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THE MEXICANS OF THE CITY OF MILWAUKEE -- WISCONSIN

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This is one of a series of foreign
community surveys being prepared by
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Two things are to be borne in mind

- 1) A survey is never complete or
final since conditions are always
changing.
- 2) The subject matter is not beyond
other possible viewpoints and
interpretations.

THE MEXICANS OF MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

FOREWORD

The time for even a fairly complete survey of the Mexican in Milwaukee has been far too short to do justice to the subject. The writer has had difficulty in obtaining reliable information and facts concerning Mexico and Mexicans, and hesitates to set down any remarks which need years of study to place true values upon observations and experiences related by other people. She has not been able to give more than a day a week over a period of a little over a year to the collecting and arranging of data. This means very little when making contacts with a people who as a rule do not speak our language at all, or at best, very imperfectly, who in this strange United States have been exploited and imposed upon for this very reason, and who, quite rightly, are suspicious of anyone until she has shown herself worthy of their confidence. A flavor of the ridiculous savors the survey, for the Mexican man, like his Spanish half-brother, does not think a woman has much intelligence anyway.

Through acquaintance with several Mexican families, all likeable, and because the writer was not afraid to use her small knowledge of Spanish speech to help out the various nursing organizations when the patient did not speak English, and through the courtesy of social workers and teachers of the city, some first hand information and some facts have been obtained that may be valuable; at the same time as much reading as possible from the works of writers with long experience among Mexicans has been done.

Again and again the observations have been supported by the reading. Therefore it has seemed wise to incorporate in the paper even whole paragraphs (with all due acknowledgment to the author) and by a comparison to help the understanding of the four thousand or more Mexicans in Milwaukee.

There has been some difficulty in getting the intelligent and educated Mexicans to talk about their people. It is the commonly acquired habit of educated foreigners in the United States to get the idea that they are above dealing with their countrymen who have been a shorter time in this country and who cannot or will not raise their standards of living. The Mexican is extremely polite and does not always wish to tell things that are unpleasant, or distasteful about his people; and, besides, he feels a repressed resentment toward the "dollar diplomacy" of most Americans.

The Spanish have a proverb, "poco a poco se anda lejos". This means, "little by little one goes far". Here is the poquitito of the writer.

February 1, 1930
Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Agnes M. Fenton

"ONLY A MEXICAN"

BY

AGNES M. PANTON

C O N T E N T S

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- IV IS HE COMING TO MILWAUKEE?
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WHO IS HE?

In Tucson, Arizona, in the cottage next to us one winter there lived a family from California. The man was a son of a Frenchman who had married an Osage Indian woman for her wealth in oilfields. The wife was a pretty young white woman. They had a lively, little boy about five years old who was dark like his Indian grandmother and crafty like his white ancestors. One day he knocked over, on purpose, the little child of an Indian woman who was cleaning a cottage next door. The child ran crying to his mother. "Sonny" sauntered after, swaggering along, saying with a disdainful air, "Oh, he is only a Mexican." The Indian woman resented the taunt and retorted, "we are not Mexicans, we are Indians".

There you have it! "Only a Mexican" to his white half-brother and "only a Mexican" alike to his Indian half-brother. Who is he?

"The question cannot be answered categorically for the light of the past is filtered through glasses of prejudice and caution coloring the most obvious facts and distorting the most impersonal standards. In Mexico the 15,000,000 Mexicans include 6,000,000 Indians of fifty tribal strains, and until the exile of the upper classes under Carranza, approximately 1,000,000 pure whites of Spanish lineage who also called themselves Mexicans, and between the two extremes 8,000,000 mestizos (literally "mixed bloods") to whose creation the two primary races have for four centuries contributed contrasting elements. It is the resultant hybrid whose numbers make him the typical Mexican of today." (Thompson, 1921)

"The population of Mexico is approximately 13,000,000 of which not more than 10 percent are of un-mixed white blood. The population is now made up from 5,000,000 to 6,000,000 pure-blood Indians, 1,500,000 to 3,000,000 whites, and 7,000,000 to 8,000,000 mestizos in which the Indian element is predominant. Nevertheless, all natives of Mexico are listed as white in our official census and immigration reports, a practice which also is followed by the various states of the Union, and there is tacit but universal understanding among government officials that the biological characteristics of the Mexican people shall be assumed to be what they are not in fact. In many important respects the Mexican civilization has remained an Indian civilization with but a veneer of European culture. There are at least two million who speak no Spanish and an equal number who prefer to speak their native Indian tongues." (Hoover, 1929)

"There are about 14,000,000 Mexicans. Of these 4,000,000 are Indians of 54 tribal strains, 1,500,000 whites of Spanish descent, 200,000 other whites such as Americans, Germans, English, etc. and 8,300,000 mestizos". (Dr. Herring at City Club, December 11, 1929)

~~* of the Indian, small, firm, and sturdy, has~~

"The body of the Indian, small, firm, and sturdy, has been softened by the narrow-hipped litheness of the Spaniard to a combination in this mestizo Mexican, surprisingly lacking in Indian endurance and in Spanish virility. The copper skin of the Indian has been veiled by the Spaniard's olive glow to varying shades of chocolate brown. The long skull and oval face of the white have, however, affected the rounded contour of the Indian type but little, so that the mestizo is a "round head", his cheek bones are high, though less prominent than in the aborigines, while his nostrils are wide and his lips are rather thick. The eyes, uniformly dark, tend to the Indian form with a greater curve to the lower lid than is normal in the European, and the upper lid much straighter. The hair is black and straight, and coarse and bristly, almost in direct proportion to the preponderance of Indian blood. There is relatively little body hair, and the beard is thin and sparse, also an almost infallible index of the proportion of Indian strain." (Thompson)

"Intellectually and psychologically, the Mexican mestizo is more of a hybrid than he is physically. His body type has varied characteristics, although perhaps tending disproportionately to the Indian, but in his brain there seethes the continual conflict of intellectual and psychological predispositions which go back to cultures which in the history of humanity are thousands of years apart. In his mind the blind, unchanging grasp of tradition and superstition which mark the Indian combine with the brilliant logic of the Spaniard, to create a person, unstable and at the same time inexorable, bound by racial prejudices which he does not understand and yet he justifies with an Occidental logic that confuses both himself and the observer. Brave and often devoted, cruel and blindly selfish, proud and childishly sensitive, admiring material and spiritual achievement extravagantly, yet almost incapable alone of concentration and of sacrifice which create these achievements, sentimental and poetical, often a writer of songs such as La Paloma, Estrellita and many others, thought of as of Spanish origin, yet almost untouched by great passions and desires, the Mexican is the victim of his mixed racial and cultural heritage, the plaything of primal forces which ever tend to neutralize each other into a personality often unworthy alike of his rich Spanish intensity and of his Indian simplicity. Though he conceives his revolutions, his social reforms and his material progress in high sounding terms of altruism, the forces with which he has torn his country to tatters and even those with which from time to time, he has bound up her wounds, have been selfish ambitions and narrow personal desires." (Thompson)

"The Mexican is 'unmoral' rather than immoral". (Strout)

"Suspicion is one of the greatest characteristics. It is the heritage of temperament from long processes of indirect thinking, in other words, of intellectual dishonesty." (Thompson)

"The evil which has tainted all the social life of the Mexican, the microbe that has been weakening the organization, and which, if we do not definitely attack it, will finish by destroying Mexico, is the lie." (Obregon)

"At the Mexican seminar held last year it was brought out that the students from some of the protestant schools were preferred as paymasters in the army during the last revolution as they could be trusted to be honest with the money." (Dr. Ranney)

"As a curse, nothing is deeper than to say to a Mexican that he is shameless. Honor and dignity are prized virtues, even though to us honor may seem a trifle empty without truth." (Thompson)

"The ethical side of religion is almost lightly regarded and the functions of the church is chiefly, to the average Mexican mind, to furnish manners, and to sanctify certain important functions of life, such as birth, death, and marriage." (Thompson)

"Religion is too frequently a matter of pure emotionalism and the observance of certain rites and ceremonies. It has nothing to do with conduct. Hoffman's 'Christ in Gethsemane' was being shown in one of the large department stores of an American city, with a considerable Mexican population. The exhibition was free to the public and Mexicans came daily to see the picture. One afternoon a clerk was particularly impressed by a woman who entered robed in the conventional black mantilla of the humbler classes. For an hour she studied the painting on her knees. Great sobs shook her breast, while tears flowed constantly down her cheeks. Her meditation over, she rose to her feet, looked this way and that, and then slipped a valuable vase beneath her mantilla." (McLean)

A young Mexican friend of the writer said that he did not like the services in the Catholic churches in the United States. They were too long. In Mexico the service was often not longer than fifteen or twenty minutes.

"Fear, self-assertion, sex and greed are all developed to their fullest in the Mexican, and indeed so strong are they, that it is to their gratification, and to their original stimulation, for that matter, that most of the forces of the ordinary Mexican intellect are devoted." (Thompson)

"The lottery holds a terrible fascination to the Mexican. He wants to get rich quick. No gentleman works. He finds him a gold mine, or becomes a public official, or wins a grand prize in the lottery. Closely akin to the lottery spirit is the individualism of the Mexican. Always he has taken orders. His mental habits unfit him for co-operation. When he sings, he is a soloist. For this reason there are so many generals in the Mexican armies." (McLean)

"One thing the Mexican seminar is doing is to show intelligent Mexicans the value of the Open Forum. This is a very hard thing for the average Mexican to comprehend. To hear opposing sides presented without excitement." (Herring)

"The Mexican code of honor puts the highest valuation upon grace and charm rather than upon truth. This explains the reason for his saying when he invites you to his home "that I would like to have you come to your house." He does not mean that the house is yours, but that he wants you to feel well pleased. To a Mexican, the truth is often disagreeable, and therefore objectionable. Perhaps when he invited you to "your house" he was particularly anxious that you keep away from it for some reason. It is this high estimate of charm and grace of manners and kindness of thought and action which more than any other thing form the Mexican idea of those social virtues which are worth while." (Thompson)

In the summer of 1927 the writer had the pleasure of meeting a Mexican professor of Philosophy in the University of Mexico. He was studying in one of our great universities. His name is withheld for the reason of his being well known as an authority. He was charming, gracious beyond words to the older women of the group, entertaining to the younger women, and rather indifferently accepted by the men of the group. He was on his way to Geneva as a representative of Mexico. He spoke English well and was considered highly educated. Yet he deliberately courted a young student of the group, though he was aware that several of the group knew that he was married with children, and had met his wife. The girl scorned all warnings as envious, and believed his apparent sincerity when he showed her his passport which said he was a bachelor. In 1929, the girl went to Mexico City, met the wife, and heard from her of the gross infidelity of her husband, though she was not leaving him as the Mexican considers the family a very important unit that as long as there are minor children must be preserved. The Mexican law permits a man to have all the mistresses he wishes so long as he does not bring them into his home, or disturb the doubtful sanctity of the family.

"Play comes in for serious consideration rather than for joyful co-operation. The need for these solemn festivals and stuffy recreations is the first and almost the only spiritual requirement of the average Mexican, while the official celebrations of the many holidays is as important a part of the government function as the maintenance of a police force." (Thompson)

When the Mexican Independence Day was celebrated in Milwaukee at the southside Turn Hall, September 15 and 16, 1929, the hall was filled with people, quiet, even to the babies, who were all there, and respectful through the long, tiresome program of thirty-six numbers. The entertainers often spoke with very low voices, and with almost no oratorical ability, and these people did not shift their feet, nor show boredom. The back of the hall was lined with men standing, and they stood for two hours at least, and this in many cases after a day's work. Each speaker was gravely escorted by two young men up the steps of the platform. These two "guards" remained standing one each side of the speaker while he talked and at the close as gravely saw him off the stage. The writer did not see these escorts sit down once during the program. At the front of the stage were the American and the Mexican flag held respectively by a young Americanized Mexican and by a pockmarked Mexican of forty

with decided Indian features. The boy showed fatigue after a while, but the other not. With eyes fixed into space, chewing gravely upon something, he otherwise might have been carved from bronze. Finally someone brought chairs. The boy sank into his. The Indian just sat down. His face never seemed to change, even when the band struck up a popular tune with cheers from the crowd. He was carrying the Mexican flag.

"As long as the Indian continues to believe that natural phenomena result from supernatural agencies, that drought and rain, insect plagues, and diseases are consequences of divine whim and affected only by his piety with the priest as intermediary, it will be almost impossible to rouse the Mexican from his apathy, to make him self-reliant, dependent on his own initiative, to secure his co-operation to lessen the terrible infant mortality, to make him in short, a civilized member of a modern community." (Vasconcelos)

"Mexico City is the fruit and flower of European civilization in Mexico. Yet, until recently at least 70 percent of the births in that city were illegitimate and the death rate was about treble that of the average American city and was even higher than in such eastern city as Cairo and Madras." (Gruening)

The foregoing pages may seem pessimistic. Perhaps, but most any person at all informed about Mexico will say that the patient is very sick. If the neighbors next door are to help in the recovery, a diagnosis is necessary to find out what is the matter with the sick one. The writer has merely pointed out the opinions of the diagnosticians.

Sometimes the patient seems better and smiles and sits up. There is the fairly well known (in Mexico) story of Juan Garcia (a name comparable to our John Smith for lack of identity), an engineer in a mining district who, on discovering that a car full of dynamite was on fire, attached his locomotive to it and drew it from the village at full speed. Only one or two other persons besides himself were killed instead of the thousand or more that surely would have been, if the car had remained in town. The writer found this story in two different articles varied a little, but alike in the essentials. Then there is the story of "El Dorcitorcito" or "The Little Doctor". General Enrique C. Ossornio, who is known from one end of Mexico to the other, never wears a uniform. He is well over fifty, and during the 1927 revolution, worked like a Trojan, in one instance for three days without stopping, personally attending the most urgent cases, supervising the work of his corps of assistants, and looking to the entrainment of the hundreds of bullet-riddled and bayonet-slashed troopers, mostly rebels, who were rushed to the army base hospitals at Monterrey and Torreon and Aguas Calientes.

Who is the Mexican? The answer will always be "Quién sabe?"

WHERE DOES HE COME FROM?

Mexico with its people consists of a population of some 15,000,000 mixed Spanish and Indian peoples distributed, chiefly in villages and small cities, over a triangular, largely mountainous area of 767,000 square miles, lying to the Southwest of the United States. Its government is a republic of thirty states and territories, patterned in theory on the federalized system of the United States, but in actuality centralized and dominated by the national ruler or dictator, from Congress down to the most insignificant village official. (Thompson)

Mexico lies almost entirely within the tropics, where theoretically fruits and flowers grow in abundance, and in reality, is nearly three-fourths desert. Climate is the chief determinant of the conditions under which Mexico's inhabitants must live, the overwhelming element of her environment. It varies from scorching desert to dank jungle, and from glaring sands of the Gulf to the delightfully equable seasons of the mountain slopes, but snow never falls upon her wheat fields and rain comes either in short, rainy seasons, or in tropic torrents that vitiate agriculture by their abundance. It is the location of Mexico within the tropics that is responsible for the enervating sameness of temperature which gives almost the whole country the most debilitating type of weather from the view point of variety. Among the whites and many of the mixed bloods the combination of altitude and dryness has a definite effect on the nervous system, and traditional excitability and instability of the creoles, may therefore, have a clear climatic explanation. (Thompson) (Creole: pure Spanish blood but born in Mexico).

Mr. Fernandez, who lives in Milwaukee, says that in winter the climate of Mexico City is positively dangerous. It gets intensely hot in the middle of the day, and sharply cold at night. This combined with the high altitude (6,000 feet or more) lowers resistance to disease, especially when accompanied with unsanitary conditions except in the higher type of homes. There is a very wide range of temperature, often as much as 90 degrees.

Famine still stalks in Mexico. Even in 1917 there was a genuine famine in Northern Mexico not due to banditry. The official records of the American Red Cross show the facts for the city of Monterrey was saved only through the enterprise of her American residents, who imported carloads of corn contributed by the Red Cross. (Thompson)

The community life and the system of government are alike the result of the combination of the customs and the systems of the two races which make up the people. In the larger phases of government, however, it is the Spanish heritage which is strongest, while in the community life and the systems of rule in the villages and even in the larger towns, Indian tradition and standards dominate.

The feudal system which had all but passed in Europe when Columbus set sail for America, was transplanted bodily to the Spanish colonies and became the chief basis of their government for three centuries of colonial rule. Since the Independence although the forms of Mexican government have changed often, and bloody wars have been fought over the theories and practices of republican rule, the actual spirit of the central government has continued Spanish and almost feudal even down to this day. (Thompson)

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The conditions of Indian community life have continued in Mexico with similar persistence. When the Spaniards came to Mexico in 1521 they found the Indians possessed of a communal organization upheld by traditions which went back so far into prehistoric times that there was no memory of any other life. The basis of the political form of tribal organization was the common ownership of land with the parceling out of portions to the individuals who were able to work them, a sort of temporary tenancy continuing only for life. There were no land titles and no heritage. The natives lived in villages, they almost never had their homes on the land they worked. In theory, if any ownership existed, it was vested in the cacique or petty chief, who in turn owed feudal fealty to the rulers of his clan and nation. No individual enterprises except exploitation by the priests and caciques was possible, and no ambition for land ownership, for homesteads, or for self-betterment entered into Indian psychology.

There has been a slow growth toward small privately owned lands, the proprietors of which are known as Rancheros. The increase in small rural properties is a significant fact in the community growth of Mexico under Diaz.

The Indian mind, however, has never been truly friendly to this modern development. There is much opposition to the breaking up of communal properties, and indeed the census of 1900 reported 2,083 formally organized communes still in existence. This fact of Indian conservatism and reversion is of deep importance, to an understanding of the nature of Mexican community life. There is yet another index in the industrial organization of the Mexican villages. Under the Aztec plan, every village was a center of some sort of production. The artisans accumulated their surplus of pottery, for instance, and when ready, themselves carried it to the market places of the towns, where they bartered for other products needed in their communes. (Thompson)

Mr. Fernandez told the writer of a trip to some Indian villages near Vera Cruz where this carrying to market and bartering for necessities is still carried on. These Indians do not speak a single word of Spanish; they are suspicious of the White. Many of them have enormous hordes of gold hidden in the wilds and no one knows where. Their needs outside of what they produce are small, white cotton cloth, shoes, and gold ornaments for decoration.

Wrapped around with conservatism with the mass of tradition upon which the Indian habitually acts and which has been the same for probably 2000 years, the community life of Mexico is an unchanging background. (Thompson)

As a general rule the Mexican community is a reflection of the attitude of the Mexican toward life in general. It seems to function successfully only under eternal vigilance - one reason why the Federal government has usually been so much more successful in the capital than in the local governments in the states. The Mexican has a wholesome respect for authority, bred in him from long years of Spanish rule, and generally he is told what is expected of him, and if conscious of the proximity of a policeman, will obey regulations religiously. (Thompson)

The education of the masses to a desire for civic virtues has always been difficult, because, as a rule, the peasant has no consciousness of his own responsibility in the creation or destruction of the things that make his town or village admirable. The detached attitude of the Indian and even of the better class Mexican toward the beautiful public buildings of Mexico City and toward the festivals which are organized for his entertainment, cannot but impress even the most casual observer. The Mexican looks to something outside of himself to provide the things which are desirable, and has never yet been educated to a realization that he himself has any real part in their creation. The problem of the Mexican community is in the ultimate a problem of the Mexican education just as completely as the problem of the increase in his wants and the improvement in his living conditions resolves itself in the end into the need for the creation of a definite appreciation for them in his own mind. (Thompson)

The relation of education even to the impetus to progress, surely the most obvious of its functions, is lost in the childish anxiety of Mexican educators to appear progressive and advanced, while the long quarrels of church and state to control the intellectual processes of the yet-to-be-awakened Indian have made education the football of politics and the door mat of revolutions (Thompson)

It was one of the essential principles of what the Mexicans call "porfirismo" to make clean the outside of the cup and platter. Porfirio Diaz was intent always upon making it seem that Mexico had all the refinements, all the marks of civilization which characterize the older nations of Europe. Hence the splendid public buildings in the capital, the paved streets, the parks, the statues in the public squares. It was for this reason also that particular attention was given to the public schools in Mexico City while the rural districts were forgotten. But this neglect of the rural districts has left a legacy of illiteracy running up to 63 percent of the whole nation. Dr. Herring puts it at 70 percent (Milwaukee 12/ 11/ 29) In some states the percentage runs as high as 90 percent, and in others where the largest cities are, the percentage drops. The problem which the present administration faces is that of building a representative type of government upon a foundation of gross illiteracy. (McLean)

Probably the most teachable of all backward peoples of the world, the Mexicans are today almost illiterate. Hardly a tenth of the population has had a common-school education and more than three quarters can neither read a street sign nor scratch their own names. (Thompson)

How deep the cloud of ignorance and how inadequate the provisions for dispelling it can be grasped only loosely by Mexican statistics, for here, even more than elsewhere, in the fantastic maze of official figures, one feels ever the baffling hand of mendacity, the apparent determination that no one shall ever really know the truth. (Thompson)

Of all the stable elements which there are in Mexico (and in spite of revolutions and fantastic governmental experiments there are many stable elements) the Mexican family persists as one of the peoples' safe foundations. The Mexican family group is instinctively organized along patriarchal lines, with the father as the head, the ruler. Families-in-law enter into the patriarchal arrangement. Close into the household are also brought the interesting type of friends who are called "compadres", the compadre having been a godfather to one of the children of the household and thus formally brought into an intimate and friendly association which is sealed forever by this honored relationship.

The patriarchal organization also takes in the servants. They are encouraged to bring their sorrows and joys to the head or the mistress of the house.

The great element influencing marriage in Mexico, however, is not the matter of its forms nor its responsibilities so much as the ancient quarrel between Church and State over the control of the marriage rite. There has also been the financial phase of the question. Civil marriage is theoretically free, but the Catholic Church has always charged a definite sum. This sum was a fortune to the peons. Many of the lower classes often establish their households without the formality of either a civil or a religious ceremony. (Thompson)

The home life of any community has its roots in the relations of husband and wife, and where, as in Mexico, the first duty of a woman is to meet the sexual exigencies of her husband, the finer phases of wedded life are in continual jeopardy. The control of this phase of marriage by the man has had much to do both with the closely confined and circumscribed life of the wives and with the notorious infidelity and laxity of the Mexican male. The Mexican woman, however, is extremely limited by education and by her lack of contact with the world. A woman of good birth, almost invariably studies in a convent, sees almost no men except her brothers and father until she is married, and after marriage seldom meets her husband's friends. Mexican women are characterized by a patience and endurance which extend throughout all classes of the republic. (Thompson)

My friend Carmen Villanueva, who is a widow, told the writer that the Mexican widow seldom re-marries. Her husband was very jealous if she even spoke to a male cousin when she met him on the street, even though she was accompanied by her husband at the time. At a function her son went with her, danced with the girls who went with their parents, and at the close the young people went home with their parents. Nothing like taking out a girl alone as in the United States.

Inside a Mexican house the courtesies are observed with the most meticulous adherence to tradition. In the drawing room there is always the polite waiting for the designation of seats by the mistress. The formal arrangement of the room, with the sofa in the middle of the longest wall and one armchair at right angles at either end, gives opportunity for social distinctions which the Mexican lady uses with instinctive breeding. The place of honor is the sofa, the hostess sitting in the left corner and most important guest at her right, while in order the armchair at her left and the armchair at the right of the sofa are filled by other visitors. (Thompson)

Much of the social life of the women in Mexico is taken up with promenades or carriage and motor rides. In the smaller towns the life about the main plaza is part of the routine of social activity. Two or three evenings a week and every Sunday afternoon the band plays and the public walk around, usually the men in one direction and the women in the other and this allows some flirting to go on. (Thompson)

Only men attend funerals in Mexico, and under Mexican law no clergyman may officiate out of doors. (Thompson)

The most significant movement that has taken place in the labor world is the organization of the Confederacion Regional Obrera Mexicana, commonly called the "Crom". The Crom is allowed to dip into the public treasury through the influence of Luis N. Morones, first secretary of the Crom and secretary of Industry Commerce and Labor in President Calles cabinet. (McLean)

Dr. Herring told the City Club group that the Unions have dropped from an estimated figure of several million to scarcely 100,000.

It has been interesting to note how imitative of the United States Mexico is. They copied the United States Constitution, although it does not fit their need. We have an engineer president. Mexico elects Ortiz-Rubio. Mr. Hoover took a trip before his inaugural to the Latin-American countries. Mr. Rubio comes thus to the United States before his inaugural.

Lindbergh flew down to Mexico. He flew down, won his girl, and flew away with her. This appeals powerfully to the emotional, romantic mind of the young Mexican. And soon one of their young men, Emilio Carranza, flew to the United States. I believe that he was later killed, but at least he copied Lindbergh in coming by plane to the United States.

Now the City of Mexico is inviting conventions to come there, and in July, 1929 a group of 600 railway officials and their wives held a convention there, coming from the United States and Canada.

But we must remember that with all this apparent civilization there are living in the mountains many millions of Indians who do not speak Spanish, hate and shun any white man, have no schools, no religion but their own pagan rites. Mexico City is not Mexico. Few of these Indians ever come to the United States and are likewise a problem to Mexico herself. They

pay no taxes, do not become a part of the government. They only contribute the crops of vanilla and of coffee and tobacco for which they insist on being paid in gold, and then go back to their hidden lives in the mountains.

The subject of Mexico in this chapter is very superficial and attempts only to rouse interest to read further on the subject, which is such a fascinating one.

III.

WHY DOES HE LEAVE MEXICO?

There has always been a distinct Mexican emigration. The Philippines were settled and developed by the Spaniards and the mestizos from Mexico. The creoles in recent years have emigrated to Florida and to Louisiana. California was originally populated so far as its white and mestizo peoples went, from Mexico. Yucatan and other sections of the gulf coast sent Indians to Cuba and the other islands of the West Indies. (Thompson)

The cause for this movement is, of course, at its base political, because the economic disruption of Mexico finds its own source in political upheavals. (Thompson)

The motives that prompt the peon to come to the United States are almost exclusively economic. His real wage here is from two to six times his wage at home. This is reason enough for his coming, and we ought not to attribute to him motives which he does not have. He does not come as an admirer of our institutions, our language or our culture. Probably few peons emigrate with the expectation of residing permanently in the United States. They say they expect to return and there is no reason to doubt their honesty. They want to go back some day, but for the bulk of them that day is manana which never comes. The fact that they really do not like our country, except for the high wages, does not result in their going back to Mexico, but it does prevent them from becoming assimilated. (Hoover)

The Mexican people with whom the writer has talked say that the intolerable conditions in Mexico bring them to the United States. They always go back to the golden days of Diaz, and throw out veiled hints that the Calles government and that of his henchman, Portes Gil, are not so good to the ordinary Mexican, as would be supposed. There is a suggestion of disapproval of Luis Morenos and his tactics with the Labor Unions, particularly the CROM.

There are several young, intelligent men among the subordinate officials in government employ who feel that Ambassador Morrow is unduly influencing the financial officers of the government, and that the last three presidents have been, and still are too much under the sway of United States Imperialism. They may be partly right in their stand. (Herring). Perhaps this also explains why Jose Vasconcelos writes such bitter things about the United States.

The following story shows how suspicious Mexicans are of American business. A pump and motor were sold and shipped to a customer in a little Mexican town. The customer could not "lift" it from the freight office. After much difficulty, the matter was settled. The nameplate on the motor read, "360 revolutions a minute" and that was just too much for the railroad officials, but after many explanations the equipment was released.

One family known to the writer told how their relatives in Southern Mexico owned a rare black marble mine, but did not work it for fear of discovery and confiscation by the government. The ones in the United States were trying to find an American buyer. He would be able to defend himself against the government.

Quoting in part from a letter printed in the "Outlook" of December 5, 1928: "May I ask that you write to the postmaster at Springfield, Mass., asking that this letter (a previous one) be forwarded to you at your new address. I would do this myself but, as you know, it is more or less dangerous to be caught here in Mexico doing anything that may in the least be construed as a criticism of the government, so I could not sign my name to the same, or it would be taking a chance to be discovered, and if so, it would be but a few hours before I would find myself on the north bank of the Rio Grande and my business down here destroyed." These articles by Mr. Villegas have caused much comment among the Americans as well as many Mexicans who frequent the club, and without one dissenting voice I have heard only praise of them. Mr. Villegas has kept well within the facts. (The reference is to a series of articles "The Red Thread in Mexico" by one Marcelo Villegas, published in the "Outlook" the fall of 1928 and blaming communism for many of the economic troubles.)

"What is the matter with Mexico?" people of the United States try to ask. They study conditions down there. But diplomatic agencies, observers official and unofficial, special representatives, missions of every denomination and kind Congressional investigators, financial and trade experts, reports of private citizens and books, pamphlets and articles of journalists of every character and color fail to clear away the confusion about the conditions south of the Rio Grande. A wider search is needed. The clues to much that has been happening in Mexico are to be found beyond her borders - in the United States, in Europe and in Soviet Russia. The "Red Thread of Communism" runs thru Mexico (Marcelo Villegas, Outlook, Sept. 19, 1928)

Mexican refugees already in San Antonio, Texas, say that the expulsion of ----- indicates an attempt on the part of the Calles Government to suppress all intellectuals in Mexico. (Journal AP, 1927).

There is nothing like freedom of the press in Mexico and the Government prints, or allows to be printed only what it wishes to have printed. This naturally invites misunderstanding and lack of real knowledge of the truth.

It is only necessary to mention the fact that the restriction of European immigration and the accompanying lack of cheap, unskilled labor has apparently forced industry to look for a workman in the Mexican.

We may criticize the Mexican for always hoping to go back to live in Mexico, and therefore, never taking out his citizenship papers. Well! Here in Milwaukee a Canadian was

manager of the Electrical Department of Allis-Chalmers Manufacturing Company for many years, educated his daughters in one of our high schools and last year returned to Canada without ever having taken out his citizenship papers. With the immigrants from Europe it is different. The journey to the United States is long, expensive, and difficult, and liberty is supposed to be waiting here for them. Canada and Mexico are just across the border, which is often nothing but an imaginary line. A Canadian or a Mexican can earn a little money and go home for a visit without much difficulty and keep alive the ties with their native land.

IS HE COMING TO MILWAUKEE?

Do you know how intimate an American problem the Mexican has become?

On July 1, 1924, the quota law became effective for the nationals from all countries except those of the Western Hemisphere. A labor shortage was created throughout the country, and almost immediately, the Mexican from the southwest began to pour north and east to supply the demand. As far east as Norfolk and Pittsburgh, and as far north as Detroit and Gary, are the Mexicans doing the work that was formerly done by Poles, Slovaks and Italians. (McLean)

One travels through the southwest and sees that practically every pick and shovel man is a Mexican. He goes to the cities and towns and finds each has a Mexican district. He visits border towns which are almost entirely Mexican, and finds that in the Big Bend country east of El Paso, practically nine out of ten of all the people whom he meets are immigrants of the south. And with this constant impression of black eyes and swarthy skins he is convinced of the fact that he is standing in the presence of one of the greatest racial movements in all history. (McLean)

It will help us to understand this movement, when we realize that at least one-eighth of all of Mexico's population lives today under the stars and stripes. But even such an estimate is misleading, because so large a part of the population is Indian speaking native dialects, and as yet has had no part in the surge of the nationalistic movement. Dismissing this large group from our calculation, we may safely say that one-fifth of all Spanish-speaking Mexicans are now living in this country. (McLean)

It is always difficult to obtain accurate figures on Mexican immigration because it is so easy to get into the United States. For the entire length of the inter-national line between the United States and Mexico there is hardly a stretch of territory ten miles long where a man who knows the border and patrol systems cannot cross and re-cross afoot or by boat without interference. (Thompson)

For example: the Milwaukee Journal on April 10, 1928 tells the story of one Francisco Fernandez who was deported after stabbing his room mate. He lived in the section around Eighth Street and the Viaduct. He had entered the United States in 1926 by swimming the Rio Grande at Laredo, Texas.

Mexicans wishing to come to the United States are confronted with several legal barriers and but few real ones. The legal barriers consist of a literacy test, which many of them cannot pass, a medical examination, a head tax of \$8.00, a passport visa, costing \$10.00 and a medical examination fee of \$3.00. These financial provisions would alone, be sufficient to keep out the average Mexican family. Fortunately for them

the land frontier is approximately 1,800 miles long, with no natural barrier except (for a portion of the way) the Rio Grande, which during most of the year can be waded by a ten year old child. As our border patrol is inadequate, the peon walks or swims across to save from \$20. to \$100. with the same ease as we "walk upstairs and save \$10.00" and is welcomed here as a "wet back" by his countrymen. For this reason, no statistics of immigration from Mexico are worth the paper on which they are written. It is estimated by competent observers that the illegal entries at least equal the legal ones. (Hoover)

Scores are deported every month from El Paso to Juarez by the international bridge, and within twenty-four hours some of them have been found trading in the "Five and Ten" stores of El Paso. (Lecter)

For a time, until the United States government found it out, many Mexicans "bootlegged" themselves into the country even into Milwaukee, and then when their seasonal labor was done depended on deportation to take them free back to Mexico. (Mrs. Irish, Travellers' Aid)

From El Paso, from California and from Arizona, New Mexico and Colorado come the transcontinental busses laden with Mexicans reaching eastward where the jobs are not all taken by Mexicans and the wages are higher. They come for work in the sugar beetle fields, in the factories, for construction work on the railroads, gas companies and tanneries and stockyards, all the dirty disagreeable work is theirs, at a small wage that looks big to them. A Milwaukee gentleman came thru from Los Angeles in the fall of 1929 on a bus and for one whole day no one on it spoke a word of English. (Edward Daas) No one who travels by auto west and back can fail to see these east bound Mexicans.

The dealers in second hand automobiles find ready customers for old cars. Anything that has four wheels, and can cough and spit along the road is loaded to the guards with possessions and then piled high with Mexican children. (McLean) There is just such a record in the Travellers' Aid of Milwaukee. Their pictures were in the Journal and as they had no money they came upon the various agencies for support.

There is a very distinct colony of Mexicans in Chicago, but as usual, uncertainty clouds the estimate of the population. For example: the Mexican population in Illinois has been estimated at 15,000 but a speaker at the Commonwealth Club in San Francisco recently (1928) declared that Chicago alone has 175,000. And in and out of Chicago come the Mexicans to Milwaukee. Many come from Southern Illinois, and from Iowa and so on reaching southwestward. The news of a possible job spreads by word of mouth or by letter. One family known to the writer had at the time of one call, a man, woman and child from Mason City, Iowa, as lodgers. At a later call they had gone back to Chicago, and at the last visit another family of five from Mason City were boarding there. With five in the host's family, the house was sheltering in three rooms ten people.

Sometimes there is a definite importation of laborers such as constituted the first group of Mexicans to come to Milwaukee. This was in 1920, when Pfister and Vogel brought 100 Mexicans to work in the tanneries. Shortly afterwards another hundred came. The Inland Steel did the same thing, and probably the Illinois Steel, as the records of the Milwaukee Leader will show about 1923. There was also a decided hint that a representative was sent down to the border and negotiations opened with a "Padrone" who went over into Mexico and "got his men". There is considerable doubt if these men entered the United States legally. The writer remembers being in the American Railway Express Office in Milwaukee in the spring of 1928 and noting that there were five or six Mexicans, only one of whom spoke any English at the counter. They were presenting their "express receipt" like any package being sent up to the sugar beet fields. The season for the beet industry closes down in the late fall or early winter, and then the Mexican men flock into the town to hibernate till their money is gone for silk shirts, billiards and pool, presents for their wives and "lady friends" (?) and undoubtedly drink; for the Mexican laborer is addicted to drinking "pulque" like water in Mexico and would feel no violation of the law in drinking "bootleg" here. The Juvenile Court Probation Officers have noted how many Mexican men may be seen any pleasant day walking around in the colored section with their colored girls. There is no objection to color as far as the Mexican is concerned. Even the Probation officers class the Mexican as colored, as one of them told the writer that one woman officer did not like to work among the colored people and gave over all her Mexicans to another worker along with her negroes.

One of the earliest colonies of Mexicans in Chicago was in the immediate vicinity of Hull-House. It was interesting to watch their reception in the neighborhood. At first the Italians received them almost as a group of their own countrymen. We had, for instance, a large Latin Club of young men at Hull House, a membership fairly representative of both nationalities, but as the Mexicans in their innocence mingled freely with negroes from the South who had come to Chicago in large numbers about the same time as the Mexicans themselves had come, and because many of the Mexicans were dark of skin they gradually became discriminated against, even by the people of Latin origins who in Europe at least do not discriminate against the dark-skinned man. (Jane Addams Survey Graphic, Nov. 1929)

While the social workers are afraid that the peons will not mix with our native population, the eugenists are afraid that they will. It is certain that inter-breeding cannot be prevented. That might be considered a happy ending if the quality of our racial stock were not lowered in the process. If the stock of the Mexican is as good as ours, there can be no scientific objection, but there are, however, competent and impartial observers who consider the peon inferior to the whites, both physically and mentally. (Hoover)

The American public has been indifferent to Mexican immigration because the peons have been so concentrated in the Southwest, that the problem seemed local, rather than national.

There are, however, certain groups with material interests at stake who are fighting hard, for and against the peon and will ultimately make of him a national issue. (Hoover)

A decided increase in the number of idle men of Mexican blood is noted each winter, until last winter (1928) a hundred or more could be seen hanging around Reed and Clinton Streets on sunny days, in the morning. (A lawyer on the south side who goes to court every morning.)

The Mexican peon is among the most unassimilable of all immigrants. Measured by the percentage of those who learn English become citizens, or adopt American ways, his record is a poor one. New Mexico affords a striking instance. When that territory was acquired from Mexico in 1849 those of its inhabitants who did not speak the Indian dialects spoke Spanish. Their descendants still speak Spanish, and English is so little understood that, with the aid of interpreters, both languages are used in their legislative assemblies. It is our only state which is officially bilingual. (Hoover) The writer remembers in 1924 when she was in Santa Fe that \$7,000 was spent every time the Legislature was in session for interpreter's fees.

There is a direct responsibility upon corporations for bringing in these not-readily assimilated people to work without a care for what the drain will be on the community in the way of support.

Just how cheap is labor which has to be fed out of the public purse during the periods of unemployment? And for whom is it cheap? Put it another way. If a great industry brings foreigners to this country and pays them insufficient wages to tide them over the periods of unemployment, making it necessary for them to be fed out of the public purse, how large a subsidy is society paying into the profits of that industry? In Detroit, Michigan, over a period of three years, one Mexican out of every eight was given relief through the Public Welfare Bureau. (McLean)

Los Angeles has now a Mexican population of about 150,000. The Bureau of Catholic Charities of that city reports that 52% of its cases are Mexican. Forty-three percent of all the cases of the General Hospital of that city are Mexican. In some cities the school boards have been compelled to separately house the Mexican children. Mexicans furnish one-twelfth of the population of the state, but supply one-seventh of the criminals. There is a growing conviction that if it be true that some of our major industries depend upon Mexican laborers for existence, those who employ them, rather than society must assume the responsibility of caring for them during the long lean periods of unemployment. (Henry Stauffer, Oct. 31, 1929 in the Congregationalist of Dec. 5, 1929).

Although the peon is comparatively unassimilable, he is proving an adept at assimilating American charity. In 1925, the Mexicans in Los Angeles County were about 10 percent of the population, yet they furnished 44 percent of the charity tuberculosis patients, 57 percent of the venereal clinic cases, and there was expended on them more than 50 percent of the budget of the bureau of Catholic Charities, and 73 percent of the City Maternity Service. (Hoover)

In Milwaukee you will find one group of Mexicans close to the County Poor House on Market Street. One family known to the writer has been helped by the City and County for several years. At present one child is in the Childrens' Hospital and has been there off and on for over a year.

The majority of Mexicans in Milwaukee are of the peon type. The writer believes that it would be well to explain about the word "peon" which has been used so frequently in the paper. It is of Latin origin and means no more than "footman" with the same origin as "pioneer". They are still slaves in Mexico, inheriting in its full bitterness the curse of Adam, toiling for starvation wages and kept in squalor and perpetual debt. The average daily wage for the peon on the large haciendas the great landed estates, has been about 25 centavos. Most of them are unable to read and write the Spanish, to say nothing of English. Many of them cannot speak a decent Spanish. They speak "Mexican" which is a corrupted Spanish. Even those who have been born in the United States cannot read or write either Spanish or English because their parents have been on the go from one job to the other and truant officers have been unable to get them into school or keep them there.

According to Mrs. Johnston of the Christian Center, the type of Mexican in Milwaukee is of a higher grade of intelligence and staying power. They live in better homes, and keep them cleaner.

Several of the men have savings accounts with the Mitchell Street Bank, a branch of the First Wisconsin National Bank.

Seven years ago there were practically no Mexican children in the schools in the Fifth Ward. Now not a week goes by but what a group of children register in school, and not a week goes by but some leave. There is a noticeable change in the type the last year (1929) as they are coming from Texas, are darker skinned, more Indian and of a lower type of intelligence. Many of them are apparently very poor, and do not have enough to eat. (Miss Kottbauer, Vieau School).

Then there is the better class who are coming to occupy minor office positions where a knowledge of Spanish is necessary with Latin America; such as the Harley Davidson Co. with two Mexicans, the Gudahy Co., the Pawling-Karnischfeger Co. and the Bradley Knitting Mills. The School of Engineering graduates young Mexicans and they readily fit into some job, as did one into the offices of the T.M.E.R. & L. CO. The writer was assured by the clerk at the School of Engineering that there were four Mexican boys in school at present. But one is supposed to come from Uruguay. The writer believes that this young man is not Mexican but Uruguayan. This simply shows how great is the misinformation and misunderstanding of the Mexicans. Usually an industry prefers a Cuban, a Porto Rican, or a native Spaniard for their work, as they are better educated and more accustomed to business methods.

There is a young Mexican playing in the orchestra of the Palace Theatre. He claims to be a Spaniard, but a Mexican friend of his says her ancestors came over with Cortez just as his did, and he is Mexican like her, but is a silly one. He knows the position he holds in society here will be easier for him if he calls himself a Spaniard.

The fifteenth of January, 1930, a group of Mexican boys played the "Y" Red Triangles at the local Y.M.C.A. This was the twenty-fifth of a forty-two Good-Will schedule which has already carried the Mexican team thru Texas, Oklahoma, Kansas, Iowa, and Wisconsin. The visitors were the guests of the Y.M.C.A. throughout the day. They are called The Fal Team, and are the national champions of Mexico.

The Mexican population is variously placed at from 3,000 to 6,000. The high figure was given to Mr. Bruce by the priest at the Mission. The writer believes that 4,000 is probably about right. It is all guess work anyway, for some are today here and gone tomorrow.

Most of the Mexicans seem to come from Zacatecas and Kichoacan. There are Mexicans here from the states of Jalisco, Aguas Calientes, Nuevo Leon, of which Monterey is the capital, from San Luis Potosi, and a few are now filtering in from Chihuahua, which is largely Indian in population. It will be noted that few come from the East Coast States, and the Southern States of Mexico. Here are the Indians who speak no Spanish, and recognize no government at Mexico City, and hate and suspect any Spaniard. In contrast to the Milwaukee Mexicans, the majority that stay in the southwest of the United States are from the Indian states of Chihuahua and Sonora. These people are strongly of the peon type and do not average well in intelligence with the Milwaukee Mexicans.

MAP SHOWING WHERE
THE MEXICANS ARE
IN MILWAUKEE

Map is to be found at
Int. Gen. of Milw. Co.
12/30/49

(For Map See Original Survey)

The Red Section in the Fifth and Twelfth Wards is the most thickly settled section. Here are their meeting places.

- 1.) El Santuario de Nuestra Senora de Guadalupe
(The Mexican Mission) 313 Grove Street
- 2.) South Side Turn Hall where the Mexican fiesta
for Independence Day and other events are held
471 National Avenue.
- 3.) Mexican Store and Restaurant (Compania Industrial
Mexican, Fabricadores y Importadores)
- 4.) Harmony Hall. 387 First Avenue
- 5.) St. Luke's Hospital. 320 Madison Street
- 6.) First Wisconsin National Bank, Mitchell Street
Branch, where some nine or ten Mexicans come
with savings accounts. Corner of Fifth Avenue
and Mitchell Streets. There is a young man there
who speaks some Spanish.
- 7.) Visiting Nurse Association. South Side
Family Welfare Association. South Side
Corner of Mitchell and First Avenue

There are five distinct groups of Mexicans in Milwaukee. Please note by the map that they all border on either the Milwaukee or Menominee Rivers, and are all near some railroad line.

These five groups do not include the Gudahy section or the group that is around the United States Glue Co. at Carrollville, which are beyond the limits of this map. Besides there are scattered among the other sections of the city those of the higher type, owning their own homes, or holding office jobs in factories.

WHAT ARE WE DOING FOR HIM?

In the first place we are misunderstanding him. The writer had occasion one day to talk to a friend of hers who is a Catholic. Most of the Mexicans are Catholic for that was the only recognized religion in Mexico for many years, outside of the pagan rites which many of the Indians still persist in observing. This friend is very much out of sympathy with the work that the organization, the Daughters of Isabella, are doing for the Mexicans. She thinks they are all cut throats and thieves and nothing good. The writer finds that many people think the same about them if they think of them at all. The evening of the same day the writer talked with a Mrs. ----- of the International Institute who told her about a Mexican boy who wanted his birth certificate translated. He was quite skeptical of the results. "They will not believe me, anyway," he said. Often the writer is asked if she is not afraid to go into the Mexican homes. She always laughs and says "Of course not, for I always go with a legitimate purpose which will be readily understood." If there happen to be some wild-looking "bandits" in the house, they slip away before the woman opens the door. But they must be close by for if the subject of the visit is interesting they come back to take charge, "for the woman does not know much." The writer was talking to a young Mexican about this feeling of superiority of the male and he smiled and replied that that was his opinion. The Indian does not feel this way. Often the Indian woman's opinion is valued. Once the writer had to go into a store on Reed Street where Mexican only is spoken. She was looking for some Jalisco chocolate. The young girl in charge was suspicious though the writer was accompanied by a Mexican girl-friend. She very plainly lied about her name and that of the owner. Later the writer met the owner, a man, and found him very gracious, and extending an invitation to attend the little social gathering to be held that afternoon at the Mission.

In one call made with the visiting nurse we had to find the house of a young woman who had moved. The woman with whom she had lived did not understand English and did not know where she was. A young Mexican bachelor came in, offered to go as guide and did so. He walked a good part of a mile to do this. On the way he talked of the dance he was going to at the Beulah Brinton House for the Mexican Independence Day.

All the public charities of the city and county are open to a needy Mexican as well as to other foreigners, as they have learned very well, and use freely. The heaviest load comes upon the Catholic Charities, as the Mexicans are largely Catholic. It developed in a talk with the Juvenile Court officer that in 1929 at least eleven Mexican children were permanently committed to St. Francis.

Most of the Mexicans fear the County Hospital, though some of them go, nevertheless, for there is no charge, a matter of great moment to them.

In the main, Mexican Section in the Fifth Ward, the English Classes for Foreigners under the auspices of the School Board, are held at the Mexican Mission at 313 Grove Street,

Tuesday and Thursday evenings. These are in charge of Lyle G. Thomson. At the Walter Allen School at 629 Hanover Street there are classes every evening except Saturday and Sunday for foreigners, including instruction in making out citizenship papers. There are about forty Mexican men enrolled here now (Jan. 1930). There are no social activities other than a little singing and some occasional social gatherings. There are gatherings supervised by the School Board on the playground of the Vieau School at National and Greenbush Street. This playground is across National Avenue from the Vieau School and will soon be connected by a tunnel under National Avenue with the school. At night when the children are dismissed they will not have to cross National Avenue if they live north of the Avenue. It is quite possible as soon as the Vieau School is completed that a social center will be located in the school. This will have pretty largely Mexican patrons.

During the past year the School Board, Extension Department conducted three Saturday evening entertainments and dances in the assembly hall of the Park Street School. These were family gatherings and were attended from 200 to 300 each time. The Park Street School is now being used as an annex for the Boys Technical High School. Plans are afoot to continue these Saturday evening Mexican socials in the auditorium of the new Vieau School.

The Jackson Street School at Detroit and Jackson is a Social Center and Evening School Center, and some Mexicans attend the classes there. It is from the Jackson School that Mary and Peter Reyes of the Lincoln High School come. Mary is studying to be a stenographer.

In the Bay View section there is the Dover Street School at or near Kinnickinnic Avenue with Social Center and the Beulah Brinton House at 247 St. Clair Street. At the Beulah Brinton House there are afternoon classes on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays.

There are Mexicans at the Twenty-seventh and Wisconsin Avenue School and Center. The writer met these boys at the Spanish Club and does not know where they live.

The Public Library has afternoon classes in English on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays. These are held on the ground floor coming in from the Eighth Street entrance.

The Extension Division is opening a social club for men, among whom are some Mexicans, for Friday night at the Andrew Jackson Social Center. Mr. Thompson will have charge of this work, at least in the beginning.

For evening high school the South Division High is located at Lapham and Eighth Avenue, not very far away, if not within the Mexican section.

There are four Catholic parochial schools in which some of the Mexican children undoubtedly are being taught. These are Holy Trinity at 277 Greenbush Street, St. Patrick at

421 Second Avenue, St. Stanislaus at Grove and Mitchell Streets and St. Wenceslaus at 670 Scott Street. There are others of these schools farther away from the district which have not been noted. There is an appendix which gives the complete list of schools.

The lack of a knowledge of English holds the adults from the fullest enjoyment of the advantages offered in the different evening centers. The man does the dirty work for the industries. He is in the kilning room of the Plankinton for instance, in the tanneries handling wet steaming hides, in the unskilled labor lines of work in the steel mills, down in the tunnels that are being built by the Electric Railways, the Gas Company, the Sewer Department of the City. When he comes home at night to his supper of not always adequately nourishing food, with children crying around him, the room occupied with several boarders, a cloud of smoke from his and the boarders' cigars, is it any wonder his mind gets sluggish? Remember, he has not been accustomed to steady, grinding work in Mexico. There was always a little moment for a stolen siesta at noon day. Here he works in a moist hot climate or sharp cold zero climate. His house is usually not sufficiently heated. In Mexico there were thick walls and sun at daytime that was delightfully warm even in winter. The walls absorbed heat from the sun and tight windows kept out the cold. He has always been an easy prey to tuberculosis and social diseases. Is it any wonder if he prefers to stay at home instead of going to school? He would probably fall asleep over his lesson anyway.

The women are too busy to attend any school. Even the sewing classes held at the Mission under the auspices of the Daughters of Isabella are usually poorly attended. The wife of a Mexican holds a somewhat different position in the family than the American wife does. She is wholly under the control of her husband. She is for his pleasure in the first place, she has children just as fast as she can, she almost never goes out at night without her husband or son. She never goes to a function without him. When she goes to church, she cannot sit on the same side of the aisle as the men. Then she usually has several small children whose squirming she tries to quiet, while the priest scolds her for not coming oftener. Her husband usually does not want her to learn English, and she has no time anyway. She is not accustomed to walk much. This is a trick inherited from the Spanish woman. Her shoes are usually little silly high heeled ones. She sits when her work is done and gets fat. The husband does most of the buying. In one store on the south side, the proprietor has the confidence of several Mexicans. At pay day they come with their check to buy food stuffs to last several weeks: eggs by the dozens, bags of flour, cans of tomatoes by the half dozen, beans and cheese. These foods form the main diet of the Mexican. He does not eat a lot of meat. Usually a stew is made with chick peas or beans and a little meat to flavor. Chili is popular as a sauce. This is Indian in its origin and is not used in the families of the better classes. Milk is bought sparingly, even if there are several children. Chocolate is a standard drink, and usually made very sweet. This constant drinking of chocolate

may account in part for the fatness of the Mexican woman. Out of the pay check that the man presents to the store keeper he pays for his supplies, and often has only a few dollars left to last until next pay day. He trusts the storekeeper to give him the right change, and in this case the merchant seems to do so.

But the women are learning. When they are ever given any money, they trade at the Atlantic and Pacific Tea Stores, because the things are cheaper, and, strange from their lips, the things are cleaner than in their own Mexican stores. In Texas one Mexican woman kept boarders, and did not tell her husband about all the money she took in; but went out and bought herself a wristwatch for \$85.00. Her husband was very angry when he saw it. She had spent his money without his consent. But she said to him, "When American women earn money they spend it as they like and I am in the United States."

The climate in Milwaukee is very hard on the Mexican woman, who seldom stirs out of doors during the cold days. They do not seem to understand how to keep warm and usually do not dress their children adequately for going out to school. Last spring (1929) the writer called with a doctor to interpret for a sick Mexican woman. She was in a damp basement in which it was cold enough to keep on your coat. There was little or no heat and she had insufficient clothing on. But out back of the house was a garage which her son rented and in it was a fine Hudson car with all the fittings. She had three or four sons earning and kept boarders or lodgers besides. It was that she had been accustomed to the unheated houses with dirt floors in Aguas Calientes where the sun served as a heater and a sanitary agent to kill germs of disease. The doctor's medicine was taken a while, but the last time I saw her, she was feeling fine from taking a medicine sent her by some patent medicine concern in St. Louis. This medicine smelled a good deal like ether and soothes of course, but does not correct. The writer finds so many Mexican women addicted to patent medicine doses.

The houses on the south side seem poor things to live in, but Mrs. Johnson of the Christian Center compares them to the houses in the southwest with their toilets only a section of the back yard, and finds them fairly good. There is usually sewage disposal through the city system, even if several families use one common toilet. The houses are usually frame buildings, single dwellings occupied in the beginning by their German or Scandinavian owners. Often there is a little yard which lets in light and air. The apartment buildings are seldom more than three stories high, that is, counting the basement which is always occupied.

The death rate among the children in the Fifth Ward is the highest in the city. The different health organizations are aware of the fact and are studying it.

The priest at the Mission is Father Obregon. He comes from Argentina. He is very poor, for the Mexicans do not feel much responsibility about supporting the church with their contributions. The priest is always urging them to help. He tried to form an orchestra with the men, but they would not come, for they wanted to play billiards on Sunday and did not want him to have a check upon them.

A Mexican is law-abiding as long as he knows he is being watched. But regard for the property of others is a dormant feeling. In one house on Winnickinnic Avenue a Mexican family burned up every other tread of the front steps of the rented house as they could get along without them.

The Mexican young men have tried unsuccessfully to organize a club, but it does not endure. Too many want to run the club, just as there are too many generals in the Mexican Army, and the club always breaks up in a row.

A little paper, Sancho Panza, was printed for several weeks last summer (1929). It was short-lived and very hard to read. There is a much better paper printed in Chicago at 612 N. Michigan Avenue. It is called La Raza (The Race). It is \$1.20 for six months. Then there is La Prensa, printed in San Antonio, Texas. Then there is the Spanish paper, La Prensa, printed in New York, which gives more international news. La Prensa and La Raza are sold regularly at the little news stand at the northeast corner of Second and Wisconsin Avenue. Mr. Fernandez does not think much of La Raza as a Mexican paper, but does like the one printed in San Antonio, La Prensa, for it has good editorials written by educated and intelligent Mexicans.

The writer has not gone into the question of interpreting in the courts for the Mexicans. Usually Mr. Kirby Hade, the Mexican consul is able to furnish one. Some of the women who interpret do not suit the judge. He likes the ones that Mr. Hade sends.

At the Roger William Hospital the superintendent is a young American with a Spanish name. He has the confidence of the better type of Mexicans. He is also a professor at Marquette and a very busy man. He is Doctor Nunez. He has made a study of the situation with regard to a Mexican doctor and talked the matter over thoroughly with a young Mexican medical graduate; who could see no future for himself here. Besides, there is a Doctor Roberts, who studied medicine in the University of Madrid. He speaks Spanish and understands the Latin nature. His office is at 126 East North Avenue, Wauwatosa (Bluemound 2623).

It may be of interest to someone to know that the American Bible Society, Astor Place, New York, prints a copy of the New Testament or one of the books of the New Testament with the Spanish in one column and the English in the other. The cost is nominal, thirty or forty cents a copy.

There are branches of the Red Cross in Mexico, and besides there is The Blue Cross or La Cruz Azul which operates in Mexico and on the border in Texas and Arizona. This is purely a health organization as far as the writer could make out. The Mexicans will understand either organization.

There are three magazines on file in the Main Library. La Esfera (The Sphere) printed in Madrid; El Boletín Comercial and one other that the writer has never been able to consult. Besides there is a good library of Spanish stories by well known Spanish, Argentinian and Venezuelan writers, like Martinez-Sierra, the author of El Reino de Dios (The Kingdom of God) which Ethel Parrymore will present in Milwaukee in February, The Quintero Brothers, Benito Perez-Galdos and Blasco Ibanez; Hugo Wast and others.

For those interested in keeping up their Spanish with a bit of sociality and dancing thrown in, the Spanish Club is open to the public at a nominal admission of \$.25. It meets the second week in the month. The papers will always give a brief notice of the meetings.

The writer trusts that she has brought some helpful ideas and facts together in this paper, but with the characteristic gesture of the Latin, she shrugs her shoulders and says, Quien sabe?

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