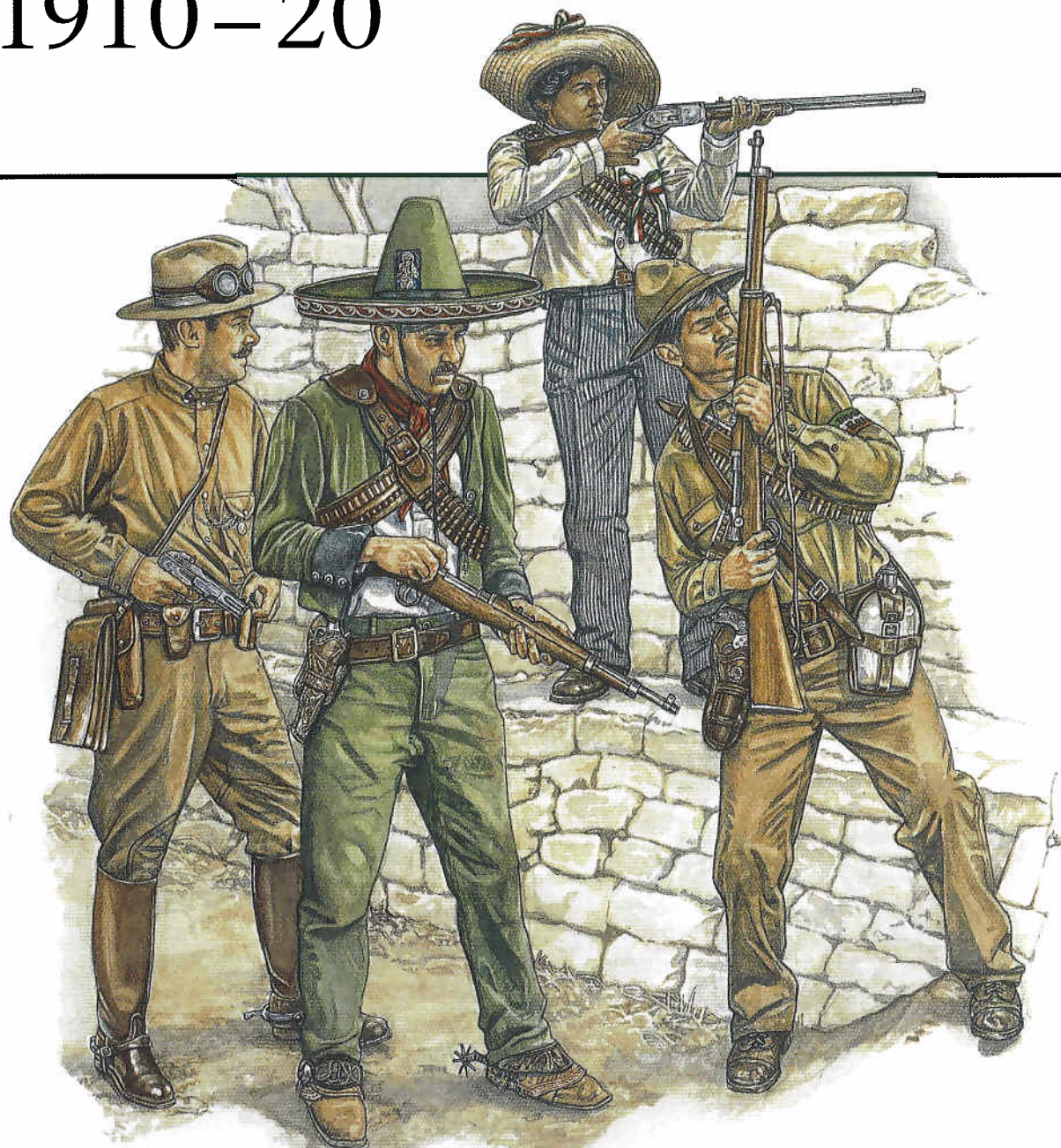


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The Mexican Revolution 1910–20



P Jowett & A de Quesada • Illustrated by Stephen Walsh

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Consultant editor Martin Windrow

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Dedication

This book is dedicated to J.Hefter

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ARMIES OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION 1910-1920

INTRODUCTION

"One of them began to sing that extraordinary ballad, *The Morning Song of Francisco Villa*. He sang one verse, and then the next man sang a verse and so on around, each man composing a dramatic account of the deeds of the great Capitan... While one man sang others stared upon the ground, wrapt in composition... they sang around their fire for more than three hours".

(John Reed, *Insurgent Mexico*, 1913)

Porfirio Diaz, ruler of Mexico for 34 years and the symbol of everything that the Mexican Revolution stood against. At the age of 80, the dictator was out of step with the modern world and unprepared to resist revolution effectively when it came. (ADEQ HA)

The Mexican Revolution was a bitter and bloody civil war which saw a number of rival armies fight for control of this impoverished country over a ten-year period. During the course of the conflict between 1910 and 1920, perhaps one million Mexicans lost their lives – some in battle, others by execution, but the great majority from hunger and disease.

Before 1910 Mexico had been ruled for 34 almost unbroken years by Porfirio Diaz, a former Republican general who had been involved in the overthrow of the French-installed Austrian Emperor of Mexico, Maximilian, in 1867. Diaz ruled Mexico as virtual dictator from 1876 until his overthrow in 1911. (This long period of almost continuous rule was interrupted for four years from 1880 to 1884, when another general took over in order to present an illusion of a democratic process of sorts.) Throughout the years when Diaz held power the Mexican economy performed well, at the expense of the ordinary working man, whose living conditions worsened considerably. In grim fact, the average Mexican was worse off in economic terms in 1910 than he had been in 1810; for most workers wages were lower in 1910 than they had been ten years before, with agricultural laborers earning 35 cents a day in 1899 compared with 26 cents in 1910. Mexico's wealth was in the hands of the ruling families; just 1 percent of the population controlled 85 percent of the nation's riches.

Not surprisingly, these injustices created a liberal opposition who began to challenge



Diaz's hold on power. The leaders of this opposition came from amongst the ruling classes, and prominent among them was Francisco I. Madero, a 37-year-old businessman and lawyer who was a member of the fifth richest family in Mexico. Madero challenged Diaz from a prison cell in the 1910 election, and although unsuccessful, he became the focus of support from various anti-Diaz rebels. Madero was released from prison and escaped across the border into the USA, from where he emerged in November 1910 to start an armed insurrection. What followed was ten years of armed struggle, which was to tear Mexico apart and to cause untold suffering for the Mexican people.

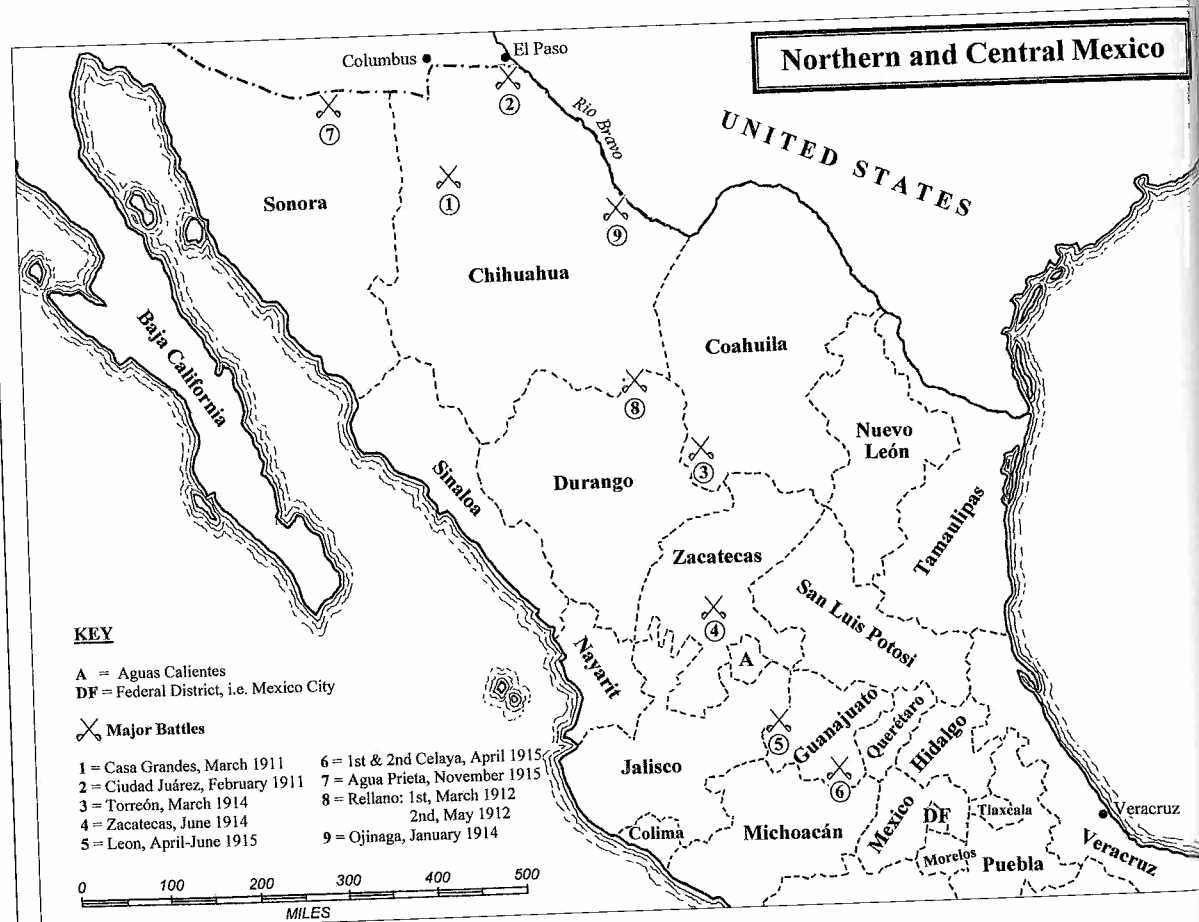
CHRONOLOGY

1876-1910: Presidency of Porfirio Diaz

After 34 years of almost continuous and unopposed rule, President Diaz faces increasing opposition from the Mexican people. A number of small-scale revolts in the early years of the 20th century are easily put down by the Army and the Guardia Rural.

1910

July 8 Diaz 're-elected' president while opposition leader Francisco Madero is in prison; released after the election, Madero flees into exile in the USA.
November 20 Madero returns from the USA with a handful of supporters, and



Group photograph of the military and political leaders of the 1910-11 Maderista revolution, some of whose allegiances would change radically in later years. (Back left) Pancho Villa, and (front right) his later deadly enemy Pascual Orozco; (front, third left) Francisco Madero, the figurehead of the Revolution, and (front left) Venustiano Carranza, Madero's self-proclaimed successor after his murder by Huerta. (ADEQ HA)

begins armed uprising against Diaz regime. The revolutionaries are officially united under his leadership, but in reality are divided into *Maderista*, *Magonista* and *Orozquista* factions.

1911

February - Battle of Casas Grandes Madero leads 600 men without artillery or machine guns against a Federal garrison of 403 men, which is reinforced by 500 men with artillery. The revolutionaries are defeated and Madero wounded; the rebels lose 100 men as well as hundreds of horses and rifles.

May Magonista rebellion in the state of Baja California takes the city of Tijuana with the help of an American "foreign legion".

May 10 Maderistas take city of Ciudad Juárez from Federals; pressure for resignation of Diaz increases.

May 21 - Treaty of Ciudad Juárez. This agreement brings Diaz's resignation, and the setting up of a provisional government under Diaz's Foreign Secretary.

October Francisco Madero elected president.

October 1911-February 1913, Madero government:

1912

March Former *Maderista* leader Pascual Orozco rebels against Madero government and begins march on Mexico City.

March 24 - 1st Battle of Rellano 8,000 government troops under Gen Salas are defeated by 7,000 rebels under Pascual Orozco.

May 22 - 2nd Battle of Rellano Orozco's rebel army is defeated by government forces under Gen Victoriano Huerta.

1913

February 9-18 - "Ten Tragic Days" Coup attempt by Gens Bernardo Reyes & Felix Diaz fails, but when Madero calls on Gen Huerta to restore order in Mexico City, Huerta seizes power himself and has the president and vice-president killed.

February 1913-July 1914, Huerta government:

November 23-25 - Battle of Tierra Blanca Federal Army beaten by rebel leader Francisco "Pancho" Villa in a particularly bloody action, losing 20 percent of its men and all its supplies including vital artillery.

December 8 Chihuahua City falls to Villa's Division of the North.



Maderista insurgents pose following the battle for control of the city of Ciudad Juárez, whose fall would hasten the resignation of President Díaz. Although dressed in the rebels' usual civilian clothing, they have all acquired precious Mauser rifles and carbines. (ADEQ HA)

1914

January 10 – Fall of Ojinaga This important Federal-held town is taken in under an hour by a *Villista* cavalry charge.

March 20–23 – Battle of Torreón The isolated Federal garrison is outnumbered by 15,000 *Villistas* and defeated after heavy fighting; the defenders lose about 1,000 men and much equipment. The remnants of the Federal Army are again defeated at San Pedro on April 14.



Three members of a Revolutionary cavalry patrol, photographed in front of a battle-scarred adobe wall. Tricolor ribbons adorn the hats of two of these riders, who are armed with commercial repeater carbines. (ADEQ HA)

April 10 – “Tampico Incident” The arrest of US sailors by a Huerta general at the port of Tampico causes a diplomatic incident.

April 22–November 23 – “Veracruz Incident” US occupation of Mexican port, initially to block arms shipments to Huerta government. Mexicans prove united in their opposition to US intervention, and international negotiations eventually lead to withdrawal.

June 22 – Battle of Zacatecas begins. This particularly savage and momentous battle sees 20,000 *Villistas* attack the 12,000-man Federal garrison of Zacatecas rail junction. The garrison includes many elite and *Colorado* units who know that they will receive no quarter. The Federals are finally defeated and lose 6,000 dead in the battle and its aftermath; all captured officers are executed as well as large numbers of their men. This heavy Federal defeat leaves the road to Mexico City open to the Revolutionary armies.

July 8 General Alvaro Obregón captures Guadalajara.

July 17 Huerta resigns and flees into exile.

August Venustiano Carranza enters Mexico City with Gen Obregón's troops, and is named president.

August 1914–May 1923, Carranza government:

September 23 Pancho Villa declares war on Carranza.

October–November Convention of Aguas Calientes, supported by Villa and Emiliano Zapata, votes to expel Carranza from presidency. This begins the conflict between Conventionalists (Villa & Zapata) and Constitutionalists (Carranza & Obregón).

November Obregón's army briefly occupies Mexico City.

December Zapata's & Villa's armies occupy Mexico City; Carranza flees to port of Veracruz. Zapata and Villa meet for the only time.

1915

January Serious fighting begins between Conventionalists and Constitutionalists.

April 6 – 1st Battle of Celaya 12,000 *Villistas* attack the Constitutionalist army of Gen Obregón, which has 6,000 cavalry, 5,000 infantry, 86 machine guns and 13 field guns.

April 13 – 2nd Battle of Celaya 25,000 re-formed *Villistas* again attack Obregón's now 15,000-strong Constitutionalists in prepared positions. Villa is defeated; he claims that his losses are 3,500, while Obregón claims that the true figure is 8,000 killed and another 8,000 taken prisoner.

April 29–June 5 – Battle of León In this long-running battle of attrition the *Villistas* are worn down by the superior numbers and tactics of Obregón's army. Villa's losses are about 10,000 dead and wounded, and material losses include some 300,000 cartridges, 6 precious field guns and 20 machine guns.



Photographed on May 24, 1912, relaxing after their victory over Orozco's army at the second battle of Rellano, (foreground, left to right) Gens Huerta, Rabago and Telles. Huerta and Telles both wear the officers' visored cap with differing badges; Rabago apparently wears a “Saumur”-type kepi with a khaki cover. Motoring goggles were a practical necessity in the desert conditions of the campaign against Orozco. (ADEQ HA)

October USA officially recognizes Carranza government.

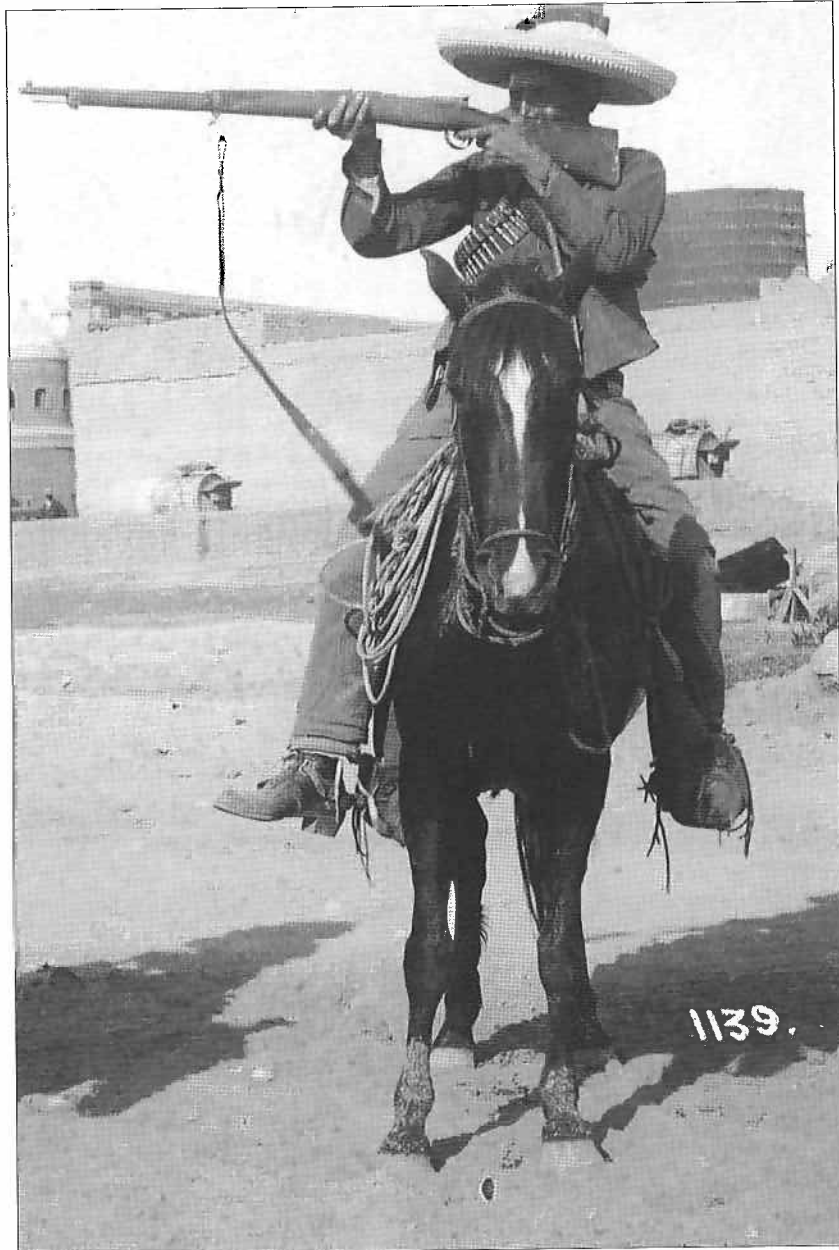
November 1 – Battle of Agua Prieta Approximately 18,000 *Villistas* attack a strong Constitutionalist garrison under Gen Calles, suffering heavy losses. Villa is henceforward largely confined to the north of the country, with a much depleted force of a few thousand.

1916

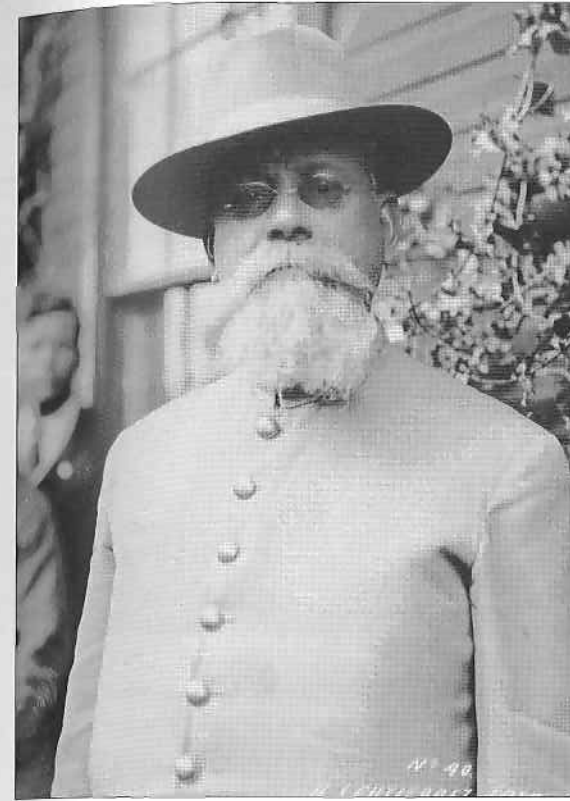
March Pancho Villa's troops attack Columbus, New Mexico, killing 18 US citizens. President Wilson orders Punitive Expedition to pursue Villa; these US troops will stay on Mexican soil until January 1917, without capturing Villa.

April 12 Skirmish between US Cavalry and Constitutionalist force at Parral.

June 21 – Battle of Carrizal Larger skirmish between US 10th Cavalry and a force of Constitutionlists costs the former 10 dead and 23 taken prisoner (soon handed back).

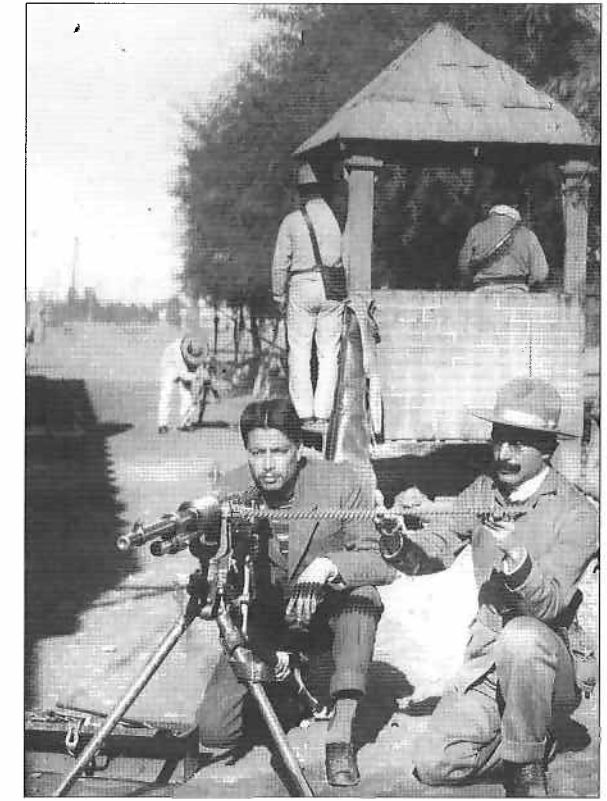


A Revolutionary rider poses for the camera with his long M1895 Mauser; note the tricolor ribbon band on his sombrero, and the fact that the end of the rifle sling seems to be attached to his saddle. (ADEQ HA)



ABOVE Venustiano Carranza, photographed outside his headquarters in his usual plain military costume. Carranza's full title was "The Citizen First Chief of the Constitutionalist Army in Charge of the Executive Power of the Union." He led the opposition to Huerta from 1913 before claiming the presidency in 1914. He was usually described as a totally emotionless man; his trademark tinted glasses hid the steely determination that enabled him to become the strongman of Mexico. (ADEQ HA)

ABOVE RIGHT Photographed in 1920, this Constitutionalist Hotchkiss machine gun crew make a show of defending their barracks. The Constitutionalist Army emerged victorious from the Revolution, but was to face numerous minor rebellions throughout the 1920s. (ADEQ HA)



1917–19:

By 1917 the main fighting of the Revolution is over, but the Carranza government elected in May of that year has to face numerous small-scale rebellions. Constitutionalist offensives into Morelos state against the still-active *Zapatistas* are followed by rebel counter-offensives. Regional rebellions in the various outlying states of Mexico – often under the banner of Felix Diaz's *Felicistas* – are a constant irritant to the central government but never threaten its existence. Villa and the remnants of his army maintain a military presence in the north of Mexico, especially in his own state of Chihuahua. However, Villa's lack of funds and recruits, and Zapata's shortage of guns and ammunition, mean that neither rebel leader will again be able to threaten Carranza's grip on power. Zapata's murder in April 1919 marks the end of any real armed opposition to Carranza. When Carranza's autocratic rule is threatened, the threat will come from within his government.

1919

April 10 Zapata is lured to his death in an ambush ordered by President Carranza.

June 1 General Obregón declares himself a candidate for the 1920 presidential election.

1920

April 2 Carranza tries to have Obregón arrested on false charges, but the general escapes.

April 20 Obregón rebels against Carranza, and his army advances on Mexico City.

May 7 Carranza flees the capital with a small escort, and is shot while sleeping in a village hut on the 21st.

July Villa accepts the government's offer of an honorable "retirement" with many concessions, including an annual pension, 50-strong bodyguard, and his own estate; but Obregón secretly opposes this settlement with his old enemy.

September 5 Alvaro Obregón is elected president.

1923

July 20 Pancho Villa is assassinated on Obregón's orders.

Glossary of combatants, 1910–20

Carranzistas Revolutionary followers of Venustiano Carranza from 1913 to 1914; and thereafter the Government army from 1914 until his death in 1920.

Constitutionalists Title first used by all anti-Huerta forces before the breakaway of Villa and Zapata, thereafter used to describe the forces of Carranza (see above).

Conventionalists Joint name for Villistas and Zapatistas as supporters of the Convention of Aguas Calientes; held in October–November 1914, this called for the overthrow of Carranza.

Federales Term used for all governments' troops from 1910 to 1920, but usually associated particularly with the army of Victoriano Huerta, president from February 1913 to July 1914.

Felicistas Adherents of Felix Diaz, nephew of Porfirio Diaz, who opposed both the Madero and Carranza governments in rebellions between 1913 and 1920.

Maderistas Name given to various Revolutionary armies supposedly unified under the leadership of Francisco Madero in 1910–11.

Magonistas The military wing of the *Partido Liberal Mexicano* (PLM) under the leadership of Flores Magon, who organized abortive local risings against Diaz in 1906 and 1908, and fomented further revolts after 1911, particularly in Baja California.

Orozquistas Followers of Pascual Orozco, also known as *Colorados* ("Red Flaggers".) They fought first for Madero, 1910–11, and then against his government in 1912, before joining the Huerta army in February 1913.

Villistas Followers of Francisco "Pancho" Villa, mainly serving in the *División del Norte* (Northern Division.) Formed part of the Maderista forces, and later fought in opposition to the Huerta and Carranza governments.

Zapatistas Followers of Emiliano Zapata, based in Morelos state from 1911 until his death in 1919. They fought for Madero until Zapata became disillusioned with his policies, and thereafter in opposition to all Mexican governments until their leader's death.

ORGANIZATION, TACTICS & EQUIPMENT

Unit organization

Field units during the Revolution were fairly standard: typically, infantry were organized into battalions or regiments (the terms are synonymous in this context); cavalry into regiments, companies and squadrons; and artillery and machine guns into sections, batteries, companies and regiments.

Higher-level formations were somewhat more confusing: typically, several battalions or cavalry regiments were formed into a brigade. With units of mixed arms, the term "column" was normally used for this formation, which more closely resembled a European division. The term division was often misused, as in the case of Villa's "Division of the North," which had been his command when he served under Huerta. With the expansion of the *División del Norte* into an army of about 40,000 men this designation was no longer appropriate. Unit strengths varied wildly, with a brigade often only the strength of a battalion, and in some cases a battalion having only 20 or so men.

Tactics

The Mexican Revolution was largely a conflict of small-scale skirmishes punctuated by sieges, the exceptions being several large, set-piece battles mainly restricted to 1915.



Infantry tended to fight in open order "skirmish" formations, in order to limit casualties when facing effective artillery, machine gun and rifle fire. Although very fond of night attacks and the use of "*les ruses de guerre*," Pancho Villa preferred all-out frontal assaults. He would almost always go on to the offensive as soon as battle was joined, and this generally brought him success in the early years of his campaigning. He was not incapable of performing flank marches and attacks, but neither did he display any particular ability in this regard. Emiliano Zapata had a similar attitude; since he was initially a guerrilla commander, he had to learn as the war went on how to transform his followers into an army capable of fighting offensive battles.

The taste for frontal assaults came from the "hit-and-run" strategy of the guerrillas, who used these tactics to overwhelm weak enemy forces. Zapata, like Villa, learned more about the military arts as the fighting progressed, although he was never a notable tactician. Zapata's lack of heavy equipment and shortage of ammunition meant that too often he had to rely on sheer weight of numbers to achieve an objective.

The Federal and Constitutionalist armies were more often seen on the defensive against the more offensively minded Zapatistas and Villistas. Luckily for the Constitutionalists, the Villistas were repeatedly sent on suicidal cavalry and infantry attacks against well dug-in positions. Even when the Constitutionalists were on the offensive they would dig in and wait for an attack, which they would often goad the proud Villa into launching, to his disadvantage.

General Obregón, one of the more sophisticated Mexican commanders, had studied newspaper reports on the new type of warfare being fought on the Western Front in Europe from August 1914, and also received information from his German artillery advisor Maximilian Kloss. From Kloss he had learned of the futility of launching cavalry charges against a well prepared and dug-in enemy, especially if they were armed with a number of machine guns. Obregón was fortunate that

Constitutionalist soldiers manning some of their reported 3 miles of trenches at the battle of Agua Prieta on November 2, 1915. They are awaiting a *Villista* attack; and this photo suggests one reason why Villa, with his passion for frontal cavalry charges, lost the battle despite outnumbering the garrison. These men are well clothed in US-supplied khaki uniforms and are armed with ex-US Army Krag-Jorgensen carbines; Gen Calles was one of the best Constitutionalist commanders, and his defenses at Agua Prieta were well constructed. Villa lost many of his best men in brave but futile attacks; this was one of his last major operations, and his army dwindled into mere guerrilla bands over the next few months. (ADEQ HA)

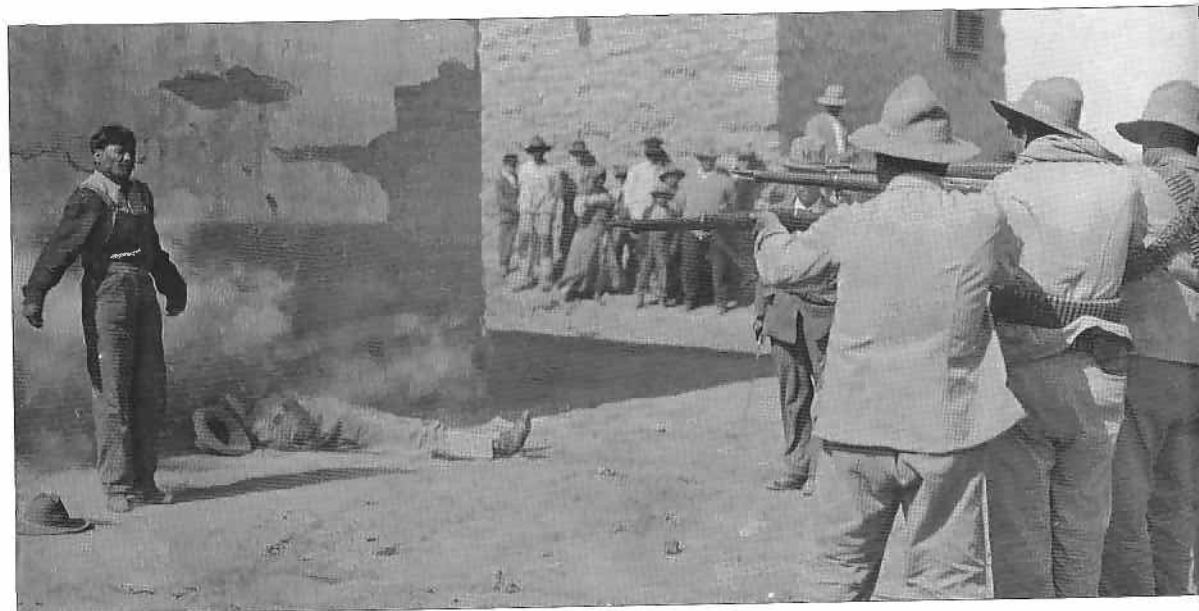
when the US force withdrew from Veracruz in 1914 they left behind 632 rolls of barbed wire for his use; this windfall came in very handy as Obregón prepared his defensive positions before the vital battles of 1915. Unfortunately for Villa, who rarely listened to any advice, he chose to ignore the realities of this new kind of warfare and persisted in what had previously been a successful tactic of sending wave after wave of cavalry charges at the enemy. These may have worked against demoralized and press-ganged Federal soldiers in 1911-14; but Obregón's men were more motivated and usually better trained than Villa's earlier opponents. In the battles fought between the Villistas and the Constitutionalists between March and August 1915 these suicidal tactics were to cost Villa about 50,000 dead.

The cavalry, who made up roughly 50 percent of Mexican Revolution armies, were basically a highly mobile form of mounted infantry, and although swords were often carried for close action the lance was completely absent from the revolutionary period. This is particularly surprising due to the Mexicans' long history of the use of this weapon by the cavalry branch.

Summary executions

Like all civil wars, the Mexican Revolution witnessed a great deal of brutality on all sides. The civilian population suffered more from neglect than anything else, with disease and famine causing most casualties amongst the ordinary people; but armies campaigning through a region would freely requisition food and property, and looting and rape were not confined to any particular faction. Captured enemy troops were executed more often than not, and the sight of a man facing a firing squad with his back to an adobe wall is one that seems to epitomize the war. Federal troops and Rurales had always executed any rebels they captured, and if not stood against a wall they were "shot while trying to escape." The Revolutionaries returned the favor when Federal officers fell into their hands, but would often spare

The third victim of this triple execution by a Constitutionalist firing squad meets his end like so many Mexicans during the Revolution, standing against an adobe wall. Public executions tended to be either of captured enemy officers, or of common criminals and bandits when examples needed to be made to the watching populace. (ADEQ HA)



General Emilio Campa (front center), one of Pascual Orozco's subordinate commanders, poses with his five bodyguards. They are armed with a mixture of bolt-action military Mausers and commercial Winchester repeaters. Campa went over to Huerta with Orozco, and fought for him against the Constitutionalists. He was renowned for his use of *una máquina loca* or "crazy machine" – a locomotive filled with explosives and sent steaming into enemy-held towns. After Huerta's defeat in 1914 Campa started a revolt against the new government in northern Chihuahua state in 1915. (ADEQ HA)

the rank and file; they regarded the soldiers as pressed men, and encouraged them to join the Revolutionary ranks.

General Carranza put into force the Benito Juárez decree of 1862, enacted during the French occupation of Mexico, whereby anyone who rebelled against the legitimate president and his constituted authority would be shot. Because of the illegal seizure of power from the Madero government by Gen Huerta, Carranza proclaimed that any captured Federal soldier should be shot.

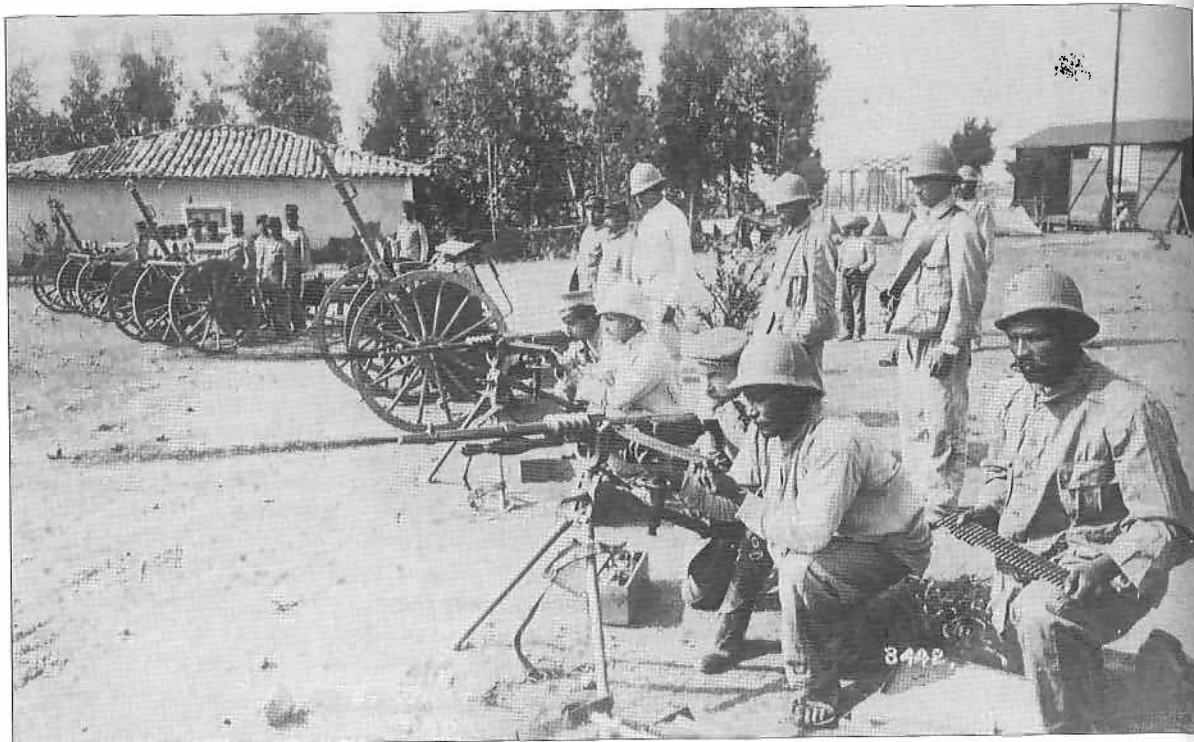
If there was a particular enmity between the leaders of the two factions then even the rank and file of a defeated army could expect little mercy. For instance, the Villistas regarded Orozco's Colorados as particularly loathsome traitors, and shot every one they captured. In one instance Villa shot 60 captured Colorados by firing one bullet at a time into files of three men in order to conserve his ammunition. One of Villa's commanders, Rodolfo Fierro, is reported to have shot 300 Colorados individually, stopping occasionally to massage his trigger finger. Ines Chávez García, a particularly bloodthirsty character who led his own Chavista guerrillas, executed 20 prisoners by slitting their throats to background music provided by gramophone records; in a macabre touch, he gave a condemned man a last request as to what tune should precede his death.

Sometimes a grim traditional etiquette governed executions: a blindfold was offered to the victim, but usually refused; and the victim would often empty his pockets so that any money could be shared between the firing squad, presumably to make sure they aimed straight. As a mark of respect to his rank a general officer was usually allowed to give the order to fire to his own firing squad. In most cases, however, the prisoner was simply dragged to a convenient wall and unceremoniously shot.

WEAPONS

Small arms

Military revolvers and semi-automatic pistols used during the Mexican Revolution included a large number of Smith & Wesson revolvers in original and foreign copy forms purchased by the Mexican government



Two Federal Hotchkiss machine gun crews are pictured protecting their battery of field guns during a campaign against the southern *Zapatistas*. Most of the men are wearing the Mexican artillery model sun helmet without insignia. Uniforms are a mixture of white duck and light khaki cotton shirts and trousers, worn mostly with sandals. (ADEQ HA)

in the 1870s. Other models included the Belgian-made Pieper M1893 Mexican Contract 8mm revolver, the Colt single action and M1878 revolvers, and the Remington M1875 Army revolver. Limited numbers of the Colt M1902 semi-automatic pistol also found their way to Mexico in early 1914. As in most civil wars the various armies would find weapons wherever they could, and the rebels used a bewildering variety of small arms, especially in the early days. The proximity of the US border meant that almost every kind of American sidearm probably found its way into rebel or government hands at some time during the Revolution.

The Porfirista army introduced the Mexican Mauser M1895 7mm rifle and carbine into service in 1896; almost identical to the Spanish M1893 of the same caliber, this became the standard service rifle of the Mexican Army throughout the revolutionary period. (An M1902 modification with the German M1898 action was also introduced, but is indistinguishable in photographs.) As a stopgap, and to save money, the government also bought Remington M1897 rifles and carbines, since three of this type could be bought for the price of one Mauser. Foreign rifles ordered by the Diaz government included 5,000 Japanese Arisaka 38s from the Koishikowa Arsenal; further orders for this model were canceled when the Diaz government's credit line ran out. The Diaz government did try to stop its dependency on foreign imports by setting up a rifle production factory to manufacture the M1902 Mauser, but the regime fell before it could be completed. Porfirista Rurales were generally armed with the Remington rolling-block carbine, but some states issued their men with Winchester 1894 carbines. During the Diaz regime a technically advanced semi-automatic rifle was invented by Gen Mondragon, the M1908 (see Plate E2); Mondragon also developed several artillery pieces (see below).

The Huerta regime was unsuccessful in many of its attempts to acquire arms, but did manage to import 77,000 rifles from Europe and Japan. These included Mauser M1907s, which were bought at \$18 each from Germany, and Austrian Steyr M1912 rifles. Constitutionalist troops used the same Mausers as previous Mexican government armies, but these were supplemented by large numbers of Krag rifles and carbines. After the American recognition of the Carranza government in 1914 large numbers of these ex-US Army rifles came south across the border to equip the Constitutionlists.

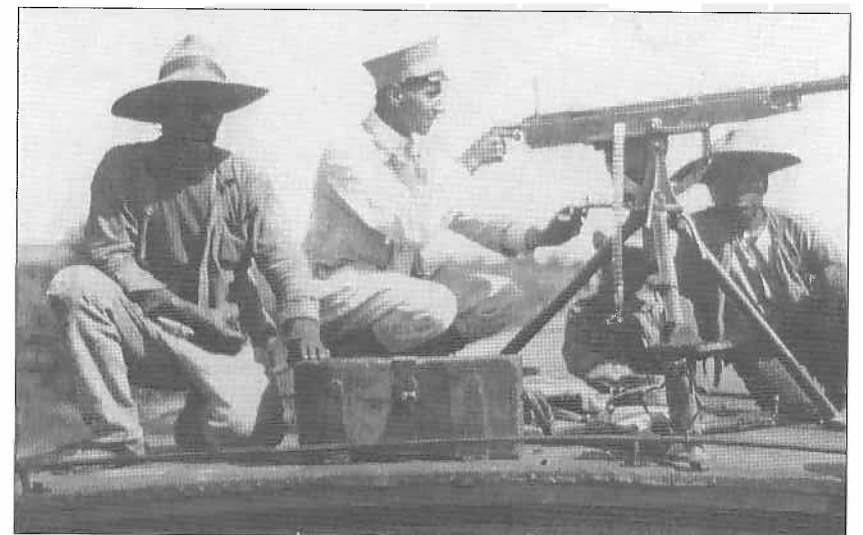
Winchester repeating rifles and carbines were widely used by the Revolutionary armies throughout the period of the Revolution. Model 1873, 1892, 1894 and 1895 Winchesters were in service, along with similar weapons such as the Marlin produced by their competitors. When Villa was in the ascendancy he was reported to be buying the whole production of the Remington factory for his Division of the North.

The *Zapatistas* did not have access to the US border to import arms, and were always the "poor relatives" when it came to armaments. They continued to use the old repeater rifles and carbines throughout the period, supplemented with numbers of captured government Mausers. After the initial successful campaigns when large numbers of Federal Army rifles were captured by the *Zapatistas* this source of new arms largely dried up. Shortages of ammunition were a constant problem and stopped the *Zapatista* movement spreading outside of their own state of Morelos.

One rifle that found its way into service with the Revolutionaries was the Springfield M1878, which had been replaced in US service by the Krag-Jorgensen. According to John Reed in *Insurgent Mexico*, these rather elderly but still serviceable rifles were in service with the *Maderistas* from 1911.

Machine guns

Machine guns played an important part in the fighting in Mexico, especially during the defensive battles fought by the Constitutionlists at Celaya in 1915. At these decisive engagements the fact that the *Villistas* held a numerical advantage in artillery was seen to be more than offset



Federales man a Colt M1895 "potato-digger" machine gun on the roof of a train. The Colt got its nickname from its resemblance to a piece of agricultural machinery; the external arm swung back and forth during fire, preventing it from being mounted low above the ground for use by a prone crew. (ADEQ HA)



A unit of Federal infantry pose with a Hotchkiss 37mm automatic cannon ("pom-pom"), which fired 1lb shells in eight-round clips. They wear light khaki cotton uniforms complete with visored caps; the artillery NCO (left) wears the pith helmet most commonly seen in that branch of the army. (Philip Jowett Collection)

by the Constitutionalists' advantage in machine guns. In 1904 the Mexican government had purchased a number of French Hotchkiss M1896 weapons; this strip-fed medium machine gun was to be the standard heavy type on all sides during the 1910–20 period. The Colt M1895 machine gun – the "potato-digger" – was also in widespread use.

Relatively few light machine guns were used during the Revolution, as there were only a few models available on the world market. In 1908 the Diaz government did import an English-manufactured 7mm unlicensed copy of the Madsen M1908 called the "Rexer." Its manufacturers were forced to stop production after legal action by the Madsen company; but Mexico did go on to import at least 100 Madsen M1911 models in 1911. The other type of light machine gun in service with the Mexicans was the Hotchkiss M1909, which had entered service with several nations and was reportedly purchased in small numbers from Britain in .303in caliber as well as from Sweden. This model was also adopted by the US Army (see Plate G), in whose service it was commonly referred to as the Benet-Mercié; it was used by the US Cavalry in Mexico, and some may have found their way into service with the Constitutionalists after 1914.

Artillery

The Mexican artillery branch was well served by the indigenously designed and French-manufactured Mondragon-St Chamond 75mm field gun, which had been designed by Gen Manuel Mondragon in 1891. A talented Mexican weapons designer and military theorist, Gen Mondragon was responsible for several types of artillery as well as the highly innovative Mondragon semi-automatic rifle. He held various military appointments in the early years of the 20th century, including head of the Department of Artillery, and he was in charge of war

Cadets from the Mexican Military College man a Madsen M1911 light machine gun for the *Felicistas* during the fighting in Mexico City in February 1913. These were followers of Felix Diaz, the nephew of the former dictator, who attempted a joint coup with co-conspirator Gen Bernardo Reyes; although unsuccessful, it led to the downfall and assassination of President Madero at the hands of Gen Huerta. This gun crew are part of a 600-strong unit of cadets under the command of Gen Mondragon that formed a large part of the rebel force. They are wearing standard military cadets' uniform with the college insignia on the left sleeve (and also on the belt plate and ammunition pouch); crossed cannons behind a gabion, beneath a torch projecting five lightning bolts. (ADEQ HA)

materials procurement for the Diaz government. Mondragon also designed a 70mm mountain gun, likewise manufactured by St Chamond, although production was later switched to a Mexican factory. As well as the Mondragons a small number of Hotchkiss 37mm cannons and 75mm field guns were used.

The Maderistas' almost total lack of artillery was a major disadvantage for the rebels when faced by regular Porfirista forces. An early attempt to produce their own field guns took place at the Madero lumber company, where the firm's machine shop was used to produce two guns based on car axles. Maderistas were also seen using a museum piece muzzle-loading cannon stolen from the El Paso public park. Pancho Villa's army mainly relied, like all the other Revolutionary forces, on captured Federal artillery and ammunition, but there was at least one instance of Villista attempts to manufacture their own field pieces. The best known example was a 2in smoothbore gun made from a locomotive axle and mounted on an oak carriage. This improvised gun was designed by Villa's chief of artillery, Gen Felipe Angeles, who also designed the home-made shells. Although the gun's performance is not recorded, it is known that shells manufactured in Villa's workshops for his captured artillery often failed to explode. The Zapatistas also had at least one home-made cannon which, to judge from photographs, must have been put together in a scrapyard.

A pro-Constitutionalist engineer, Carlos Prieto, designed several artillery pieces during the war, including a medium field gun and a very small caliber infantry gun. Although both types were seen in action with the Constitutionalists, it is doubtful if more than a handful of either type were produced.



Federal artillerymen crewing a Mondragon 75mm field gun during an engagement with Revolutionaries. This gun, manufactured by St Chamond in France to Gen Mondragon's 1891 design, was judged superior to the famous French 1897 model which it pre-dated by several years, and was to see widespread service with all the Mexican armies during the Revolution. The troops wear white or pale khaki tropical uniforms, most with "Saumur" kepis but some (see right) with US-style campaign hats and Mexican Army visored caps. (ADEQ HA)



Several types of unique Mexican weaponry were developed at the time of the Revolution. These included a 10-barrel rocket launcher invented by a LtCol Daniel Marinelarena. This weapon fired flare-type rockets; it was successfully tested, before being used in action by the Constitutionalist army's *Cuerpo de Dinameteros*. A later three-barreled development by the same inventor was also employed by the Constitutionlists. Another far less successful device was the rifle grenade launcher invented by Juan Carnedo: unfortunately for Sr Carnedo, his weapon exploded during his demonstration and he was killed.

"Dynamite guns" had been used by the US Army during the Spanish-American War of 1898; these were basically tubes to project sticks of dynamite with lighted time fuzes in the general direction of the enemy. Those used by the US Army proved more dangerous to their crews than to the enemy, as probably was the Mexican version. This looked like a long drainpipe on wheels were seen in the artillery park of the Federal Army at the start of the war. Dynamite was in plentiful supply in mining areas of Mexico, and it was to play a crucial role in the Revolution. This was especially the case in the early days when the rebels had very little artillery and had to make do with dynamite, which in the hands of a determined and courageous soldier could be a potent weapon. Bombs made out of dynamite-filled tin cans were developed, but all depended on someone lighting the fuse and then getting close enough to the enemy to throw it. This dangerous job was often given to the most agile young volunteers, such as Zapata's "dynamite boys," and the casualty rate amongst them was very high.

Armored cars

Armored vehicles were in their infancy during the early period of the Revolution, and little use was made of them by either side during the conflict. The Mexican Army had formed a Military Motor Service in 1907 in an attempt to counter the threat of Yaqui Indian attacks from their desert strongholds. Several US-made Maxwell cars, fitted with a machine gun and adapted to carry a large amount of water for desert service, were bought by the Mexicans. The performance of this first motorized unit is not recorded, and there is little textual evidence of the use of other armored vehicles. However, there are photographs showing at least two Italian-made Isotta-Fraschini armored cars in service with the

Federal artillerymen load their limbers on to a railroad flatcar as they prepare to move out on an operation. The men are wearing a mixture of white and khaki uniforms with the artillery-pattern pith helmet. They seem to be armed with Winchester repeaters, and all are adorned with at least one bandoleer. In the background, note another train with troops crowded on to the carriage roofs. (ADEQ HA)



Federal Army; these had a water-cooled machine gun mounted on top, with crew protection in the form of an armored shield. The original Isotta-Faschini model used by the Italians in the Italo-Turkish War of 1911-12 had a revolving enclosed turret.

An improvised armored car was used by Pancho Villa's army in 1914, built on a truck chassis with metal wheels adapted to travel along the railroad lines. The car had no fixed armament, but there were six firing slits for riflemen – two on each side and one each at the front and rear. During the Villista attack on the town of Naco in 1915 there were also reports of the attacking force using improvised armored shields to protect themselves. These "assault shields" were V-shaped and mounted on wagon wheels; they were designed to help the Villistas get across the open desert around the town before attacking the defenders' trenches.

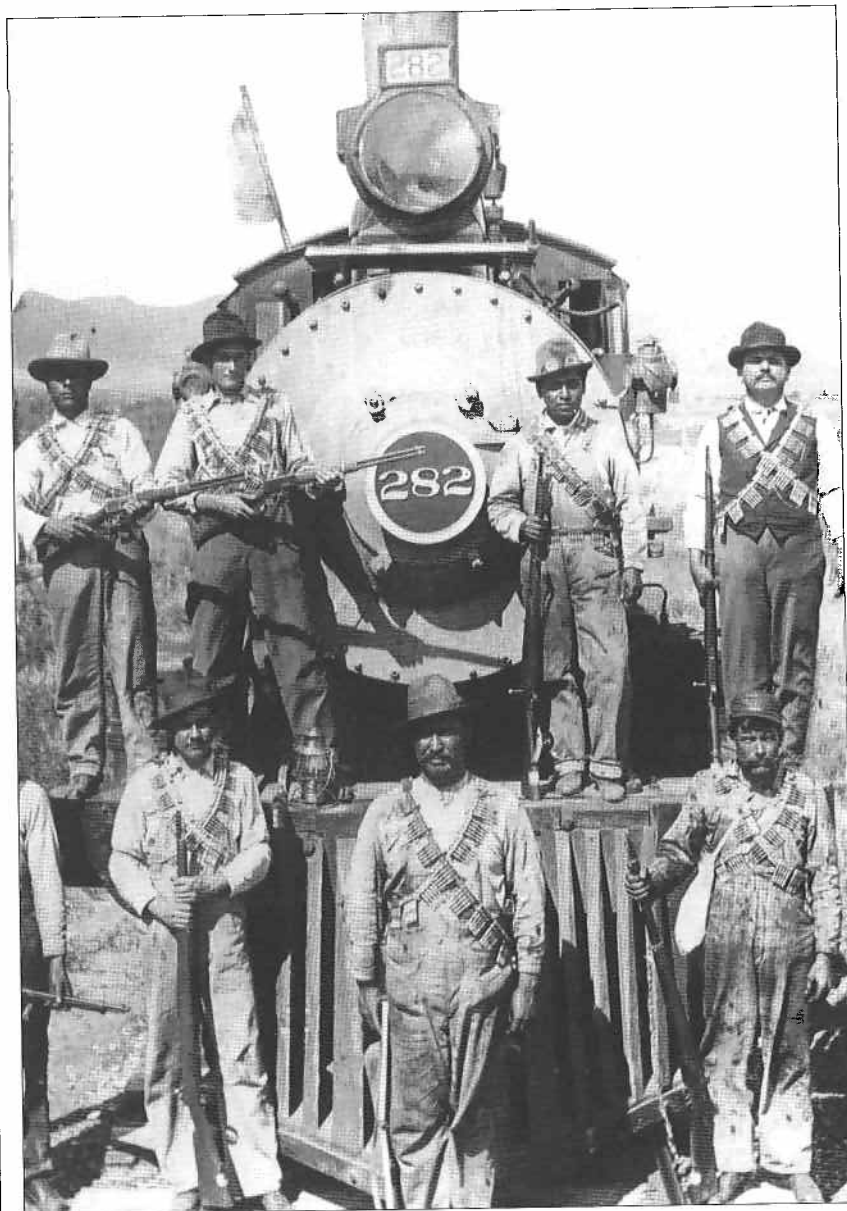
The Revolutionaries also made use of ordinary automobiles to transport ammunition and other war supplies. The Constitutionalist Gen Blanco had a fleet of saloon cars which were driven by hired American drivers. Even though the number of cars involved was small, their use helped the Constitutionlists considerably in their advance on the important city of Victoria.

Railroad trains

During the Revolution the railroads were to dominate much of the strategic planning, and were to prove a vital part of the logistics of all the armies. A great deal of the fighting took place along the various railroads or in close proximity to them. Whole armies and their

dependents would be moved by rail, with the horses in freight wagons and the soldiers and their families riding on top. Often a train full of troops would advance along a railroad line with cavalry providing flank guards.

Such trains would usually have a flatcar converted into a mobile fortress, with sandbag emplacements for machine guns and sometimes a light field gun. Some had armored superstructure added, to provide protection for the artillery crew. Several examples of reinforced carriages with 38 firing windows or loopholes were used by the Federal Army. One converted Porfirista freight car had 30 loopholes from which riflemen could fire, and four larger windows accommodating Maxim 1908 machine guns; the loopholes were cleverly camouflaged by a checkerboard pattern which covered the whole car. A camouflaged



Revolutionaries, wearing civilian dress and armed with a mixture of Winchesters and bolt-action Mausers, pose on locomotive No 282. In the foreground are the footplate crew, identified by their grubby overalls, but they too are armed and festooned with ammunition. (Cushing Memorial Library & Archives)

freight car attached to one of Huerta's troop trains was armed with small caliber infantry guns and machine guns which the crew would fire out of the open doors when attacked. The Madero government army in 1912 sent an impressive troop train with steel gondolas and armored boxcars, crewed by 1,500 troops, against the rebellious Zapatistas. Undaunted, the Zapatistas simply blew up the track either side of the train and then demanded the surrender of the stranded crew.

Although most Mexican armies were dependent to some extent on rail transport, the Federal troops of the Huerta government were particularly so. Any Federal advance had to be made along rail lines, and this led to them being constantly outmaneuvered by the more mobile rebels. The rebels could simply blow up a length of track, and the Federal advance would grind to a halt while repairs were made.

During his 1914 campaigns, Villa moved his whole 16,000-strong *División del Norte* southwards by rail. As well as the ordinary trains, Villa provided his Northern Division with a well-equipped hospital train made up of 40 converted boxcars. The train was staffed with 100 officers, nurses and stretcher bearers, and could deal with 1,400 wounded at one time. General Obregón also had a hospital train which treated his men from the Army of the Northwest when campaigning against Villa.

Trains were also put to rather more destructive use when some bandits started the alarming practice of sending an unmanned captured train careering down the track until it either crashed into another or ran out of steam. This mindless destructiveness was refined by several commanders into a deadly weapon known as *máquina loca* or *loco-loco* – “crazy engine.” A train would be packed full of dynamite and then sent at speed into an enemy-held town or defensive position. Pascual Orozco used this tactic at the first battle of Rellano in 1912, and managed to kill 60 Federal troops as well as causing so much confusion that it allowed him to win the engagement. The Villista commander Rodolfo Fierro used the same tactic several times, most successfully at the battle of Tierra Blanca in November 1913; he had a mixture of dynamite and percussion caps packed into a *loco-loco* which created such an explosion that the enemy was routed.

Aircraft

The Mexican Revolution saw a great deal of innovation in the early use of aircraft in a reconnaissance and combat role. In fact the conflict was to see a number of aerial “firsts”, as the art of military aviation was developed by pilots flying for the government and various rebel forces. By pure chance, as fighting between the Diaz government and the Maderista rebels broke out near the US border in February 1911 the French “John Moisant Aerial Circus” was performing in El Paso, Texas. Two of the pilots, René Simon and Roland Garros (the latter to become world-famous in 1914) were persuaded to perform several reconnaissance missions for the Porfirista army in their Blériot monoplanes.

The next use of military aircraft took place under the Madero government in 1912, when a US pilot, John Hector Worden, flew reconnaissance missions against the Orozco rebellion. Worden had come to Mexico to demonstrate planes to the army, and was persuaded to stay on and fly for them; he was given the honorary rank of captain in the Federal Army, and flew several missions. At the time of the Orozco

insurrection the army had two Moisant-Blériots, one with a 60hp engine and the other of 100hp; Worden flew one while a Mexican pilot, Francisco Alvarez, flew the other. Worden argued for the use of reconnaissance aircraft to scout ahead of the trains which were constantly ambushed by rebels.

The Huerta regime was not slow to recognize the importance of aircraft, and the dictator sent 31 junior army officers to the Blériot Aviation School in France in April 1913. At the same time he ordered 20 new Blériot monoplanes, to go with four Deperdussin monoplanes already in service. When the newly qualified pilots came back in October 1913 they began flying reconnaissance missions and, from February 1914, a number of primitive bombing raids. The Huerta air force continued to operate until the final defeat of the Federal Army and the dictator's resignation in July 1914.

Rebel leaders were also quick to recognize the importance of aircraft in a military role, and during the Constitutionalist-vs.-Conventionalists conflict of 1914-15 both sides had air arms. The Constitutionalist's *Arma de Avación Militar* was initially equipped with a Martin Pusher 75hp plane, which had been converted into an improvised bomber and flown by Frenchman Didier Masson in 1913, when Masson and his Mexican



An American sailor is seen signaling to one of the US Navy warships in harbor during the occupation of Veracruz in the spring of 1914. He is wearing a white work jumper that has been dyed light brown by the crewmen themselves (see under Plate F1), and the brim of his "dixie cup" cap has been turned down to protect his eyes from the sun. Note the bandana. He has canvas leggings, web equipment, and, apparently, a holstered pistol. (ADEQ HA)

co-pilot Gustavo Salinas tried unsuccessfully to bomb Federal naval ships. Further aircraft acquired were three Moisant Tandems originally intended for service with the Northern Division but undelivered after the break between Carranza and Villa. These aircraft were joined by a number of obsolete and largely useless models, including a Blériot and a Deperdussin. Pilots were recruited mainly from the USA, although one Romanian also flew for them for a while.

The *División del Norte* air arm began with a single Glenn H. Curtiss two-seater which was flown in turn by two pilots. This plane was joined by three Wright Model Bs and a further two different Wright models, as well as a Christofferson, all of which were in a bad state of repair. One modern addition to the air force was a Martin Tractor TT, which was one of the most advanced planes available. Various attempts were made by the Villistas to use their planes as bombers, with home-made bombs fashioned from 75mm shells with fins added. Another innovation introduced by the Villistas was a "mobile aerodrome" train designed by US explosives expert Lester P. Barlow. This special train was adapted to carry planes on flat cars, and had carriages fitted out as workshops as well as accommodation for pilots, ground crew and a military escort.

During the course of the fighting between the Constitutionalist and the Conventionalists an interesting aerial encounter took place over the besieged town of Naco in September 1915. Constitutionalist pilot Dean Ivan Lamb in his Curtiss D pusher plane encountered another US pilot, Philip Rader, who was flying his Christofferson biplane for the Villistas. Although both pilots took pot shots at each other with their revolvers, this first historic aerial combat ended with honors shared.

AMERICAN INTERVENTIONS, 1914-19

An important aspect of the Mexican Revolution was US involvement in the affairs of their neighbor "south of the border."

The "Tampico Incident" of April 9, 1914 came at a time of strained diplomatic relations between the USA and the Huerta government. In response to the arrest of US sailors, President Woodrow Wilson ordered the US Navy's six-month occupation of Veracruz. Although Huerta's overthrow installed a regime more favorable to the US, the incident poisoned US-Mexican relations for some years.

In late 1915 Pancho Villa counted on American support to obtain the presidency of Mexico, but instead the USA recognized the government of Venustiano Carranza. Villa swore revenge, and began by murdering Americans in hopes of provoking President Wilson's intervention into Mexico, which he believed would discredit the Carranza government and reaffirm his own popularity. Villa's followers launched raids on border towns in Texas, New Mexico and Arizona, and President Wilson ordered the deployment of troops to Texas and New Mexico. In April 1915, BrigGen John J. Pershing and his 8th Infantry Brigade were sent to Fort Bliss, TX, to guard the border. While their presence deterred Villa from provocations north of the Rio Grande, the murders of US citizens in Mexico continued. One of the most infamous took place on January 11, 1916, when Villa's bandits removed 17 Texan mining engineers (who were in Mexico by invitation of the government) from a train at Santa

Ysabel, and executed them. El Paso had to be placed under martial law to prevent furious Texans from crossing the border into Juarez to take reprisals on innocent Mexicans.

Despite US outrage over the Santa Ysabel massacre, President Wilson refused to send troops into Mexico; so two months later Villa decided to strike again. At 2.30am on March 9, 1916, he and 500 of his men attacked the 13th US Cavalry at Camp Furlong near Columbus, NM. Caught by surprise, with their rifles locked in the gun racks, the cavalry nevertheless managed to fight off the raiders, killing many of them. During their retreat, however, the Villistas stopped at Columbus, NM, sacking the town for three hours before setting it on fire; 14 American soldiers and ten civilians were killed, and the town was so devastated that it never recovered its former vitality.

At a high cost in losses, Villa had achieved his aim of arousing the United States; now he and his men headed south for the safety of the Sierra Madre mountains, with 32 men of the 13th Cavalry on their heels. The troopers sighted Villa's rearguard and killed many men and horses, before being forced to give up their eight-hour chase by lack of supplies; on their way back they counted the corpses of 75 to 100 Villistas killed during their hastily organized pursuit.

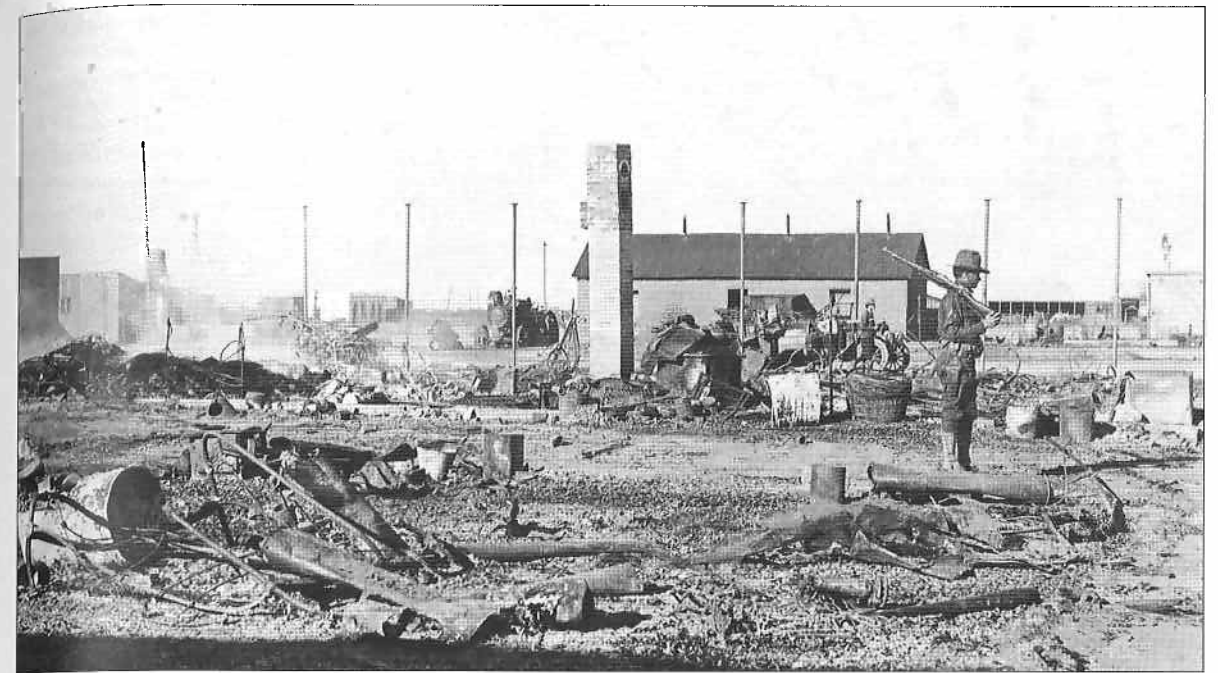
The 1916 Punitive Expedition

President Wilson called out 15,000 National Guardsmen and stationed them along the border; he also informed President Carranza that he intended to send a military expedition into northern Mexico to capture Villa, and Carranza reluctantly agreed. General Pershing was appointed to lead 4,800 troops – mostly cavalry, but supported by some aircraft and motor vehicles – on what was termed the Punitive Expedition.¹

(In 1916 the Signal Corps Aviation Service had only a few aircraft and inexperienced pilots; the 1st Aero Sqn assigned to support Pershing was equipped with six Curtiss JN-2 "Jennies," but all six biplanes were lost within barely a month – two crashed within the first week. By contrast with this experiment in the most modern form of warfare, a detachment of 20 Apache scouts, under 1st Lt James A. Shannon, was assigned to the 11th Cavalry; throughout the expedition they were employed for tracking, scouting and foraging for food, and they participated in the last cavalry charge, on 5 May 1916 at the Ojos Azules Ranch.)

Pershing's mission was to pursue and punish Villa without provoking the Carranza government by firing on Constitutionalist troops. This proved almost impossible in practice; Carranza would take advantage of Wilson's restrictions to make life miserably frustrating for the Punitive Expedition throughout their mission.

Villa had a nine days' start before Pershing's expedition crossed into Mexico at noon on March 15, 1916, and by that time he and his men were well hidden in the mountains. To cover the ground Pershing divided his force into East and West columns, and proceeded methodically into the unfamiliar interior of northern Mexico – which was mostly unmapped, forcing him to rely on local guides of questionable loyalty. This vast, hardly populated wasteland was dominated by the 12,000-foot peaks of the Sierra Madre mountains.



honeycombed with deep canyons providing excellent hiding places. Pershing's soldiers, mostly raw recruits, encountered every imaginable hardship and mishap during their eleven months in Mexico. In place of the promised assistance the Carranzistas hindered and occasionally attacked the US troops, while Pershing's men ate dust as they followed up endless unreliable reports about Villa's whereabouts.

The East Column fanned out from Columbus through cactus desert, searching pueblos and small settlements such as Ascension and Corralitos. The West Column meandered through hills and over plains to Culbertson's Ranch, 100 miles west of El Paso, and the Ojitos to the south. After some months both columns converged at Casas Grandes, only to divide again, with one heading south for Pearson, Cumbre and Madera, and the other marching southeastwards for Guerrero, Aguas Calientes, Ojos Azules and Carrizal. Pershing established his permanent command post at Colonia Dublan.

In May 1916 the 30-year-old Lt George S. Patton saw combat for the first time; he had begged a place on the expedition as one of Pershing's aides. Following up a reported sighting of Julio Cardenas, one of Villa's most trusted subordinates, Patton, with ten soldiers from the 6th Infantry and two civilian guides traveling in three Dodge touring cars, conducted a surprise raid on a ranchhouse at San Miguelito near Rubio. During the ensuing firefight the party killed three men, of whom one was identified as Cardenas. Patton's men tied the bodies to the hoods of their cars, returning to Dublan and an excited reception from US newspapermen. The young Patton became a national hero for several weeks, and Pershing permitted him to keep Cardenas' sword and silver-studded saddle as trophies. However, on May 6 another band of Mexicans raided the town of Glen Springs, Texas.

In June 1916 Pershing was informed that Villa could be taken at Carrizal, northwest of Dublan. When Capts Boyd and Morey with Troops

Scene of devastation in Columbus, New Mexico, after the raid by Pancho Villa on March 9, 1916. For days the smell of death hung in the air from the pyres where American soldiers were cremating the bodies of Villa's dead. The town never really recovered from the raid. (ADEQ HA)

¹ See Elite 134, *Buffalo Soldiers 1892-1918*.



California National Guardsmen preparing to fire a M1909 Benet-Mercié light machine gun, as also used by US regular cavalry regiments during the Punitive Expedition. The crew are wearing standard machine-gunner's equipment: M1912 pistol belt with holstered .45cal Colt, M1910 first aid pouch, and (bottom center) M1910 "bolo." This long, heavy-bladed knife was issued to cavalry machine gun troops for cutting underbrush to camouflage trenches and to help clear fields of fire. (ADEQ HA)

C and K, 10th Cavalry, arrived before the village on June 21 they were confronted by Carranzista troops. The officers ordered their "buffalo soldiers" to assault the village anyway; Villa was reported to have watched with delight, from a safe distance, as his two enemies fought each other. The cavalry were forced to withdraw after losing two officers and 12 men killed, more wounded, and 23 taken prisoner; Mexican casualties were about twice as high, including Gen Felix Gomez and ten other officers killed. This clash with Mexican government troops created such tension that war with Mexico seemed possible, and 75,000 National Guardsmen were called into Federal service on the border. In the event, the simultaneous deterioration of US-German relations while the World War raged in Europe made any escalation in Mexico undesirable, and negotiations followed.

For the remainder of 1916 the intensity of the hunt for Pancho Villa waned, to be replaced by the tedious routine of life in bivouac. In January 1917 the ill-fated attempt to capture Villa ended with the recall of the Punitive Expedition; on January 27 the first of 10,690 men and 9,307 horses embarked for Columbus. Back at Fort Bliss on February 7, Gen Pershing led a march into El Paso to the acclaim of cheering crowds; but although many of Villa's best men had either died or deserted him, in the minds of Mexicans he emerged from this episode as the clear winner.

El Paso and Juarez, 1919

One of the last incidents during the Mexican border conflict occurred when the African-American US 24th Infantry, stationed in El Paso, took up positions at the Santa Fe Street Bridge on the evening of June 15, 1919, and manned armored trucks with crews from the machine gun company. Heavy firing was reported in Juarez just across the border, and stray bullets were striking the building occupied by the regimental headquarters. By 3.15am reports were received that all of Juarez with the exception of Fort Hidalgo was in the possession of Villistas. Soon afterwards firing resumed in the vicinity of the fort, and within 30 minutes bullets from only 800 yards away began falling on the US positions, wounding two soldiers. By 5am Mexican Federal troops had retaken the positions on the south side of the bridge. An advance guard from the 24th Infantry had crossed into Mexico by 11.45pm, coming under fire from Villistas near the race track. Companies E and G returned fire; one American was killed and another wounded. Juarez was taken and occupied by the 24th Infantry until the following day, when they were ordered back across the border.

ARMIES OF THE REVOLUTION

GOVERNMENT ARMIES, 1910-14:

The Porfirista army, 1910-11

Porfirio Diaz had held on to power for 34 years with the assistance of an army which, by 1910, was in terminal decline. The Mexican Army which guarded his corrupt and decrepit regime may have looked the part on parade, with its smartly turned-out guards in their polished Prussian-made *Picklehaube* helmets adorned with feathers, and their colorful and neatly pressed uniforms. Away from the parade ground, however, the army faced so many problems that its defeat by any determined enemy was a certainty.

The first weakness of the army was its size. Its estimated strength of 25,000-30,000 men was deemed sufficient to keep a docile population in order; and on paper it had the potential to expand in wartime to about 146,000 officers and men, while a *Segunda Reserva* could be mobilized to add another 86,000 men. In addition the Rurales (see below) represented about another 4,000, and the Fiscal Guards a further 1,000 men.

The reality was different: the true strength of the regular army was estimated at between 14,000 and 20,000 officers and men, and of these an extremely large officer corps of 9,000 meant that the army was grotesquely "top heavy." (For comparison, the US Army of the time had a similar number of men but only 25 percent of the officers.) Corruption amongst the officers was rife, with "padded rolls" of troops allowing officers to pocket the wages of non-existent or long-discharged soldiers.

Lack of volunteers in the first place led to forced enrolment, which undermined the morale of the rank and file; understandably, soldiers who had been virtually press-ganged under the authority of the feared *Leva* did not make good recruits. The fact that army service was so disliked meant that the vast majority of soldiers were simply



Mexican Soldiers, Matamoros, Mex.

unfortunates who did not have the money or influence to avoid service or were drawn from the criminal classes. As one American observer noted, "An army drawn from the prisons and slums was of small value in time of need."

Poor organization also weakened the Porfirista military structure, with a heavy dependence on imported weaponry leading to shortages; this dependence on foreign arms meant that spare parts and ammunition were often unavailable when needed. Poor quarter-mastering resulted in constant reports of faulty artillery, unusable gunpowder and badly cleaned and maintained rifles. The national arms factory was incapable of keeping up with the demand for small arms ammunition from fairly wasteful field units; for instance, one infantry division used up in a single engagement three months of production from the ordnance factory.

The redundant and out-of-touch state of the Diaz government and its departments is perhaps summed up by the age of many of its army's commanding officers. Diaz himself, as commander-in-chief, was 80 years old; Gen Trevino was 79, Gen Cosio 80, and Gen Bernado Reyes was 70 years old. All of the senior general officers of the pre-Revolutionary Mexican Army were veterans of the war against the French intervention of 1861-67, and their military skills were equally antique.

In summary, however, the greatest weakness of the army was its sheer lack of numbers. It is generally agreed that for an army to defeat any insurgency it has to have a numerical advantage over the guerrillas of ten to one; the reality was that in most engagements between the Maderistas and the Federal Army the rebels outnumbered the government troops. At the start of the Revolution the army only had

Cavalry of the Diaz army in parade uniform trot past a reviewing stand at Matamoros. The dark blue uniform and black leather shako with red pom-pon are rather archaic in appearance, but the troopers are well armed with Mauser M1895 carbines. Diaz, who had not had any serious military experience since the French left Mexico in 1867, believed that his army could easily crush any rebellion that might threaten his decades-long grip on power. (ADEQ HA)

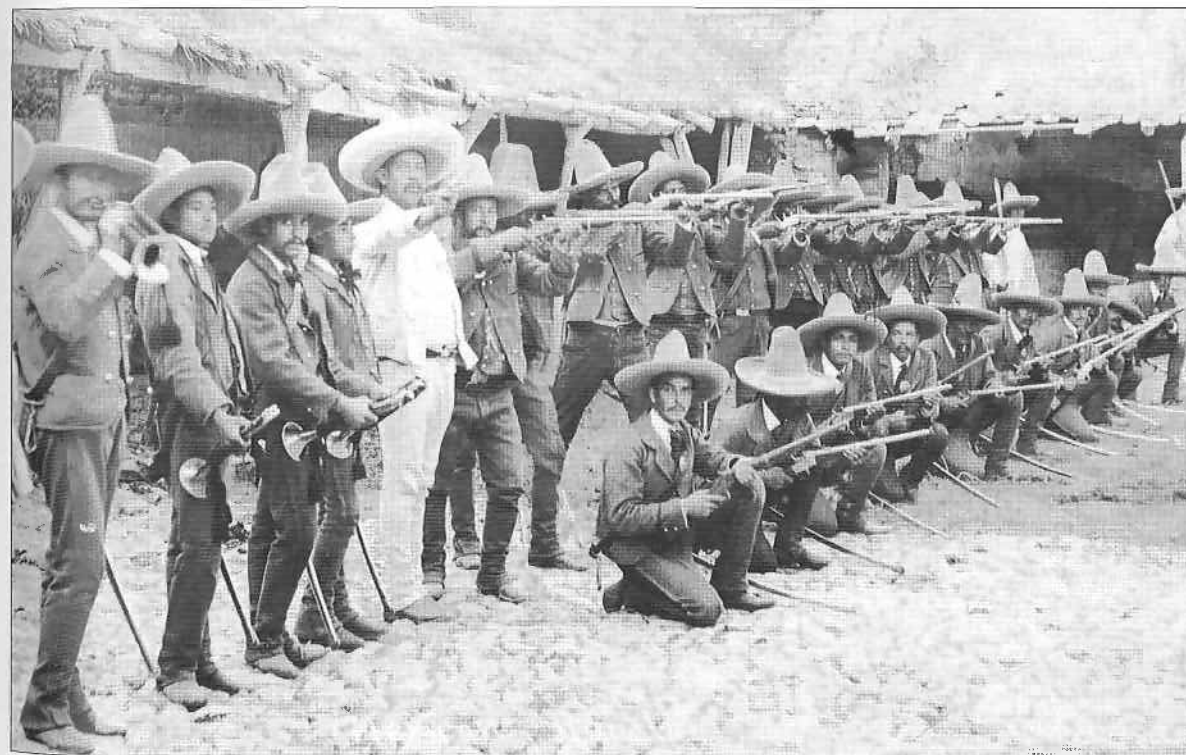
1,068 troops in the strategically vital state of Chihuahua, and most of these were garrisoning the state capital. Slightly larger numbers were stationed in some of the other northern states, but never enough. Diaz kept 3,500 of his best troops and most of the available artillery in Mexico City as a reserve. Although this disadvantage was partly offset by the army's superiority in artillery and machine guns, which led to early defeats of the Maderistas in pitched battles, the rebels soon learned to concentrate on guerrilla warfare where their superior numbers and mobility told.

The Guardia Rural, 1910-14

The *Guardia Rural* or *Rurales* were formed in 1861, and established as a semi-military police force on a local basis to keep the peace in the Mexican countryside. After reorganization in 1880 the Rurales were converted into a national or federal policing force, which was to serve Porfirio Diaz faithfully until his resignation in 1911. The Rurales were organized into "corps," each comprising three companies of 76 men; companies were divided into three platoons, each made up of four sections, each of a sergeant and four troopers. Altogether there were ten corps nationwide, which in time of war could be formed into a division with a total of 3,200 men.

The Rurales had a reputation for brutality and for unjust oppression of the peasants whom they were supposed to be protecting as well as policing. In reality most Rurales were under the control of the local *haciendas* or landowners and local politicians, upon whose patronage they depended for their office. Any sign of rebelliousness on the part of the *peons* or peasants was usually snuffed out easily, and the guilty were

Posing confidently for the camera, this unit of Federal *Rurales* are dressed in gray felt sombreros and matching kersey cloth uniforms (see Plate A3). The Remington "rolling-block" single-shot carbines suggest a date either before or very early in the Revolution. (ADEQ HA)



This well-captioned photograph shows two young officers of Gen Gabriel Hernandez's Army of Liberation on May 15, 1911. They wear felt fedora-type hats and military jackets with leather leggings and boots, and one is armed with a Mexican Army officer's sword. Officers of the various *Maderista* armies often wore a mix of civilian and military items. (ADEQ HA)



severely punished – the most common punishment meted out by the Rurales being death, under the rules of *ley fuga* which allowed them to shoot anyone who attempted to escape. During the rule of the Diaz government there were at least 10,000 documented cases of prisoners being shot “while attempting to escape.” These killings naturally went uninvestigated and unpunished, and the Rurales became complacent and apathetic. Nepotism, corruption and sheer laziness ate away at their morale and performance; and by the time they faced real opposition in 1910–11 they were easily defeated. They did continue to serve both the Madero and Huerta governments, however, until their disbandment with the defeat of the latter in July 1914.

The Madero government army, 1911–13

After the Maderista victory and Francisco Madero's triumph in the October 1911 elections the composition of the Mexican Army became a thorny issue. Under the terms of the Treaty of Ciudad Juárez the defeated Porfirista or Federal Army would remain largely intact, and would still be responsible for the defense of the nation. Madero naively believed that he could count on the loyalty of the very army that his Revolutionaries had defeated a few months previously. He foolishly agreed under the terms of the treaty to demobilize his former guerrilla forces in southern and central Mexico, with the proviso that any who wanted could join the so-called *Cuerpos Rurales de la Federacion*.

This ineffective military force was really only a “holding tank” for the Maderistas until they could be pensioned off by the government. Not surprisingly, this effective demobilization of the Revolutionary forces caused a great deal of resentment amongst the former Maderistas; Madero had effectively discharged into penury the men who had brought him to power, while leaving the men who opposed him in place. By August 1911 the army was made up of 16,000 former Porfirista troops and 12,000 former Maderistas, with half of the latter due for discharge. Although the Federal Army fought for the Madero government against the Zapatista uprising in the south, and against the rebellion by Pascual Orozco in the north in 1912, their loyalty was paper thin. When an attempted coup launched by Felix Diaz and Bernardo Reyes destroyed large parts of Mexico City during the “Ten Tragic Days,” Madero called on Gen Victoriano Huerta to restore order. This military strongman with hidden political ambitions took control of the government in his own military coup, before disposing of Madero and several of his associates.

Well turned-out Federal artillerymen pose in front of their barracks, wearing white duck uniform with leather leggings and boots. All have the artillery-pattern cork helmet covered with khaki cloth, displaying the artillery branch badge on the front. They carry clips for their Mausers in bandoleers of leather or canvas. (ADEQ HA)



Huerta's Federal Army, 1913-14

As soon as Huerta took power he was faced with a series of armed revolts led by supporters of the murdered Madero. He had to try to defeat these insurrections with an army which still had all the inherited weaknesses of the Porfirista and Madero government forces.

On February 15, 1913, the strength of the Federal Army stood at 32,594 regulars and 15,550 irregulars. This was far below what the army executive said it should have been, which was 80,000 men. By September of the same year the official strength of the army had risen to 85,000, with 1,081 colonels among the 5,537 officers. In addition there were 16,000 Rurales, 4,000 Urban Police, and 16,200 militia, rural guards and other pro-government men under arms. Huerta had plans to expand the army greatly, and in October he authorized a strength of 150,000 men. In April 1914, Huerta claimed that his army had reached a strength of 250,000 men, with 31 regiments of Rurales with a total strength of 12,400, and 31,000 local militia. In July he more realistically claimed to have 71,000 men under arms, whereas US observers said that 40,000 was nearer the mark.

However extensive it actually was, the vast expansion of the Federal Army led to a marked deterioration in the standard of the average recruit – or more accurately, conscript. Huerta's attempts to expand the army involved the mass *leva* – levy, or forced conscription from the streets by his press-gangs. Men were pulled out of cinemas, or taken as they left church or any other public gathering. Very few if any of the army's new recruits would have been volunteers, and many deserted at the first opportunity. Huerta did try to improve matters; in an attempt to raise morale he increased a private's wages in May 1913 by 50 percent, to 50 *centavos* a day. At the same time 382 military cadets were given commissions, and attempts were made to increase the number in training.

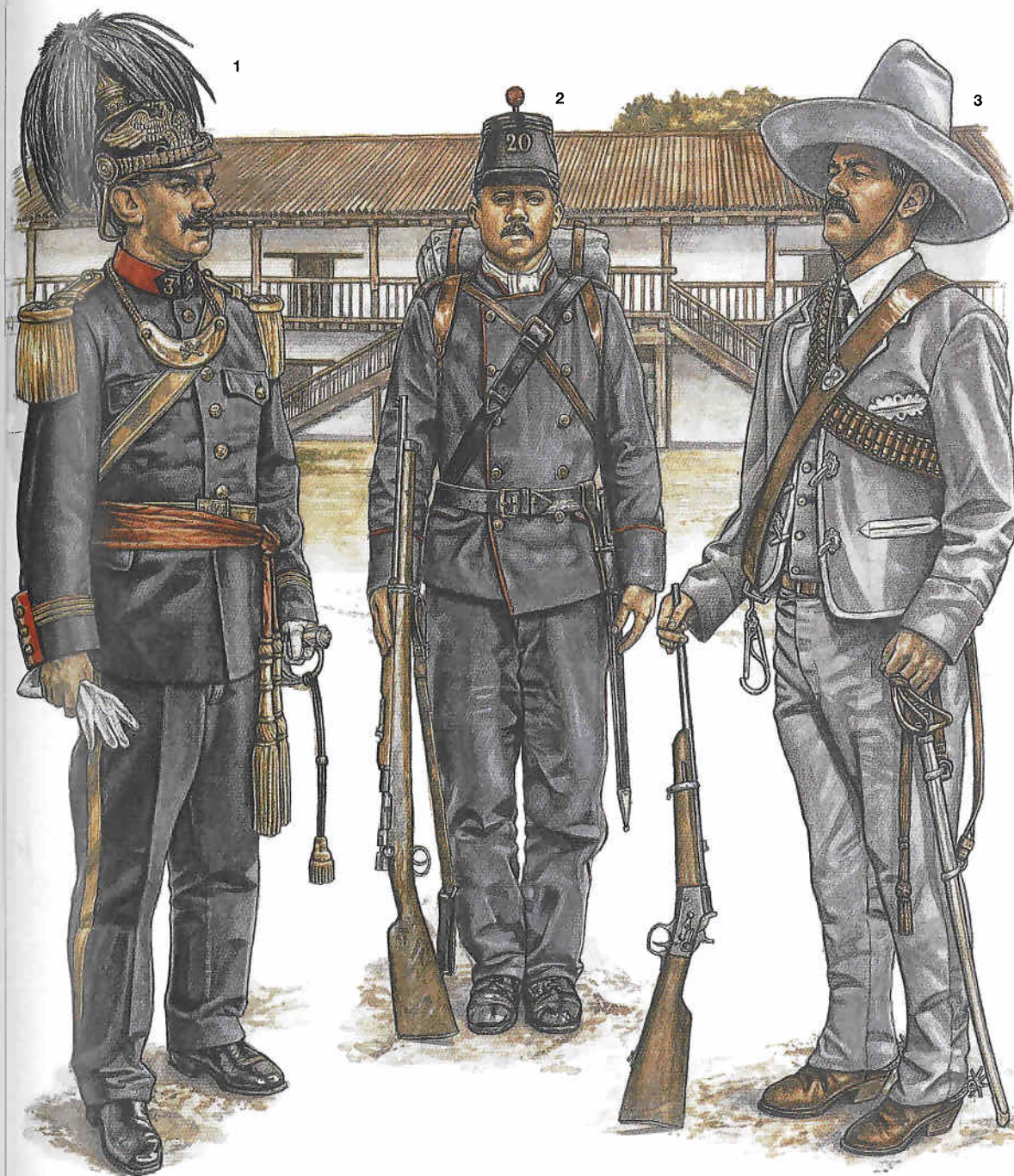
Federal Army generals were often guilty of undermining their men's morale by their poor leadership and corruption. This corruption took the form of the usual padded rolls, but at times they were also not averse to selling food or even ammunition to their enemies for private profit. Corruption went from the bottom of the army right to the top, and it is not surprising that two of Huerta's sons handled military purchasing contracts: Jorge was responsible for arms and ammunition procurement, and his brother Victoriano Jr handled uniform purchases.

Despite this obvious contradiction, throughout his tenure Huerta tried desperately to create an army capable of keeping him in power. Besides simply expanding the Federal Army he tried to create new units which he hoped would not be tainted with the defeatism of the Porfirista military. One measure he took was to reorganize the existing Rurales units into the *Cuerpos Exploradores* ("Corps of Scouts") and to assign them to the regular army. At the same time he tried to set up a new elite Rurales organization which would act as a sort of highly mobile commando force for the army. He tried to attract good recruits with a very high rate of pay of

(continued on page 41)

THE PORFIRISTA ARMY, 1910-11

- 1: Colonel, 3rd Artillery Regt, 1910
- 2: Private, 20th Infantry Bn, 1911
- 3: *Guardia Rural*, 1910



General Victoriano Huerta (right) was one of the most reviled figures of the Revolution. Having overthrown President Madero to assume supreme power in February 1913, he had to fight a number of vicious battles in a vain attempt to hold on to the presidency. When his army was finally defeated in July 1914 he slipped away into exile, although returning for a final failed attempt to regain power in 1915. (ADEQ HA)



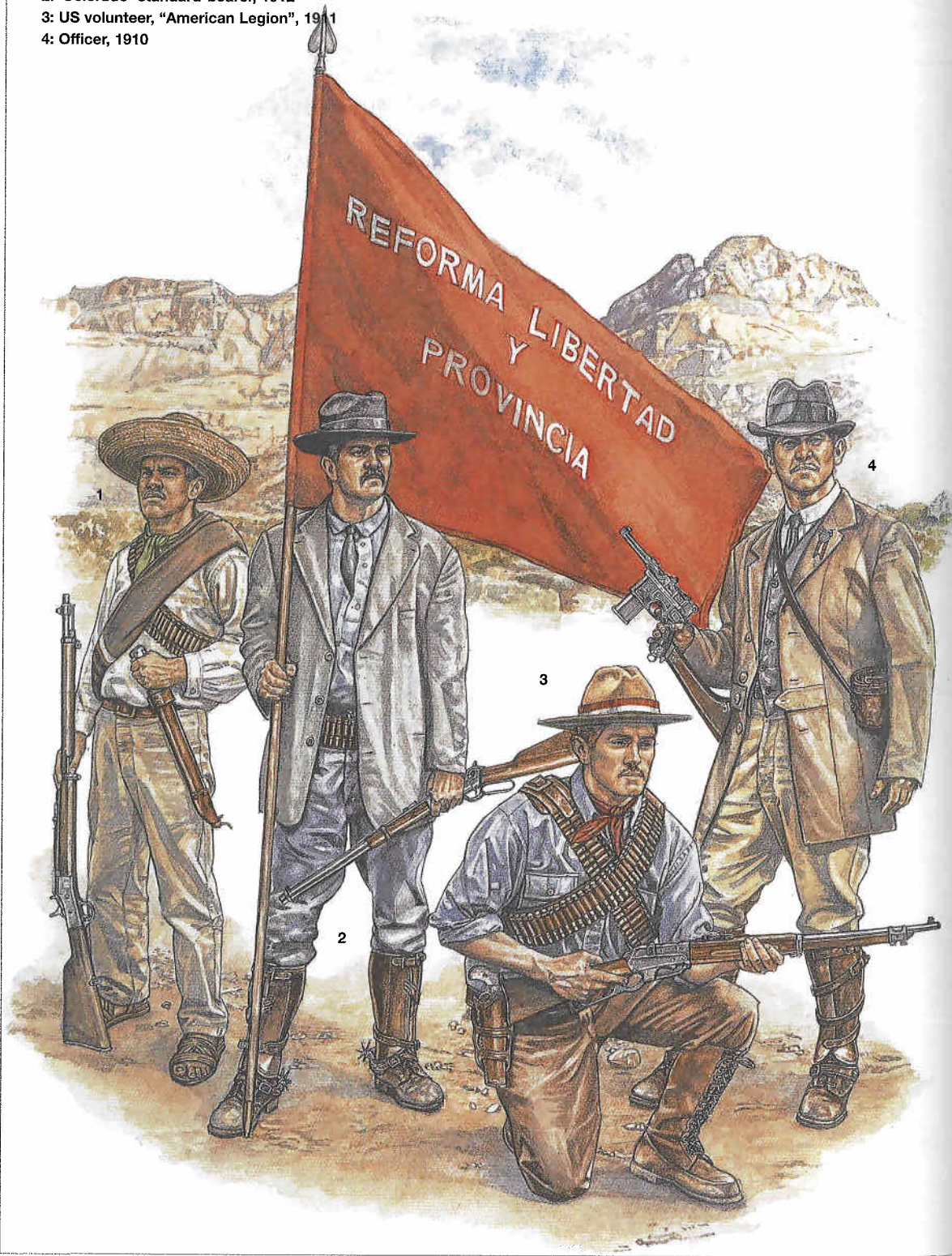
MADERISTA REVOLUTIONARIES, 1910-11

1: 'Campesino' infantryman, 1911

2: 'Colorado' standard-bearer, 1912

3: US volunteer, "American Legion", 1911

4: Officer, 1910



HUERTA'S FEDERAL ARMY, 1913-14

1: Infantry private; Zacatecas, June 1914

2: Infantry lieutenant; Torreón, 1914

3: NCO bugler, 24th Inf Bn; Chihuahua, 1913

4: Private, 61st Inf Bn; Oaxaca, 1913



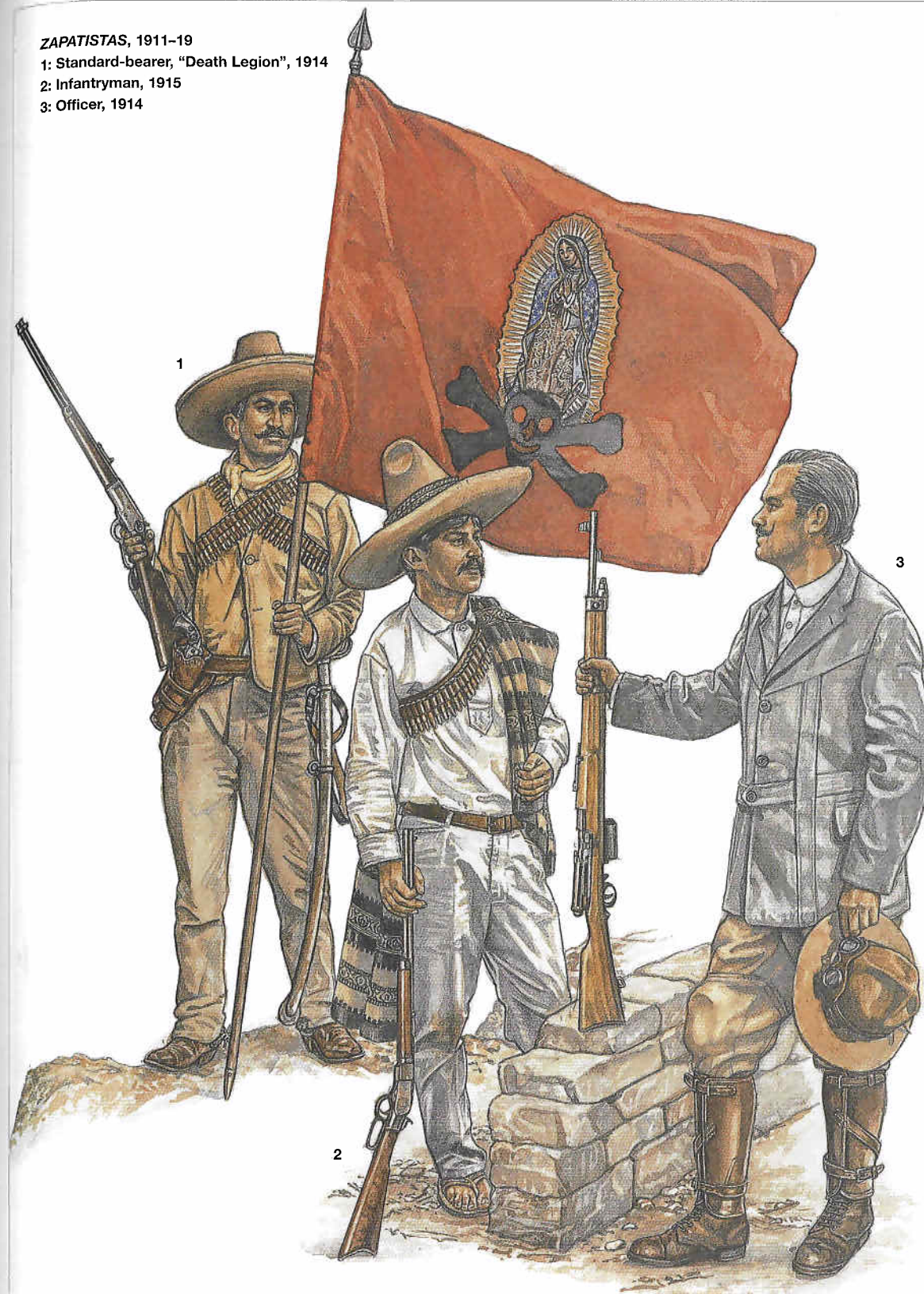
VILLISTAS, 1913-20

- 1: Artillery officer, *División del Norte*, 1914
- 2: "Dorado"; Celaya, 1915
- 3: Soldaderá, *División del Norte*, 1914
- 4: Infantryman, Juarez Brigade, 1915



ZAPATISTAS, 1911-19

- 1: Standard-bearer, "Death Legion", 1914
- 2: Infantryman, 1915
- 3: Officer, 1914



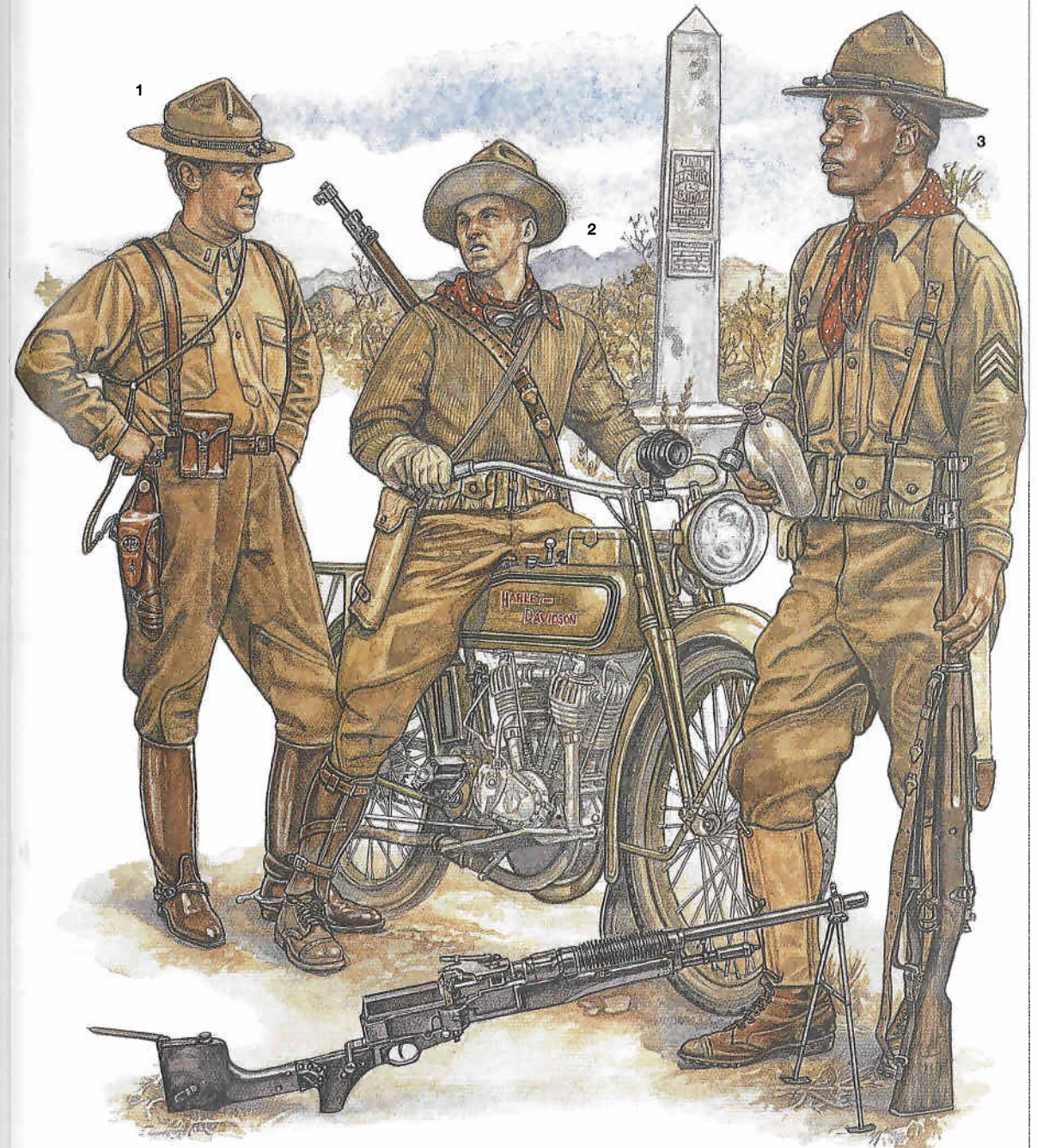
US & MEXICAN FORCES; VERACRUZ, 1914

- 1: Seaman, USS *Florida* landing party
- 2: Corporal, US Marine Corps
- 3: Cadet, Mexican Naval Academy



US PUNITIVE EXPEDITION, 1916

- 1: 1st Lieutenant, 7th Cavalry Regt
- 2: Despatch rider, 1st Provisional Motorcycle Co
- 3: Sergeant, 24th Infantry Regt



CONSTITUTIONALIST ARMY, 1913-20

1: Captain, 1st Cavalry Regt; Celaya, 1915

2: Infantry corporal, 1915

3: Private, 3rd "Red" Bn, Obregón's Army of Operations; Celaya, 1915



\$2.05 per day, and a short six-month term of service after which the recruit got to keep his horse and equipment. At first the new corps of Rurales would be made up of four squadrons of 150 men each. Huerta hoped eventually to increase the establishment to 20 corps with a total of 8,000-10,000 men, but no matter what incentives he offered the number of recruits was disappointing.

In an attempt to stiffen the resolve of the Mexican population under his control Huerta began a "militarization" of Mexican society; he perhaps based this ambition on an imagined Prussian model, but he implemented only futile superficialities. The main feature of this program was to order all government employees to wear military uniforms - a decree even extended to schoolboys - and to perform military drill on Sundays. Huerta and his generals were not entirely immune to the lessons of modern warfare, however; as already mentioned, 31 cadets were sent to Europe to study aviation so that a larger air arm could be formed.

One area in which Huerta was successful was in persuading a number of former rebels to fight for him, bringing their own loyal troops with them. These turncoat commanders included Marcelo Caraveo, Benjamin Argumedo, "Cheche" Campos and, most famously, Pascual Orozco. Orozco offered Huerta the services of 3,000-4,000 of his Colorados, who were to prove the most implacable foes of the Constitutionalists. When not stiffening up the garrisons of Federal-held towns they fought as guerrillas, and were most effective in this role.

On August 13, 1914, at the time of its disbandment, the effective strength of the Federal Army according to government sources was as follows:

	<i>Jefes</i>	Officers	Privates
Military College	2	12	271
Zapadores*	3	26	529
Invalid Corps	1	8	109
Infantry	87	770	14,783
Cavalry	58	455	7,029 (6,775 horses)
Artillery	13	106	1,542 (248 horses)
Medical Corps	75	48	220

(* Pioneers or combat engineers)

The full total was 10 generals of division, 61 generals of brigade, 1,006 *Jefes*, 2,446 officers, 24,800 other ranks, and 7,058 horses. In addition there were 21 regiments of Rurales with 500 effectives in each, giving a total of 10,500 men.

REVOLUTIONARY ARMIES, 1910-20:

The Maderista Ejército Libertador, 1910-11

When Francisco Madero crossed into Mexico to launch his armed insurrection against the Diaz government his Army of Liberation was pitifully small; he had only a few hundred men, with no artillery or machine guns, and arms were limited to civilian repeaters and the odd captured Federal Mauser. The few pitched battles fought by the Maderistas against the Federals were disasters, mainly because of the rebels' lack of heavy weapons. Instead they concentrated on attacking remote outposts and sabotaging the regime's lines of communication. The Maderistas also used the advantage of mobility, as many of their



An "honor company" of the American Legion fighting for the Revolutionaries pose for the camera in 1911, under the green, white and red tricolor flag of Mexico; their Mauser rifles are stacked in front. The Americans have attached a tiny stars-and-stripes to the flag staff halfway up the hoist edge. (ADEQ HA)

men were superb horsemen who could live in the saddle. The *Ejército Libertador* was a polyglot force of many political factions united only by their opposition to Diaz. For instance, Madero's own troops included a contingent of 600 extreme Catholic *Cristeros* sent by the Church to try to influence the rebels into a pro-Church stance if they were victorious.

The anti-Diaz forces were made up largely of small armed bands formed around local rebel or bandit leaders and liberal politicians. Some of these Revolutionary bands grew into larger forces, which often fought independently under the banner of Madero. In April 1911 the totals of Revolutionary forces spread throughout northern Mexico were not impressive: there were 5,200 in Chihuahua, 1,500 in Guerrero, 4,000 in Sonora, 1,500 in Puebla, 1,500 in Veracruz, 1,000 in Yucatan, 1,000 in Coahuila, 800 in Zacatecas and 200 in Nuevo Leon. These hardcore rebels were joined at the moment of victory by many other opportunists; by the time of the Maderista victory in May 1911 the total number of rebels of all parties was estimated at between 40,000 and 60,000 men.

Foreign volunteers

The early days of the Revolution saw a number of foreigners from all over the world volunteering to fight for the Maderistas, from very mixed motives. Because of their expertise and military experience these 100 or so foreigners became prominent in the Maderista army. The Europeans included the Italian Giuseppe Garibaldi and the Frenchman Lou Carpentier. "Peppino" Garibaldi was a grandson of the great Italian patriot, and this prestigious revolutionary ancestry probably helped him gain high rank in the Maderista army of 1910-11. He was disliked by some of the Mexican commanders, and Pascual Orozco dismissed him simply as a dandy (though he would distinguish himself four years later

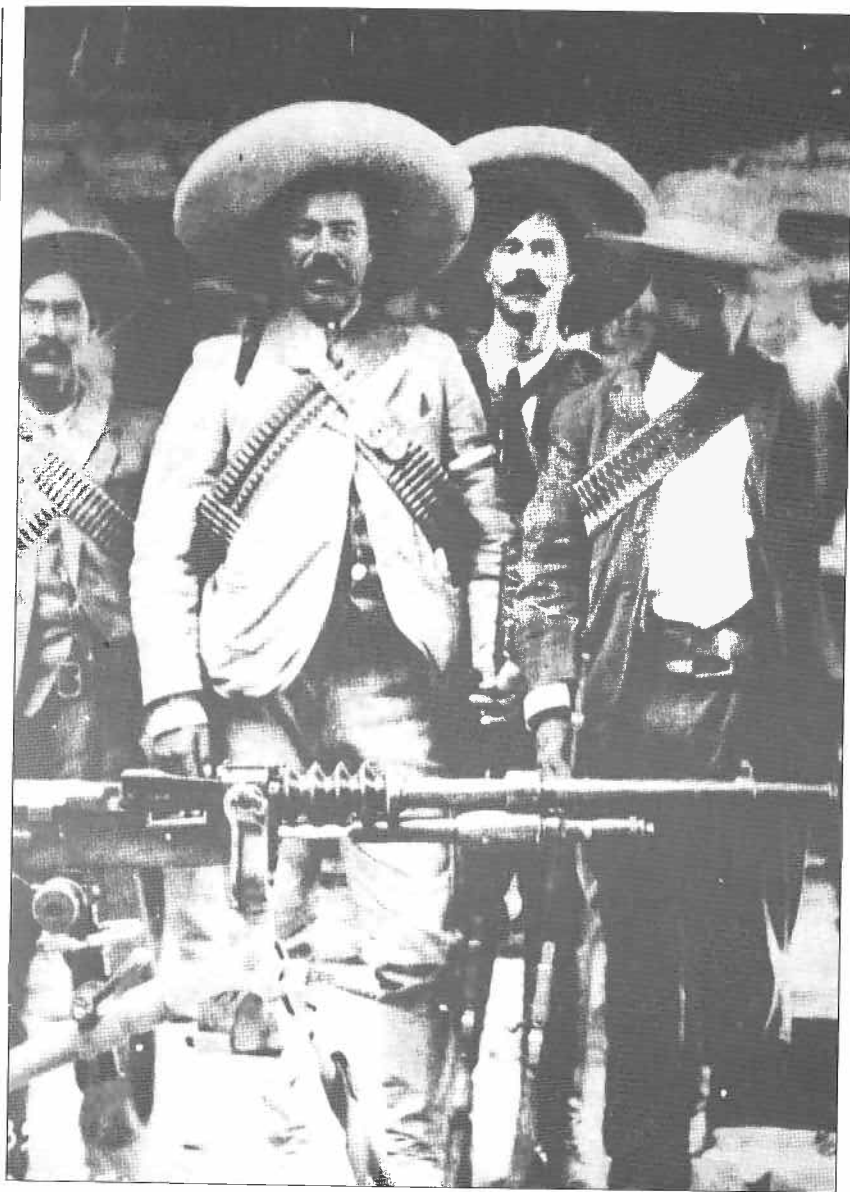
at the head of a battalion of the French Foreign Legion on the Western Front). Carpentier was employed as an artillery expert – one of a number of foreigners who brought their skills to a largely amateur army. The Canadian A.W.Lewis, who had fought in several conflicts including the Boer War, was a skilled machine-gunner, and New Yorker Oscar Creighton was a dynamite expert. A former Boer officer, Benjamin Johannes Viljeon, became one of Madero's military advisors, bringing with him vast experience of fighting the British on the plains of South Africa. Conversely, Capt Ivor Thord-Gray was a Swedish-born cavalry officer who had fought for the British in the Boer War, and then in the Philippines for the US Army; he ended up by chance as commander of Villa's artillery, because he had slightly more knowledge of the subject than the hapless American who had previously held the post.

For obvious geographical reasons Americans dominated amongst the foreign volunteers. Many came as adventurers and a few as mercenaries; most were veterans of the Indian Wars, the Spanish-American War or Filipino Rebellion, the Boxer Rebellion or the several other recent minor conflicts in Central and South America. They included characters like Edwin S. "Tex" O'Reilly, a self-proclaimed "Hero of the Revolution," who has been described as the "world's biggest liar" by those who knew him. Another was a certain Tom Mix, a former US Army coast artilleryman, who went on to become the first major cowboy star in the days of silent movies. Another 100-strong unit of American volunteers fought for the Magonistas during their revolt in the state of Baja California in May 1911. Their leader, "General" Pryce, a former Canadian Mountie, went on to fight in the British Army in the Great War and retired with the rank of colonel.

The Villistas, 1911-20

Francisco "Pancho" Villa, born Doroteo Arango in 1878 in Chihuahua state, changed his baptismal name to his nom-de-guerre upon becoming a 16-year-old outlaw. He began his Revolutionary career at the age of 32 at the head of a band of 28 pro-Maderista guerrillas. His unit soon grew to a strength of 500 men as they won victory after victory against the Federales in 1913-14. By early 1913 this private army, popularly known as the *División del Norte*, had reached a strength of 3,000 men, and by October that year it was estimated at 16,000. Not only were the numbers impressive; unlike most Mexican forces of the period the soldiers of the *División del Norte* were described as being well armed, mounted and supplied. More victories brought more followers; by the time Villa occupied Mexico City jointly with the forces of Emiliano Zapata in December 1914 he had approximately 40,000 men under his command, and was said to be able to call on as many as 60,000.

Villa usually divided his army into four brigades which fluctuated in size in proportion to the overall size of the Division of the North. He used a much more regular military structure than Zapata, and this was generally true of all the northern Revolutionary forces; they counted in their ranks a large number of former Federal soldiers who had surrendered in the early fighting. Villa formed an elite cavalry unit known as the *Dorados* or "Golden Ones" in late 1913/early 1914, around the nucleus of the first recruits into his army. This elite unit also provided Villa's bodyguard throughout his military career. They



Pancho Villa (center) poses with a recently delivered Hotchkiss machine gun; he wears typical guerrilla attire, with ammunition bandoleers across his chest. Villa was photographed during the Revolution wearing a variety of headgear, from gaudily decorated sombreros to pith helmets. He was very conscious of the image he presented to the media, and dressed according to the situation in which he was to be portrayed. (ADEQ HA)

were formed into three squadrons of 100 men each; every man had a rifle, two pistols and two good horses. The Dorados were renowned for their ferocious cavalry charges and for their ability to fire accurately from the saddle – a style of fighting had been practiced by the Apache and other Mexican Indians when fighting against the Federal troops a generation before.

Villa's artillery was under the overall command of ex-Federal officer Gen Felipe Angeles, with two regiments under Cols Martiniano Servin and Manuel García Santibánaz. One regiment had four batteries of 75mm field guns, while the other had three batteries of 75mm and one of 80mm guns. Large numbers of field guns were captured by the Villistas from the Federal Army, especially during the battles of mid-1914. In one military display and march-past by 15,000 men the Villistas showed off 60 artillery pieces.

División del Norte – Cavalry Brigades & commanders:

<i>Ignacio Zaragoza Brigade</i>	Gen Eugenio Aguirre Beanvides & Colonel Raúl Madero –	1,500 men
<i>González Ortega Bde</i>	Gen Toribio Ortega –	1,200
<i>Cuauhtémoc Bde</i>	Col José Trinidad Rodríguez –	400
<i>Francisco I. Madero Bde</i>	Col Máximo García –	400
<i>Benito Juárez Bde</i>	Gen Maclovio Herrera –	2,000
<i>Hernández Bde</i>	Gen Rosalio Hernández –	1,500
<i>Francisco Villa Bde</i>	Gen José Rodríguez –	1,500
<i>Moralos Bde</i>	Gen Thomas Urbina –	2,000
<i>Guadalupe Victoria Bde</i>	Col Miguel González –	500
<i>Robles Bde</i>	Gen José Isabel Robles –	1,200
<i>Bracamontes Bde</i>	Col Pedro Bracamontes –	1,200 men

This young soldier of Villa's Division of the North pictured in 1913 has lost his right leg, but continues to fight on, equipped with a wooden "peg leg." He carries a Mauser M1895 and a revolver. (ADEQ HA)

Villa attempted to professionalize his Northern Division by placing some ex-Federal officers in key roles; he made efforts to create a proper regular army which could take on the new Constitutionalist forces such as Obregón's Army of Operations. Villa treated his men well by the standards of the day, and he was noted for having the best medical facilities of all the combatants. Headed by Dr Rauschbaum, a team of 15 surgeons was at the ready to treat the wounded. The Villista medical teams would treat minor injuries in the field while more serious cases were transported to field hospitals or trains by whatever form of transport was available.

Any attempts to modernize the Villista army were nullified, however, by one important factor: the character of Villa himself. He may have paid lip service to modern methods of warfare, but when it came to the decisive battles he reverted to his old tactics of cavalry charges. His intense pride and machismo meant that he could not stop himself from ordering "one more charge" that would carry the day, even when common sense told him that it was hopeless. General Obregón understood Villa's character, and used it against him in the decisive battles of 1915 (see Chronology). In a telegram to Carranza regarding the progress of the battle of Celaya, Obregón summed up his opinion in a famous quotation: "Fortunately, Villa directed the battle personally."

The defeats of 1915 effectively broke the back of the *División del Norte*, and thereafter Villa had great difficulty in trying to keep the remnants together. General Obregón offered amnesties to all but the most senior Villistas, and despite pleas from Villa no less than 40 generals, 5,046 officers and 11,128 men took up the offer. The Constitutionlists offered to pay off former Villistas, but most were also given the chance to



join their army, and many were prepared to change sides and fight against what remained of the Villista army – only about 2,000 men. For the next few years Villa and this remnant maintained a local influence in Chihuahua, but they were never again able to threaten Carranza's rule. A final attempt to create a force capable of taking on the Constitutionalists came in late 1918, when Villa's most able remaining officer, Gen Felipe Angeles, returned from exile in the USA. With Villa he drilled the remaining Villistas (who had declined to a mere 500 men) and some new recruits to form a force 2,000–3,000 strong; but, faced by 17,000 Constitutionalist troops in the state of Chihuahua alone, this revival was doomed. When Angeles fell out with Villa and tried to return to the USA he was captured by the Constitutionalists, court-martialed and executed in 1919.

Pancho Villa accepted an offer of amnesty by the interim government after the death of Carranza in 1920. He spent the next three years in comfortable retirement. Old enmities die hard, however, and in 1923 President Alvaro Obregón had Villa assassinated.

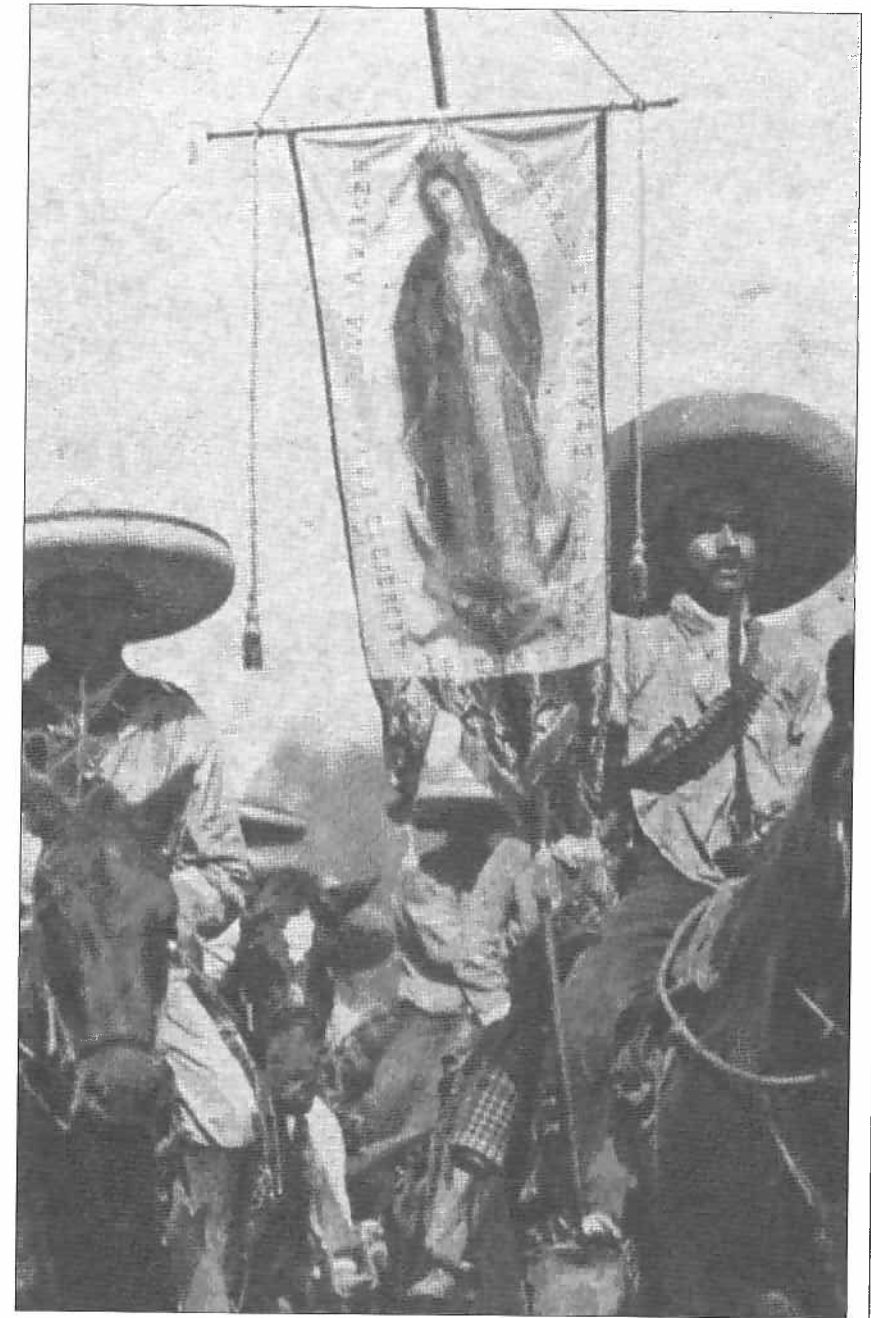
The Zapatistas, 1911–19

Like the Villistas, the Zapatistas or Liberating Army of the South were held together by the sheer personality of their leader, Emiliano Zapata. Born in a village in Anenecuilco province in 1879, he had worked as a farm laborer for a local hacienda; he was later conscripted into the Mexican Army, reaching the rank of sergeant before his discharge in 1910. From then onwards Zapata pursued the life of an outlaw in the Robin Hood tradition, campaigning for agrarian reforms and attacking the exploitation of the peasants. His convictions led him and his men to

A rag-tag line-up of *insurrectos* in northern Chihuahua, dressed and armed in exotic variety; two have acquired Army swords. Their headgear is particularly diverse – sombreros, stetsons, a fedora and a pith helmet. Apart from the man (left) in dungarees, they are hung about with up to five bandoleers each. (ADEQ HA)



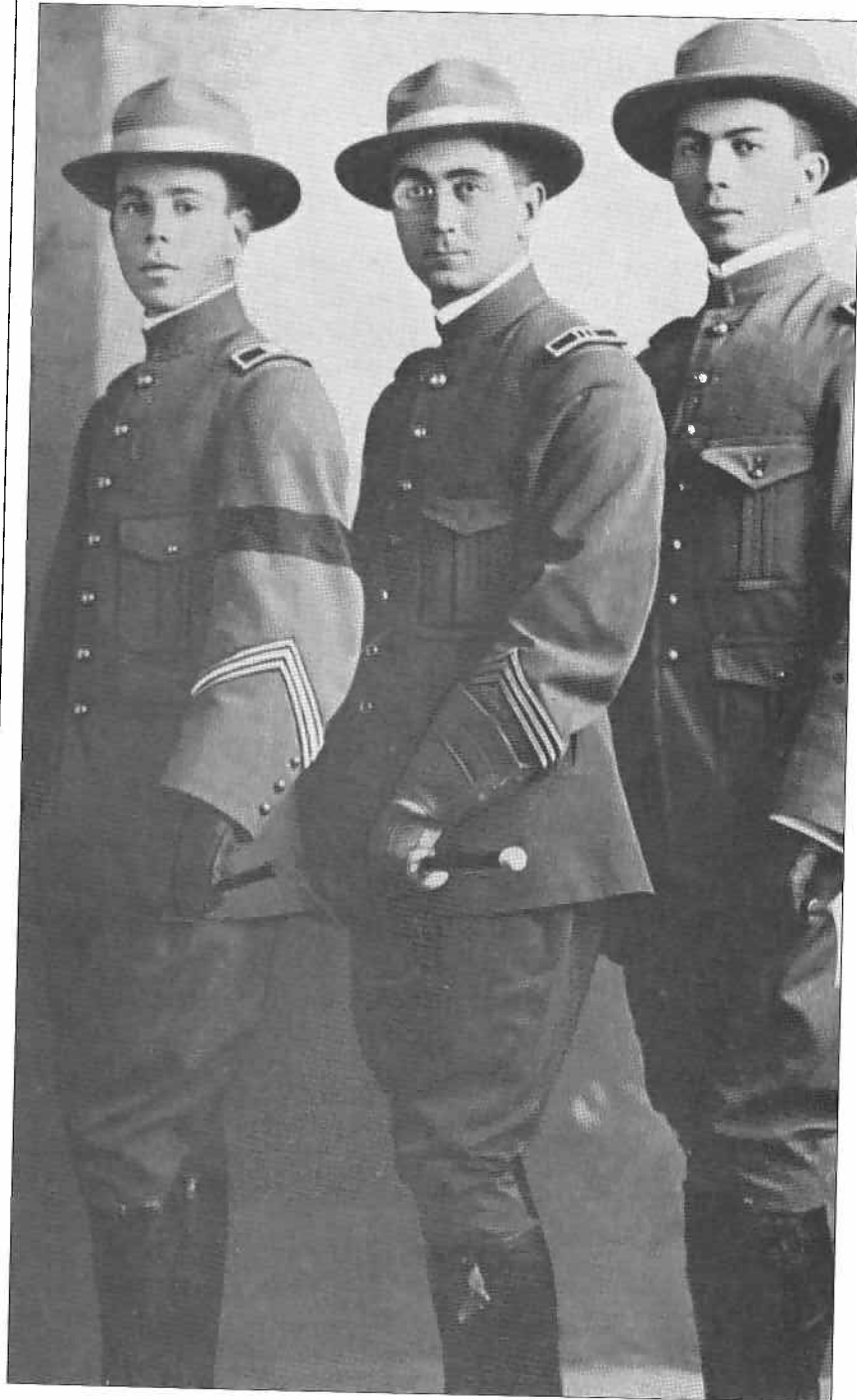
A unit of Emiliano Zapata's Liberating Army of the South enters Mexico City in December 1914, led by their Virgin of Guadalupe banner. Virgin banners were used by all sides in the Revolution, and were usually taken from churches by the combatants. (ADEQ HA)



join the Maderista rebellion, but almost as soon as victory was achieved he fell out with Madero over the lack of progress in land reform. From then until his death in 1919 he was to be in armed opposition to every Mexican government, still demanding the distribution of land to the peasants.

Zapata's forces were organized according to the size of the bands of his *Jefes*; the rule of thumb was that any leader who commanded 50 or more men held the rank of "general." Zapata did introduce a command structure in 1912, with seven generals under the overall command of his brother Eufemio. Under the generals came 27 colonels, and under them numerous official and unofficial captains.

The Zapatistas' contact with the Villistas in Mexico City in 1914 led to an attempt at adoption of a more formal military structure. Zapata began to divide his forces into battalions, regiments and brigades, and also started to appoint NCOs in an attempt to instill more discipline into his troops. One of the main criticisms of the Zapatistas throughout the Revolution was their lack of military discipline; Villa was one of their sternest critics, and noted his erstwhile allies' lack of organization and

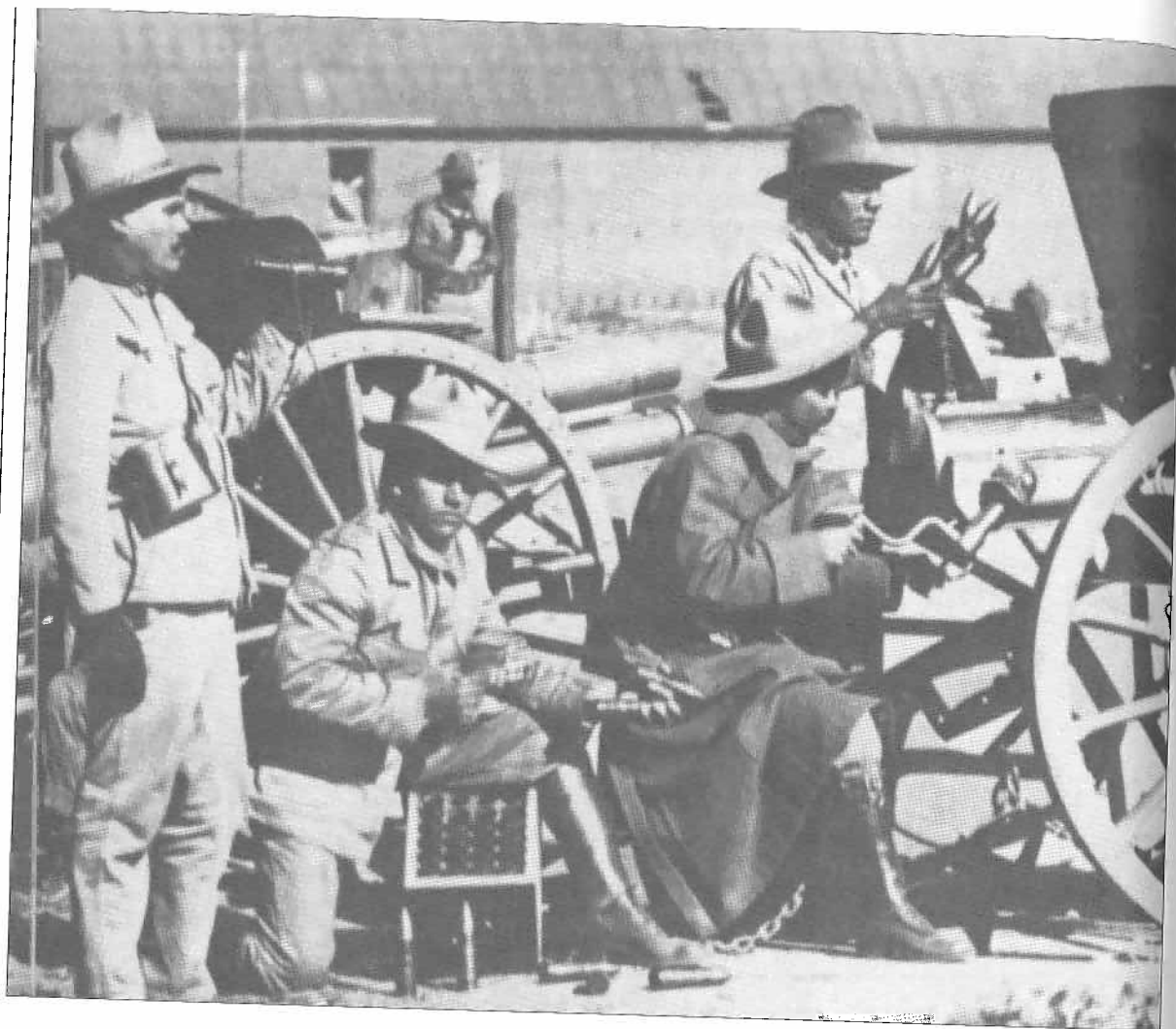


Three young Constitutionalist Army captains on Carranza's staff in 1913: (left to right) A.Salines, J.Madero and G.Salines. They are very smartly turned out, and all have the three bars of their rank on their shoulder straps; two also have silver rank chevrons on their sleeves.

discipline, while at the same time recognizing their "patriotism, loyalty and good intentions." In reality, the Zapatistas continued to fight in units of 200-300 men under their traditional leaders, and would only unite into a larger force for short periods. They were never willing to change their organization, and wanted to remain a militia force which spent three months at a time on active service and the rest of the year working their fields.



Captioned as a "typical Constitutionalist," this anti-Huerta cavalryman wears quasi-military dress with an ex-US Army campaign hat, a khaki cotton jacket and trousers and a pair of leather gaiters. His Mauser carbine is a capture from Federal Army stocks. (ADEQ HA)



A Constitutionalist artillery battery at Naco in 1915 has a mixture of 75mm field guns and (foreground) a Hotchkiss 37mm revolving cannon. This Hopper-fed Gatling-type design was obsolete by the time of the Revolution, but was used by several of the combatant forces.

The outstanding weakness of the Liberating Army, however, was its already mentioned lack of regular supplies of arms and ammunition. It depended almost totally on captures, and never had the funds or the proximity to the US border which allowed Villa to import weapons. Small amounts of ammunition were reportedly smuggled to the Zapatistas from sympathetic workers at the national cartridge factory, but in 1918 this supply line was discovered and the unfortunate workers were shot by the Constitutionalist authorities. A primitive arms factory of sorts was also in operation at the Lihuyán Hacienda in 1916; this refilled shells and spent cartridge cases, and made use of copper cable looted from Mexico City during its occupation in December 1914. Heavy weapons were almost totally lacking, although Villa did send them a few pieces of artillery, which allowed the Zapatistas to besiege Federal-held towns – though the shortage of shells strictly limited their use.

The overall strength of the Zapatistas fluctuated even more than that of the Villistas, with about 12,000 in 1912 and 25,000 involved in the occupation of Mexico City in 1914; but the Liberating Army of the South had shrunk from a strength of 20,000 to just 5,000 by the end of 1916.

Most of the Zapatistas were then in small bands of 100–200 men, which held out in their mountain strongholds while making occasional attacks on Federal targets.

After the defeat of the Villistas in 1915 the Constitutionlists could concentrate more of their military resources on defeating the Zapatistas. Government offensives launched in 1915, 1916, 1917 and 1918 were successful in taking major towns in Morelos; but Zapatista counter-offensives, often undertaken during the rainy season, would retake most of these towns, and a stalemate developed. President Carranza realized that a purely military solution would be too costly. A Constitutionalist officer, Col Jesús González, managed to convince Zapata that he was willing to join him by killing 50 turncoat ex-Zapatistas. When Zapata and a small bodyguard arrived at Col Gonzalez's headquarters on April 10, 1919, to discuss his defection, the rebel leader was cut down by a hail of rifle fire.

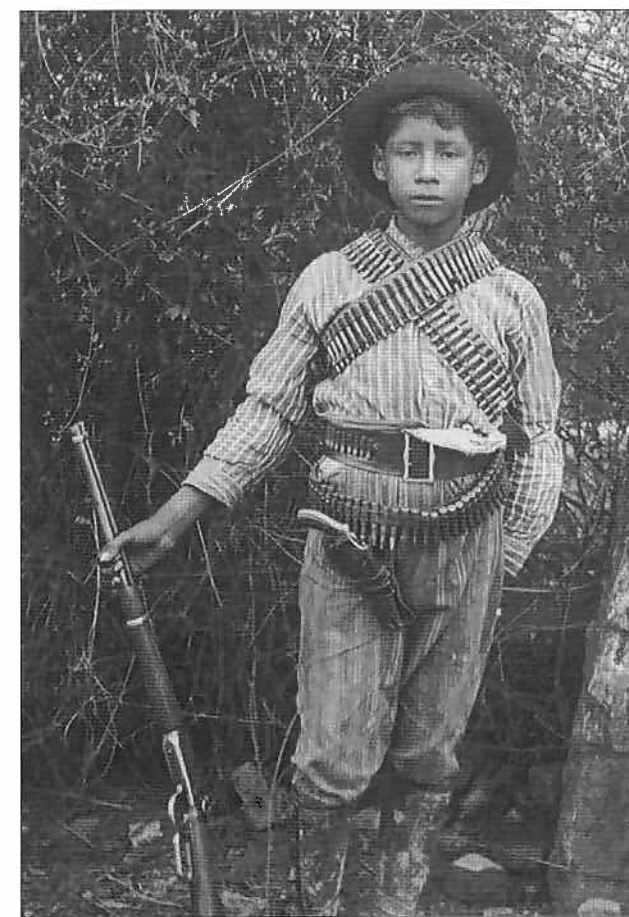
THE CONSTITUTIONALIST ARMY, 1913–20

When Venustiano Carranza declared himself "First Chief" of the Constitutionalist Army in March 1913 he had very few military forces whose loyalty he could count upon. His leadership of the opposition to the Huerta government brought him the theoretical loyalty of both Villa's and Zapata's forces; but both leaders were soon in armed opposition to Carranza. He had to expand his own Constitutionalist Army, for which he had high ambitions from the beginning.

In July 1913 he divided the country into seven theoretical areas of military operation. Each area was – at least in theory – the responsibility of a general commanding an army corps. These corps were: Northeast, Northwest, Central, East, West, South and Southeast, though the last four really only existed on paper. All of the fighting was to be done by the Northeast Corps under Gen Pablo Gonzalez, the Northwest Corps under Gen Alvaro Obregón, and the Central Corps under Gen Panfilo Natera.

When fighting broke out between the Constitutionlists and the Conventionalists in 1914, Carranza's forces had only 57,000 men to Villa's and Zapata's 72,000; but as the Constitutionlists got stronger their opponents grew weaker. In a US memorandum of July 1916 the strength of the Constitutionalist Army was reported at just over 80,000 men. Most of this total was divided between the Army of the Northwest with 38,000 men, the Army of the East with 19,000, and the Army of the West with about 25,000; the Army of the South was estimated at only 5,000–10,000 men. Further regional forces with loyalty to the Constitutionalist

A heavily armed boy fighter of Gen Lucio Blanco's Constitutionalist army. He seems to be in his very early teens; the photographic record shows that the Revolutionary armies swept up thousands of lads as young as this. (ADEQ HA)



Army were made up of independent brigades under the command of local warlords or *Jefes*; these varied in size from units of 300 up to others of 5,000 men.

Obregón's Army of Operations

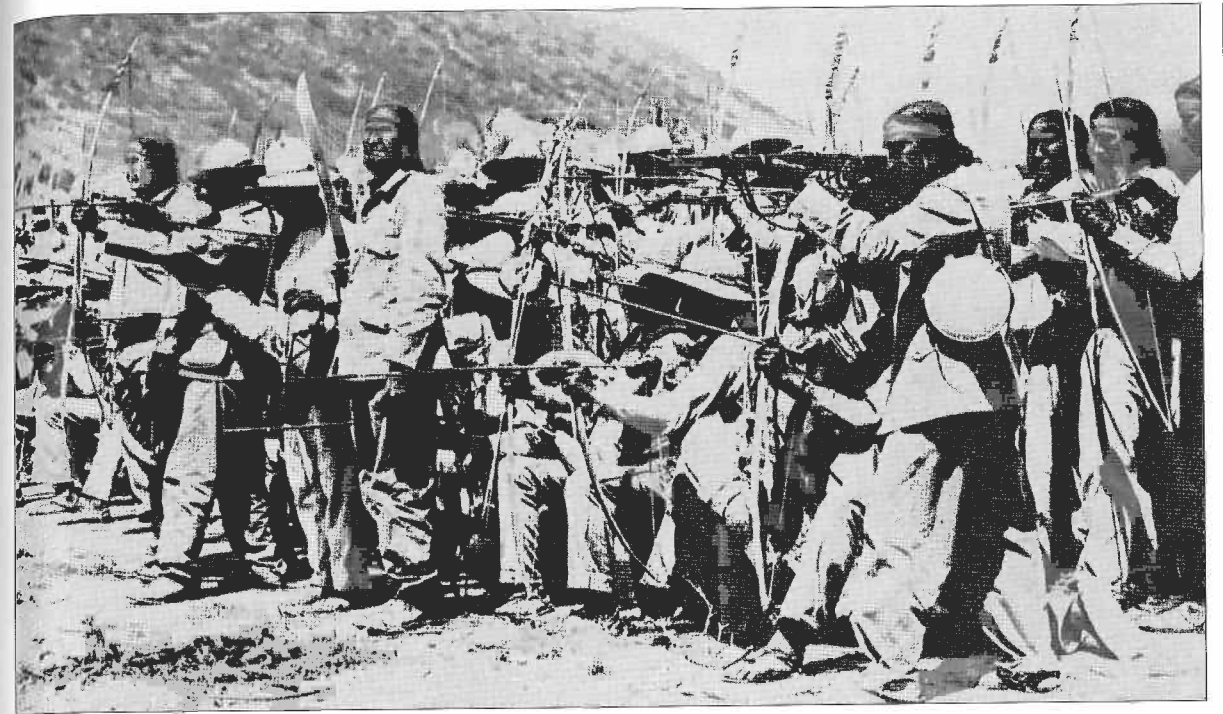
By far the most important of the Constitutionalist armies was Obregón's Northwest Corps which, under the new title of the Army of Operations, was to be mainly responsible for the defeat of the Villistas. Although the Army of Operations drew many of its recruits from the same sources as the other Mexican armies, two groups were particularly important in its ranks.

The first source of recruits were the trade unionists who formed six battalions raised from the workers in Mexico's cities; these would later be referred to as "Red Battalions" (by no means to be confused with Orozco's Colorados or "Red Flag" troops). Under an agreement between Carranza and various labor leaders, which promised better working conditions after a Constitutionalist victory, it was agreed that recruitment could take place amongst the industrial workers. The labor organization *Casa del Obrero Mundial* (COM) promised 15,000 volunteers; although the total number recruited was more like

LtCol Alvaro Obregón (right), an ex-mechanic from Sonora, led his small volunteer unit in the 1912 campaign against Orozco. Three years later, with the rank of general, he would lead his Army of Operations to victory over Pancho Villa in a series of decisive battles. Behind Obregón is a captain of his staff, his rank indicated by the three silver cuff rings. Note that this trio carry three different types of carbine – apparently two distinct models of Winchesters and one bolt-action.



Yaqui Indians of Obregón's army in Sonora in 1913 offer an extreme example of the shortages suffered by many Mexican armies during the Revolution. Most are armed with bows and arrows and some with machetes; only a few of the elders have rifles. By the time of the decisive battles of 1915 these same men would be well trained and all would be armed with rifles.



9,000, the six battalions that were raised were to prove reliable and loyal. Two of the Red Battalions joined Obregón's army and fought in the battles of Celaya; one fought in the defense of Tampico, while the other three were deployed to keep open lines of communication. Amongst the Red Battalions raised were the *Empleados de Comercio* of Orribaza, and the workers of the La Favorita railroad company; in addition, there were battalions raised from white-collar workers. The COM also formed a nursing corps, which joined Obregón's Army of Operations as the Acrata Health Group.

Another and even more vital source of recruits for the Constitutionlists in general and for Obregón's army in particular were the indigenous Indian population. The Indians, who made up approximately one-third of the Mexican population in 1910, were an important recruiting resource for many of the armies of the Revolution. They were often regarded as expendable "cannon-fodder" by most Mexican commanders, but when well treated they became brave and loyal soldiers. Mexico had many tribes, including the Juchiteco, Mayo, Pino and Yaqui; by far the most important from the military viewpoint were the Yaqui, who had a particularly fearsome reputation.

The Yaqui of Sonora state had been fighting a desperate series of wars for survival against the majority white and *mestizo* population throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries; after several decades of fighting large numbers of them were still resisting when the Revolution broke out in 1910. Many armies attempted to recruit them, with mixed results, but Gen Obregón was the most successful. Born in Sonora and brought up among the Yaqui, he knew how to speak to them; he also knew what promises to make to them regarding restoring their lands (even though these promises were, of course, broken after the war.) Most Yaqui recruits came from the pacified Indians or *manos*

who had been settled on reservations. The promise of land was too much to resist, and at least the army offered them regular food and clothing. So-called *bronco* Indians, who continued to resist all Mexicans of whatever party, stayed aloof in their desert strongholds.

Obregón spent the winter of 1913–14 drilling his army. He paid particular attention to training the cavalry and artillery, which he recognized would be the most important branches in the coming battles. His infantry were to be raised mostly from among the Yaqui, and the Mayo Indians – whom he certainly regarded as cannon-fodder. He tried to instill a higher level of discipline into his officer corps, and at the same time began NCO classes. As in all armies of the Revolution, many of Obregón's troops were very young, with boys of between 12 and 16 years old often serving in the ranks.



A group of Constitutionalist soldiers – including a young boy – have stacked their Mausers as they wait to be transported to the battlefield by train. They are dressed in a mixture of hats and clothing, from an apparently US-surplus khaki tunic and Texas Ranger hat to garments of civilian cut. (ADEQ HA)



'Soldaderas'

Mexico had a long tradition of female camp followers, who supported the army on campaign by performing numerous tasks. The lack of any modern military services meant that women had to forage for food and to cook for, nurse and “comfort” the soldiers. Although the women had played all these parts in army life for centuries, the Mexican Revolution also saw them take on the role of combatants or *soldaderas* alongside their men on all sides in the war. They would take up the rifle of a fallen husband or sweetheart and fight on in his place; this combat role for women was often frowned upon by commanders, but it proved almost impossible to stop them fighting. The women would often mingle with the men before an action and then carry their equipment and ammunition, and if spare rifles were available they would join them in battle. The Northern Division had a particularly high number of these women, although Villa strongly disapproved of them. He insisted that his elite unit of Dorados should not be accompanied on campaign by female companions to distract them from their tasks. The Zapatistas, Villistas and Federales all had *soldaderas* who fought mixed in with the men, but there were also some all-female “amazon” units. Zapata had such a unit, and the Magdalena Detachment in Sonora state was another example. Individual women fighters became famous; one – *Coronela* Juana Romana Vida de Flores, known as “la Guera” – had fought in 14 separate engagements by 1914.

An extremely mixed group of Revolutionary fighters – probably northern *Villistas* – including at least one armed *soldadera* (center) among several women camp followers, and a European or gringo volunteer. (ADEQ HA)

THE PLATES

A: THE PORFIRISTA ARMY, 1910-11

A1: Colonel, 3rd Artillery Regiment, 1910

The army of Porfirio Diaz was always adept at dressing up for the many parades which the regime organized as a show of strength. This colonel wears the dark blue full dress uniform, faced red at collar and cuff patches, with the unit number on collar patches and above crossed cannons on the gorget. Mexico was one of several Latin American countries which copied the admired Prussian style of the period; here the leather *Pickelhaube* helmet is dressed with a falling plume of feathers, and a massive brass plate of the Mexican eagle-

and-serpent arms. The colonel's rank is indicated by three gold rings below the red cuff piping.

A2: Private, 20th Infantry Battalion, 1911

The regulation M1898 service uniform of the enlisted ranks is double-breasted, with more extensive red piping than the officers' version, and no breast pockets. Very shallow black three-pointed collar patches are hardly visible, butted up below the collar piping in the front corner. A white scarf was usually worn like a stock under the tunic collar. The archaic-looking leather shako is complete with a pom-pon and brass

unit number; in fact this uniform is only slightly modified from the M1869 regulations. A cowhide knapsack has a rolled blanket strapped to the top and a tin water canteen fastened to the back. The weapon is the most modern thing about this soldier - a Mauser M1895 bolt-action rifle.

A3: Guardia Rural, 1910

The Rurales' role as a paramilitary force was reflected in their uniform, which varied slightly from corps to corps - and often between individuals. Usually they dressed like this man, in gray sombrero, jacket and trousers, although some wore a brown version. This uniform is quite plain, with only a touch of lace around the pockets and edging the jacket. His sombrero is plain gray felt as befits his low rank; some officers' hats were covered with silver lacing and cost hundreds of pesos. Some Rurales were seen with their unit number in silver numerals on the side of the sombrero, while others displayed it only on the silver shield plate on the carbine belt, as here. He is armed with a Remington M1897 "rolling-block" single-shot carbine and a cavalry saber; such cast-offs from the regular army were perfectly adequate for his job of controlling the unarmed peasantry.

B: MADERISTA REVOLUTIONARIES, 1910-11

B1: 'Campesino' infantryman, 1911

This peasant field-worker is the figure upon whose behalf the Revolution was theoretically being fought, and who bore its harshest burdens, including providing the cannon-fodder for Madero's insurgent army. He is dressed in the typical straw sombrero,

homespun white cotton or linen shirt and trousers, and leather sandals; the sombrero might have been decorated with a Revolutionary ribbon by way of insignia. His few personal effects are carried in his blanket roll, and what little ammunition he has, in his bandoleer. The Remington M1897 "rolling-block" rifle was in widespread service with the early Revolutionary armies. When possible this simple, sturdy but single-shot weapon would be replaced with a captured bolt-action Mauser, for which ammunition would be more readily available. The machete that even the poorest peasant could carry at his hip might be used in hand-to-hand combat, as well as for its more usual domestic tasks such as chopping firewood.

General Joaquin Telles of the Federal Army, 1911. He wears the blue-black officer's dress tunic with white-piped shoulder straps with gold lace decoration and a silver eagle in the center; note also the collar. His "lead-gray" officers' cap has a black band and the officers' eagle cap badge on the front. (ADEQ HA)

B2: 'Colorado' standard-bearer, 1912

The Colorados or "Red Flaggers" were an important part of the Maderista army which helped overthrow Diaz in 1911. When their charismatic leader Pascual Orozco fell out with Madero over his share of the post-revolutionary spoils, his 8,000-strong army became a significant threat to the new government until defeated in battle in 1912. This officer carries a flag bearing the motto "Reform, Liberty and Province." He is clearly a middle-class liberal, dressed in civilian riding clothes with a pair of brown leather military leggings, and is armed with a Winchester M1894 carbine.

B3: US volunteer, "American Legion," 1911

An *ad hoc* 100-strong American Legion was formed from among the US citizens who crossed the border to volunteer their services to Madero. (For a while the second-in-command of this unit was in fact Giuseppe Garibaldi, a

grandson of the famous 19th-century Italian revolutionary.) This volunteer is dressed in typical quasi-military dress, with a US Army surplus M1889 campaign hat with a Revolutionary tricolor ribbon round the band, and a civilian blue cotton shirt worn with a red neckerchief. His canvas lace-up leggings were seen in widespread use with all the Revolutionary armies. He is armed with a Winchester M1895 rifle, and - although not clearly seen here - his revolver is a Colt 1877 Thunderer, carried on a Mexican loop gun belt.

B4: Officer, 1910

Officers of the Maderista forces were generally from the higher classes of Mexican society, and went to war dressed accordingly. This officer's allegiance is marked by the Maderista pin and ribbon attached to his jacket lapel; the fedora hat would in some cases have had the same tricolor ribbon band as B3. His equipment is basic: a cased pair of binoculars, probably purchased over the border in the USA; and a Mauser C96 "Broomhandle" automatic pistol which has been decorated locally with silver inlay on both the gun itself and the wooden holster-stock.

This interesting photograph shows a group of Federal artillerymen in 1913 wearing a wide variety of uniforms. The men at left center wear the dark blue double-breasted M1898 tunic with both M1898 shakos (see Plate A) and kepis. In contrast, the two soldiers in the right foreground wear a light khaki cotton visored cap complete with goggles, and a sun helmet. In front of the soldiers note a number of Hotchkiss machine guns. (Philip Jowett Collection)





C: HUERTA'S FEDERAL ARMY, 1913-14

C1: Infantry private; Zacatecas, June 1914

This soldier is a member of the garrison of Zacatecas, the last obstacle for the rebels before Mexico City; its fall, and the heavy losses suffered by the Federal Army in its defense, led to Huerta's resignation in early July. This khaki-dyed cotton uniform was worn by the Federal Army towards the end of the 1913-14 campaigns. His headgear is the Mexican-made cork pith helmet more commonly worn by the Federal artillery. The leather bandoleer holds five-round clips for his Mauser M1895 rifle. Apart from the bandoleer his only equipment is the round aluminum water canteen stamped with the national arms, which was one of several types in service.

C2: Infantry lieutenant; Torreón, 1914

The "lead-gray" uniform worn by this officer was soon replaced by the more practical khaki version, and was not widely adopted, but officers who had already had uniforms made up in this cloth continued to wear them until they needed replacing. A national tricolor cockade is worn at the front of the cap crown, in Prussian style, and the army crest badge is hidden here under motoring goggles. (Other officers wore the cockade on the band with a brass branch badge

Two *Federales* administer the *coup de grace* to their unfortunate victim. Both wear the dark blue "Saumur" kepi with red piping; note the crowns pushed down in the French style. At first glance both men appear to have white duck uniforms, which were the most commonly worn by government troops, but the man on the right appears to be wearing a light khaki-dyed version. As well as bandoleers, both have the unpopular large black leather pouch on the back of their belts - see Plates C3 & H2. (ADEQ HA)

above it.) His 1914 pattern rank insignia of two gold bars are centered on gold-bordered black transverse shoulder straps. He is armed with an 1892 Smith & Wesson revolver, and one of the several patterns of Mexican officers' swords.

C3: NCO bugler, 24th Infantry Battalion; Chihuahua, 1913

This NCO wears the white duck tropical uniform, with sandals, and the dark blue, red-piped "Saumur"-type kepi. This was higher at the back than the front; normally soldiers would push the crown down so that the edges stood proud of it, in the French style. The large *golpes* or chevrons with bunches of pom-poms are a uniquely Mexican insignia, apparently worn mainly by buglers. He is equipped with two bandoleers with pockets for Mauser clips, and also with a black leather cartridge case at the back of his belt. This type of ammunition pouch was disliked by most Mexican soldiers, and was often adapted by wearing it "folded out" - see Plate H2.

C4: Private, 61st Infantry Battalion; Oaxaca, 1913

The Federal Army's white duck cotton tropical uniform - here with the trousers rolled up for comfort - was often worn with the black leather shako with a white cloth cover; but this infantryman has a newly issued khaki cotton visored cap with a small tricolor cockade on the crown. Sandals or *huaraches* are worn as a more comfortable alternative to shoes or boots, which few rural peasants would ever have worn before they were conscripted into the army. Equipment is simple but practical: a blanket roll and tin water bottle, and a bandolier holding clips for his Austrian Steyr M1912 rifle. Due to the large amount of ammunition wasted by wild firing, the Federal Army Inspector General issued an order that each soldier should be limited to 50 rounds instead of the usual 100.

D: VILLISTAS, 1913-20

D1: Artillery officer, División del Norte, 1914

Many Villistas wore military uniforms, some of which were made up from khaki cloth bought by their leader in the USA. This ex-Federal Army professional officer retains a level of

Villista cavalry have disembarked from a train and are heading off into the front lines, led by their standard-bearers. Most Revolutionary flags followed the national tricolor design with suitable inscriptions; the example on the right carries the death's-head symbol which was also favored particularly by the *Zapatistas*. Most such flags had a red field with an applied skull-and-crossbones in either black or white - see Plate E. (ADEQ HA)

smartness; his shirt and trousers could have been bought in the USA or made up from purchased cloth, and he wears one of large numbers of Texas Ranger hats which were also bought by Villa. He has acquired a pair of US Army officer's boots and a map case, and the usual pair of motoring goggles, and has armed himself with a Browning M1900 semi-automatic pistol. A personal affect is a silver pocket watch.

D2: "Dorado;" Celaya, 1915

Pancho Villa's elite unit, the "Golden Ones," wore a distinctive uniform of olive green felt sombrero, jacket and trousers. Many Dorados had their sombreros trimmed around the brim with gold (hence the nickname), although this soldier's is a little less ornate. He has a prayer card of the Madonna and Child tucked into the hat band as a good luck token. The Dorados received the best arms and equipment available to the Villistas - in this case, a Mauser M1895 carbine, as well as his revolver. Note the elaborately tooled holster and spur leathers and the high quality bandoleers.

D3: Soldaderá, División del Norte, 1914

Fighting alongside her male comrades, this female Revolutionary is flamboyantly dressed in a bolero-type jacket, loose-fitting trousers and a large straw sombrero. She has decorated both her jacket and hat with the tricolor ribbons of the Revolutionary cause, and fires a Winchester 1873 repeating rifle.

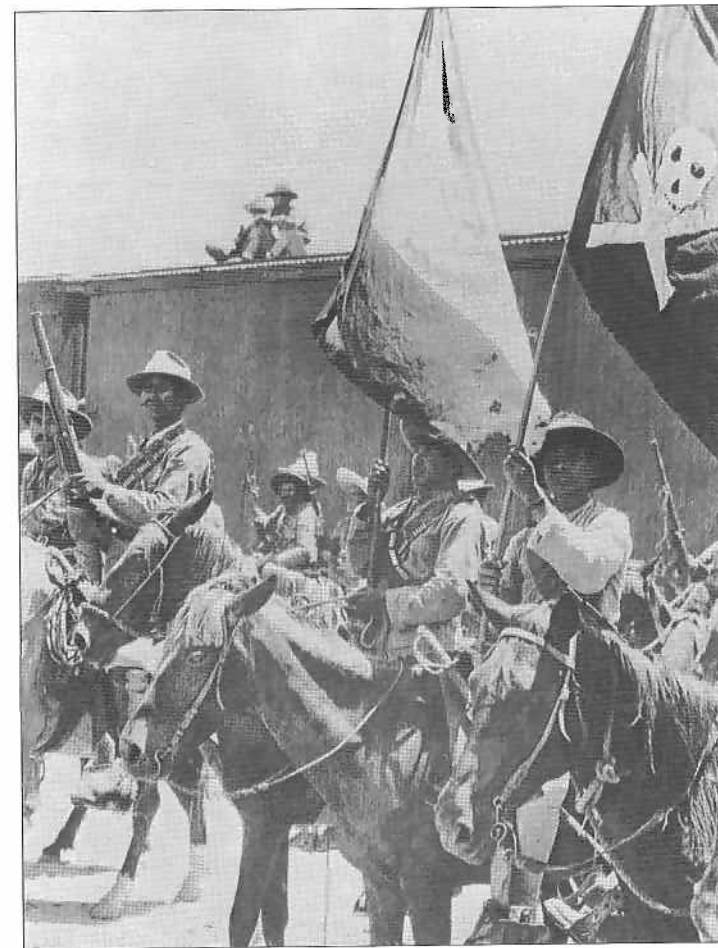
D4: Infantryman, Juarez Brigade, 1915

This Villista serving in one of the Division of the North's regular brigades is identified by a tricolor ribbon armband lettered in black "División del Norte" above "Brigada Juarez." His US Army shirt and trousers may be copies made up by Villista workshops; they are topped off by a Texas Ranger hat. Equipment is at a minimum: one of the several models of Mexican Army water bottle, and a bandoleer of clips for his Mauser M1895 rifle. Whenever possible the Villistas replaced older rifles and carbines with captured or imported Mausers of all models.

E: ZAPATISTAS, 1911-19

E1: Standard-bearer, "Death Legion," 1914

The "Death Legion" formed the hard core of Zapata's Liberation Army of the South. Its standard bore an image of the Dark Virgin of Guadalupe - as seen on several Mexican flags - but with the Revolutionary addition of the skull and



crossbones. *Zapatistas* almost invariably wore civilian clothes; this man's only military item is his captured Mexican Army officer's sword. His firearm is the ever-popular Winchester M1894 repeater, which due to their shortage of newer military weapons continued to be used by the *Zapatistas* until the end of the conflict.

E2: Infantryman, 1915

The ordinary foot soldiers of Zapata's Liberation Army were dressed in simple *campesino* peasant clothes. This man's large felt sombrero has a rope hatband; over his left shoulder he wears the *sarape*, a blanket-type garment which served as the Mexican peasant's overcoat and, if necessary, his bedding at night. He too carries the Winchester 1894 rifle.

E3: Officer, 1914

Officers of Zapata's Army of the South rarely adopted military dress, unlike their counterparts in the Northern Division. Several of the middle-class officers did, however, wear their normal civilian clothes, like this Norfolk-style riding jacket. His US Montana-peak hat, automobile goggles, breeches and strapped leggings complete a quasi-military costume. He has acquired a locally invented and produced Mondragon M1908 semi-automatic rifle; one of the first weapons of its kind, this advanced rifle had been delivered in small numbers to the Mexican Army before the fall of the Diaz regime.



F: US & MEXICAN FORCES; VERACRUZ, 1914
F1: Seaman, USS *Florida* shore landing party
 The shore landing parties which came ashore during the "Veracruz Incident" initially wore either their dark blue winter or white summer uniforms. As the occupation wore on, most crews adapted their white uniforms by dyeing them with whatever they could lay hands on; sailors from the USS *Florida* and *New Jersey* dyed theirs in vats of coffee, while those from the USS *South Carolina* used rust, and the USS *Arkansas* used an iodine solution – which unfortunately turned their white uniforms a reddish color. This sailor in his newly dyed uniform also wears the "dixie cup"-style cap, and khaki canvas gaiters. On his back is the US Army's M1910 "long pack," used by some of the sailors at Veracruz; it is hooked at front to his M1910 cartridge belt. His weapon is the M1903 Springfield rifle.

F2: Corporal, US Marine Corps

This corporal wears the M1912 blue "bell crown" dress cap with a khaki-tan cover and dull bronze eagle/globe/anchor badge. The Marines' M1912 summer service coat and trousers are of khaki cotton material; note the old seam-to-seam corporal chevrons of yellow lace point-upwards on both sleeves. He too is equipped with the M1910 cartridge belt of khaki woven webbing fabric, with an M1903 bayonet worn on the left side. The M1903 Springfield was the standard rifle of all the US services by the time of the Veracruz occupation.

F3: Cadet, Mexican Naval Academy

Along with the 190th Infantry Battalion, Mexican naval cadets put up a stiff resistance to the US landings, defending their Naval Academy building with great bravery. *Teniente* José Azueta, a 16-year-old cadet, was mortally wounded, and 4,000 people attended a hero's funeral held for him on May 12, 1914. This boy, handing over his M1895 Mauser, is wearing a white-covered visored cap with the Mexican Navy coat of arms badge on its black band. His double-breasted frock coat, little changed from the international naval fashions of the mid-19th century, has brass anchor badges on the lapels, and transverse shoulder straps.

G: US PUNITIVE EXPEDITION, 1916

G1: 1st Lieutenant, 7th Cavalry Regiment

This figure wears a typical uniform for US officers during the border fighting. The M1911 "olive drab" Montana-peaked hat has officers' black and gold cords with two acorn tassels. His wool pullover campaign shirt in a similar shade has four dark brown buttons on the placket, and bears his rank bars on the collar; he chooses not to wear the black necktie. His wool riding trousers are a rather darker "olive drab" shade. He is armed with a .45cal Colt M1911 semi-automatic pistol in a cavalry-type swiveling russet brown holster with "US" embossed on the flap, and secured by a long khaki lanyard looped diagonally around his torso. The M1912 belt also supports a double pistol magazine pouch, and is itself supported by a pair of leather suspenders.

G2: Despatch rider, 1st Provisional Motorcycle Company

The motorcyclist wears an M1911 olive drab knit wool service sweater with two open hip pockets, worn over the soldier's campaign shirt and cavalry-style wool trousers. Bandanas were often sported by American soldiers. His goggles are commercially manufactured – the US Army never issued them for Mexican border service. His equipment is limited to the M1910 cartridge belt, leather cavalry-style gloves, and cavalry brown leather leggings worn over the russet brown shoes. Slung across his back is his M1903 Springfield, and on his right hip a non-regulation early model despatch case of olive drab canvas. His mount is an early Harley-Davidson; the Army began using motorcycles as early as 1913, and in 1916 the Harley-Davidson Motor-Cycle Company's product became the vehicle of choice during the pursuit of Pancho Villa. By 1917 roughly one-third of all Harley-Davidsons produced were sold to the US military. In the background is a US/Mexican border marker.

G3: Sergeant, 24th Infantry Regiment

This NCO from the African-American US 24th Infantry wears the M1911 Montana-peak hat with light blue infantry cords, a well-worn OD campaign shirt, wool trousers and laced khaki canvas leggings, with the M1910 pack, cartridge belt and first aid pouch. The bayonet for his M1903 Springfield is carried in a scabbard covered with canvas and a leather chape. He is drinking from his M1910 aluminum canteen. His chevrons of rank on both sleeves are now of more modest size than in Plate F2. In the foreground is the M1909 Benet-Mercié machine rifle, which made its combat debut with the US Cavalry during Pancho Villa's raid on Columbus, New Mexico.

H: CONSTITUTIONALIST ARMY, 1913–20

H1: Captain, 1st Cavalry Regiment; Celaya, 1915

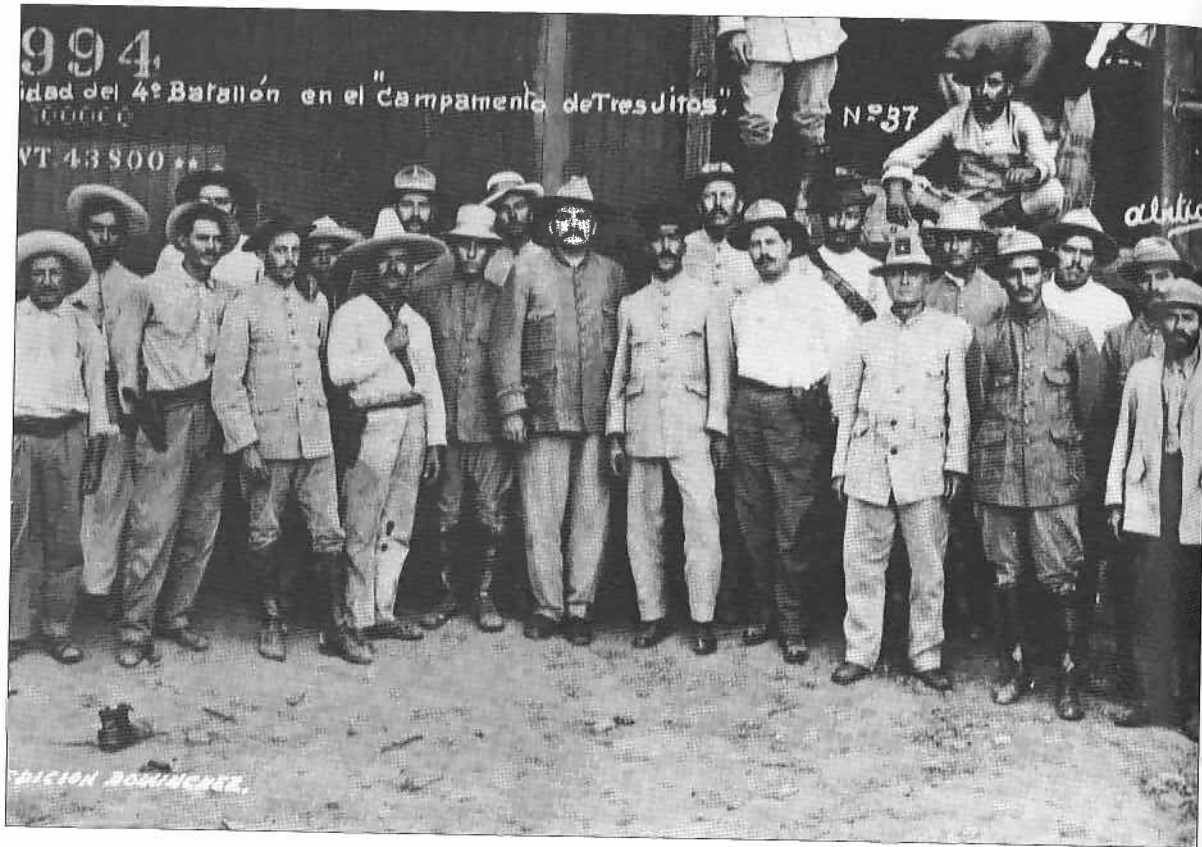
This officer wears entirely US surplus uniform at the time of the battle of Celaya in 1915. His cork sun helmet is the US Army M1890, to which he has attached the brass crossed sabers badge of the Mexican cavalry. The tunic and breeches are from the US M1898 uniform, without shoulder straps but with rank indicated by three silver cuff stripes. His leather gaiters and boots are also from US Army stocks; his binoculars are bought privately from the same original source.



This bugler of the 28th Rural Bn of the Constitutionalist Army is wearing typical cast-off ex-US Army uniform. His campaign hat displays his unit numerals on a cloth patch fastened below the screw hole where the US Army brass branch badge was formerly attached. (ADEQ HA)

H2: Infantry corporal, 1915

Photographed among the military forces attending the funeral of Gen Jesús Carranza, the president's brother, this NCO has a black mourning ribbon on the sleeve of his ex-US Army tunic, again without shoulder straps. His rank is shown by the single chevron of red ribbon sewn loosely around his left sleeve only; photographic evidence suggests that there was a marked lack of insignia worn by the Constitutionalist



Army. The crown of this US Army campaign hat has been pushed in, but they were also worn domed; note the pierced star badge. He is armed with a Mexican M1910 Mauser rifle and a Colt SAA revolver. His cartridges are carried in the Mexican Army ammunition pouch (see Plate C3), which has been folded out to form an improvised bandoleer.

H3: Private, 3rd "Red" Battalion, Obregón's Army of Operations; Celaya, 1915

The so-called "Red" battalions, raised from trade unionist supporters of the Constitutionalists, had a good combat record. The Constitutionalist troops were largely supplied with US Army surplus uniforms, and this private wears essentially the same as Plate H2. His equipment is also ex-US Army, of the 1885 pattern: a blue Mills looped web cartridge belt, a large haversack and a water bottle (its

Officers of the Constitutionalist 4th Bn of Sonora are pictured wearing a typically wide range of uniforms and civilian clothing in 1913. Headgear includes US campaign hats, sombreros, fedoras, and a dark visored cap; there is a great diversity in the different shades of tunics and trousers. (ADEQ HA)

canvas cover minus the US Army stencil). The carbine version of the M1898 Krag-Jorgensen rifle, whose magazine had to be loaded with single cartridges, was old-fashioned compared to the Mauser with its five-round stripper clips, but was still gratefully received by Carranza's army. Not all of Gen Obregón's troops were as well dressed as this: Joaquin Amaro's cavalry brigade at this battle were known as *Los Rayados de Celaya* ("the striped ones"); they were clothed in striped prison uniforms from the fortress of San Juan in Veracruz, which were all that were available.



Two Constitutionalist officers (left - and see Plate H1) pictured at a railroad station. They wear US M1890 pith helmets along with their US-style tunics and trousers, and one has US russet

leggings. Their rank rings are fastened loosely to their cuffs by loops of thread. The soldier at far right gives another view of a typical Constitutionalist uniform. (ADEQ HA)

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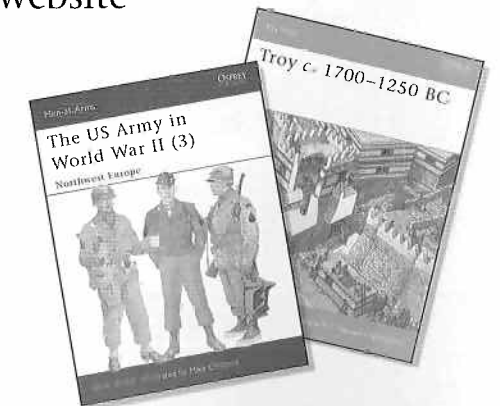
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