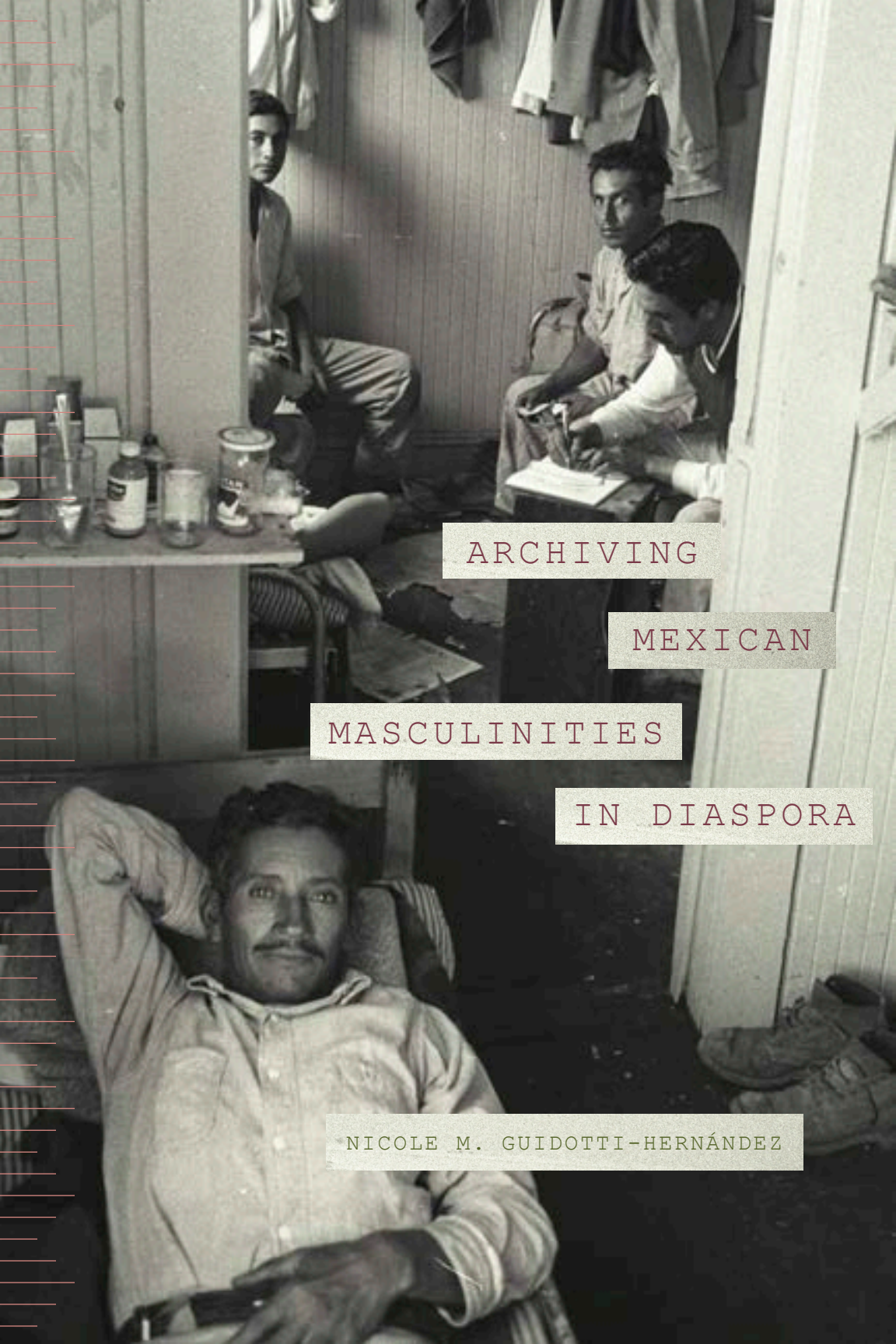




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MASCULINITIES

IN DIASPORA

NICOLE M. GUIDOTTI-HERNÁNDEZ

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Nicole M. Guidotti-Hernández

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Gondo labor camp, Watsonville, California, 1956. Courtesy Leonard Nadel
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This book would not exist without the friendships and collaborations I developed with numerous people: Diego Flores Magón, Anita Swearingen, the staff of the Nettie Lee Benson Library, Juan José Colomina Almiñana, and Ausiàs Colomina-Guidotti. The Benson staff are my intellectual family. AJ Johnson, Linda Gill, Daniel Arbino, and Christian Kelleher share the love of archives that I do. They were always quick to share materials, get what I needed, and make me smile when things were not so great. I love the Benson and its collection because of the aforementioned people.

I began my work in the Flores Magón archive before it became public, thanks to my dear friend Diego Flores Magón. As I worked through the thousands of documents curated by his great-grandfather Enrique, there were loose ends and things that didn't make sense to me. As I wrote, more holes and inconsistencies appeared. On a whim, I reached out to Anita Swearingen about her grandmother Paula Carmona, the wife of Enrique Flores Magón, who had essentially been written out of PLM history. Anita's graciousness in sharing the family history is what allowed me to write chapter 2. Together, we all met in Mexico City in January 2019. The Carmonas and Flores Magóns had been separated for a century based on a political battle that ended in a bitter divorce and abandoned children. The conversation over photographs and food in Coyoacán was incredible, for history was what united us at that very important moment.

My work on the bracero program was inspired by the fact that I grew up in the heart of the program's legacy and was taught nothing about it, simultaneously elucidating my privilege as a second-generation Mexican Italian and the vast historical amnesia that took place. This was disturbing to me, and it compelled the second half of the book. Aided by numerous research assistants, I could not have completed the work without Alana Varner, Alma Buena, Christine Castro, José Centeno-Meléndez, and Imelda Muñoz. Christine read the introduction, and I am grateful for the feedback she offered. Patrick Lawrence assisted with the translations. I also want to thank my aunt

Virginia Hernández, who provided essential information about the Salinas police force in the 1950s; my father, Richard Guidotti, for his great memory about spaces, places, and family history; and the office of the Salinas city attorney, which provided copies of numerous restrictive ordinances that governed the bracero program.

My ride-or-die crew made the last five years a little more manageable. You have no idea how much I love you all: Kathy Escobar, Lonnee Apperley, Elisa Carias, Belinda Lum, Susie Pak, Maritza Cárdenas, Eliza Rodríguez y Gibson, Domino Perez, Stephanie Quiñones, Andrew Quiñones, James Cox, Vicky de Francesco Soto, Adam Geary, Freddie Rodríguez, Luis Alvarez, Ruby Tapia, Lorena Muñoz, Tanya González, and Lorgia García Peña. I'm forever grateful to Domino Perez, who read one of the first full drafts of part II, which shaped the project thereafter. Having Víctor Macías-González at the Benson with me during the spring of 2019 was a blessing—the snark and research prodding were the best—thank you, my friend! My mentors, María Crístina García, George Sánchez, Josie Saldaña-Portillo, and Laura Briggs, have been there for me intellectually and personally—thank you. Here is where I also must thank my partner, Juan José Colomina Almiñana, and my son, Ausiàs. We've been to hell and back and are still here, thanks to Ausiàs, that little ray of sunshine. Thank you for supporting me even when it cost you.

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I saw a *curandera* in Mexico for a *limpia* regarding health issues. She told me, "People try to attach spells that paralyze you. But you are too strong, and they merely slow you down. You keep going." After everything that's happened to me while writing this book, I have one thing to say: you all slowed me down, but I am still going strong and will continue to do so. You know what you did.

Yesterday morning as well as in the morning of the last Sunday, I received fruit. I am obliged to Rafa for letting me know in his note of yesterday that Tere was out of town, for I was beginning to think that she would be sick. I'm feeling fine, although my rheumatism bothers me a bit on account of last night being so cold. But otherwise I feel strong after doing some special gymnastic exercises. I wish I was as strong as I am now than when that ruffian Thompson assaulted me so unprovoked and viciously.¹

Writing to a comrade from the Los Angeles County Jail, Mexican anarchist Enrique Flores Magón lamented much during his various stints of imprisonment in the United States. Wishing he had been physically stronger when Detective Thompson attacked him at the Edendale (Los Angeles) commune of the Partido Liberal Mexicano (PLM—a Mexican revolutionary party that opposed the Díaz dictatorship) earlier in 1916. This mundane recounting of physical weakness has additional significance. At first glance, the letter is rather straightforward—he wishes the outcomes could have been different—and is about his family, the police, his health, and his ailing body. Upon further reading, though, it raises a number of questions about Mexican masculinities and their gender formation in diaspora. For one, Flores Magón spent 50 percent of his twenty-three years of exile in US prisons. His political activities to liberate the Mexican people from the yoke of capitalism were met with hostility in the US instead of the freedom and belonging he had hoped to find.

The letter performs masculine stoicism, demonstrating to a comrade that he was indeed physically hearty and capable of surviving incarceration. Enrique idealized physical fitness as the key to thriving in an environment of police brutality. But normative masculine affect comes undone in the worry for his life partner, Teresa Arteaga de Flores Magón, showing that gender and

intimate relations did indeed change in migration. Gaps in communication with intimate partners, children, comrades, and family members made migration emotionally taxing, only to be exacerbated by imprisonment. It strained emotional attachments, exposing, as Jennifer Hirsch has argued, “how women and men are motivated by emotion and desire . . . but their emotion and desire must be historically situated.”² Taken in Hirsch’s framework, Enrique’s expression of loss, intimacy, and lament demonstrates how deeply migration and separation, whether through imprisonment or living in a labor camp that felt like a prison, altered gender relations and expressions of gender. Although this letter to a comrade from the Los Angeles County Jail recorded the fragility of Mexican masculinities in diaspora, such fragility was a function of the intimacies that were cultivated in the face of separation and being a racial, political, and social outsider in the US. In the letter, Mexican masculinity is flexible (simultaneously stoic, visceral, fragile, and tender) and exemplifies how migrant men’s intimacies also made up their lives as political subjects.

The circumstances that transformed Mexican migrant masculinities in the early twentieth century continued shifting in other historical moments as well, especially during the *bracero* program (between 1942 and 1964 Mexico exported agricultural laborers to the US in a bilateral agreement). Migrant Mexican men’s intimacies were made flexible by migration, but the receiving society continued to express anxiety about them, particularly in northern California. The year 1956 yielded the highest number of *braceros*—literally, people who work with their arms—ever imported into California for agricultural labor. These communities felt the swell in *bracero* numbers, with the populations of towns often doubling overnight during peak growing season (March through October). In turn, locals responded with racist and culturally superior language and legislation to make themselves feel more American and to make *braceros* feel even more alien. Journalist Carlos Aniceto Gutiérrez reflected upon the impact of the 1956 *bracero* labor boom:

In 1956, California farmers spent \$6,000,000 in *bracero* transportation from and to contracting centers. . . . This constant current, involving millions of people on both sides of the border every year, creates all sorts of problems. “What started as an economical problem has become a social one, involving murder, robbery, narcotics addiction, prostitution and many others.” Vice centers are located in or near the *bracero* camps. There are more than 5,000 of those camps in California and only 28 inspectors supervise them. . . . Fatherless children are left all over California, causing a constant increase in which the number

of cases with which social welfare agencies must deal. In 1955, eight hundred abandoned families reported in the state absorbed more than \$1 million of taxpayer money.³

For braceros, new intimacies and gender formations generated problematic conditions for mainstream Anglo-Americans who were not in the agricultural industry as well as Mexican American cultural brokers such as Gutiérrez and civic leaders of both ethnicities. The importation of Mexican men as laborers solved an economic problem in the US but also generated a “socio-economic problem.” As the Mexican American reporter Gutiérrez noted, these men were seen as a locus of vice that spread into the surrounding communities. According to Gutiérrez, their sexual relationships put a strain on the social welfare system, and his underlying message was intended to differentiate the behaviors of Mexican nationals from Mexican Americans. Instead of seeing migrant Mexican men’s longing for intimacy and community as a gendered and sexualized product of segregated labor conditions, newspapers, city governments, and families (Anglo- and Mexican American alike) tolerated the bracero presence in California because the workers provided low-wage labor in a booming agricultural economy. Again, Gutiérrez was a Mexican American and did not include the perspectives of the braceros themselves, showing how the vast majority of their daily lives and newly formed masculine intimacies, emotional attachments, and a sense of loss were circumscribed, interpreted, and recorded by someone else. Not only did braceros generate a visceral emotional response from receiving communities, but their own desires to be seen as people and to be included in society as consumers with economic, sexual, and emotional desires were often at odds with each other. Mexican men’s relationships with other men in labor camps prompted pleasure-seeking activity and consumer spending. Although migration reasserted the masculine privileges of mobility afforded to Mexican men at home, the racialized policing of sexuality, labor, and leisure was enforced abroad. Gutiérrez’s pathological narrative produced exactly that: a wholesale rejection of bracero attempts at forging intimacies and engagement with American society. Exploring questions of masculine fragility, vulnerability, and intimacies forged as a result of a collective migration is the pathway out of the pathology narrative, especially in the context of California’s Salinas Valley. One of the few glimpses we get of bracero intimate life that represent flexible ideas of Mexican masculinities can be found in Leonard Nadel’s massive photographic archive, which I analyze in detail herein.

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I tell these two stories and many others like them throughout *Archiving Mexican Masculinities in Diaspora* to recapture intimacy and affect as forms of history meriting documentation and interpretation. In recording these intimacies forged in diaspora from the 1890s to the 1950s, from the PLM to the bracero program, the male privileges of mobility are seen as exacerbating gender inequalities even as masculinities could take on different expressions through the migratory context. Those intimacies provided numerous configurations for masculinities built through bonds between men and their communities via out-migration from Mexico to the United States.

But even as we grapple with the idea of multiple Mexican masculinities forged in diaspora, there are political and scholarly investments in maintaining a status quo. What happens when we question these entrenched narratives? The process is unsettling, to say the least. But also, I hope, revelatory. And necessary. Because over time, the stories we tell become simplified and calcified, and they help no one. These histories must be investigated with careful precision, from different angles and fresh perspectives. Only then can we hope to have a more complete and representative understanding of the past. Here we will be investigating anew the question of Mexican masculinity. The term *Mexican masculinity* brings to mind *machismo* (I can't tell you how many times people jumped to the conclusion that this book is only about *machismo*), the concept of the patriarchal, sexist Mexican man who dominates women. But that version of the story is a simple one, painfully simple and not the reality.

I have written this book—a feminist cultural transnational history—to show that typical narratives of Mexican masculinity are often simplistic and reductive. Life narratives are far more complicated. Here we will explore the inner lives of Mexican men who were exiled and/or who migrated to the US across the first half of the twentieth century. What we find is not a single Mexican masculinity but masculinities in the plural. What we find are the various ways that the US influenced and shaped the lives of Mexican nationals within its borders. What we find is the crucial and suppressed role that intimacy, emotion, and desire played in their lives.

As we engage with Mexican masculinities in diaspora, the archives demonstrate the broader lived realities of individuals who were noncitizens within a nation that treated them as problematic outsiders. The first half of the twentieth century, the focus of *Archiving Mexican Masculinities in Diaspora*, is important because it marked the end of Porfirio Díaz's dictatorship, Mexico's social revolution, and the bracero program, which were all major factors prompting migration to the United States. As men migrated for economic

and political reasons for more than fifty years, they sought freedom. They also found themselves in alienating circumstances, where their private and public lives were highly regulated by the law and the nation-state. As the archives examined in this book demonstrate, men's daily intimacies were exposed in the US and Mexico via newspapers, letters, telegrams, photographs, drawings, police reports, military communiqués, and more. Because migrant Mexican men's intimacies were under scrutiny in both nations, their political identities were shaped by this regulation. In order to understand their experiences more fully, we need a transnational approach to affect and intimacy, one where the movement of ideas, bodies, services, emotions, and goods across and between the borders of nation-states produced new forms of gender.

Because massive social and economic transformation in Mexico in the first half of the twentieth century caused migration, mostly by men, to the United States, *Archiving Mexican Masculinities in Diaspora* tracks the resulting gender transformations. It focuses on what I call *transnational masculine intimacies*, which refers to the emotional bonds and relationships that Mexican men built with other men and their extended networks during their migrations to the United States. By exploring these intimacies, we learn not only about the multiplicity of what it meant to be masculine, but we also see how diaspora shaped the idea of nation. The importance of examining the ways that gender structures and is in turn structured by transnational social ties is crucial to the project.⁴ Throughout this book we will be looking at one very particular manifestation of this relationship: the versions of masculinity that existed in the transnational circuit between Mexico and California. That circuit—and masculinity itself—can be better understood if we are critical of how representations of gender and sexuality vary because of migration.

By foregrounding the power of archives, we can study ideologies circulating between 1900 and 1956 about Mexican masculinities. The collection of cultural objects about the PLM and Enrique Flores Magón, Leonard Nadel's bracero archive at the Smithsonian, the Eisenhower presidential papers, and other Salinas Valley archives make an impassioned case for taking seriously emotion, intimacy, and new masculine formations. These archives span the 1890s to the 1950s, tracking changes in how diasporic masculinity was represented and understood over time. As a result, the book commits to a more expansive vocabulary and disturbs what appear to be cemented historical narratives steeped in patriarchal nationalisms.

Mexican anarchist Enrique Flores Magón and the braceros who labored in the Salinas Valley and the archives about them represent a contradiction between emotional attachment to people and a dream that could never be

realized: freedom. This book is about those attachments and their failures. Because the study is generated from archives about anarchists and braceros, we must also question the practices of archiving. The analysis focuses on the conditions and contexts of their migrations to unite the two case studies: the book contrasts and compares the migrant experiences of PLM junta members and braceros. Both studies demonstrate how the presence or absence of women in the diaspora process recast human relationships: anarchists migrated with female comrades, but braceros migrated alone. Nayan Shah has described gender and migration intimacies as disputes over domesticity, companionship, and public life, which were part of larger state efforts to regulate migrant behaviors.⁵ As the United States and Mexico tried to regulate these migrants in public, their private lives allowed new forms of subjectivity to emerge. As Víctor Macías-González notes, “It is critical to consider how domestic space, households, housework and sociability”—in other words, the private sphere—provided a place for men to negotiate their roles in Mexico’s diaspora.⁶ Because anarchists and braceros were so heavily regulated by the US and Mexican governments, their private lives became public. Thus, by examining the intimacy analytics proposed by Shah and Macías-González, fresh perspectives about Mexican masculinities emerge.

Whereas Mexican men’s migration has primarily been studied through the public sphere, my work delves into the private and domestic dimensions of migration. Part I narrates Enrique Flores Magón’s intimate life and loves during his almost twenty-year exile in the US between 1907 and 1923. Part II accounts for the world that bracero guest workers encountered and created when they migrated from Mexico between 1942 and 1964 to labor in Salinas Valley’s agricultural fields. These two Mexican migrant experiences vary quite a bit, yet there is much to be learned from the continuities that each cohort experienced in terms of discrimination, regulation, and the intimacies and attachments they formed despite constant policing by the state. These two cohorts of Mexican migrants are my focus for numerous reasons. First, studying the intimate lives and visual archives allows one to track migratory subjects in their affective and emotive lives across space and time. Second, the transnational nature of their lives is emblematic of the mobility—however it was policed by both the Mexican and US governments—that male subjects were afforded, despite tightening immigration restrictions in the first half of the twentieth century. Third, Flores Magón and the braceros alike were migratory subjects forged through political and economic exile. In both cases, migration was a necessity for survival, not a mobility afforded with cosmopolitan luxury. There are indeed tensions in comparing these compulsory

migrations, but putting the condition of PLM political exile in conversation with the braceros' racial and economic marginalization reveals the political and ideological impetus for migration in both cases. Fourth, these national histories—of both the US and diasporic Mexican California—are histories of intimacy, where subjects forged sometimes optimistic but also harmful emotional attachments. Fifth, intimacies matter to our methodology for understanding masculinities because historicizing emotional bonds has the capacity to transform and enrich how stories of the past are told. Sixth, Mexican masculinities are highly mediated by nationalism and must be questioned. Seventh, the private spills effortlessly into the public realm with documents and photographs of varying gender ideologies that were produced by and for the state.⁷ Eighth and finally, archival and visual transcripts of daily life for Mexican male migrants do not match up with long-standing, normative, and sacred nationalist forms of ideology reproduced by Mexico, Mexicanist scholars, and scholars of Mexican America. As a Latinx feminist scholar, I evaluate how intimacy and attachment are archived and how they served as quotidian forms of self-making in diaspora.

As a person who rejected the authority of the state during his exile, Flores Magón produced his own archive. Until five years ago, it remained largely a private project of the Flores Magón family. For this reason, we must also question the narrative that it constructs in telling a particular version of his family and the PLM.⁸ Similarly, Leonard Nadel's photographs seem to tell a straightforward story until we start to look more closely at his archive. Nadel was a highly esteemed photographer whose work appeared in the *Los Angeles Times*, *Harvester News* (features photographer), *Life*, and *Business Week*. In addition, he was the official photographer for the Los Angeles County Housing Authority and was deeply influenced by the social realism of the Works Progress Administration (WPA) photos two decades earlier. In 1956 he was awarded a grant from the Freedom Fund, a subsidiary of the Ford Foundation, which sought to document the flaws of the US immigration system. Nadel spent twelve months living in bracero camps in the Salinas Valley, across California and Texas; the by-product was a series of intimate relationships that Nadel developed with braceros while he lived with them. In the end only nine of the more than two thousand photos he took were published in an editorial for *Look*.⁹ Indeed, we know about the entire corpus of images because in 2010, Nadel's widow donated all of his old contact sheets, some captioned photographs, and correspondence relating to the collection to the Smithsonian. The images record the intimacy and homosocial spaces where emotional bonds were forged. Some of these relationships were sexual;

many were not. Still, the evidence presents queer masculine possibilities: the bracero program provided a less policed opportunity for those who wanted to pursue same-sex relations to do so.¹⁰ Bracero photos taken by Nadel construct a complicated vision of the program's social-sexual legacy. The photographs of bracero daily life document how Mexican men responded to their contracted conditions in the United States and forged intimacies because of them.

I argue that because they were curated for eventual public consumption and access, both the Enrique Flores Magón archives and Leonard Nadel's archives can be read as forms of national history. With the Flores Magón case in particular, we must be attentive to the role of personal refashionings and how Flores Magón himself created suitable "histories" of the familial, and its attendant intimacies, in the construction of the archive.¹¹ In contrast, the Nadel photos were curated before and after the photographer's death and contain, among the contact sheets and captioned images, a biopic movie script that his widow pitched to Hollywood in the 1990s. Although the film was never made and no list of the men's names whom he photographed in 1956 is to be found—and braceros and their families may never have seen the photographs—Evelyn De Wolfe Nadel wanted her husband's radical social realist experiment to have the visibility it never achieved during his lifetime. We cannot overlook how the materials, vital records of braceros' daily diasporic lives, arrived at the Smithsonian or how they document the intimate attachments that Nadel developed with Mexican nationals in 1956.

In centering this archive, I do not argue that Nadel and his photographs were oppressive instruments of the state but rather that we should afford these documents a nuanced and attentive close reading. We should examine his artistry alongside the ideas within these images, and we should push beyond the simple notion that such documentary photographs are no more than evidence of the exploitation that braceros suffered in the US. In other words, interrogating power relations in visual records and written documents is vital to my argument, but is it never with the intention of dismissing aesthetics. We see how Nadel's photographic skill immortalized bracero experiences in a world absent of women and thus without the typical heterosexual family. In contrast to the stylized photos that Nadel took, the federal laws governing the bracero program, and the local Salinas Valley policies that guided these men and their movements, tell a very different story: their lives were highly regulated, and the men were regarded as sexually and socially deviant.¹²

In the Flores Magón archive we also see a narrative quite different from what we have come to expect about Mexican masculinity. It is easy to assume that in Flores Magón's circles, traditional family and gender ideologies were

completely absent because all the people were anarchists. I question this assumption based on close engagement with long-trodden archival sources. In problematizing how Flores Magón cataloged an intimate vision of family that was at times radical and, at other times, normative and punitive, the book examines how the desire for revolution could actually be contradictory to one's own capacity to flourish. Although some see Enrique as peripheral to the PLM, he was the one who outlived everyone else from the political organization to tell the tales in the way he saw fit.¹³ The body of materials narrating his place in history are evidence that a more expansive feminist accounting is sorely needed.¹⁴ Following Roger Bartra, I demonstrate how these archival synergies of diasporic Mexican masculinity are "most effective in securing a connection between mythology and politics by means of emotion."¹⁵ Therefore, both archives are collections of intimacy and emotion by virtue of their contents, and together they offer a plural vision of how Mexican masculinities have been made and remade through migration during the first half of the twentieth century. This book is built from what I call archives of intimacy: the records of masculine emotional bonds.

This is why we must consider not just the histories that have come before but also the visual objects that are central to their archives. Visuality is yet one more aesthetic form through which these attachments and intimacies can be understood. Depending on how an archive has been assembled by archivists, collected by family members, or used by scholars, this determines what kinds of narratives and histories are produced thereafter. Often, scholars and archivists are wedded to particular narratives and readings of documents or photographs because of the position that these artifacts occupy in preestablished histories. Emotional investment in these narratives and/or people is an attachment, which Lauren Berlant calls a form of optimism.¹⁶ Desires form hope, and that hope generates motive to preserve particular versions of history. Hopefulness about Mexican men's migration to the US as successful or resistant locates power in the idea of upward mobility and escaping oppression.

The Mexican men who migrated hoped they would find politically freer, less regulated lives. Instead, they found different racial and ideological forms of oppression, contrary to the class-based politics of the Mexico they left behind. For example, light-skinned braceros did not enjoy the same privileges afforded to them in Mexico because they were surveilled by the state as noncitizen, temporary laborers, just like their darker-skinned counterparts. The great equalizer in their shared inequality came from being Mexican nationals, irrespective of skin color. Still, Mexican male migrants clung to the optimistic promise of freedom in the United States, even when they

were imprisoned for violating neutrality laws or living in the most-squalid conditions. There was still hope. We can examine how optimistic conditions allowed men to forge relationships to one another in migration, but the intersections of gender, sexuality, and racial difference have not always been central priorities in previous analyses. For this reason, they are central to this book, most notably documented in photography. By analyzing visual documents of Mexican anarchist Flores Magón and Mexican bracero workers who labored in the Salinas Valley differently from the discursive ones, feminist, interdisciplinary frameworks demonstrate how diaspora constituted the idea of nation via transnational masculine intimacies. I not only discuss the proposition of why these two particular archives form the corpus but also interrogate their construction equally, as well as my own relationship to them as a feminist scholar. In this way no photograph or letter is taken at face value. With each object of interpretation I perform exhaustive readings of all the possible meanings and intentions. The critique and scholarly contribution are derived from the destabilizing force of Latinx critiques of gender and ideology as much as primary sources, entrenched historical narratives, and content.

Anarchist and Bracero Attachments on Paper and in Photography

Archives about Flores Magón and Salinas Valley braceros problematize the categories of human and representation, which is why this book analyzes them together. By explaining when, why, and how Mexican migrant men became threats to the US nation-state localized in California, a major engine of westward economic expansion, *Archiving Mexican Masculinities in Diaspora* traces the habitual ways that communities responded to these men. The state response was intrusion and surveillance, informing the written and visual accounts of Enrique's life in exile and that of braceros. Localized communal responses were to integrate these migrants and/or to tout their usefulness as laborers. As time progressed from the late nineteenth century to the mid-twentieth century, we see an expanded and redirected effort to regulate Mexican male migrants who were political dissidents or contracted laborers. Whereas anarchists were contained through the carceral apparatus, braceros were contained by legally negotiating the terms of entry prior to arrival. As a means of mediating Mexican migrant men's optimism about freedoms in the United States, these attachments to liberty and to one another force us to think more critically about the histories of masculinity as a product of migration and diaspora. The narratives and archives fit together along

the horizon of US and Mexican collaborations in the extraction of undesirables in a Mexican economy that had no place for them (a dictatorship that crushed dissent and an underemployed workforce).

Anarchists and braceros complicate understandings of migrant streams because they forced the recalibration of racially restrictive codes and the passing of new anticommunist, exclusion, and immigration laws.¹⁷ Although the paper legacies (archival documents, newspapers, telegrams, letters, and more) have been publicly less visible, the photographic legacies have the most impact in our visually driven culture today. Thus, I treat the visual materials as refractory aesthetic and political objects. Following Tina Campt's important work, these images of diaspora mediate the presence of a "home elsewhere, [for] diaspora is not an endless trajectory that perpetually overwrites its arrival somewhere." Visual archives document both arrival and departure as well as skillful compliance and refusal.¹⁸ As both Flores Magón and the braceros eventually returned to Mexico after their sojourn in the US, the writings and images capturing their time in country document the hope of returning home. In part I the photographs of Flores Magón and family were a function of living a public political life. In contrast, the bracero photographs examined in part II documented and framed the ephemeral nature of intimate life. Intentionally staged and occasionally constructed images, both of Flores Magón and of anonymous braceros, straddle the boundaries between personal intimacies, public documentation, and the intrusiveness of photography. The slippage between these categories makes up much of the discussion of archiving as a political and personal act. Because the world of the photographed and the world of the viewer come into tension with each other, attachments to anarchist and bracero communities were forged daily. One of the ways that attachment is formed lies in how subjects engage the camera. A smile, in a radical political context, could be an indicator of uncontained affect or a lack of seriousness. However, not smiling could also be a response to having bad teeth as a result of poverty or an act of refusal toward the authority behind the camera.¹⁹ A smile, in a context of joking or cajoling, such as we see in much of the bracero photographs, suggests that the images break conventions of twentieth-century Mexican masculinities, where one rarely if ever smiled for the camera. Self-representation in Nadel's bracero photographs differed drastically from Mexican norms and traditions of the proper masculine subject: *fuerte y formal* (strong and formal) men don't smile. Those traditions of stoicism contrast greatly with the scenes where Nadel coaxed his subjects into playfully engaging the camera, creating expressions of passion and pleasure not seen elsewhere. As John

Mraz has noted, the photograph is enmeshed in networks of competing interests, especially concerning Mexico and Mexican national identities.²⁰

Images are fundamentally affective objects. Imbued with emotion, they powerfully draw us into a narrative, irrelevant of our attachment to the subject. There is something about the visual field, no matter who we are, that welds us into viewership. After that initial glance, if an image compels us, we come back for a second take, and a third take, and in those additional views we build an attachment to the image, however ephemeral. In some ways the power of the visual field in sculpting history, in sculpting attachment, is overwhelming. Affective relations are forged through photographs. Photographs position the subjects in their most idealized or desired state and in a form of capture. Therefore, photographic subjects are not the only things that are captured; we too are captured as we look, gaze, study, or wonder. We become a captive audience to an image as it draws us in, mobilizes and organizes our sentiments, and sways us to engage.

Particular visual archives are often cited when referencing Mexican anarchism in southern California and the bracero program to map resistant subjectivities. Historical revolutionary and bracero narratives have been reproduced by scholars such as Colin MacLachlan, who argued that Ricardo Flores Magón was “an important precursor of political consciousness among Mexican Americans.”²¹ Others, such as Juan Gómez-Quíñones, stated that “the PLM and the Flores Magons, in particular, have become icons who have inspired racial activists in the US and Mexico.”²² Still others have argued that Ricardo was “a worthy representative of the Mexican Revolutionary precursors”²³ or, as José Muñoz Cota explains, “within his head is all of his glory; he is above the limits of our tiny heroes in comparison.”²⁴ On the bracero side, Deborah Cohen has argued that braceros and images of them show how they “were sent northward as heroes and received at home as ‘beasts.’”²⁵ These bracero “ambassadors in overalls,” like their PLM migratory counterparts from a few decades earlier, are celebrated for their valor.²⁶ Such representations revert to a discourse of heroism and recognizable exemplary political iconographies, but there is another, even more compelling way to see these images. I was first drawn to the set of images of both Enrique and Ricardo Flores Magón because of what was *not* being said about them. This holds true of my engagement with Nadel’s bracero photographs. Upon seeing these bodies of work, I of course saw the lionized visual iconographies of these men; I of course saw these images as evidence of the compulsory heteronormative masculinity that had been forged in California’s Mexican diaspora starting in the early twentieth century. Yet I also saw something

else that was harder to put into words. Both populations were policed and heavily surveilled in intimate ways. In that surveillance a structure of feeling was created, as Raymond Williams would say; it is that feeling that I explore through the official discourse of policy and regulations, and in the popular response to such diasporic subjects.

From this surveilled diaspora, the “standard story” of Mexican masculinities is compulsory, traditional, and built on virility and excess. Anxieties were quelled by overstating virility and excess as masculine, not feminine. This normative optic for Mexican anarchists in the early 1900s and *braceros* in the middle of the century shows why traditional discourses framed how Mexican migrant men are typically understood. Detailed analysis of archival and photo documents reveals a different valence. The complexity of migration experiences and how they impacted notions of self are why I opt for a discussion of passionate attachments (intense emotive bonds) and their attendant optimism, tempered by suspicion of celebratory heroic narratives. Theorizing passionate attachments has the capacity to combat virility and excess as the only interpretive paradigm.

In addition to using the visual field to track masculine deviation, one of the main threads connecting these two historical moments in male Mexican migrant transnational subjectivities is the idea of desire. Mexican men are usually understood as representing racial excess in relationship to Anglo-American masculinities. This is why I centralize these individuals as desiring subjects rather than mere victims of capitalism and their supposedly own innate, uncontrollable, and excessive racial passions. Stories of desire, passionate attachment, and longing emerge as an alternative to the excessive and pathological corporeality narrated by state governments. Power relations structured the lives of racialized, sexualized subjects in diaspora, as we will see again and again, and this is vastly more revealing than any state-created narrative.

One of the major manifestations of the power relations embedded in desire is found in early twentieth-century surveillance tactics. The similarities in the use of surveillance between 1900 and 1950 are striking. Surveillance dictated how correspondence became part of the state and public domain: they were public intimacies. The hundreds of letters intercepted by intelligence agencies on behalf of Chihuahua governor Enrique Creel or those documented among *braceros* by Miroslava Chávez-García are evidence of this lack of public-private divide.²⁷ Expressions of dissent, whether with the host society for political exiles or by contractually obligated guest workers, were subject to intensive scrutiny by the US and Mexico, along with their respective agents.

Given the increased policing of labor and anarchist activists in the 1910s and 1920s, which led to deportations, the condoned use of violence and brutality experienced by this largely immigrant social movement resulted in the first red scare. After the mass repatriation of anywhere between 200,000 and 1,000,000 Mexicans and Mexican Americans during the Great Depression, a clear message was conveyed by the US government: these migrants were not permanent members of US society.²⁸ With Los Angeles as the hub of this removal, it is no accident that Depression-era monitoring of Mexican and Mexican American migrants in the city followed on the heels of expelled anarchists such as Enrique Flores Magón. And although *Archiving Mexican Masculinities in Diaspora* does not examine the expulsions of the Depression era, it is important to see the bracero program as an exploitative labor corrective to the mass removal of the previous decades.

The bracero guest-worker program's successful launch in 1942 was a response to the agricultural labor shortage during World War II because citizen laborers were on the war front. It was necessary because of what happened during and before the Depression; the bracero program brought back a population that had been previously expelled. A key difference, of course, is that these men came back alone; the program did not accommodate women and children. The presence of families and emotional ties would have made settlement more permanent. Initially, the temporary contracts were their own form of propaganda for the war effort and made farmers and the state content precisely because there was no long-term commitment, only minimal social integration, and no governmental responsibility to migrants without families. The way to control migrant Mexican men, or so it was thought, was to isolate and segregate them and their labor, unlike their anarchist antecedents of the 1910s and 1920s or the repatriated families of the 1930s.

Much of the book focuses on questions of state interpolation of Mexican masculinities, but another key conversation in *Archiving Mexican Masculinities in Diaspora* explores the tensions and affinities between Mexican nationals and Mexican Americans. Mexican anarchists folded themselves into the larger immigrant and Mexican American communities in places such as San Antonio, El Paso, Laredo, St. Louis, and Los Angeles. Much of this had to do with the fact that in that era, "Mexican" signaled "immigrant" and was a category viewed as part and parcel of the other mass nonwhite populations that entered the US in the early twentieth century. Mexicans were excluded from the Anglo-American dominant culture and governance to a degree that was greater than that of "other" ethnic whites, such as the Irish.²⁹ Thus, the possibility for seamlessly becoming part of the mass nonwhite immigrant popu-

lations, many of whom became dissenters through labor organizing during the period, made for integration of a different sort. Local and federal governments, aided by yellow journalistic reporting, feared this integration deeply. The *Los Angeles Times* went so far as to declare that the Flores Magóns, their families, and related anarchists would “with fiery utterances incite the local Mexicans” and destroy the fabric of the nation with their “vile epithets and vituperation in discussing the government of the United States.”³⁰

But there is something more that connects Mexican anarchist and bracero masculinities in diaspora. As a regular columnist for *Todo: La Mejor Revista de México* in the 1950s, Enrique commented on numerous social problems, one of which was the bracero program. He was an advocate for fair wages and reasonable hours for the working classes, and his later writings about the bracero program connected the PLM agenda with the exploitation of Mexican migrants in the 1950s. On September 3, 1953, his article “El fracaso de Abraham Lincoln” (Abraham Lincoln’s failure) viewed the efforts of the sixteenth US president to abolish slavery as a failure given the way that Mexican braceros were enslaved through their bilateral government-negotiated contracts. Describing a bracero strike and undocumented Mexican workers in Detroit’s Ford City Pickle Company factory, Enrique argued that there was and continued to be slavery in the United States: first with African Americans and then with Mexican laborers in the twentieth century. The exposé of the deplorable working conditions and strike was based on photos and letters received from Horacio Dorantes Tovar, “a serious and hard worker from a good family from Ixtapa de Sal [Edo. de México].”³¹ Dorantes Tovar stated that braceros in Detroit were given “an old boat full of spider webs to sleep in that was so humid and full of rats. Using what little English I knew, I asked the patron for a habitable space but I never got it, much later he let me know that my contract said, that I was going to earn the same as the local workers and that he only paid \$.75 per hour; he not only insulted me, but he ruined any illusion I might have about this place.”³² To a mass Mexican literate public, Enrique denounced the inhumane living conditions that bracero workers endured, as well as the manipulation of contract labor that allowed for their abuse. He then argued that all of Abraham Lincoln’s sacrifices to abolish slave labor were a waste in light of the bracero program. Despite the lack of analysis about racial inequality as a grave difference between enslaved Africans and Mexican laborers, the essay draws attention to the plight of exploited workers in the way that the PLM did when advocating for anarcho-syndicalism in the early twentieth century. Drawing on the tropes of normative masculinities (US governmental paternalism, white

growers and industrialists, and humble, hardworking Mexican men), Enrique argued that although going abroad was not ideal, staying in Mexico was a waste because of underemployment. As Mexican men went to the US to prove their merit in another labor market, however, they were displaced and disillusioned, just like their anarchist antecedents.

On December 14, 1951, this time for *El Universal*, a well-respected national newspaper, Enrique argued that “our braceros are running away from Mexico.”³³ Describing disillusionment with the American Dream, he turned to the emotive costs of this migration, speaking from his own experience: “They suffer a very painful deception, because their luck does not improve upon arrival, and, at times, it gets worse. Many others return to the breast of their anguished families, called ‘wetbacks’ because they wander across the Rio Grande, all to introduce themselves as contraband laborers in the neighboring country.”³⁴ Entering the immigration debate, Enrique’s critique of the pejorative *wetback* centralized a conversation about race and masculinity, one that allowed such men to be exploited both in their chasing of a better life, including political and economic freedom, and for their racial difference from Americans. “I am a witness to the strong racial prejudices in the US, with their special focus on excluding blacks and Mexicans. Both are considered people of color.”³⁵ In a rare moment of racial critique for a Mexican reading public, Enrique yoked his own emotional experience of exclusion with that of braceros in the 1950s. Equating US-based anti-blackness with anti-Mexicanness was a highly unusual critique coming from a mestizo Mexican national, for it registered solidarity instead of historical racism emanating from Mexico. Likening both to conditions of political exile because of labor exploitation, this abject form of Mexican masculinity was the result of diaspora making. In 1951 the emotive scars of exclusion, racism, and political persecution were still raw, thus linking Enrique’s experience to that of braceros forced out of postrevolutionary Mexico in the 1950s.

As Flores Magón took a stand for braceros in *Todo*, the corresponding magazine covers also used comedic satire to indirectly denounce and critique the exploitative nature of the bracero program. On February 25, 1954, July 15, 1954, and July 7, 1955, the magazine featured covers with braceros (see figures I.1–I.3).

The February 25 cover uses scale to show how Mexican workers were being pushed out of the country and toward exploitative and grotesque Texas farmers as part of a larger failing Mexican economy. As the cover zeroes in on the multiple modes of corruption plaguing postrevolutionary Mexico in the 1950s, white privilege, racialization of the underclasses (including a rac-

ist portrayal of an Afro-descended man), graft, and government misspending with price inflation and price lowering are all linked to how and why braceros allow themselves to be *bien pagados* (well paid) by Texas ranchers. Desperate, comical, small, cartoonlike Mexican workers jump at the opportunity to be exploited by the Texas farmer, who is made fun of with his stiletto cowboy boots. The image depicts Anglo-American masculinities as not above scrutiny, which is juxtaposed to the infantilization of working-class, poor, and indigenous campesinos who ran toward Texans for a few dollars.

The July 15 cover, “Los apuros del bracero” (The braceros’ troubles), depicts a migrant worker at a lunch counter, scratching his head about the menu in English. As he ponders the foreignness of the menu items, the real trouble is with the impatient and presumably racist white restaurant manager, who seems annoyed with not just the man’s struggle with language but with the audacity to seek service in such a place. Foreshadowing African Americans’ battles over lunch-counter service and the racism experienced with restaurant signs like “No Dogs, Negroes, or Mexicans,” the bracero (looking a lot like Cantinflas, the beloved Mexican comedic *pelado* [street] character from *cine de oro* [golden age of cinema] films) seemingly remains unaware or willfully ignores the racist surveillance while trying to eat, in contrast to the surprised looks of Anglos eating alongside braceros on the July 7, 1955, magazine cover.

By 1955, *Todo* cartoonists represent the shock of the Anglo patron and the cook at the bracero’s adaptation: he eats two meals at once, making his own huevos rancheros with chili sauce while consuming his all-American breakfast (fried eggs, hash browns, toast, and coffee). Consumption of the two meals flaunts cultural adaptation and bracero spending power. Together, the *Todo* covers and the articles by Flores Magón represent a continuum of Mexican men’s disillusionment with the seductive promises of US economic prosperity and political freedom. The connection was thus an affective and experiential one between Flores Magón and the braceros documented within the pages of *Todo* and *El Universal*: anarchists and braceros were treated poorly and exploited by the United States despite the illusion of democracy and freedom.

Despite the affective, experiential, and political connections between Flores Magón and braceros, braceros had their entire presence in the US mitigated by labor contracts. Because of the contractual relationship with the Mexican and US states, deep tensions arose between these “visitors” and others of Mexican origin who were now citizens and/or legal permanent residents. These braceros were in direct competition for jobs with Mexican American agricultural laborers both during and after World War II.³⁶ There was one small exception. For middle- and upper-class Mexican Americans, the braceros were

FIG 1.2. *Todo, La Mejor*
Revista de México, July 15, 1954.
Courtesy of the Nettie Lee
Benson Collection, University
of Texas at Austin.





FIG 1.3. *Todo, La Mejor Revista de México*, July 7, 1955. Courtesy of the Nettie Lee Benson Collection, University of Texas at Austin.

not a threat but an opportunity: they represented a source of labor in the fields that would drive profit margins for the agricultural industry. But the real social problems or tensions rested in the conflation of all Mexicans with *braceros*—and the analogous pejorative “wetbacks” (undocumented workers without contracts) and “drybacks” (workers with *bracero* contracts)—in order to describe them as noncitizens. Thus, whereas the anarchists could fold into and build solidarity with Mexican immigrant and Mexican American populations in the 1910s and 1920s, the 1950s were characterized as a time of conflict and distance between people of the same ethnicity but with varying statuses: citizens and permanent residents versus illegal residents and legally contracted laborers. The affective bonds of ethnicity and shared experiences of discrimination were not enough, especially in light of the overtly masculine migrant stream created by the *bracero* program.

The complexity of anarchist and *bracero* experiences as they were documented on paper and through images moves away from a unidirectional understanding of masculinity. From here, other models of gender-sexual positionalities emerge. Because possibilities for new relationships opened up through

migration, nontraditional forms of attachment and emotion emerged in the early twentieth-century circuit between Mexico and California. The following pages provide a more in-depth blueprint for historicizing racialized masculinities and genders, beginning with the Mexican Revolution and notions of modernity as the basis for everything that came thereafter.

Part I. Revolutionary Desire and Familial Entanglements

During the presidency of Porfirio Díaz, from 1876 to 1907, a remarkable range of masculinities existed in Mexico, and particularly in Mexico City (the home of the Flores Magón brothers before they fled to the United States). President Díaz was known for his celebration of French culture and science, which included remaking Mexico City's topography to mimic the grand avenues of the French capital. Popular depictions of men during the era included dandies and individuals who engaged in sexual vice—one only need look at the Mexico City newspapers of the day, filled with advertisements to cure various sexually transmitted diseases or of scandals involving homosexuality or prostitutes. These various masculinities also reflected Porfirian values about health, vigor, militarism, bodybuilding, and the male camaraderie of the gymnasium, which all converged in the capital that formed the Flores Magón brothers as subjects.³⁷ Víctor Macías-González and Anne Rubenstein's book, *Masculinity and Sexuality in Modern Mexico*, demonstrates how "spatial mobility [was] a marker, or cause of modernity—[an] ambiguous and highly gendered condition" that was heightened by the Porfiriato.³⁸ Charting the controversy over Mexican masculinities and particular genealogies of the *macho* is the best way to discuss the history of masculinity in Mexico. In this genealogy, Andrés Molina Enriquez's 1909 study *Los grandes problemas nacionales* provides a class-based analysis of morality, masculinity, and material culture that birthed "the" national type through his discussions of the *pelado*. In reinforcing stereotypes about certain social groups, including mestizos and the working classes, these types dominate discussions of Mexican masculinity.³⁹

Despite the dominance of the simplistic machismo narrative, a variety of thinkers have encouraged a more complex view. Robert McKee Irwin has argued that early twentieth-century Mexican masculinities carried the "gendered rhetoric of race and class shifts and twists," where "contradictions tend to go unnoticed. Gender, as a main element of the Mexican national habitus, goes unquestioned even as it becomes entangled in blatantly racist stereo-

types. . . . [N]ational brotherhood came to symbolize national coherence.”⁴⁰ Ben Sifuentes-Jáuregui argues that during this period, gender was described in corporeal terms and not in performatives, creating a dialectic between the body and the national imaginary.⁴¹ Further, Sifuentes-Jáuregui states that the writing of the period used the idealized masculine body to create the nation.⁴² What the virile literature of the period also records, according to Ignacio Sánchez Prado, was an anxiety generated by apertures in Mexican culture that were “feminine.”⁴³

Fear of the feminine shifted the direction of Mexican and Mexican American conversations about masculinity in the 1940s and 1950s. One shift was the product of Mexican Manuel Ávila Camacho’s presidential campaign slogans, which were a play on his last name: “Viva el pueblo siempre macho! Y Agustín el general! Y viva Ávila Camacho y la vida sindical!” (Long live the people, who are always machos! Long live Agustín, the general! Long live Ávila Camacho and the labor unions!). Another force was filmic, originating in Hollywood, where rifle-slinging Mexican bandits represented an impediment to conquering the Wild West. Another strand, most notably discussed by film critic Sergio de la Mora, was produced by Mexicans themselves using these same stock characters with a twist: actors such as Pedro Infante immortalized the cosmopolitan nature of Mexican masculinities with buddy movies that allowed for gender and sexual transgressions among and between men.⁴⁴ These twentieth-century institutionalized forms of masculinity are grounded in gendered and sexualized national ideologies that accommodate the normative and marginalize the nonnormative.⁴⁵

Archiving Mexican Masculinities in Diaspora considers how the interstitial experience of being between nations as diasporic subjects created opportunities for new manifestations of gender. Although scholars have debunked the idea that there is one universal Mexican masculinity, fuller appreciation of plural masculinities that these men experienced as transnational subjects is the goal. Because of these tensions about national forms of masculinity,⁴⁶ we must explain how migration shaped the transnational conversation on the subject. Scholars estimate that between 1900 and 1917, some 1.5 million Mexicans fled to the United States to escape the revolution’s violence, to organize the overthrow of Porfirio Díaz, to find employment, and/or to practice their Catholic faith without persecution. Of the many who left Mexico for the US, political liberals were forced into exile because their campaigns to overthrow the Díaz dictatorship were rabidly anti-Catholic, anticlerical, and anticapitalist. All wars are complicated, and the two-decade Mexican civil war, known

as La Revolución, is no exception. Although there were dozens of factions involved, and multiple phases of the war, for our purposes we can simplify the conflict as follows: it was a peasant uprising in the state of Morelos led by Emiliano Zapata and Yucatecos on behalf of the landless who were displaced by the commercialization of agriculture. Gil Joseph argues that even though most accounts suggest that the Yucatecos were more leftist, the reluctance of the elite oligarchs to join the revolutionary struggle was linked to their geographic isolation.⁴⁷ It was also a movement in the North, of wealthy elites and bourgeois landholders centered in San Luis Potosí who fought Díaz's attempts to expropriate their mineral-rich land holdings by preventing their sale to foreign industrial capitalists. These individuals were more centrist. And it was also a movement of the Constitutionalists, composed of labor activists, textile workers, and anarchists who wanted to be governed by the edict "Mexico for Mexicans." Within this final stratum sat the Partido Liberal Mexicano. By 1911, the party had split, and PLM moderates and PLM radicals were at odds about how to proceed (more-centrist liberal tendencies or anarchism) with the social and economic revolution. Thus, the Mexican Revolution was, fundamentally, three different movements.

The ideologue Ricardo Flores Magón was at the helm of PLM anarchism. Enrique, both in the historical record and the history books, is overshadowed by Ricardo. Even though Enrique is considered peripheral, his archive reveals tremendous insights about emotion, affect, and attachments in transnational Mexican intimacies. PLM members were exceedingly passionate about their politics, and the emotive attachments of those intimacies were shaped under the condition of exile. It is from this broader historical context that we move into the particulars of Enrique Flores Magón's life: as a revolutionary, a husband, a comrade, and a father. Previous scholarly accounts by Alan Knight have focused on the PLM as a marginal group within Porfirian-era politics, whereas John Mason Hart has shown that the PLM's clandestine politics represented the petit bourgeois and lower-strata discontent; both scholars produced macro-histories of revolution as ideology.⁴⁸ Other scholars have focused on how gloriously radical Ricardo Flores Magón was—and he was indeed.⁴⁹ Because I am more interested in minor actors in the grand narratives, the first half of the book explores one family's history as a way to think more broadly about ideology's capacity to shape intimacies. But I also document how ideology did not always match up with the quotidian lives of people involved in political movements. For example, the PLM preached free love as an ideology. Enrique, in contrast, chided women like María Brousse, his brother's partner, for expressing her sexual freedom openly. Although

the majority of my sources come from Enrique's archive to preserve the legacy of the PLM and the Flores Magón brothers, I am critical of their content. As a result, we find that Enrique was ideologically reserved when it came to gender and sexuality. His radicalism and anarchism didn't always translate into his personal life. My research discovered that Enrique was also destroying, distorting, and purging the written record and that the newspaper essays and reports in *Regeneración* and his weekly columns in *Todo, El Nacional*, and *El Universal* are mediated by this practice.⁵⁰

Amid our inquiries into the subtle realms of intimacies and document purging, however, we cannot lose sight of the very-concrete histories that make these inquiries possible. Although Enrique Flores Magón's critiques of the state encapsulate a virile masculine baroque language, that hardness is absent from his correspondence with family. Instead, virility was replaced with vulnerability, fragility, illness, loss, and doubt. What we find are intimate languages—of family and brotherhood, of vulnerability and illness and sexuality—languages where contextually specific, softened, fragile grammars are even more nuanced by analyzing homosocial spaces, encounters, and alternative family settings. I show the ways in which Flores Magón's intimate life was determined by counterintelligence, state intervention, and migration. His emotive and physical vulnerability, a tumultuous trajectory before the law and in relationship to the nation that he tried to reimagine, is not readily discerned in his public writings and speeches published in *Regeneración*. Thus, part I traces the affective threads of family, love, desire, loss, and want as the underbelly of histories of the Mexican Revolution. These divisions and fissures show how intensive feelings of love and devotion coexisted alongside and because of surprisingly severe cultures of denunciation and disavowal. As each chapter demonstrates, intimate histories were made into public histories by virtue of both the intense surveillance that the PLM experienced in the US and its own denunciatory publications.

Chapters 1–8 examine the long history of Enrique Flores Magón's inner life from his youth to his exile in the US and his return home to Mexico as a deportee in 1923. Emotional tenderness waxed and waned throughout his life, foregrounding intimacy and gender formation as cultural forces in diasporic experience. As he confronted the state, tension, and illness while doing time in the Los Angeles County Jail and Leavenworth Prison, there were few opportunities to communicate with loved ones. In disentangling how important his children and life partners were while he was behind bars, the estrangement from them centralized loss and emotional vulnerability as

part of political activism. Vulnerability stood gender norms on their head through performances of so-called feminized affect and sentimentality. Engaging in what we would now call emotional labor, this was a means of parenting and mitigating vulnerability as a counter to the virile masculinity of early twentieth-century Mexican national cultures. Part I ends by examining Enrique's deportation proceedings from 1923. After all those years of optimistic attachment to the idea of freedom, Enrique had become resigned to the illusory nature of such promises. As he and the family reintegrated into the new postrevolutionary Mexico, his 1950s mainstream publications in *El Universal*, *El Nacional*, and *Todo* demonstrate why the transition back into Mexican society became a full form of integration: the reason that many historians and public commentators about the revolution's precursor movement dismiss him as unimportant or uninteresting. By his death, he was a mainstream purveyor of living revolutionary history.

Part II. The Homoerotics of Abjection: Leonard Nadel's Salinas Valley Bracero Photographs

Part II turns to the second archive: Leonard Nadel's 1956 photo series of the bracero program. The bracero program, as we have seen, recruited more than four and a half million temporary Mexican male laborers to work in the agriculture, manufacturing, and railroad industries in the US between 1942 and 1964, filling a grave labor shortage both during and after World War II. The program was renewed several times since its initial inception because hiring temporary foreign workers was far more cost effective than hiring US workers. Terminated in 1964 because of union pressures on the US Department of Labor, the government began closing camps in 1957. One of the largest influxes of Mexican male migrants in United States history, it contracted men for short periods of time to labor primarily in the agricultural fields of California, Michigan, Texas, and Arkansas, but also in mining and railroad construction. Men went to recruitment centers throughout Mexico to secure precious contracts, often taking out loans and leaving entire families behind, all to make a living and send remittances back to Mexico. Braceros competed for contracts and endured highly humiliating forms of screening, including bodily fumigation and physical exams to detect infirmity or disability, which would in turn warrant their rejection. Recruiting indigenous and mestizo men alike, the program took in a broad swath of poor, working-class, and middle-class Mexican subjects in search of work and, in some cases, adventure in the US.

Because the program was the biggest nationalized effort to turn laboring bodies into abject bodies, part II deploys abjection to demarcate how bracero bodies were situated outside symbolic power. Following Julia Kristeva, I take abjection to describe a dehumanizing existence that was inherently traumatic. Braceros were situated outside of the symbolic order and were dehumanized, yet they continued to assert their personhood in the face of subordination.⁵¹ But there are still key issues that emerge from Nadel's photographs. First, the photos clearly document a population and its living conditions as a space of abjection. Second, the anonymous nature of the images is linked to the exceedingly homoerotic gaze of the images. This is not to say that Nadel was homosexual; rather, I argue that what Nadel was doing with his camera, and its aesthetic but intrusive gaze, evinced the homoerotics of the exclusively male spaces he photographed. Nadel developed intense relationships with the men as he lived with them in the camps. Thus, the photographs show particular goals and desires involving the subjects being captured on film. Some readers may hope for direct evidence documenting sexual relationships between Nadel and the braceros he photographed. They will be disappointed, however, because little such evidence exists. Other readers will be disappointed by my insistence on ambiguity and say that this approach is just imposing our own twenty-first-century preferences onto the past. Yet when read through a racialized gender lens of desire, bodily intimacies and pleasures are expressed and exposed in these images. In short, Nadel's two thousand photographs contain, among other things, numerous sequences of men's naked bodies; these bodies, and their meanings, remain critically unexamined. In the Smithsonian archive where the full collection is housed, Nadel's wife, along with curators, created a "Guide to the Leonard Nadel Photographs and Scrapbooks," an explanatory text that elucidates the context and the motivations for taking the bracero photographs. Yet even this guide, situating the images in a particular "place," is rather limited (there is no list of people or places).⁵² These photographs indicate not just a form of social abjection but evidence of ambiguous social relations between photographer and photographic subjects. Nadel was not concerned with preserving the names of the men he photographed. We have only a general historical context and not the specific histories of the people. The photos represent his ephemeral relationships with braceros.

Part II analyzes the homoerotics of abjection through labor and labor camp spaces (without women) as safe for exploring same-sex community formation and desire. But in upending our typical understanding I have no desire to reinstantiate a narrative of braceros as solely victims of labor exploitation,

to attempt to firmly locate their position in the historical record as good fathers, husbands, and brothers, or to suggest that Nadel held all of the power with his camera. Instead, part II shows how the photos of these diasporic men register desire, self making, and longing out of the abject subject position. We might call this a particular kind of close reading: a theorization of the gestures that appear at the heart of these photographs. How can we read the photographs as traces of the multiple versions of historical masculinities that emerge from this period? Pausing and dwelling upon the conditions of production and contents dislodge images from an airtight narrative of normative masculinity accounting for how migration offered the chance to remake the self. Rethinking gender and sexuality through the Nadel bracero photographs elucidates the conditions of bracero sociality in how the photographer wanted us to see them. Similarly, I attend to the materiality of Nadel's images: the relationship between the photographer and his camera and light meter, the relationship between the photographer and the subjects he photographed, and the physical reality of the final record, printed as a photograph or, in this case, as a contact sheet.⁵³ The images in the Smithsonian are digitized reprints of the contact sheets Nadel used during his Fund for the New Republic grant. That transition from contact sheet to public domain has relied on particular well-circulated photographs demonstrating bracero exploitation.

Nadel's intimate photos of braceros, both in interior spaces and while at work in the fields, had different subject effects. In the fields, bracero bodies were virile expressions of masculinity. But they too were rendered vulnerable in Nadel's social realist aesthetics, which captured how they performed gender forms of compensated labor and domestic intimacies. This is why my feminist readings of these images track the aesthetic properties of an ongoing cultural conversation: how virility, fragility, and masculine excesses represented by Enrique Flores Magón carried into the bracero period but were then reframed by Nadel's photographs and the relationships he forged with braceros while living with them and recording their lives. My argument is not that Nadel was fixated on queering his subjects—that assertion would be simplistic and anachronistic. Rather, in inquiring about how Nadel built relationships with his photographic subjects and about his use of social documentary photography aesthetics, we understand cultural fears about this cohort of Mexican men as sexually and socially dangerous. The relationships built through the photographs document attachments. Negotiation before photographs were taken was a form of cultivating the self. Once snapped, the aesthetic form of the photograph documented attachments. As archives

of masculine intimacies, bracero photographs also push us in a different direction: intimacies with the inanimate objects they produced. Because there is a thread of queer and feminist scholarship that argues that we must consider the other than human and the disappearance of the subject, I am also mindful that my account of subject formation is indeed grounded in humanist optimism.⁵⁴ In this way, I examine both the emergent ways that braceros were documented as subjects in the photographs as they were juxtaposed with and blend in with the inanimate objects they cultivated (agricultural products such as lettuce). My research shows that the intimacies forged in working with inanimate nonhuman objects and bracero domesticity counter the idea of virility as the only masculine subject position. Instead, intimacies and physical proximities, however orchestrated or optimistic they might have been in Nadel's bracero photographs, show emotional and physical vulnerability in the form of care work to reorient the scholarship to date.

Chapters 9–14 explore the deep historical context for Nadel's photographic enterprise: the 1956 presidential campaign, Operation Wetback, the 1956 report issued by the President's Commission on Migratory Labor, President Eisenhower's failed farm bill, and Salinas Valley policies. The regional context produced a dominant agricultural class that subjugated bracero workers in the fields, in labor camps, and in their affective relationships to the community and the US state. The subordination of difference was at the heart of policy decisions where growers narrated Mexican male migrants as nonthreatening while the local community said they were sexual deviants. Policy debates are evidence of the gender and sexual contradictions that braceros embodied. But bracero affective history complicated the male-dominated nature of the Salinas Valley's public sphere. In contrast, the bracero private sphere was filled with tasks that forged domesticity based on intimacies among and between men. Their living arrangements disrupted prevailing discourses in that the private sphere was not feminized but was made masculine through the bracero program.⁵⁵ Those intimacies are recorded in Nadel's photographs of men and document how attachments to one another or to their property were codified through physical violence and emotional closeness in these socially isolated communities of Mexican men. Part II's conclusion meditates on violent attachments to bring the book full circle, moving from the optimism of hope and freedom to its opposite extreme expression.

Archiving Mexican Masculinities in Diaspora takes its theoretical and methodological cue from transnational feminisms and Latinx studies because of the way that it analyzes the expansion of gender and sexual categories in migration. Specific historical moments from the early to mid-twentieth

century (Mexican anarchist activity in Los Angeles and bracero laborers in the Salinas Valley) and specific places (Los Angeles, the Salinas Valley, Mexico City, and rural Mexico) form the backbone of the book, where masculine subjects were produced in spite of or because of the state's domination of transnational migration and transnational networks. When analyzed as a historical continuum, six decades of evidence from the two case studies demonstrate the ways in which Mexican male bodies have been historically defined as racially excessive. The anarchist expulsions of the 1920s and the bracero migrations in the 1950s demonstrate just how entrenched narratives of lionized heteromascularity were and how they continue to overdetermine early twentieth-century migrant men as political, gendered, and racialized outsiders. At the same time that both populations sought freedom from oppression in the US, they encountered a very different gender, racial, and political landscape than they anticipated. All of them traded in the currency of emotion as expressions of self and community. In some cases they worked around these set ideologies; in other cases they were violently policed by them. The tension between the freedom that anarchists and braceros sought and what they actually experienced in the United States builds an affective history of Mexican masculinity in diaspora. These complex masculinities in diaspora, in both Enrique Flores Magón's life and that of the Salinas Valley braceros, show why affective flexibility, in conjunction with a series of well-grounded feminist readings, further explains the dialectic of fragility versus virility and how all the in-between emotions or affects and subject positions matter. These are key—though often overlooked—elements of transnational Mexican national cultures. The book provides students of gender, race, and sexuality tools that might chip away at totalizing and limiting national modes of storytelling. My hope is that this model can push Latinx and Mexican studies to be more cautious and flexible in their approaches to masculinity and sexuality, to be more thorough in the discussion of migration as an affective process of subject formation, and to help us consider how histories of discursive attachment, visual attachment via photography, and ephemera must always be read with skepticism.

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ARCHIVE ABBREVIATIONS

AEFM	Archivo Enrique Flores Magón
AGN	Archivo General de la Nación Mexico
EIS	Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library Collection
GAL	Galarza Papers, Stanford University Special Collections
NAD	Leonard Nadel Photographic Collection, Smithsonian Archive of the Museum of Natural History
NARAS	National Archives and Records, Seattle Division
NARASL	National Archives and Records, St. Louis Division
SWE	Swearingen Family Private Collection
UCSC	University of California Santa Cruz, Regional Oral History Project

INTRODUCTION

- 1 AEFM, Box 3, Folder 1, May 5, 1916, "Letter to Comrade from the Los Angeles County Jail."
- 2 Hirsch, *A Courtship after Marriage*, 8.
- 3 Carlos Aniceto Gutiérrez, "Mexican Labor Pacts Bring New Ways of Life," *Sacramento Bee*, April 15, 1957.
- 4 Hirsch, *A Courtship after Marriage*, 17.
- 5 Shah, *Stranger Intimacy*, 3.
- 6 As he explains this notion of refashioning via the homophile movement in Mexico City, Macías-González argues that domesticity was a key element of the negotiations with society. Although this book is not about homophile or queer Mexican men per se, Macías-González's reflections about domesticity provide another avenue to think about migration's capacity to reorder gender roles because of contact with domesticity and the domestic sphere in places such as communes and bunkhouses. See Macías-González, "The Transnational Homophile Movement."
- 7 Jocelyn Olcott has documented how Mexican men and women have historically moved consistently between households and meeting halls, ignoring the demands of a public-private divide. See Olcott, *Revolutionary Women in Postrevolutionary Mexico*, 5.

- 8 Historian James Cockcroft was one of the first people to question Enrique's reliability as a narrator of history. In saying that Enrique was "not always a trustworthy or consistent source," Cockcroft raises important questions about how we cannot just take the evidence at face value but must interrogate it fully as we interpret. Cockcroft, *Intellectual Precursors of the Mexican Revolution*, 115.
- 9 The Smithsonian's traveling exhibit "Bittersweet Harvest" appeared in forty-six cities after its 2009 premiere at the National Museum of American History. It included fifteen freestanding banners with text and images, an audio station, and approximately forty bracero photographs.
- 10 In his unpublished manuscript, Sergio Chávez's interviews with former bracero workers discuss how migration opened up possibilities for men to explore their sexualities, including same-sex relations with other men. Although many of the braceros were reluctant to discuss these relationships at the time, Chávez's interviews from the last seven years document more willingness to break conventions about compulsory heteronormativity in the migrant stream.
- 11 I put "histories" in quotation marks here to call attention to the fact that my claim is not about writing official history but rather to provide a historically grounded interdisciplinary analysis of how the archive does not match up to and complicates official historical narratives of the PLM, even if scholars deem these discrepancies minor and uninteresting.
- 12 See Loza, *Defiant Braceros*, 63–65, where she discusses how journalists and photographers complained that the men brought their questionable morals with them. As Loza notes, when the lights went off in the barracks, same-sex sexual encounters would occur. The men would interact with transgendered women in the camps as well. Such interactions were counterbalanced by traveling priests who came to the camps to say mass.
- 13 Manuel González Ramírez argues that because Enrique long outlived all of the other PLM revolutionaries, his conferences and talks given into the 1950s were the ones that provided the majority of information about Magonismo during the first part of the twentieth century. As a result, the PLM history is skewed to his designs when Enrique provided the source material to researchers. González Ramírez, *Epistolario y textos de Ricardo Flores Magón*, 238.
- 14 Hard-core supporters of the idea that Ricardo Flores Magón was the main brain of the PLM vehemently defend the idea that Enrique was of no consequence as a political actor. For example, Nicolás Bernal commented that the biography that Enrique told to Sammuel Kaplan was "un libro que por cierto no tuvo relevancia" (a book that had no relevance). See Bernal, *Memorias*, 37.
- 15 Marroquin Arredondo, Pineda Franco, and Mieri, *Open Borders to a Revolution*, ix.
- 16 Berlant, *Cruel Optimism*.
- 17 Lytle Hernández, *City of Inmates*, 12.
- 18 Campt provides the notion of diaspora formation in images. See Campt, *Image Matters*, 54. Jane Lydon documents refusal and participation in photography as an expression of skill. See Lydon, *Eye Contact*, 2.
- 19 Lydon, *Eye Contact*.
- 20 See Mráz, *Photographing the Mexican Revolution*.

- 21 MacLachlan, *Anarchism and the Mexican Revolution*.
- 22 Gómez-Quíñones, "Sin frontera, sin cuartel," 195.
- 23 Fernández Bravo, *El Ideario*, 23.
- 24 Muñoz Cota, *Ricardo Flores Magón*.
- 25 Cohen, *Braceros*, 178.
- 26 Quoted in Gonzalez, *Guest Workers or Colonized Labor?*, 87.
- 27 See the Silvestre Terrazas Papers (MB-18, University of California, Berkeley, Bancroft Library), where hundreds of pieces of Ricardo, Enrique, and other PLM members' correspondence were copied, sent on, or completely withheld by the Chihuahua governor and the Mexican military. See also Chávez-García, *Migrant Longing*, where she discusses why analyzing private family letters provides a broader view of how individuals understood themselves as migrants.
- 28 Guerin-González, *Mexican Workers and the American Dream*, 77.
- 29 Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color*. See also Molina, *How Race Is Made in America*, 42–43, for descriptions of the court cases that excluded Mexicans and Mexican Americans from legal consideration as white.
- 30 "At It Again. Women Agitators Incite Mexicans. Ricardo Flores Magon's Wife and Daughter Stir Strife," *Los Angeles Times*, April 24, 1917.
- 31 Flores Magón, "El fracaso de Abraham Lincoln."
- 32 Flores Magón.
- 33 Enrique Flores Magón, "A pesar de todo, nuestros braceros continuan huyendo," *El Universal*, December 14, 1951.
- 34 Flores Magón, "A pesar de todo."
- 35 Flores Magón.
- 36 See Flores, *Grounds for Dreaming*, 76–78.
- 37 See Macías-González, "The Transnational Homophile Movement," for more on this point.
- 38 Macías-González and Rubenstein, *Masculinity and Sexuality in Modern Mexico*, 6.
- 39 Molina Enriquez, *Los grandes problemas nacionales*.
- 40 McKee Irwin, *Mexican Masculinities*, xxxi.
- 41 Sifuentes-Jáuregui, "Cuerpos, intelectuales y homosocialidad," 99.
- 42 Sifuentes-Jáuregui, 101.
- 43 Sánchez Prado, "Vanguardia y campo literario," 191.
- 44 De la Mora, *Cinemachismo*, 80. Also, anthropologist Matthew Gutmann charted the rise of these controversies in his book *The Meanings of Macho*, in his essay "Trafficking in Men: The Anthropology of Masculinity," and in his introductory essay in *Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America*, urging scholars to avoid binaries.
- 45 Gutmann, *Changing Men and Masculinities in Latin America*, 3.
- 46 Machismo has historically, and unfortunately, formed the backbone of the majority of scholarship on masculinity in Chicano, Latinx, and Latin American Studies contexts. It also does not help that the media and popular culture have also racialized Latinx and Mexican misogyny from the 1930s onward and called it machismo. While behaviors of exotic, ethnicized hypermasculinity form some

cultural practices in Latinx communities, they are not the only type of masculinity out there, which is what the discourse of machismo would have us believe. In Oscar Lewis's studies of Mexican and Puerto Rican families in the 1940s, early Chicana feminist treatises such as Ada Sosa Riddell's groundbreaking 1974 essay "Chicanas en El Movimiento," Alfredo Mirandé's 1997 book-length study *Hombres y Machos*, and even the attempt to have Latino men speak for themselves in Ray González's 1996 edited collection *Muy Macho*, the scholarship presents a pathological model of an unruptured and often static patriarchal construction of racialized manliness. Benjamin Cowan has argued that this exotic, ethnicized hypermasculinity that fuels the pathology and violence is a bit of a global epithet: a result of social scientific and popular anxieties about immigration, overpopulation, security, race, and public health. See "How *Machismo* Got Its Spurs," 607. Machismo is most notably seen as part of Mexican subject formation. I can think of more than half a dozen key ideas in Mexican cultures and in current scholarship that have been cemented with this line of thought. In no particular order, they are as follows: Machismo is accepted as a proven and undisputed fact of Latino masculine behavior. Much social science literature historically places the blame on men in their reproduction of macho cultural practices. The scholarship often fails to implicate men's and women's dual investments in maintaining a narrative of masculine dominance as a means of access to heteronormative (white) patriarchal power. Machismo and the figure of the macho serve more as placeholders rather than as a sustained engagement with the myriad ways that communities and individuals have defined and redefined a full range of practices that run the gambit from pathological hypermasculine to nonnormative. Early feminist conversations about machismo defined it as sexism (see Alma García's 1992 collection, *Chicana Feminist Thought: The Basic Historical Writings*), an all-encompassing model for understanding Latina and Latin American women's oppression by men, especially in the context of nationalist struggles. Hurtado and Sinha's *Beyond Machismo* marks a shift from this position.

47 Joseph, *Revolution from Without*.

48 Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, vol. 1; Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico*, 47.

49 There is an abundance of scholarship about Ricardo Flores Magón, to the point that he has become a secular saint in Mexican and Chicano discourses of resistance to hegemony. Because I am not particularly interested in secular saints or resistance in terms of the ways in which they reproduce macro-historical narratives, as a scholar of gender and sexuality I prefer to focus on the minor and what is not said, most notably theorized by Emma Pérez in *The Decolonial Imaginary*.

50 Daniel Flores Magón, son of Enrique Flores Magón Jr., also noted that his father read the letters from Enrique to his children before burning them all in the 1970s. This idea of controlling history through eliminating evidence for personal reasons registers the pain and conflict over what belongs to official narratives and what is private to a family and individual. Personal conversation, January 17, 2019.

51 Kristeva, "Powers of Horror," 230.

52 The scrapbooks at the Smithsonian are not all that revealing of Nadel's intentions. For example, Series 1, Box 1, Folder 2, has scrapbooks from 1956 to 1960. The

clippings are mostly of commercial work that Nadel performed during this time period. Very little is annotated throughout the collection. When it is, the captions and descriptions are generic, which is why a close reading of the images provides a better understanding of Nadel's intentions.

- 53 Nadel's bracero photographs are actually archived contact sheets, not photographs. He made some prints that make up the archive, but the majority have been digitized via contact sheets.
- 54 See Luciano and Chen, "Has the Queer Ever Been Human?," 186.
- 55 Macías-González, "The Transnational Homophile Movement," 535.

PART I. ENRIQUE FLORES MAGÓN'S EXILE

- 1 *Pearson's Magazine*, March 1908, 237.
- 2 *Pearson's Magazine*, 241.
- 3 *Pearson's Magazine*, 241.
- 4 *Pearson's Magazine*, 237.
- 5 Jameson, "Third-World Literature," 69.
- 6 See Sommer, *Foundational Fictions*, for more on this point about heteronormativity and national allegory.
- 7 For traditional narratives of masculinity in the context of the revolution, see Gonzales, *The Mexican Revolution: 1910–1940*; Knight, *The Mexican Revolution: A Very Short Introduction*; Knight, *The Mexican Revolution*, vol. I; Hart, *Revolutionary Mexico*; and Joseph and Buchenau, *Mexico's Once and Future Revolution*. Olcott, Vaughan, and Cano's *Sex in Revolution* provides the best account of how masculinity was remade through feminist actions and women's participation in the revolution.
- 8 Lomnitz, *The Return*, 228, 230.

CHAPTER 1. GREETING CARDS, LOVE NOTES, LOVE LETTERS

- 1 Akers Chacón, *Radicals in the Barrio*, 117.
- 2 Camic, "From Trashed to Treasured," 81.
- 3 Flores Magón, "Notas intimas."
- 4 AEFM, Box 7, Folder 4, May 10, 1899.
- 5 AEFM, Box 30, Folder 129, Num. Series 3524, 1–2.
- 6 AEFM, Box 30, Folder 129, Num. Series 3524, 2.
- 7 Kelley, "Rhetoric as Seduction," 70.
- 8 McKee Irwin, *Mexican Masculinities*, 119.
- 9 Gabara, *Errant Modernism*, 144–45.
- 10 Terrazas Papers, MB-18 Part 1, Folder 8c.
- 11 Ranajit Guha and Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *Selected Subaltern Studies*, 45–84.
- 12 See Fondo Manuel García Ramos, Tomo 27, Primero Tomado del Archivo de la Secretaría de Gobernación, "Tabla Alfabética de Enrique Flores Magón," AGN, 00240.
- 13 Lytle Hernández, *City of Inmates*, 94.