encouraged readers to understand their own role as citizens of the Cape Colony and British Empire and to question injustices within both the workplace as well as within the Cape Colony. In Mexico, Magón's paper provided an even more pointed critique of the national government, and he hoped to enlighten readers through a newspaper-based education of Mexico's laws and the rights of its citizens. These political activists and community leaders helped to fuel workers' understanding of citizenship and national identity. It was through an articulation of these rights that workers learned about their own the critical role, not only as members of a community, but as citizens of a country. The influence of the press, intellectual leaders, and the experience of war would provide a foundation for a new political consciousness and a common bond for mobilizing in the workplace.

CHAPTER 4: A COMPANY OF WORKERS, AN EMPIRE OF CITIZENS

As I have demonstrated in chapters one and two, workers in Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci brought complex identities and histories that were difficult to define socially or legally. Both Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci sat on political and cultural borders and their settings on a frontier provided workers with the opportunity to carve out their own identities and community in newly established mining towns. Although a strict compound and contract labor system restricted worker mobility in Kimberley in ways that it did not in Clifton-Morenci, workers in both regions developed shared local and national identities that created a sense of unity within the mining communities. In chapter three I highlighted how, intellectual leaders articulated a discussion of citizenship and citizenship rights. For workers in Clifton-Morenci and Kimberley, these discussions helped to spur a common identity, not only as workers, but as worker citizens who demanded rights from both the company and country. By the turn-of-the-twentieth century, an unprecedented demand in Europe and North America for copper and an increasing demand for labor in Kimberley during the height of the South African War gave workers an increasing sense of their value in the formal economies of the United States and Cape Colony. In both regions, complex identities, histories, and intellectual traditions shaped worker solidarity and workplace resistance.

In the summer of 1903, labor unrest had reached an all-time high in both Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci. In Kimberley, between 1899-1903, the number of reported strikes greatly increased as mine workers became directly involved in the South African War as laborers or indirectly involved as besieged persons during the Siege of

Kimberley. Although the African population, as a whole, did not maintain a clear alliance to one side during the war, they recognized their own value as both workers and soldiers. The war brought all residents of South Africa into a larger sphere of politics – including the British Empire, the Afrikaner Republics of the Transvaal and Orange Free State, and contested territorial holdings of southern Africans. Mineworkers, especially, were affected by the War and realized their growing power as both laborers of the mines and citizens of the Empire, as their numbers greatly depleted during the Siege.

In Clifton-Morenci, workers fought against the implementation of the 8-Hour Law that would cut their already low wages. After the law went into effect, approximately 3,000 picketing men, women, and children occupied the mill of the Detroit Copper Company in Morenci. They remained armed but non-violent.[1] Following the incident, local, regional, and nation-wide conversation concerning the strike was dominated with a discussion of citizenship and citizenship rights.

Workers' and residents' understandings of citizenship were rooted in their own lived experiences, meaning that they interpreted their own understanding of citizenship to argue for and gain certain privileges, especially in the workplace. Although workers and residents may have interpreted and understood citizenship in various ways, it ultimately became a label that one could use to both privilege and oppress the social status of residents. In *Unequal Freedom*, Evelyn Nakano Glenn argues that labor and citizenship are "intertwined institutional arenas" where identities have been "constituted and

[1] Philip Mellinger places an estimate of between 2,000-3,500 picketing strikers at the mill. Philip Mellinger, *Race and Labor in Western Copper: The Fight for Equality, 1896-1918*. (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1995), 36.

contested."[2] Looking at the concept of citizenship and how it is defined and understood at the local level is especially important to understanding the substantive rights that local authorities and private citizens accepted and permitted to one another.[3] In *Border Citizens*, Eric Meeks employs the term "cultural citizenship" to describe the fluid meaning of citizenship in accordance with the shifting labor and economic development. As lines of race and class became more evident through segregated work, it became clearer who was a first class citizen and who was excluded from this privilege.[4] Although the concept of citizenship appears to be in opposition to culture because it represents a culture-free or culturally neutral status, the concept is built upon cultural values.[5] In the 19th century citizenship could represent many different ideas to the residents of Clifton-Morenci and Kimberley, but the concept was rooted in their lived experiences. Although workers in Clifton-Morenci and Kimberley may not have possessed a legal designation as citizens, there own understanding of citizenship was culturally constructed and built upon cultural values.[6] In Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci, workers created and identified with their own understanding of citizenship despite legal and cultural limitations that may have limited their legal designation as

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[2] Evelyn Nakano Glenn. *Unequal Freedom: How Race and Gender Shaped American Citizenship and Labor.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 2.

[3] Evelyn Glenn, *Unequal freedom : how race and gender shaped American citizenship and labor*, 2.

[4] Eric Meeks, *Border Citizens: The making of Indians, Mexicans, and Anglos in Arizona.* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007),17.

[5] Leti Volpp, "The Culture of Citizenship," *Theoretical Inquiries in Law* 8, no. 2 (July 2007), 574.

[6] Ibid. Volpp argues that, although the concept of citizenship is supposed to represent a culture-free status, it is reflective of dominant cultural values.

citizens. In the process, workers bonded together through their own cultural construction of citizenship.

Although a status of citizenship was reserved for those residents that were viewed as full members of the community, in the 19th century the concept was also understood in gendered terms.[7] During both the 1903 strike in Clifton-Morenci and the increasing number of strikes in Kimberley debates over citizenship and nationality were central to residents' approval and disapproval of workers' actions and heightened sense of agency. For workers in both Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci, political and social rights as citizens were aligned with one's sense of masculinity.[8] In Clifton-Morenci, workers fought against the implementation of an 8-hour workday – a law that would severely limit their ability to, not only make a living wage, be the family breadwinner. A racially–divided dual-wage system divided wages among those men the company felt were entitled to a full wage and those men that were not. In South Africa, workers became increasingly valuable to De Beers as more and more men abandoned the war-torn region. Workers bonded together with a common interest of defending their sense of manhood as full subjects of the British Empire.

The 1903 Strike in Clifton-Morenci

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[7] My definition of citizens as "full members of a community" comes from T.H. Marshall's discussion of citizenship. T.H. Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class," in *The Welfare Reader*, Christopher Pierson and Francis Castles, eds. (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2006), 30.

[8] Ibid. T.H. Marshall argues that citizenship rights can be divided into three classes: civil rights, political rights, and social rights. Civil rights include individual liberty, freedom of speech, right to justice, etc. Political rights are those rights tied to one's enfranchisement within the political system and usually involve voting rights. Lastly, social rights, Marshall argues, are those rights tied to economic welfare and security.

The 1903 Strike signaled the first time that mineworkers in Clifton-Morenci organized against Phelps Dodge. Despite the ethnic make-up of the strikers, consisting mainly of Mexican and Italian workers, their demands reflected a common desire to be recognized as a full member of their community, including the social right to economic welfare and security and the civil right to protest in the work place. While many Mexican workers that participated in the strike had a long history with political conflicts in their own country as Mexico sat on the brink of a national revolution, Italian workers also brought a sense of radicalism to the workplace that would help to forge common bonds for the ethnically-diverse group of copper miners.[9] During the late 19th and early 20th century, Italian immigrants maintained a network of contacts with radical political and social reformers in Europe. Cannistraro and Meyer explain that, a "radical chain migration," operated across the Atlantic as "Italy supplied a continuing influx of radicals and ideas to the Little Italies."[10] Italian radicals in the U.S. maintained regular contacts with radicals in Europe through correspondence, newspapers, and publications and often raised money for causes in Italy.[11]

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[9] Philip V. Cannistraro and Gerald Meyer, eds. *The Lost World of Italian American Radicalism*, 3-4. Cannistraro and Meyer define radicalism as, "…individuals or movements that seek to get at the causes rather than the symptoms of political, economic, and social conditions." Although they point out that the term goes back to the 18th century during the era of the French Revolution when Jacobins first embodied the idea of modern political and social radicalism, in the 19th century scholars applied the word to those who wanted to extend political enfranchisement and pushed for democratic change.

[10] Ibid., 5.

[11] Ibid.

In Clifton-Morenci, Italian and Mexican workers and their communities worked closely together to protest against recent labor legislation that would result in paycuts.[12] On May 28, 1903, the *Copper Era* reported:

> There is a feeling of uncertainty pervading camp, as to the working of the eight-hour law, which takes effect June 1st. Whether it will result in a lowering of the wage scale is not known but it is no secret that many are prepared to leave camp if that should be the outcome.

The passing of the Eight-Hour Law in Arizona was the breaking point for an already discontent Mexican workforce in the area, who, unwilling to compromise with management's negotiations, went on strike June 3, 1903.

The new law made it illegal for employers to keep mineworkers underground for more than eight hours, and violators were subject to fines.[13] The legislation resulted in a shorter working day but also a pay cut for Mexican workers who received on average, $2.50/day.[14] Anglo workers did not support the legislation only because it provided them with a shorter workday (most Anglo mineworkers already had an 8-hour work day)

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[12] In addition to organizing the 1903 strike together, Italian workers also were members of mutualistas as well as officers. The 1903 strike was "nearly as much an Italian immigrant strike as it was a Mexican-immigrant strike." Phylis Cancilla Martinelli. *Undermining Race: Ethnic Identities in Arizona Copper Camps, 1880-1920.* Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009, 141. Mellinger, *Race and Labor*, 24, 56.

[13] "Arizona's Eight Hour Law," *The Miners' Magazine*, Western Federation of Miners, June, 1903, 24-25.

[14] Management cut workers' daily rate, arguing that this would otherwise result in an increase in pay for workers. Workers, viewing a day's work still worth the same amount, were angered over the deduction in wages and refused to negotiate with the companies. Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*. Harvard University Press: Cambridge, 1999, 223. Although the majority of Italians were paid the same wages as Mexicans at the upper end of the scale, both groups made less than Anglo workers. Martinelli, 142.

but many also believed that the law enforced closed-shop policies that barred most Mexicans, who did not belong to unions:

> The Eight-Hour Law was deliberately aimed at the Clifton-Morenci copper companies in the spirit of closed shop unionism. Its intent was to enforce the corporations to surrender the special advantages that they had accrued through the abuse of their immigrant work force and to coerce the workforce into either accepting Anglo wage and work hour standards or quitting their jobs.[15]

On June 1, 1903, immediately following the passing of the 8-hour legislation, copper companies in Clifton-Morenci posted notices for all employees explaining that the legislation meant that they would now pay all underground miners nine hours time for eight hours work.[16] Employees of Phelps-Dodge organized a strike to contest the pay-cut that resulted in the 8-hour legislation. Despite management's negotiation to pay the workers 9 hours for 8 hours of work, mineworkers argued that the deal did not provide them with enough money to support themselves and their families. Management and employees could not come to terms, and on June 1, 1903, work at the Phelps Dodge Mines came to a halt. Men, women, and children occupied company property, and, although some men were armed, the strike remained peaceful.[17] The *Bisbee Daily Review* reported:

> The strike is now composed of almost entirely Mexicans. Quite a number of Americans have left the camp. These men are taking no part with the Mexicans…It seems that the Mexicans are being led by one or two prominent leaders; they gather two or three times a day in Morenci and listen to speeches from the leaders who are very industrious [and] have used harsh language concerning the "gringos"…This morning at 5 o'clock, more than two hundred

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[15] Philip Mellinger, "The Men Have Become Organizers: Labor Conflict and Union Organization in the Mexican Mining Communities of Arizona, 1900-1915," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 23, no. 3 (August 1992): 328-239.

[16] The Copper Era, "A Big Strike is Now On", June 4, 1903, Tucson Ephemera File, AHS.

[17] Philip Mellinger, *Race and Labor in Western Copper*, 36.

> Mexicans were already gathered at the mouth of the Humboldt tunnel, listening to the harangues by the leaders and music by the band.[18]

Within five days it was apparent that management and local authorities would not be able to quell the strike themselves. After negotiations left management and strikers at a standstill, acting governor Isaac Stoddard wired Captain Thomas Rynning of the Arizona Rangers with orders to, "proceed at once quietly to Morenci with all available Rangers…to serve the public peace."[19] Despite the fact that no union helped to organize workers during the strike, Stoddard emphasized the danger of the strikers whom were in the hands of "professional agitators."[20]

On June 7 Arizona Rangers arrived at the scene but were unable to put an end to the strike. Stoddard, a copper mine owner himself, quickly stepped in to put an immediate end to the strike. On June 9 he wired President Roosevelt asking him to send Federal Troops to break the strike. The Copper Era reported that the strike had become so intense that "an armed conflict between the officers of the law and the strikers was momentarily expected…"[21] As federal troops rode by train to Morenci a storm struck the

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[18] Joseph Park, "The 1903 'Mexican Affair' at Clifton," *Journal of Arizona History* 18, (Summer 1977): accessed July 2012, http://www.library.arizona.edu/exhibits/bisbee/docs/jahpark.html.

[19] Issac Stoddard, Secretary of Arizona, was acting governor during the time of the strike while Governor Brodie was out east on business. Stoddard owned a great deal of property in Arizona and encouraged businessmen from the east to invest in copper industry in the territory. He was the owner of Stoddard Mining Enterprises in Stoddard, Arizona. Stoddard Letterbooks, 1901-1903, June 6, 1903, MS 1101, AHS; Mining Intelligence" *Arizona Weekly Journal*, June 23, 1897, accessed April 2012, http://adnp.azlibrary.gov/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/85032938&CISOPTR=2983&REC=16.

[20] Stoddard Letterbooks, June 6 and 9, 1903. MS 1101, AHS.

[21] Copper Era, "Unprecedented Disaster", June 11, 1903, Tucson Ephemera File, AHS.

area. At four o'clock a heavy downpour in the area caused a strong rush of water that flowed out of Morenci and down into Clifton. As many residents sought shelter in their homes, a wall of water, reportedly 12 feet high filled the mostly Mexican-populated Chase Creek, destroying most of the homes and killing an estimated 40 residents.[22] Although a few people attempted to reorganize after the disaster, federal troops arrived and quickly established martial law over the area shortly after the flood. Within the evening, the entire national guard of Arizona, including 230 men had arrived on the scene and had arrested the strike leaders the next morning.[23] Workers accepted the original negotiation with management on June, 12, 1903, taking the 9 hours pay for 8 hours work.[24] Despite their failure to maintain their original pay, the strike provided workers with a sense of solidarity and an understanding of the close connection between worker rights and citizenship rights. As residents in Clifton-Morenci, workers and their communities demanded equal treatment and protection under the law.

For those involved in the strike, workers figured prominently in arguments both in support of, and against the strikers. Stoddard's telegrams to various military officials craft an image of clever agitators that posed a threat to the peace of the entire community, emphasizing the "foreigness" of those agitators. With the assassination of President William McKinley only two years earlier and fresh in the minds of many, "foreigners," regardless of legal citizenship status, could easily be illustrated as dangerous criminals.[25]

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[22] "Disastrous Flood," *Arizona Bulletin*, June 12, 1903, Tucson Newspaper, AHS.
[23] Copper Era, "Critical Moment Passed", June 11, 1903, Tucson Ephemera File, AHS.
[24] "Strike Settled," *Arizona Bulletin*, June 12, 1903, Tucson Newspaper, AHS.
[25] McKinley was shot by Leon Czolgosz, the son of Polish immigrants, on September 6, 1901.

On June 10 Stoddard wired McKinley's successor, President Theodore Roosevelt, asking him to send Federal Troops to the area. His message paints a picture of radical and dangerous foreign workers:

> Three thousand men, mostly foreigners, on strike at Morenci…strikers armed and in the hands of professional agitators…there is immediate need of large force to quell riot which is impending…No probability of restoring order except by presence of United States troops.[26]

Emphasizing "foreigness" allowed management, law enforcement, and newspapers alike to create an image of dangerous and radical workers that were causing disorder. In addition to Stoddard's generalized accusations of the foreigness of the workers, newspaper reporters went as far as to provide specific legal designations of workers citizenship status, noting that Francisco Figuerro, Manuel Flores, Albrán Salcio (*sic*), Weneslado Laustaunau, among others, were not, and "never have been" citizens of the United States. [27]

For some, the events carried out during, and in the aftermath, of the strike became a testing ground for Arizona's potential entry into statehood. Stoddard realized the importance of quickly settling a strike that only emphasized the untamed frontier image of the territory. Even newspapers picked up on the importance of Stoddard's actions during the strike, calling the event a "test…for statehood," and further adding, "If

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[26] Telegram from Issac Stoddard to President Roosevelt, June 9, 1903, MS 1101, AHS.

[27] "The Clifton-Morenci Strike is Practically Over." *Arizona Bulletin*, June 9, 1903, Tucson Newspaper, AHS. *The Copper Era* reported that all leaders of the strike were a member of the "local labor union," which refers to the men's membership in Clifton-Morenci's *mutualista*, *Alianza Hispano Americana* where Abrán Salcido was president, A.C. Cruz was secretary, and Frank Colombo was listed as "leader of the Italians." Copper Era, "Strike Ended", June 18, 1903, Tucson Ephemera File, AHS.

Arizona as a Territory cannot with her machinery of government protect her people in the full enjoyment of their rights under the law, she is not qualified for self-government."[28]

Leaders of the 1903 strike also understood the importance of citizenship during the event but used the concept as a means of protecting and justifying their actions. Abrán (Abraham) Salcido, president of the "local Mexican society" and Weneslado Laustaunau (Laustenneau), vice president of the same organization, met regularly with members, both Mexican and Italian, to demand better working conditions, in addition to protesting the pay cut that would soon be put into effect with the passing of the 8-hour legislation.[29] Although there is little known about the lives of these organizers prior to the 1903 strike, Salcido was an educated bilingual smelter worker in Clifton when he began organizing workers.[30]

Workers demanded lower prices at the Detroit Copper Mining Company store in Morenci, an end to paycheck deductions for company hospital fees, and change rooms provided by the company.[31] When Arizona Ranger commander, Colonel McClintock, gave orders prohibiting the afternoon meetings, strike leaders argued that they were being

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[28] "Agitators Enjoined" *The Arizona Bulletin*, June 3, 1903, Tucson Newspaper, AHS.

[29] Mellinger, *Race and Labor in Western Copper*, 46-47.

[30] Christine Marin, "Abran Salcido and His Labor Activities with Mexican Miners" (presented at the 20th Annual Southwest Labor Studies Conference, University of California, Santa Cruz, April 29, 1994), H-105, Hayden Chicano Collection, ASU. Laustaunau's history is even less well-known. Despite his own claim to being born in Romania, his Yuma prison record listed his nationality as Mexican and birthplace as Mexico. Martha McElroy, "William H. Laustaunau: Menace or Marytyr?", n.d. MM CHSM-324, Hayden Chicano Research Collection, ASU.

[31] Ibid., 51.

deprived of their rights as American citizens.[32] Even as the Rangers filed into the area, strike leaders and strikers remained confident that their actions were protected under their own understandings of citizenship in the United States. For many workers, this included the right to earn a living for themselves and their families. Katherine Benton-Cohen argues that wage systems in Arizona copper mining industries were "highly gendered" in a way that privileged Anglo workers over other groups of workers. Mine industries justified the wage difference by equating this white wage with a family wage.[33] For Anglo workers, especially those in trade unions like the WFM, the idea of an "American standard of living" evoked images of male breadwinners earning the single paycheck to care for his family.[34] Mexicans and, to a lesser extent, European workers in Clifton-Morenci were often cast as racially unfit for this American standard of living, and thus, less manly than their Anglo counterparts.[35] When workers demanded higher wages they were demanding an equal recognition as breadwinners as well.

It should be noted, that, although workers demanded an American standard of living and argued that they were being deprived of their rights as American citizens, workers did not necessarily hope to become legal American citizens. Many workers, in fact, chose to continue to identify themselves as Mexican citizens and chose not to

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[32] "The Clifton-Morenci Strike is Practically Over." *Arizona Bulletin*, June 9, 1903, Tucson Newspaper, AHS.

[33] Katherine Benton-Cohen, "Docile Children and Dangerous Revolutionaries: The Racial Hierarchy of Manliness and the Bisbee Deportation of 1917," *Frontiers: A Journal of Women's Studies* 24, no. 2(2003): 34.

[34] Ibid. 34-35.

[35] Ibid. See also, Linda Gordon, *The Great Arizona Orphan Abduction*, 74-76.

become naturalized citizens.[36] During the 1903 strike, workers and strike leaders alluded to citizenship as a way to claim rights that they felt entitled to as workers in America.

The 1903 Strike in the U.S.

Workers and labor organizers highlighted the importance of citizenship and workers' role within a national and international context during the 1903 Clifton-Morenci strike, but these were also themes that the Western Federation of Miners quickly picked up on and used as a rallying point for its own members. WFM leadership, most likely attempting to gain support for the inclusion of Mexican workers into its organization, fully backed the Clifton-Morenci strike. Using the WFM publication, *The Miners Magazine*, union leaders connected a discussion of worker rights to a nation-wide issue of citizenship rights.

The WFM was founded a decade earlier in 1893 after a conglomeration of mineworkers unions in Utah, Idaho, Colorado, Montana, and South Dakota.[37] Although the WFM became a part of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) in 1896, it would split a year later after the WFM, under the direction of President Ed Boyce, began to promote socialism across the union.[38] Although the organization did not have a local in the Clifton-Morenci area in 1903, it maintained support for the workers on strike and quickly picked up on the larger implications of the event, calling into question President

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[36] George Sanchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 124. Sanchez argues that many Mexican immigrants residing in Los Angeles in the early 20th century chose not to become American citizens, but to retain their Mexican citizenship. This was especially true of first generation immigrants coming to the U.S.

[37] Fred Thompson, *The IWW: Its First Seventy Years, 1905-1975* (Chicago: Kerr Publishers, 1976), 9.

Roosevelt's action and the rights of the "American" workers. WFM leadership understood that its organization could not continue to grow as an anti-Mexican organization and used the event to highlight the common experience of all workers in the country despite their ethnic and national identity. The response of the WFM suggests that leaders of the labor organization, like those workers in Clifton-Morenci, understood the connection between larger political events in the United States and the eradication of worker rights in local areas like Clifton-Morenci.

The WFM leadership's choice to emphasize the strong political connections to labor rights during the 1903 strike was characteristic of the union and something that had led to its division from the AFL in 1897. WFM President Ed Boyce in 1897 argued that workers could "fight with the sword or use the ballot with intelligence".[39] Only a month prior to the strike in Clifton-Morenci, President Moyer addressed the WFM Eleventh Annual Convention by underscoring the serious threat the nation faced with the eradication of workers' right to strike:

> Organized labor is today confronted by powerful combinations who make no secret of their purpose. Your right to organized is now being attacked – the time has arrived when not only your organization, but organized labor in general, must stand shoulder to shoulder, not only requesting, but in no uncertain tones demanding their rights as American citizens.[40]

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[38] Mellinger, *Race and labor in western copper : the fight for equality, 1896-1918*, 4.

[39] Nick Salvatore, *Eugene V. Debs: Citizen and Socialist*, 2nd ed., The working class in American history (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2007), 203. Salvatore argues that both Ed Boyce and Eugene Debs, "agreed that (Samuel) Gomper's attempts to bar political agitation from the labor movement encouraged the continued subservience of workers toward their employers."

[40] Western Federation of Miners, *Report of President Moyer to the Eleventh Annual Convention of the Western Federation of Miners* (Denver, CO, May 1903), PAH L 1639 Microfiche, MSU.

In situating the laborer within a larger national context, the WFM, like labor organizers in Clifton-Morenci, were able to provide a sense of liberty, agency, and citizenry for workers regardless of their race, ethnicity, or national identity.

Historians have pointed to the anti-immigrant/Anglo-only stance of the WFM during this time, yet this was a problem with specific locals rather than with top leadership in the organization.[41] The WFM leadership carefully reported the events of the 1903 strike in its publication in a manner that would garner the support of its membership for the strike participants in Clifton-Morenci. *The Miners' Magazine* did not mention that the men that were arrested in Clifton-Morenci were protesting the 8-Hour Law, nor did the article mention that most of the men that were arrested were not U.S. citizens. Rather, the article harshly criticized the actions of the federal government as a deliberate attempt to rob the men of their rights. WFM leadership placed an emphasis on the critical defense of liberty and citizenship and appealed to men's emotional ties to manhood:[42]

> At Morenci, Arizona, where no local of the Western Federation of Miners existed, the employes [sic] of the corporations demanded that the law should be obeyed,

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[41] See Martinelli, 140; Gordon, 221; Mellinger, *Race and Labor in Western Copper*, 28-30. Mellinger explains that WFM leaders, between 1901-1907 including Tom Lewis, Albert Ryan, W.M. Murphy, Alfred J. Bennett, and J.P. Ryan, all advocated Mexican recruitment into WFM locals in Arizona. However, the 8-hour legislation became of paramount importance for the organization, and union locals within Arizona tended to be virulently anti-Mexican.

[42] Gail Bederman argues that the term "manhood" is a more historically accurate word to describe men's certain claims to authority. The term masculinity would not become more widely used until the 20th century. Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917*, Women in culture and society (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 7.

> but their demands were ignored, and when a strike took place…the federal troops were forwarded to the scene of strife by…Teddy Roosevelt.[43]

Ignoring the fact that the strike leaders and many strikers were not American citizens, the article highlighted the WFM's dissatisfaction for the way in which President Roosevelt trampled workers' rights.[44] "Eight men must now wear the garb of convicts and lose the liberty of citizenship to appease the wrath of corporations who control the machinery of war by orders from Washington."[45] Pointing to Roosevelt's honorary membership of "the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen" the WFM described his actions in Clifton-Morenci in sending federal troops "hypocrisy". In a resolution dated July 1903, the WFM announced:

> That we appeal to the toiling millions of the nation to array themselves as a unit on the political battlefield in 1904 and use the franchise of citizenship to overthrow at the ballot box a system that demands for its maintenance and perpetuation the murderous implements of barbarism.[46]

The dramatic cast of "toiling millions" on a "political battlefield" undoubtedly appealed to men's emotional consciousness of their own manhood. During an era when

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[43] "Convictions in Arizona." *The Miners' Magazine*, November 5, 1903, accessed April 2012, http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112043506457.

[44] Mellinger, *Race and labor in western copper : the fight for equality, 1896-1918*, 38. In Globe, the WFM local, consisting mainly of Anglo and Irish mineworkers opposed to Mexican labor, which they saw as a threat to their own expectations of higher wages. In 1903, laborers made $2.00 daily if they were Mexican and Italian, but white workers were generally paid $2.50 a day. Following the Clifton-Morenci strike, the WFM membership voted to allow Mexican laborers into its membership at the annual convention in 1903. Philip Mellinger, "The Men Have Become Organizers: Labor Conflict and Unionization in the Mexican Mining Communities of Arizona, 1900-1915," *The Western Historical Quarterly* 23, no. 3 (August 1992): 333.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Western Federation of Miners, "Resolutions of the Executive Board," *The Miner's Magazine*, July 1903, 34-36, accessed April 2012, http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112043506457.

American politics was resigned to a mostly-male sphere, the WFM urged its readers to defend their manhood against "barbarism" at the ballot box.[47] In *Race and labor in western copper*, Mellinger argues that "though mining-camp *community* gendering is highly desirable, the gendering all-male workplaces is not," and thus, his study of labor organization within an all-male workplace does not need a gendered analysis.[48] But it is critically important to understand that, even within all-male settings, men possess a gendered identity. In *Killing for Coal*, Thomas Andrews argues that the WFM succeed in organizing coalminers only when they built "on the pride, independence, solidarity, and understanding of masculinity forged in the daily struggles between mineworkers and their workscapes."[49] It was especially important to ignore the fact that the "toiling millions" on the battlefield were immigrants who were also attempting to claim authority and rights to political control as they did in Clifton-Morenci in 1903. Defending the honor of manhood became a way to rally other WFM members to support the workers in Clifton-Morenci.

Following Roosevelt's orders to send federal troops into Clifton-Morenci, the WFM responded with harsh criticism in the hopes of rallying its membership behind a political movement that would fight to "the machinery of war" in Washington.
The WFM's choice to showcase the Clifton-Morenci strike was a bit unusual since most of WFM's Arizona locals opposed Mexican labor and supported the 8-hour law. The

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[47] Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization*, 13.
[48] Mellinger, *Race and labor in western copper : the fight for equality, 1896-1918*, 14.
[49] Thomas G Andrews, *Killing for Coal: America's Deadliest Labor War* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2008), 173.

WFM portrayed Theodore Roosevelt's order to send federal troops to Morenci and the subsequent arrests as actions aimed at stripping workers of their rights in favor of capital, an issue that had become especially heated by the nation's growing involvement in world affairs. Leaders in the WFM drew a direct connection between the international acceleration of the United States as a dominant country in the world and a similar acceleration of industrial power in America. Although for some Americans, the arrest of men like Salcido and Laustenau continued to fuel the fear that the country was becoming dangerously overrun with radical foreigners, the WFM emphasized that the true threat to American liberty was the encroaching power of capitalists. In 1903 the WFM reported:

> The Ghastly remains of 300 soldiers were brought from the Philippines recently…who fought, bled and died under the folds of a flag which the capitalists sent across the Pacific to subjugate the ex-peons of Spain. These dead heroes were lured from their homes under the enthusiasm of patriotism, but capitalism, the power behind the throne, sheds no tears for the human sacrifice that was made in the extension of pastures upon which greed might graze.[50]

As the United States came out of a victorious war with Spain and subsequently acquired the Philippines, the event signaled yet another victory for corporations over the rights of workers. The WFM's preoccupation with the Spanish American War and the threat of the U.S. annexation of the Philippines was also a fight against the threat of globalism and industrial outsourcing as well. While Anglo-only WFM locals in Arizona territory remained determined to keep Mexicans out of the copper industry, WFM leadership positioned its members and the striking workers in Clifton-Morenci as members of the same team, working against a greater threat to labor abroad. The WFM, its members, and its followers opposed the war due to the perceived threat of labor competition. In 1899

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[50] *The Miners' Magazine*, October 8, 1903, accessed April 2012, http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uiug.30112043506457.

The Spokesman Review announced the WFM's opposition to the annexation of the Philippians because the competition would bring wages "to a lower standard still."[51]

Although, during the time of the strike, Mexican and Italian workers were not able to join the WFM, the 1903 strike, and the subsequent actions of the WFM leadership may have helped to change attitudes, at least temporarily, within Arizona Territory. Despite the loss of the 1903 strike, workers in Clifton-Morenci would continue to organize for both labor and political rights in the future years. Following the 1903 strike, the WFM convention agreed to begin admitting Mexicans into its membership as increasing competition from other organization threatened WFM's power.[52] In 1905 the WFM, supported the launch of Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), an organization that would become widely known for organizing across ethnic lines. In 1906 the WFM/IWW attempted to organize workers in Clifton, and that same year, organizers applied for a charter for Clifton's Mill and Smelter's Union.[53] In May 1907, Carment Acosta, local member of the Globe union, delivered a speech in Spanish for mineworkers, urging them to join the union. Despite these attempts, the union quickly disintegrated after failed strike attempt in 1907 pushed wages even lower and many strikers left the area.[54]

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[51] "Socialism and Anti-Annexation," *The Spokesman-Review* (Spokane, WA, May 12, 1899), accessed May 2012, http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=1314&dat=18990512&id=v9VeAAAAIBAJ&sjid=WZsDAAAAIBAJ&pg=6290,3959550.

[52] The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), an AFL affiliate had begun organizing mineworkers, especially in Colorado where the WFM was also active. Mellinger, *Race and labor in western copper : the fight for equality, 1896-1918*, 60.

[53] Ibid., 68.

[54] Ibid., 69-70.

In nearby Sonora, labor activity began to increase and become increasingly politicized as the country came closer to a revolution. In 1904 Ricardo Flores Magón began PLM labor organizing efforts throughout the southwest borderland region.[55] Upon Abrán Salcido's release from the Yuma Prison in 1906, Magon appointed Salcido supervisor of all PLM activities in Arizona. Word of Salcido's involvement in the radical organization prompted close surveillance from local authorities, and in May he was deported to Mexico after he and "five or six other Mexican agitators" made "inflammatory speeches against Díaz and the Mexican government," during a Cinco de Mayo celebration.[56] Although the press claimed that the Mexican citizens ran him out, his popular status with workers suggests that it was most likely Clifton-Morenci's business class that was involved in the deportation efforts. As the borderland region sat on the cusp of a political upheaval in Mexico the press warned of Mexican "agitators" that were growing in numbers, "The Mexican people as a class are loyal to their country, but some of them can be worked upon by agitators until they become…a menace to society."[57]

Despite Salcido's arrest in Clifton many Mexican workers would remember the important role he played in helping to organize workers in Clifton in 1903. His actions

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[55] Casillas, "Mexicans, Labor and Strife in Arizona, 1896-1917.," (MA Thesis, University of New Mexico, 1979),11. By 1904, the PLM became focused on labor activity that was paired with a sharp critique of Díaz and his administration.
[56] "Salcido Deported," *The Graham Guardian* (Safford, Arizona, September 28, 1906), accessed May 2012, http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn95060914/1906-09-28/ed-1/seq-2/.
[57] Ibid.

even inspired a song, "The Corrido of Abran Salcido," which is still sung throughout the region:

> These verses that I sing is a corrido
> To remember a hero
> Whose name is Abrán Salcido
> He came to Clifton, Arizona to help his countrymen
> Earn an equal wage like the Americans
> At the height of the tension, a heavy thunderstorm broke
> A massive flood swept over the city
> These versus that I sing is a corrido
> To remember a hero
> Whose name is Abrán Salcido[58]

Despite's Salcido's quick deportation, the PLM established *Obreros Libres* in Morenci on July 3, 1906.[59]

Once in Mexico, Salcido continued to help organize workers. He remained with the PLM helping to organize Mexican workers, many of whom were also employed as mineworkers for American companies as well.[60] In 1906, in the mining town of Cananea, secretary of the PLM local Esteban Baca Calderón made a similar impassioned speech as the organizers in Clifton-Morenci, who were becoming increasingly upset with both Díaz's willingness to bring in foreign investors into the country as well as with the racial discrimination they faced as Mexican workers who were being paid less than Anglo workers. Calderón urged workers to stand for their rights as they fought against

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[58] Marin, "Abran Salcido and His Labor Activities with Mexican Miners." This song was written by Lonnie Guerrero. Marcello, "In Search for Abran Salcido," November 30, 2000, *Ancestry.com*, accessed May 23, 2012, http://boards.ancestry.com/localities.northam.mexico.chihuahua/793.910/mb.ashx.

[59] Casillas, "Mexicans, Labor and Strife in Arizona, 1896-1917.," 68. I have not been able to locate any additional information concerning this union.

both local labor injustices as well as national political injustices.[61] When governor Rafael Izábal sought help for the American company from the Arizona Rangers and Captain Thomas Rynning (who had helped break the 1903 strike in Clifton-Morenci), PLM leaders accused the governor of being a traitor, citing the Mexican Constitution.[62] The strike resulted in a much more violent outcome with 23 deaths and over 50 injuries.

The 1903 Strike in Clifton-Morenci prompted a debate that went beyond just the 8-hour work law and wages for mineworkers. The strike also led to discussions concerning citizenship, "foreigners," and worker rights. For leaders of the WFM, the strike signaled an opportunity to engage in a nation-wide discussion with members concerning the rights of workers in the U.S. In Clifton-Morenci, where most workers were not American citizens, the WFM chose not to address workers' legal citizenship, but rallied behind their actions to strike and vilified the actions of the President Roosevelt instead. Many of the workers occupying the mill in Morenci were already engaged in a political discussion within Mexico concerning their political rights as citizens. Across the border in Arizona, this discussion continued and became a rallying point for workers fighting for better wages.

Diamond Field Citizens

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[60] Mellinger, *Race and labor in western copper : the fight for equality, 1896-1918*, 64. Mellinger argues that the PLM was "definitely" organizing for political and labor action shortly before the Cananea strike.

[61] Casillas, "Mexicans, Labor and Strife in Arizona, 1896-1917," 51. I have chosen to discuss Cananea in some detail due to its close proximity to Clifton-Morenci (approximately 200 miles south of Clifton-Morenci) as well as the similar nature of the labor and political disputes in both regions.

[62] Ibid., 57.

Legal citizenship remained unclear in Kimberley as it had in Clifton-Morenci and was also inevitably linked to a discussion of race. Like those residents who embraced many cultures and nationalities in Arizona's frontier, Kimberley's residents came from many backgrounds and embraced many identities. They valued family and took on the roles of fathers, brothers, and sons. They valued tradition and ethnicity, and were Zulu, Matebella, and Griqua. The diamond fields brought many of these workers together for the first time, and as employees of De Beers, they also, overtime, gained an identity as mineworkers. The rapidly growing city of Kimberley provided a place to meet new people and to hear news from a growing outside region.

In 1899, as Kimberley fell under siege during the South African War, the demand for labor in the minefields and battlefields greatly increased. Similar to the demands of workers in Clifton-Morenci, African mineworkers mobilized in the hopes of obtaining fair wages and working conditions during the Siege and immediately following the end of the South African War. In South Africa, however, the fate of Africans' enfranchisement and citizenship status became an increasingly important debate in the country. Through both newspapers and interviews, Africans demonstrated an even stronger collective identity as both workers and citizens of a country where their rights were left in the hands of South African politicians. During an era when voting rights were increasingly becoming directly linked to the rights of citizens, the African community became increasingly vocal about the importance of African enfranchisement, often evoking a

sense of manliness attached to this male-only privilege.[63] Despite the strong ethnic identities workers maintained, they also gained an identity as worker-citizens engaged in a struggle for rights both within the diamond fields as well as within South Africa.

Workers and the War

Prior to the South African War, workers relied on a designated Protector of Natives to resolve labor disputes within the compounds.[64] This Protector of Natives would then personally investigate the complaint further. Complaints concerning abuse in the workplace, especially abuse from overseers using the *sjambok* (whip) on workers occurred frequently but almost never resulted in any repercussions for De Beers.[65] While workers voiced these complaints regularly, they did not initially result in collective action. Those strikes that did occur prior to the war were usually from men of the same ethnic background. On January 31, 1895, for example, the Protector of Natives reported on an incident at the De Beers West-end compound:

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[63] T.H. Marshall, "Citizenship and Social Class," in *The Welfare Reader*, 37. Marshall argues that, between the late 19th and early 20th century, there was a shift from political rights, such as voting, being a secondary privilege of the wealthy to a right directly attached to citizenship. In the U.K., this would be put into effect two decades later with the Act of 1918.

[64] In large centers of African labor, the Protector of Natives was responsible for hearing and responding to complaints and labor disputes.

[65] This list of Reports reflects only a small number of abuse complaints workers made to the Protector of Natives. Monthly Report of the Protector of Natives, Kimberley, April 1, 1895. NA 231, NASA; Monthly Report of the Protector of Natives, Kimberley, November 30, 1894. NA 231, NASA; Monthly Report of the Protector of Natives, Kimberley, December 31, 1894. NA 231, NASA; Monthly Report of the Protector of Natives, Kimberley, April 30, 1895. NA 231, NASA; Monthly Report of the Protector of Natives, Kimberley, August 31, 1895. NA 231, NASA; Monthly Report of the Protector of Natives, Kimberley, September 30, 1895. NA 231, NASA; Monthly Report of the Protector of Natives, Kimberley, October 31, 1895. NA 231, NASA.

> Here the Natives complained of having to work on Sunday, and a number of Xosa (*sic*) race, were discharged for refusing to work on Sunday, they were also beaten with a sjambok…(the acting manager) admitted that he had used the sjambok and promised in the future to put it away; As to the Sunday working I have him to understand that this could not be reinforced and if it was necessary to have work done on Sunday, volunteers should be called for…[66]

Even though these early worker actions did not threaten labor supplies at De Beers, the Protector of Natives warned that collective action could be potentially damaging for the mining companies:

> At present I have the very great pleasure in being able to say that the Compounds are in a satisfactory condition generally although I cannot say this has been the case with all of them for the past year assaults and other harsh and cruel treatments have not been altogether absent from some of the compounds and floors…Such conduct as this is likely to injure the labour supply for as the natives leave the work for their homes, they take with them the sting still remaining in their hearts, from the treatment they have received undeservedly from some cruel and hasty overseer…It is an exceedingly easy matter for one native to prevent hundreds of others from coming to Kimberley or elsewhere…[67]

Although the number of complaints concerning pay and working conditions suggests that laborers were unwilling to accept poor treatment in the workplace, these complaints also show that there was virtually no collective action within the De Beers compounds at this time.

The movement towards collective action in the workplace began with a territorial war in South Africa and a growing discussion of Africans' role within territory following the war. The contested territorial history of South Africa was long and complex, but the discovery of mineral-rich lands in the diamond and gold fields, along with a "scramble for Africa" that placed the British in competition with other world empires, revitalized a

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[66] Monthly Report of the Protector of Natives, Kimberley, January 31, 1895. NA 231, NASA.

strong interest in the British Empire's expansion of the Cape Colony's territorial holdings. The Colony annexed portions of the African and Boer occupied areas of the Transvaal in the 1870s and was met with strong resistance from the Boers that resulted in the first Anglo-Boer War between 1880-1881 and a peace treaty in 1881 that gave the Boers self-governance in the Transvaal. A second war in 1899 placed Kimberley at the center of the battle between the two South African powers. For many Africans residing in Kimberley and the surrounding territory, the war did not exist only on the pages of newspapers but in their daily lives as well. After a skirmish between Boer Commandos and British troops in the town of Kraaipan (approximately 300 km north of Kimberly), the Boers captured the British stronghold on October 12, 1899, signaling the start of the South African War. Two days later, the Boers cut water, rail, and phone lines to Kimberley, leaving residents in the town stranded with limited supplies. Throughout the next three years, the fighting surrounded Kimberley where it bordered the Boer Republic of the Orange Free State. Though historically known as both the South African War and the Second Anglo Boer War, the African population was largely involved on both sides of the fighting where they were employed as valuable laborers and soldiers for both British and Boer troops during the war. During the Siege of Kimberley, many mineworkers returned home, and some men found work in the war. Although official British policy barred Africans from carrying arms into battle, Africans were employed as wagon drivers, cattle guards, herders, conductors, scouts, and builders, among other

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[67] Annual Blue Book Report, Protector of Natives, Kimberley, December 9, 1895. NA 236, NASA.

things.[68] As the war carried on, however, more and more Africans were armed as guards and scouts.[69] Though often they were not armed with guns, they instead fought with a type of spear known as an assegai.[70] Africans also worked with the Boers during the war, many as laborers, or *agterryers.* These *agterryers* served as assistants to commandos and did various tasks during the war, accounting for approximately 7,000 – 11,000 Africans.[71] Africans also chose to fight alongside Boers during the war. Although their numbers were often not officially recorded, *agterryers* and other Africans fought as soldiers and sharpshooters for the Boers.[72]

In Kimberley, the Siege was a constant reminder of the larger political strife within South Africa, but people learned about the events of the war mostly from newspaper accounts. For Batswana mineworkers, *Koranta ea Becoana* provided detailed accounts of battles, key players in the war, as well as a forum for people of various socioeconomic to voice their opinions about local, national, and world politics. Despite the very strict political limitations at the time, Sol Plaatje encouraged readers of *Koranta ea Becoana* to remain loyal to the Cape Colony, in the hopes that, ultimately, the British Empire would provide nation-wide enfranchisement for Africans in anticipation of the

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[68] Steve Lunderstedt, *Black Involvement in the Northern Cape during the SA War, 1899-1902*. Sol Plaatje Educations Trust Fund: Kimberley, 2006, 2-3.
[69] Ibid.
[70] In his testimony to the Native Affairs Commission, Commander Bezuidenhout of the Rouxville Commando noted that on November 20, 1901, his patrol was attacked by approximately 8,000 African troops using assegais. Testimony of J. Bezuidenhout, 27 October, 1902. NA 445: State of Affairs, Anglo-Boer War, 1899-1902.
[71] Steve Lunderstedt, *Black Involvement in the Northern Cape during the SA War, 1899-1902*, 3.
[72] Ibid.

Boer Republic's annexation into the Cape Colony. The paper frowned upon African dissidents of the Cape Colony during the war and publically condemned them. Their punishments served as a reminder to all Africans caught in the middle of a war that supporting the Boers could have severe consequences. In an article titled, *"Moruti mo borukuthling*" (Minister in Conspiracy), Plaatje recounted the events of two men that supported Boer troops:

> *Moruti* (teacher/minister) Ackerman…appeared in front of judges at Kimberley that deal with rebels…While we were still detained* he still prayed for the victory of the Boers against their challenges…He has been asked to pay 250 pounds and 12 months in jail…
> *Moruti* Perold who teaches at Warrenton…began telling the Boers to continue fighting and that their war was just as God was on their side. He has been sentenced to 18 months imprisonment and a fine of £250 and 12 months in jail.[73]

Plaatje's publication ensured readers that supporting the "enemy" would not be tolerated. The paper developed a clear support for the British during the war and Plaatje hoped that this support and loyalty towards the Cape Colony and British Empire would reflect positively on the African population after the war.[74]

Koranta ea Becoana maintained a clear alliance in all reports of the war and news of the war was based upon British reports and sometimes referred to Boers as "*Lirukutlhi*" or rebels":

> The Boers are no longer hiding themselves…they have burnt the beautiful village of ours, Felekumete.

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* Detained during the Siege of Kimberley

[73] "Baruti Mo Borukutlhing" (Ministers in Conspiracy) *Koranta ea Becoana*, 14 September 1901, MSU.

[74] In August 1902 the editors wrote, "We are wondering that if the Boers get an increase in power, will it not also result in a loss of power of the Batswana?" *Koranta ea Becoana* 16 August, 1902, microfilm, MSU.

> Colonel Murray was in Moshou on Tuesday to attack the Boers…He captured the Boers' cattle and killed two Boers and five horses. He arrested three Boers…[75]

Plaatje also published graphic reports of the war that emphasized the brutality of the Boer soldiers towards the African population. "A corpse's arm was found here and later the decomposed body. The arm had been cut off…the body belongs to Jim Mpama who was once captured by Boers…"[76] These vivid accounts of the war only recorded the atrocities of the Boer Commandos and created an enemy for its readers. Plaatje hoped that strong support from the African community would result in political advantages for them after the war. Most importantly, he had hoped to maintain the franchise for Africans in the post-war period, and anticipated the growth of political power of the Cape Colony. His message was clear to those that subscribed to the paper. Support for the Empire now, meant protection from the Empire later.

Readers of *Koranta ea Becoana* recognized this message and also wrote favorably of the British Empire and asserted their loyalty to the British. One anonymous reader of the paper wrote a letter to King Edward VII in the hopes that his words would be printed in Plaatje's paper:

> Greetings to Edward VII, brave leader of the largest of all kingdoms…This is the protector of those who cannot protect themselves and he gives freedom to those who don't have freedom…We are humbly asking you to protect us because our enemies are falsely accusing us for things we have not done.[77]
> Our friends say we have this wickedness…(we) want nothing more than the government of England should ensure the laws that were initially made to protect us are maintained.[78]

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[75] "Mafokonyana" (News Briefings) *Koranta ea Becoana*, 7 September, 1901, microfilm, MSU.
[76] "Zes Kopies" *Koranta ea Becoana*, September 21, 1901, microfilm, MSU.
[77] *Koranta ea Becoana*, September 6, 1902, microfilm, MSU.
[78] *Koranta ea Becoana* 7 February, 1903, microfilm, MSU.

Readers of *Koranta ea* Becoana turned to the Empire for protection against the racial and political repression of the Cape Colony. However, readers also openly criticized the Cape Colony. As paying subscribers to the paper, readers insisted on their words being published, and Plaatje willingly printed their critiques of the Cape Colony. Plaatje and his readers engaged in debates that tested their rights as citizens of the British Empire and criticized colonial policy that clearly interfered with their regional politics. One contributor to the paper argued:

> …our *likgosana* (local leaders) from the Tlhaping, Maebu, Ga Motlharo , and Ra-Tlou tribes have the right to judge court cases and to sentence people from their tribes…despite this, all of Bechuanaland is still under Cape Town rule.[79]

Readers throughout the Cape Colony echoed this sentiment:

> Our *Magosi* (chiefs, leaders)…have the right to judge court cases and to sentence people from their tribes, this is a right that the colonial *Magosi* do not have; despite this, all of Bechuanaland is under Cape Town rule.[80]

For the mineworkers that came to the diamond fields for the first time, the social interactions with others, access to public media, and the centralized war between two colonial powers provided them with a completely new perspective of their homeland and their larger "homeland" within the British Empire. For the first time, many of the mineworkers in Kimberley began engaging in a discussion of regional, national, and international politics in which they were active participants.

On December 9, 1899, mine work temporarily ceased at De Beers, as Rhodes opened mine shafts as shelters for Kimberley's women and children.[81] Food was strictly

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[79] "Likaolonyana" (Writers) *Koranta ea Becoana*, 7 September, 1901, microfilm, MSU.
[80] *Koranta ea Becoana*, 7 September 1901, microfilm, MSU.

rationed for all residents of Kimberley, but African residents received the lowest portions, making them very susceptible to diseases like scurvy. There were over 1,648 recorded African deaths during and immediately following the Siege, mostly due to disease.[82] Many mineworkers returned home during the Siege, and official evacuations of De Beers mineworkers began on November 8, 1899. Those workers that remained or would return to Kimberley during the war were cognizant of their necessity to the survival of De Beers during the war. As their numbers rapidly depleted, workers began to make more demands from management, and solidarity grew stronger among members of different ethnic groups. Caught in the midst of a war between the Boer Republics and the British Empire, mineworkers used the labor shortage to their advantage, as strikes rose remarkably after the start of the war.

Between May 1899 to June 1900, employee numbers at De Beers dropped from 10,660 to only 4,760. Recorded incidents of strikes were unusually high in 1900, reflecting some of the lowest employment numbers at De Beers at the height of the war. On May 2, 1900, a group of workers refused to go to work in the mines after a labor recruiter assured them they would not have to work underground. When management attempted to force them to work, the Protector of the Natives reported that the workers "all strongly object to go into the mines." Rather than to compel the workers into the mines any further, management sent the workers home.[83] Less than a month later, 88 workers refused to go to work until they were paid up-to-date wages. In his report of the

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[81] Ibid., 15.

[82] Steve Lunderstedt argues that these numbers are like much higher than what was officially recorded, since there was over 1600 recorded deaths in mine compound alone. Ibid., 13.

strike, the Protector noted that the labor was, "still scarce and the mining authorities are anxiously awaiting the return to these fields of a large number of Natives…who left us when the Siege of Kimberley was raised."[84]

On September 30, 1900 De Beers' largest strike to date occurred "when the whole of the Natives in the De Beers Mine Compound struck, and refused to go to work." After years of being paid fortnightly, De Beers instituted a new pay schedule "evidently without consulting the Natives." Upon arriving in the compound, the Protector found all the workers waiting for their pay. The company quickly reverted back to its old pay schedule, ending the strike. The episode marked the first collective African strike in the compound and signaled a new identity for the mineworkers that went beyond ethnic commonality. The strike ended in a success for workers, as the Protector of the Natives reported, "the Company had to submit to the terms of the Natives, a precedent has been established with the Natives (who) may avail themselves of at any future time when…aggrieved." [85] The Protector of Natives continued to report of collective action throughout the duration of the war. At the Premier Mine Compound on October 29, 1900 between 30-40 men attempted to escape from the compound when mine guard shot at them, killing one and wounding two others. The men refused to work after complaining of insufficient wages that could support neither themselves nor their families.[86] These strikes, during the height of the Anglo-Boer War and at one of highest labor shortages

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[83] Monthly Report of the Protector of Natives, Kimberley, May 2, 1900. NA 259, NASA.
[84] Monthly Report of the Protector of Natives, Kimberley, May 31, 1900. NA 259, NASA
[85] Monthly Report of the Protector of the Natives 30 September 1900. NA 259, NASA

during De Beers' history, demonstrated the collective power and identity that many mineworkers embraced during the war.

The Franchise Debate

Following the end of the South African War in 1902, Britain annexed the Boer territories of the South Transvaal and Orange Free State. In the aftermath of the war, as South African political leaders began to envision a unified country for South Africa, a discussion of the inclusion of Africans within this country became an important topic of debate for many people. African enfranchisement was an especially important part of the discussion, and for many South Africans, the right to vote signaled that one was formally educated, financially secure, adopted European customs, and embodied a sense of manhood.

In the few years prior to the passing of the 1905 Bill, the Native Affairs Commission conducted a series of interviews with South Africans from a variety of socio-economic backgrounds to gather information for Cape Colony officials concerning the future enfranchisement of Africans. The Native Affairs Commission interviewed numerous people, and attempted to cover a large and diverse area for the report. Interviewees included priests, intellectuals, farmers, political leaders, and the general public. Women, who were ineligible to vote, were not included in the franchise debates, however.[87] While the range of opinions concerning African enfranchisement varied greatly, testimony of African participants is especially revealing and suggests that

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[86] Monthly Report of the Protector of Natives, Kimberley, October 31, 1900. NA 259, NASA.

[87] South African Native Affairs Commission and Great Britain, *Report of the Commission with Annexures and Appendices ...*, Vol. I, p. 10.

enfranchisement was a key issue for Africans fighting for citizenship rights within the Cape Colony. Many prominent African figures argued that their financial and property requirements provided them with the right to vote. Chief Stephen Mini argued, "a land owner…who has a certain income…or certain property…should have the same right as white men, and should participate in the election"[88] Other Africans, who clearly enjoyed the privileges that assimilation had afforded them, argued that, "A civilized man…who is born and brought up under the influence of Europeans and educated" should have the franchise.[89] These testimonies demonstrate the importance of the vote for some of the Cape Colony's prominent African residents, but the importance of citizenship and its ties to enfranchisement was also a central issue for many Africans overall.

In an attempt to gather a wide variety of opinions concerning the future of Africans, the Native Affairs Commission conducted interviews from numerous African civilians following the end of the Second South African War. Interviewees were both invited to participate in the Report or responded to the advertisements the Commission circulated.[90] On June 1, 1904, the Commission asked Cleophas Kunene, a man that the Commission simply classified as "Native," to express his thoughts concerning African enfranchisement. He argued:

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[88] Testimony of Stephen Mini, 1st June, 1904. "Report of the Commission, 1903-05. South African Native Affairs Commission; presented to His Excellency, the High Commissioner and the governments of the colonial territories in British South Africa." Cape Town: Cape Times, Ltd., 1904-1905, Vol. III, p. 967.

[89] Msane, classified as a "Native Compound Manager" by the Commission, had most likely gotten a more desirable job in the minefields due to his willingness to adopt traits of European culture such as religion, dress, and language. Testimony of Msane, 17th Oct. 1904. "Report of the Commission, 1903-05., Vol. IV, p. 856.

> I wish to speak on three subjects, namely the franchise, education, and the status and condition of the Natives. With regard to the franchise, my opinion is that every man who possesses the necessary qualifications should be allowed the franchise…and with the full consideration that, where taxation exists, there must be Parliamentary representation. I contend that, as our people also pay taxes, they should be allowed the franchise, they should be allowed to exercise the full rights under the franchise.[91]

Kunene highlights the important link between taxation and one's political enfranchisement. His testimony may have very well reflected the opinion of the thousands of tax-paying mineworkers in Kimberley. Another African speaker, M.S. Radebe, argued that African participation in Colonial elections was important because "there are laws made for us exclusively."[92] Despite their third-class status as citizens, enfranchisement still provided them with citizenship.

Those Africans who struggled to maintain or gain enfranchisement argued that paying taxes gave them voting qualifications, but the act of voting represented a symbolic process beyond politics. In the U.S., the WFM used the strike in Clifton as a rallying point to bring its membership to the polls in the upcoming presidential election. The practice of voting was tied to one's sense of liberty and manhood. In South Africa, many of the interviewees of the Commission's Report also described a sense of manhood for those persons who were able and chose to vote. Many Africans felt that their third-class citizenship status denoted them as lesser men, and decades of discriminatory laws and missionary paternalism perpetuated rumors of Africans' inferior and child-like qualities.

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[90] South African Native Affairs Commission and Great Britain, *Report of the Commission with Annexures and Appendices ...*, Vol. I, p. 2.

[91] Testimony of Cleophas Kunene, 1st June, 1904. "Report of the Commission, 1903-05, Vol. III, p. 974.

[92] Testimony of M.S. Radebe, 9th May, 1904. "Report of the Commission, 1903-05, Vol. II, p. 538.

When Africans embraced the masculine practice of voting, it became an important tool for combating these stereotypes. Reverend E. Tsewu argued that the voting process would provide a voice to the African population, "rather than (to) be shut up and made children."[93] Chief Stephen Mini argued that "Natives should be treated in that respect in exactly the same way as the white man is treated" and that the franchise would "make a man" out of Africans, and "make something of him in the country."[94] For many Africans that testified in front of the Native Affairs Commission, enfranchisement meant both a promise of citizenship as well as the promise of being treated like a man in one's own home. Africans saw little separation between these two things and recognized the necessity of them to obtaining citizenship.

Many Africans also understood citizenship rights went beyond the ballot box. During the Commission's interviews, some Africans specifically addressed the British Empire, discussed their role as British subjects, and expressed their hope that the Empire would serve to protect their rights, especially as politicians within the Cape Colony debated the future of African enfranchisement. During their interviews with the Native Affairs Commission, Africans specifically addressed the direct link between the British Empire and themselves and their struggle for enfranchisement:

> The English Government, which some of us were brought up under, is a free and just Government, and by preventing the Native from exercising his right to vote an injustice is done to him, and an injustice is done to the rest; an injustice is done

[93] Testimony of Rev. E. Tsewu, 14th October, 1904, "Report of the Commission, 1903-1905, Vol. IV, p. 789.
[94] Testimony of Stephen Mini, 1st June, 1904. "Report of the Commission, 1903-05. Vol. III, p. 968.

> to men who are trying to improve themselves, and an injustice is done to men who are trying to adopt the customs of the best Government.[95]

When James Mama testified in front of the commission in October of 1904, he recognized the inherent protections that were characteristic of being a citizen of the British Empire and argued legal citizenship status provided him and fellow Africans with the "only safety" for the African population.[96] Mama's testimony highlights enfranchisement as a necessary component of full citizenship. His testimony demonstrates a clear alliance, not only the Cape Colony, but also the British Empire that was contingent upon his membership as a full legal citizen.

At the turn-of-the-twentieth century, the South African War and the subsequent nation-wide discussion of African enfranchisement helped to foster a stronger collective identity among mineworkers in Kimberley. For Batswana mineworkers, *Koranta ea Becoana* was an important source for communication and gave mineworkers access to regional, national, and international politics. This news would not only change how workers responded to unsatisfactory labor conditions, but it would also help to create a collective identity as citizens of the British Empire.

After the Strikes

Workers in Clifton-Morenci and Kimberley would continue to experience labor unrest and the increasing erosion of their rights as both laborers and citizens. In 1910, the start of the Mexican Revolution created new fears in the U.S. that the radicalism of Mexican revolutionaries would spread across the border and incite a revolution in the United

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[95] Testimony of Rev. E. Tsewu, 14th October, 1904. "Report of the Commission, 1903-05, Vol. IV, p. 790.

States.[97] Five years later, a general strike in Clifton-Morenci would underscore these fears and demonstrate the tense relationship that coexisted between the WFM union, state and national politics, and the workers. In July, Mexican workers had recently organized a new workers' group, *El Club Cosmopolita*, suggesting that the WFM had not done enough to address the racial division that continued to dominate Clifton-Morenci's copper mining industry.[98] Although the WFM now supported Mexican membership, locals continued to carry racist assumptions about Mexican workers. Miami local George Powell, during an address to the State Federation of Labor meeting on October 1906, said the WFM was so important to Clifton-Morenci because, "if it had not been organized, revolution would have resulted." He continued by warning the audience about these "uncontrollable Mexicans."[99] In September 1915 the WFM organized a general strike. Carrying signs that read, "After 30 years of oppression, we demand justice," and "We will not have more Czars," Mexican workers once again demanded an equality that reflected larger political events. Although Arizona Governor George Hunt initially supported the strikers, public perception and the media were cautious of the mostly-Mexican strike. One Tucson paper reported Jesus Flores Magón was running a press for

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[96] Testimony of James Mama, 7th October, 1904. "Report of the Commission, 1903-05, Vol. IV, p. 645.

[97] Kenneth Dale Underwood, "Mining wars: Corporate expansion and labor violence in the Western desert, 1876-1920" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Nevada, Las Vegas, 2009), 226.

[98] Mellinger, *Race and labor in western copper : the fight for equality, 1896-1918*, 154. The WFM, once aligned with the IWW now split from the organization by 1908. realigned itself with the AFL once more in 1911 under more conservative leadership. Michael Parrish, *Mexican Workers, Progressives, and Copper: The Failure of Industrial Democracy in Arizona During the Wilson Years* (University of California, San Diego: Chicano Research Publications, 1979), 7.

"inflammatory literature" which was being distributed among the Arizona copper camps.[100] Governor Hunt informed the National Guard in September, "I believe that owning to the local conditions and particularity to the relations with Mexico that Troops should be sent here immediately."[101] In Clifton-Morenci, anti-Mexican sentiment coupled with increasingly anti-Mexican legislation only continued to divide workers across racial and ethnic lines.[102]

In 1917, vigilante community members and Federal immigration enforcement agents would work together to ensure the working class in Arizona remained divided. In nearby Bisbee, as workers under the direction of the I.W.W. went on strike, vigilantes rounded up 1,100 men, Anglo and Mexican, and marched them onto cattle cars where they were transported out into the New Mexico desert. These "Arizona Vigilantes" as the media called them, were members of the "Citizens' Protective League" and agreed to round up all "undesirables" "until the last I.W.W. is run out." After the men were rounded up, the vigilante group continued to patrol the street and the media reported, "every male citizen is armed."[103] Many Mexican workers would struggle to find a place in unions in the future as the war brought increasing xenophobia to the region and unionists continued to push for anti-alien legislation.[104]

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[99] Mellinger, *Race and labor in western copper : the fight for equality, 1896-1918*, 158.
[100] Ibid., 157.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid., 160.
[103] "Arizona Vigilantes Drive Out 1,100 I.W.W.; U.S. Soldiers Called," *Detroit Free Press*, July 13, 1917, accessed June 2012, http://pqasb.pqarchiver.com/freep/access/1774750602.html.
[104] Mellinger, *Race and labor in western copper : the fight for equality, 1896-1918*, 199.

In Kimberley, limited mining technology and the rapid rate at which diamonds were extracted from the area would bring major mining operations to an abrupt halt. The De Beers Mine ceased production in 1908 and the Kimberley Mine ceased production in 1914. De Beers would continue to expand production in other areas of South Africa, however. In 1925, diamonds were discovered in Namaqualand, on the western side of the country, and De Beers asserted an even greater level of control over the region, its infrastructure, and its workers.[105]

In the same year that Mexican Revolution began, in South Africa, the four colonies: the Cape Colony, Natal, Transvaal, and Orange River Colony formed the Union of South Africa on May 31, 1910. Of the four million Africans living in the new country at the time, not a single one had a representative voice in creation of the new constitution, nor was a single one allowed to participate in Union parliament voting.[106] When the British imperial government appointed Louis Botha, the descendent of Voortrekkers, first Prime Minister of the new country, he encouraged a policy of "unity and cooperation," but the incipient legislation limiting African rights and autonomy suggested that that unity was reserved for South Africa's white population.[107]

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[105] Peter Carstens, *In the Company of Diamonds: De Beers, Kleinzee, and the Control of a Town* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2001), 6.

[106] Harvey M Feinberg, "The 1913 Natives Land Act in South Africa: Politics, race, and segregation in the early 20th century," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 26, no. 1 (1993): 70, 82-83.

[107] Ibid., 70-71. At the time of the formation of the Union of South Africa, Africans still maintained enfranchisement outside of Parliamentary elections in the Cape and with restrictions in Natal if they met the property and income qualifications.

In 1913, Act number 27 of 1913, the Natives Land Act went into effect.[108] The act, which eliminated Africans' right to purchase or lease land and established 7% of the country's total territory as reserve area for Africans, laid the foundation for the "legal structure of apartheid."[109] The act helped to solidify Africans' role in the country as cheap labor by dismantling African autonomy even further, eroding familial connections that were tied to land inheritance.[110] Sol Plaatje, who was the first General Secretary of the newly formed South African native National Congress, said of the act, "On June 20, 1913, the South African native found himself not actually a slave, but a pariah in the land of his birth."[111] In 1916, he published *Native Life in South Africa*, which was a response to the oppressive act. In yet another attempt to gain the protection of the British Empire, *Native Life* was his attempt to bring attention to the situation among the British public.[112]

The Other Workingmen's Democracy

The struggle for equality and democracy in Clifton-Morenci and Kimberley would not end in a success story this time. Workers remained second class citizens, without entitlement to citizenship rights. But Herbert Gutman argued that, "labor history had little to do with those matters scholars traditionally and excessively emphasize."[113] Although few battles ended on the side of the mineworkers (and even fewer conflicts

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[108] Ibid., 65.
[109] Ibid., 66, 68.
[110] Sol. T Plaatje, *Native Life in South Africa* (Northlands [South Africa]: Picador Africa, 1916), xi.
[111] Ibid., 21.
[112] Ibid., 4.

were fought) this does not undermine the workers' understanding of race, citizenship, and democracy. In both Clifton-Morenci and Kimberley, a cultural understanding of citizenship helped clarify poorly defined legal designations. Workers in both Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci instead fought to gain universal rights associated with citizenship. In both regions, workers fought for rights associated with citizenship. In the process of fighting for these rights, workers gained a common identity as second class citizens struggling to be recognized as full members of their society. Although workers maintained distinct identities across various ethnic, cultural and national lines, a collective identity as workers seeking citizenship rights emerged in the workplace in both Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci. Workers sought the protection and recognition of these rights from the Federal and Imperial government and asserted citizenship rights by combating cultural stereotypes that suggested they did not have the moral upbringing, principles, or autonomy to be first-class citizens.

In Leon Fink's *Workingmen's Democracy*, the Knights of Labor emerge as the working class' solution to the disappearance of 18th century Republicanism of equal rights and self-worth.[114] In Clifton-Morenci and Kimberley, workers also maintained a clear understanding of democracy both in and out of the workplace. Fink argues, rather than to surmise that a collective conscious arose from workers' "ethnic, kinship, religious, and other traditional relations," that a collective understanding of democracy was also the product of a "a conscious revolt from a social order that they as individuals

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[113] Herbert Gutman. *Power and Culture: Essays on the American Working Class*. Ira Berlin, ed. New York: Pantheon Books, 1987, 70.

[114] Leon Fink, *Workingmen's Democracy: The Knights of Labor and American Politics*. University of Illinois Press: Chicago, 1983, 3.

had previously tolerated."[115] In both Clifton-Morenci and Kimberley, vague notions of citizenship dominated the colonial landscape of both areas. Although activists and community leaders provided the intellectual groundwork for workers' understanding of national politics and the greater role workers played as citizens, workers employed this understanding of citizenship rights to the workplace, demanding better pay, treatment, and working conditions. In Clifton-Morenci, striking workers were mostly Mexican and Italian but workers found agency through a common understanding of their rights as workers and citizens. In South Africa, collective action during the Anglo-Boer War suggests that workers united despite ethnic divisions at the same time that they began to understand their own role as members of the British Empire. This sense of agency through national identity and understanding of worker rights connected to citizenship rights were important developments that led to increased collective action for workers in Clifton-Morenci and Kimberley.

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[115] Ibid., 220.

CONCLUSION: FROM KIMBERLEY TO MARIKANA

The events surrounding the 1903 strike in Clifton-Morenci and the strikes in Kimberley provided workers with the opportunity to express their dissatisfaction with working conditions, but these strikes also represented an important shift in how workers mobilized to fight for labor rights. At the turn-of-the-twentieth century, workers organized after nation-wide discussions concerning citizenship rights in both regions spread to these two working communities. Although workers fought for better wages and working environments, these labor struggles were embedded in a deeper struggle for political rights and enfranchisement. In Clifton-Morenci and Kimberley, it is impossible to separate the history of workers and their communities from a discussion of national political discourse. Workers and their communities brought a long history and complex understanding of social, cultural, and political identity with them to the mines and this, in turn, shaped their experience as mine workers. In these regions, where large-scale unions did not exist, workers relied upon a shared identity as both workers and citizens to bring a sense of agency to the workplace and a greater sense of agency nationwide. The political and labor struggles that disenfranchised workers in Arizona and Clifton-Morenci continued throughout the twentieth century, and they continue today, but the legacy of the political and labor struggles in both regions at the turn-of-the-twentieth century provided workers with a stronger sense of unity.

The struggle for worker and citizenship rights was a critical debate for workers and their communities in an area where social, political, and cultural identities were unclear. Although Clifton-Morenci and Kimberley were bustling towns during the height

of industrial mining, both regions remained on the frontier, and workers, communities, industrialists, and politicians all brought different visions of how this frontier should be governed. For its residents, living on the frontier meant that ethnic lines were blurred and racial categories were unclear. In both regions, workers and their communities shared very different ideas of what citizenship, rights, and liberty meant. Politicians, workers, industrialists, and the greater community all carved their own vision of how best to define and govern society in Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci.

At the same time that the diamond industry and copper industry were growing at unprecedented rates in South Africa and Arizona, political activists were distributing news to workers and their communities. Papers like *Regeneracíon* and *Koranta ea Becoana* linked networks of people together and provided a social forum for workers to gain a better understanding of their role within a nation-wide context. In Clifton-Morenci, political tension in Mexico gave rise to discussions of *igualdad* and *justicia*. In Kimberley, a larger national discussion of the future role of Africans and their role as citizens of the British Empire sparked similar debates. In both regions, a debate of worker rights was inevitably tied to a broader discussion of political and national rights.

Although the 1903 strikes in Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci were not the only times when these areas experienced labor unrest, I chose to focus on these specific strikes because they occurred during a time of political conflict that influenced the way workers viewed themselves and each other. The dissatisfaction that workers collectively protested was fueled in part by an understanding and expectation of what worker rights should be, but also by the expectations of citizens for their country. These expectations of rights and

protections in both the workplace and nation were linked and suggest that historians cannot look at one without considering the other.

During my research visits to Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci, it was obvious that the vivid history I was uncovering about mineworkers and their communities had mostly vanished from public view. In Clifton, I met Jeff Gaskin, a resident of town who lived in the former Morenci Miners' Union Hall. Following a three-year strike that led to permanent scab replacements for PD, the union collapsed and the building was neglected. Gaskin, who was unaware of the local history, felt that he had "better buy the building in order to save it."[1] Inside, a large mural painted during the 1983 PD strike depicts the courage and dignity with which mineworkers and their community fought to retain their jobs and pay only to be replaced permanently with scab workers. Today Gaskin generously opens his home to visitors inquiring about the mural, but it remains hidden to most people passing through the town.

In Kimberley, machinery has replaced most of the mineworkers, and De Beers continues to mine the remaining diamonds in the area that were left in the tailings dumps on the outskirts of the city. In 2002 the company invested R50 million into the creation of the "Big Hole Project" – a tourist destination where the company claims it is "creating a lasting legacy for the people of Kimberley."[2] Here visitors can walk onto a platform to view the remains of the Kimberley mine, stroll through a recreated section of downtown Kimberley during its mining heyday, and purchase "Big Hole" souvenirs in the gift shop.

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[1] Mari Herreras, "Better Not Blink," *Tucson Weekly*, July 12, 2012, accessed July 2012, http://www.tucsonweekly.com/tucson/better-not-blink/Content?oid=3461925.

[2] The Big Hole Museum, "A Lasting Legacy for the People of Kimberley," http://www.thebighole.co.za/thebighole.php 2012. Accessed June 2012.

Walking through the museum, however, I found only a small memorial to the mine workers that remains largely unnoticed to tourists today.[3] The plaque, commissioned by the Bafokeng Women's Club in 2010, is a memorial to the hundreds of deaths the mines witnessed during the late nineteenth and early twentieth century and the only visible reminder that "the Big Hole" is not simply a tourist amusement. These memorials, although unseen to most visitors to the area, are reminders of the complex history of these regions and the people that inhabited their spaces.

As I was writing the conclusion for my dissertation in the summer of 2012, news of a wildcat strike at the Lonmin platinum mine in Marikana, South Africa made international headlines. The story was familiar: workers doing the most dangerous and difficult work (in this case, drilling) were being paid too little and refused to work until they received a pay increase and recognition of the union they supported. Police attempted to disarm the workers carrying traditional weapons (fighting sticks, spears) by surrounding the group with razor wire and forcing them out of the area with tear gas and rubber bullets. As workers rushed out of the enclosed area and towards the officers, confusion quickly led to officers shooting into the crowd, killing 34 of the fleeing workers.[4]

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[3] Opened in 2002, De Beers describes their "Big Hole Museum" as a "world-class tourism facility" which the Board describes as a project that will assist the Kimberley community transform from a "mining-based economy to one based on tourism." Ibid.

[4] Ranjeni Munusamy, "A world away from its reality, Marikana dissected, used, abused," *Daily Maverick*, August 22, 2012, accessed August 2012, http://dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-22-a-world-away-from-its-reality-marikana-dissected-used-abused.

While the details of what exactly made the officers fire into the crowd, or how much of a perceived threat the mineworkers were to police, is unclear, a larger debate surrounded the event concerning the rights of workers and citizens. Police Minister Nathi Mthethwa claimed that, although the South Africa constitution provided workers and citizens with the right for "peaceful and unarmed assembly," it also gave the South African Police Service the right to maintain public order.[5] In response to Mthethwa's statement Mosiuoa Likota of the Congress of the People party (COPE) said, "The Constitution does not allow death sentence. Who was this authority which said to the police 'shoot with live ammunition'? Who is this person who is above the Constitution? Who had the authority to waive the right people have to life?"[6] The incident sparked a debate that went beyond workers' wages and union representation. It was also a debate about the legacy of apartheid-era violence, the role of the government, and the rights of its citizens.[7]

The struggles and debates are similar to the ones at the turn-of-the-twentieth century in Kimberley and Clifton-Morenci when workers, community members, politicians, and social activists posed similar questions about workers' rights and citizenship rights. In Clifton-Morenci and Kimberley, it is difficult to identify physical

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[5] Ibid.
[6] Ibid.

memorials to the legacy of mineworkers and their communities. For visitors unfamiliar with the history, a couple of hidden memorials are the only physical reminders of workers' sacrifices in the past. It is obvious, however, that the legacy of these workers remains a part of mineworkers' identity today. It is an identity built upon a common history as workers, disenfranchised citizens, and informed communities. It was present in Arizona in 1983 and is present in South Africa today, and it cannot be hidden or forgotten.

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[7] see Greg Maronovich, "Beyond the chaos at Marikana: The search for the real issues," *Daily Maverick*, August 17, 2012, accessed August 2012, http://dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-17-beyond-the-chaos-at-marikana-the-search-for-the-real-issues. See also Sipho Hlongwane, "Lonmin, the 'unacceptable face of capitalism,'" *Daily Maverick*, August 20, 2012, accessed August 2012, http://dailymaverick.co.za/article/2012-08-20-lonmin-the-unacceptable-face-of-capitalism; "South Africa's Jacob Zuma visits Marikana mine," *BBC News*, August 22, 2012, accessed August 2012, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-19341850;

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