

Guide to a Microfilm Edition of

*The Mexican Mission Papers
Of John Lind*

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Minnesota Historical Society · St. Paul · 1971

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Standard Book Number: 87351-066-6

Introduction

It was in 1913 -- the "hours of Mexico's agony" -- that President Woodrow Wilson selected as his personal representative in that troubled land John Lind, a midwestern progressive and former Minnesota governor and representative in Congress.¹ Three years of turmoil and civil warfare had seen the end of the thirty-five-year dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz and the deposing of his more democratic successor, Francisco I. Madero. Mexico's government in 1913 was in the hands of the most recently successful revolutionary, General Victoriano Huerta, whose position as provisional president was even then being challenged by rebellious forces led by Venustiano Carranza.

Wilson refused to recognize the government of Huerta, a man who antithesized the president's democratic ideals and moralistic concept of the United States' interests in Mexico. Instead he formulated a mediation plan with the immediate objective of removing Huerta from power.

To implement his Mexican policy, Wilson chose Lind, a fair-haired, blue-eyed Scandinavian whose ideals were completely compatible with his own. Lind's Mexican sojourn began in August, 1913, and ended eight months later in April, 1914. Functioning in an alien culture and innocent of diplomatic experience, the Minnesotan was not able to achieve the goals set forth in the mediation plan. After Huerta rejected Wilson's scheme, Lind's role changed to that of an adviser and observer reporting to the United States State Department.

It has been held that Lind's Mexican mission failed because Wilson's approach to the elimination of Huerta -- that is, the

¹The quote is from George M. Stephenson, John Lind of Minnesota, 261 (Minneapolis, 1935).

policy framework within which Lind operated -- was impractical. It has also been proposed, inversely, that a contributory cause of failure was the president's selection of an inexperienced representative. Despite Lind's lack of success in negotiating the mediation plan, he was without doubt influential in shaping later policy and events. "The most significant aspect of the Lind mission," states Kenneth J. Grieb, "was not its abortive attempt to get Huerta to resign, but that Lind's reports brought the Washington government to a more realistic view of the steps needed to implement its policy."²

The microfilm edition of the Mexican Mission Papers of John Lind described in this pamphlet is the society's first publication issued independent of monetary support from the National Historical Publications Commission. The decision to launch the new series with the Lind title was based on the papers' demonstrated utility to scholars studying relations between Mexico and the United States as well as on an internal need for a better reference guide to the materials. The publication utilizes guidelines distilled from experience gained in participating in NHPC projects that produced six titles and gave a new form to an old medium.

We acknowledge our indebtedness for the principles, practices, and format that constitute those guidelines to Helen M. White, director of the society's commission-supported project and former associate curator of manuscripts; Thomas F. Deahl, former curator of newspapers; and June D. Holmquist, managing editor. We also express our appreciation for the direct contributions to the Lind edition made by Russell W. Fridley, director; John J. Wood, assistant director; Jean A. Brookins, assistant managing editor; the library staff; and last but far from least, Lawrence E. Bloom, the society's skillful microphotographer.

In addition to writing the Lind pamphlet, Deborah K. Neubeck prepared the manuscripts for filming and edited the microfilm. A participant in the commission-sponsored series, she has now earned the society's additional thanks for the quality of this new contribution.

Lucile M. Kane
Curator of Manuscripts
Minnesota Historical Society

August 27, 1971

²Grieb, "The Lind Mission to Mexico," in Caribbean Studies, 7:43 (January, 1968).

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John Lind



Mexico

The Mexican Mission Papers Of John Lind

The Mexican Mission Papers of John Lind (1913-31) in the manuscripts department of the Minnesota Historical Society recount Lind's diplomatic mission to Mexico in 1913-14 as the personal representative of President Woodrow Wilson and his continued involvement and interest in Mexican affairs after his return to the United States. These papers, which measure three and three-fourths linear feet, were extracted from the society's larger collection of John Lind Papers. The remaining portion of the Lind collection (1870-1912, 1917-33), which was not microfilmed, measures five linear feet.

This microfilm edition includes all items formerly in the Lind Papers for the years 1913-16, most but not all of which deal with Mexican affairs, plus those items for the period 1917-31 which relate to Mexico. The bulk of the papers filmed are for the years 1913-14.

While most of the materials in the collection are legible and in good physical condition, there are exceptions. The ink on some copies of coded telegraphic messages and letters typed on sulphite paper has faded or blurred so that legibility is impaired. Also, cellophane tape used to repair letters and newspapers has damaged paper and ink, occasionally making items difficult to read.

The Mexican Mission Papers are filmed in a single, integrated sequence of correspondence and miscellaneous papers on seven rolls of microfilm. Following the correspondence and miscellaneous papers on Roll 7 are copies of catalog cards listing the society's manuscript and library holdings that relate to Lind and to pertinent facets of Mexican foreign relations, history, politics, and government.

The papers are arranged and microfilmed in chronological

order. Undated items appear on the film before dated ones. Enclosures, no matter what their date, have been filed whenever possible after the items in which they were enclosed. When there are both Spanish and English versions of the same item, the original version is immediately followed by its translation. In the case of coded diplomatic dispatches and telegrams all versions of the same message usually are filmed consecutively in the following order: the coded message; its transcription; the original manuscript draft (of those sent by Lind); and any other existing versions.

The 2-B film format has been used in microfilming the manuscripts. A running title beneath each film frame gives the names of the collection and the institution holding the original documents as well as the roll and frame numbers. Special targets indicate enclosures, incomplete or defective manuscripts, and the reduction ratio of the image when other than the standard 12 to 1 was used. Sometimes a manuscript was filmed more than once with different amounts of illumination when it was not possible to achieve legibility with a single exposure. In this case, an intentional duplicate exposure target was filmed with the duplicate frame. When an item was incorrectly filmed out of sequence within a few frames, it was not refilmed. Other items found out of place and inserted into a film sequence are identified with letters following the frame number (as 163A).

Several aids to the reader appear at the beginning of each microfilm roll. A brief discussion of the Mexican Mission Papers is followed by two chronologies: selected lists of events in the life of Lind and in the history of the Mexican Revolution, 1910-20. The chronologies are followed by sample citations to items in the collection and a list of the contents of each microfilm roll.

BIOGRAPHICAL BACKGROUND

When Lind was named by President Wilson as his personal representative to Mexico in August, 1913, he was virtually unknown in national political circles. In his home state of Minnesota, however, he was a prominent lawyer and politician who, as congressman and governor, had established a widespread reputation as a man far more committed to progressive principles and issues than to party loyalty, a man who had once described himself as a "political orphan."

Lind's appointment, evidently made on the recommendation of Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan, was as much a surprise to him as it was to the American public. For Wilson had chosen to send to Mexico on a mission of extreme delicacy a man with no diplomatic experience, no knowledge of either Mexican affairs or the Spanish language, and a strong anti-Catholic bias. His qual-

ifications, aside from his personal and political loyalty to both Wilson and Bryan, were a reputedly circumspect attitude toward public statements and a strong independent spirit, which supposedly would enable him to resist partisan pressures in the execution of his mission.

This estimate of Lind's character proved to be only partially accurate. On the one hand, during his stay in Mexico (August 9, 1913-April 6, 1914) and for several years thereafter, the newspapers made him well known to the people of the United States as "silent John Lind," the tall, gaunt Swede who would not comment on Mexican affairs. On the other hand, on those rare occasions when Lind issued statements for publication, he somehow managed to stir up a great deal of controversy. More importantly, he became a strong supporter of the Constitutionalist cause shortly after his arrival in Mexico, and the conduct of his mission had neither the neutrality nor the objectivity that Wilson and Bryan had ostensibly desired.

Lind's preference for directness in speech and his impatience to achieve tangible results made him temperamentally unsuited for the role of diplomat. These qualities, together with the peculiar nature of his position, the manner in which the Wilson administration dealt with him and handled American-Mexican relations, and his lack of familiarity with his surroundings, often caused Lind to feel frustrated and isolated in Mexico. But while he was eager to return to Minnesota in June, 1914, and to resume the more comfortable roles of lawyer and political maverick, he maintained an avid interest in Mexico and in retrospect viewed his sojourn there as the most "intensely interesting" period of his life.

A SELECTED LIST OF EVENTS IN THE LIFE OF JOHN LIND

- 1854 March 25. Born in Kånna parish, Småland province, Sweden, eldest of five children born to Peter Gustaf Jonasson and Katrina Jonasdotter.
- 1868 Emigrated with family to United States; settled on a farm near Cannon Falls, Goodhue County, Minnesota. Father adopted name of Lind from name of family farm in Sweden, "Lindbacken."
Left hand amputated as a result of hunting accident.
- 1869-70 Attended public school in Red Wing, Goodhue County, Minnesota. Certified to teach 3rd grade.
- 1871 Taught school in Goodhue County.
- 1872 Moved with family to farm near Winthrop, Sibley County, Minnesota.

- 1873 Taught school in Sibley County.
- 1874-75 Employed in law office of Jonas Newhart in New Ulm, Brown County, Minnesota. Studied law and taught school.
- 1875-76 Attended University of Minnesota. Taught night school.
- 1876 Returned to New Ulm to assist Newhart in law practice.
- 1877 Admitted to Minnesota bar. Opened own law office in New Ulm.
Elected superintendent of schools for Brown County; served until 1879.
- 1879 Married Alice A. Shepard, daughter of Richard and Rowena Charity Stratton Shepard.
- 1880 First son, Norman, born.
- 1881 Appointed receiver of United States land office at Tracy, Lyon County, Minnesota, by President James A. Garfield; served until 1885.
Formed partnership with Frank L. Randall in order to retain law practice in New Ulm.
- 1884 Legal firm of Lind and Randall dissolved; succeeded by firm of Lind and Carl A. Hagberg.
First daughter, Jenny, born.
- 1886 First Swedish-born American to be elected to United States House of Representatives, from 2nd congressional district, Republican ticket; served 1887-93 in 50th, 51st, and 52nd Congresses. During third term formed lasting friendship with Bryan, then representative from Nebraska. Primarily interested in the tariff, public lands, enforcement of Interstate Commerce Act, Indian affairs, bimetallism, railroads, shipping, postal telegraph, organized labor, and immigration restriction.
- 1890 Second daughter, Winifred, born.
- 1892 Declined to seek re-election to House of Representatives, in part because he did not feel in "full accord" with Republican party on such "vital questions" as free coinage of silver.
- 1893 Resumed law practice in New Ulm.
Appointed a regent of University of Minnesota by Governor Knute Nelson; resigned in 1894.
- 1896 Left Republican party over Free Silver issue. Supported

- presidential candidacy of Bryan, Democratic-People's ticket.
Defeated in bid for governorship of Minnesota, Democratic-People's ticket, Free Silver platform.
- 1898 Enlisted for service in Spanish-American War; served with rank of lieutenant as regimental quartermaster of the 12th Minnesota Volunteers in Cuba; however, opposed United States policy of imperialism and retention of Philippine Islands.
Elected 14th governor of Minnesota, Democratic-Populist ticket; served 1899-1901. Primarily concerned with trust and railroad regulation, taxation, legal reform, public education, treatment of the insane, and organized labor.
- 1900 Defeated for re-election as governor of Minnesota, Democratic-People's ticket. Campaign stressed trust regulation, imperialism, and militarism as primary national issues and taxation as paramount state issue.
Second son, John Shepard, born.
- 1901 Transferred residence from New Ulm to Minneapolis, Minnesota.
Formed law partnership with Andreas Ueland that was maintained until 1914.
- 1902 Elected to United States House of Representatives from 5th congressional district, Democratic ticket; served 1903-05 in 58th Congress. Interested in interstate commerce, public lands, Indian affairs, and the tariff.
- 1904 Declined to seek re-election to House.
- 1908 Campaigned for presidential candidate Bryan, Democratic ticket.
Appointed to board of regents of University of Minnesota by Governor John A. Johnson; served as president until 1914.
Made Waldron M. Jerome a partner in law firm.
- 1910 Declined Minnesota gubernatorial nomination, Democratic ticket.
- 1912 Worked for nomination of Wilson as Democratic candidate for president.
Traveled with family to Europe.
- 1913 Declined to serve as assistant secretary of the interior and as United States minister to Sweden.
Appointed by Wilson as his personal representative to Mexico; served until 1914.

- 1914 Resumed law practice in Minneapolis.
Supported Wilson's policy of neutrality with respect to World War I.
- 1915 Appointed chairman of Minnesota chapter of League to Enforce Peace by its president, former President William Howard Taft.
Accepted invitation to Mexico to meet President Venustiano Carranza.
- 1916 Campaigned for re-election of Wilson.
- 1917 Supported United States' entry into World War I.
Appointed to Minnesota Commission of Public Safety by Governor Joseph A. A. Burnquist; resigned in 1918.
- 1918 Appointed chairman of Advisory Council to the Secretary of Labor and an umpire on National War Labor Board by Secretary of Labor William B. Wilson.
Supported National Nonpartisan League's candidate for governor of Minnesota, Charles A. Lindbergh, Sr., in Republican primary election.
- 1919 Supported Wilson's campaign for United States' entry into League of Nations.
- 1922 Daughter Jenny died.
- 1923 Established Lind Fund for the Aid of Deserving Crippled Children at University of Minnesota.
Supported Minnesota Farmer-Labor party's candidate for United States senator, Magnus Johnson.
- 1924 Endorsed Progressive party's presidential and vice-presidential candidates, Robert M. La Follette and Burton K. Wheeler.
Supported Farmer-Labor party's candidates for Minnesota state and national offices. Also supported them in 1926 and 1928.
- 1928 Opposed presidential candidacy of Alfred E. Smith, Democratic ticket. Supported Republican party's candidate, Herbert C. Hoover.
- 1929 Appointed member of board of trustees of American Institute of Swedish Art, Literature, and Science.
- 1930 September 18. Died in Minneapolis.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

When Wilson assumed the office of president of the United States in 1913, Mexico was in the throes of revolution. For the Mexican nation it was a period of guerrilla warfare, coups d'état, and political assassinations. As rival factions struggled for military and political control, anarchy and economic collapse constantly threatened. The situation was complicated by the fact that powerful governments (most notably that of the United States), motivated by idealistic and economic interests, felt compelled to interfere in Mexican affairs. Between 1913 and 1915, President Wilson made the United States' relations with Mexico the chief international issue of his administration. He and Secretary of State Bryan, neither of whom had previous experience in the complex art of international diplomacy, embarked on a Mexican policy that sprang primarily from moralistic and idealistic impulses: the re-establishment of social, economic, and political order through the elimination of military dictator Victoriano Huerta and the creation of a democratically elected constitutional government. The policy was doomed to fail from the beginning, because it was based on unrealistic assumptions about and inaccurate appraisals of the Mexican situation.

Wilson and Bryan tried various methods of achieving their goals. First, they rejected the historic American practice of recognizing de facto governments and withheld recognition from the Huerta regime. When this action brought no results, they devised a mediation scheme designed to force Huerta's resignation and the holding of free elections. Lind was sent to Mexico to present the mediation offer and to exert diplomatic pressure for its acceptance. Because sending an ambassador would have been inconsistent with Wilson's policy of nonrecognition, Lind was given the ambiguous title of "personal representative"; clearly, however, he was to act in an ambassadorial capacity. When Huerta refused the terms of the plan (see page 9), Lind was instructed to remain in Mexico in the crucial role of observer and reporter, while Wilson and Bryan next embarked on a policy of "watchful waiting." Following another unsuccessful attempt to force Huerta's resignation, "watchful waiting" was abandoned in favor of encouraging the Constitutionalist forces opposed to Huerta and using direct military coercion in the occupation of Veracruz (both strongly advocated by Lind). Eventually, in 1914, the Constitutionalist military forces drove Huerta from power, and their "First Chief," Carranza, assumed control of the government without holding elections. Although Huerta had been eliminated, Mexico seemed no closer to stability through democracy than it had been before.

The Constitutionalist ranks soon split. Carranza was challenged both militarily and politically by such former allies as Francisco (Pancho) Villa and Emiliano Zapata, who were referred to as Conventionists after the Convention of Aguascalientes. Wilson and Bryan, having discovered that Carranza was as stubbornly unwilling to allow the United States to interfere in Mexico's internal affairs as Huerta had been, switched their allegiance for a time from the "First Chief" to the Constitutionalist forces opposing him. In 1915, however, as the Constitutionlists managed to continue in power, and as Wilson found his attention drawn more and more from Mexico to the crisis in Europe, he granted recognition to the Carranza government. Except for the Punitive Expedition sent into Mexico against Villa in 1916, the United States, with its ultimate policy objectives still not achieved, withdrew from its intense involvement in Mexican affairs and left one of the most important revolutions of the twentieth century to run its own course.

A SELECTED LIST OF EVENTS
IN THE HISTORY OF THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION, 1910-20.

- 1910 Henry Lane Wilson appointed United States ambassador to Mexico by President Taft.
Porfirio Díaz, dictator of Mexico since 1876, re-elected president.
Anti-Díaz revolution launched by Francisco I. Madero with Plan of San Luis Potosí; supported by Carranza, Villa, and Zapata. Madero proclaimed himself provisional president.
- 1911 Madero revolution succeeded. Díaz resigned as president. Madero elected president; faced with revolts that continued through 1912.
Taft recognized Madero government.
- 1913 February
Madero overthrown by Huerta in coup d'état; Huerta proclaimed himself provisional president until October, 1913, elections. Madero executed.
Outgoing President Taft withheld United States' recognition of Huerta government.
- March
President Wilson refused to grant United States' recognition to Huerta government because of unlawful method of seizing power. Although he broke with traditional United States policy of recognizing de facto governments, decided to maintain informal relations with Mexican government.
Carranza elected "First Chief" by Constitutionalist

forces (which included Villa and Zapata) organizing against Huerta. Proclaimed revolt with announcement of Plan of Guadalupe.

July

Wilson and Bryan formulated Mexican policy committed to removal of Huerta from power and establishment of democratically elected constitutional government.

Henry Lane Wilson recalled to United States.

August

Lind appointed Wilson's personal representative to Mexico to mediate situation, i.e., to negotiate Huerta's elimination. Mission a failure; Huerta rejected Wilson's terms: (1) immediate cessation of fighting and an armistice; (2) early and free elections participated in by all; (3) pledge by Huerta not to be a presidential candidate in elections; (4) agreement by all parties to accept results of elections.

Wilson announced official United States Mexican policy as that of "watchful waiting"; imposed embargo on arms shipments from United States to Mexico. Lind instructed to remain in Veracruz to observe and report on situation.

October

Villa forces captured Huerta stronghold of Torreón.

Huerta dissolved Mexican Congress, arrested deputies, and assumed dictatorial powers until elections.

Elections held; subsequently declared null and void by Congress, which appointed Huerta provisional president until July, 1914, elections.

Wilson and Bryan abandoned United States policy of "watchful waiting" and decided to reopen active campaign to eliminate Huerta.

November

United States, through Lind, renewed efforts to force Huerta to resign; he refused.

At Wilson's request, William Bayard Hale negotiated with Carranza conditions for United States' support: lifting of arms embargo in exchange for acceptance of United States' mediation plan and guarantee of protection for American lives and property. Mission a failure; Carranza rejected United States' presumed right to intervene in internal affairs of Mexico.

Villa forces captured Ciudad Juárez from government troops.

Wilson announced return to policy of "watchful waiting."

December

Huerta forces recaptured Torreón.

1914

January

Lind and Wilson conferred about Mexican situation at Pass Christian, Mississippi.

Carranza sent personal agent, Luis Cabrera, to Washington, D.C., to confer with Wilson.

Wilson announced new policy of support for Constitution-
alists.

February

Wilson revoked arms embargo.

April

Villa forces recaptured Torreón.

Lind returned to United States.

Tampico incident: commander of United States naval squadron at Tampico demanded that American flag be raised and given twenty-one-gun salute by Mexican commander as reparation for arrest of several American sailors, since released. Huerta refused to grant authority for salute.

United States mail courier arrested at Veracruz by Mexican soldier.

Official State Department dispatch delayed by Mexican censor at Mexico City.

On pretext of halting arms shipments to Huerta, Wilson ordered United States military forces to occupy Veracruz in retaliation for above three events. Huerta severed diplomatic relations with United States.

Wilson reimposed arms embargo in retaliation for Carranza's hostile attitude toward occupation of Veracruz.

Argentine, Brazilian, and Chilean envoys in Washington offered to mediate conflict between United States and Mexico; offer accepted.

May-June

A.B.C. Mediation Conference held in Niagara Falls, Canada; settled little.

July

Huerta resigned and fled to Europe, yielding presidency to Francisco S. Carbajal.

Villa, plotting overthrow of Carranza as "First Chief," sought United States' support.

August

Wilson and Bryan unofficially encouraged Villa's efforts. Official United States policy remained one of noninvolvement in Mexico's internal affairs.

Constitutionalist forces led by Carranza's general, Alvaro Obregón, occupied Mexico City; Carbajal surrendered government to Carranza.

October

Convention of anti-Carranza forces (including Villa and Zapata) met at Aguascalientes.

November

Convention of Aguascalientes elected General Eulalio Gutiérrez provisional president. Carranza refused to resign and was declared a rebel by members of convention. Villa called country to arms, precipitating new stage in civil war.

Carranza moved government from Mexico City to Veracruz upon withdrawal of United States forces. Conventionist government established in Mexico City.

December

United States government ignored Carranza government, in effect breaking off de facto relations; established de facto relations with Conventionist government.

- 1915 Military battles throughout year between forces of Villa and Obregón. Villa ultimately defeated.
Carranza refused to recognize subsequent presidents elected by Convention of Aguascalientes (Roque González Garza and Francisco Lago Cházaro). Re-established Constitutionalist government in Mexico City upon withdrawal of Conventionist forces.
Huerta, plotting rebellion against Carranza, entered United States from Europe; arrested by government officials in Texas.
United States resumed de facto relations with Carranza; maintained official policy of nonintervention in Mexican affairs, but in reality vacillated between involvement and noninvolvement, support of Villa and support of Carranza.
Pan-American Conference met in Washington; granted de facto recognition to Carranza government. United States government subsequently granted de facto recognition.
Huerta died in Texas of natural causes.
- 1916 Villa raided town of Columbus, New Mexico, in retaliation for United States' recognition of Carranza. Wilson sent Punitive Expedition against him under command of General John J. Pershing; expedition remained in Mexico almost a year but failed to capture Villa. Carranza called constitutional convention.
- 1917 Constitution adopted. Carranza elected president. Wilson extended de jure recognition to Carranza government.
- 1919 Zapata killed by government troops.
Carranza refused to support presidential candidacy of his ally, Obregón; insistently advocated election of Ignacio Bonillas. Situation precipitated break between Obregón and Carranza.
- 1920 Successful rebellion against Carranza led by Obregón. Carranza killed while fleeing from rebel forces. Mexican Congress elected Adolfo de la Huerta provisional president. Obregón elected president in general elections.

Postscript

1923 Villa assassinated by hired gunmen in town of Parral.

ORIGIN OF THE COLLECTION

Most of the manuscripts that now constitute the Mexican Mission Papers of John Lind were included in the John Lind Papers given to the society by Mrs. John Lind in January, 1936. Additional Mexican items were contributed to the collection in September, 1958, by Mrs. Edwin R. Bjorkman, a granddaughter of Lind. In January, 1962, Alvin R. Witt presented to the society a copy of a letter in his possession from Wilson to Lind, dated June 17, 1913. In March of the same year, Witt donated a copy of a letter from Bryan to Lind, dated December 12, [1914?], which had been given to him by John Lind, Jr. Twenty-eight issues of the Mexican Herald, dated April 25-May 22, 1914, were discovered in the newspaper division of the society's library and added to the collection during the preparation of this microfilm edition. Their origin is unknown.

DESCRIPTION OF THE PAPERS

1913-1914

Following two undated items, the Mexican Mission Papers of John Lind begin in January, 1913, with a few manuscripts which predate Lind's diplomatic assignment and which deal with other facets of his career: correspondence regarding his law practice, his work as president of the board of regents of the University of Minnesota, political patronage, President Wilson's offer of the post of United States minister to Sweden, and Lind's decision to decline the position.

Manuscripts pertaining to the Mexican mission begin in late July, 1913, with telegrams from Secretary of State Bryan summoning Lind to Washington for consultation on an "important" and "confidential" matter. Materials from early August, 1913, include Lind's official letter of introduction; a copy of Wilson's instructions listing the terms of the United States' mediation proposal; newspaper clippings reporting Lind's appointment and arrival in Mexico; and letters of congratulation and introduction, many of them from Americans residing in Mexico. Also filed in August, 1913, are several groups of documents undoubtedly generated sometime during Lind's stay in Mexico: numerous alphabetically arranged calling cards; picture postcards portraying Lind on board the U.S.S. "Michigan," Mexican architecture, and Mexican revolutionary leaders and activities; and Zapata's revolutionary manifesto, Plan de Ayala.

The records which date from Lind's arrival in Mexico in August, 1913, to his departure in April, 1914, consist primarily of diplomatic dispatches, letters from informants, printed materials, and copies of official documents. The heart of the Mexican Mission Papers are the diplomatic dispatches, in which government officials in Washington and diplomats in Veracruz and Mexico City kept one another informed of local developments. The bulk of the dispatches are from Lind to Bryan, usually in both coded and transcribed forms, sometimes with Lind's original draft attached. A lesser number from Bryan to Lind are present, as well as some which were exchanged between Lind and Nelson O'Shaughnessy, chargé d'affaires at the American embassy in Mexico City.

In his efforts to give the Wilson administration as complete a picture as possible of the social, economic, political, military, and religious conditions in Mexico, Lind packed his dispatches with diverse types of information. First, he reported what he considered and what appear to be actual, confirmed events, such as those he had witnessed or which had been reported in the press, verified by corroborating documents, or established as fact in some other way. Among such events are those relating to his negotiations with the Huerta government; incidents surrounding the October, 1913, elections; the request of presidential candidate Félix Díaz for asylum in the United States consulate in Veracruz; the arrival of arms and fuel shipments for Huerta from Europe; the conduct of Mexican governmental affairs, such as the convening of Congress and changes in Huerta's cabinet; the progress of important military campaigns and battles; and the financial crises continually plaguing the government.

Second, Lind relayed reports of unverified events (often transmitted to him by informants) which seemingly had the status of rumors, such as supposed arrests and executions carried out by the Mexican government; secret alliances and agreements entered into by Huerta with the business community and the Catholic church; and uprisings being planned by anti-Huerta partisans. Lind did not always clearly indicate, however, whether the information contained in his messages more closely resembled rumor or fact, and he sometimes tended to confuse the two and to exaggerate situations. For example, he repeatedly warned that the principal British oil investor in Mexico, Lord Cowdray (Weetman D. Pearson) of the firm of S. Pearson and Son, Ltd., had resolved to control and monopolize the Mexican oil industry; that in pursuit of this goal the Englishman had already consolidated his position to the extent that he dictated the Mexican policy of Great Britain and controlled the Huerta government; and that he was determined to embarrass the United States and thwart its policies. Lind further contended that the British minister to Mexico, Sir Lionel E. Carden, was acting as Cowdray's agent and was, therefore, party to these Machiavellian intrigues. Lind's belief in the existence of this conspiracy became an obsession; his accusations concerning

it, his determination to expose it, and his insistence that Carden be replaced are major themes in his dispatches.

Third, Lind reported what are clearly his personal opinions, impressions, and interpretations and recommended strategies and tactics he believed ought to be employed by the Wilson administration. He conveyed his negative views of the Irish, the Jews, the Catholic church, and the Mexicans, especially those in southern Mexico; his convictions that the fundamental causes of unrest in Mexico were not political but social and economic and that the establishment of political stability was ultimately dependent on reforms in the feudal agrarian system; his estimate of what course the principal revolutionary leaders would follow; his firm belief that, because the Mexicans understood only power and force, Wilson and Bryan had to develop a well-thought-out policy and plan of action, adhere to them without vacillation, and apply and maintain pressure at every point if they were to achieve their goals; and his deepening sense of frustration as he began to realize that such a policy and plan did not exist and that Huerta could repeatedly call the administration's bluff.

As his feelings of frustration and lack of accomplishment mounted, Lind began to fill his dispatches with recommendations designed to precipitate decisive action. Initially he argued that since the Constitutionals would ultimately defeat Huerta, it would be wise for Wilson to recognize them, for, in the likely event that United States military intervention became necessary to pacify the country, the Americans would then have the good will of the faction in power. He subsequently decided, however, that it would be more expedient and far wiser for the United States to achieve its objectives indirectly. If the façade of neutrality were abandoned, public support granted to the Constitutionals, and the arms embargo lifted, the Constitutionals would have the means to achieve what seemingly could not be effected through direct diplomatic pressure -- the ousting of Huerta and the establishment of democracy and stability. This proposal, Lind argued, was the only alternative to military intervention, which would arouse intense hostility among the Mexicans toward the United States.

Shortly before his departure, Lind was recommending that the United States aid the rebels in seizing the gulf ports of Tampico and Veracruz in order to halt the flow of arms and fuel to the Huerta government and to establish a base of operations from which a semblance of law and order could radiate. But since Lind was no longer in Mexico during the Tampico incident and the United States' occupation of Veracruz, there is very little in the papers relating to these important events.

In his replies, Bryan generally acknowledged Lind's messages, reported that the information and recommendations they contained

were receiving careful consideration, informed him of the administration's decisions and actions, assured him of the importance of his contributions, or occasionally requested documentation for his statements. Lind was irritated by the lack of specific information he received; he felt that Wilson and Bryan did not always keep him fully advised of the administration's policy and of its reaction to his dispatches. For the most part, Bryan's messages indicate neither the manner in which the decision-making process in Washington operated nor the nature or extent of Lind's influence on it.

The dispatches exchanged between Lind and O'Shaughnessy were primarily intended to inform one another of their plans, of developments in their respective cities, and of significant intelligence forwarded to or received from Washington.

Next to the dispatches, the richest manuscripts in the collection are the letters, memoranda, and reports sent to Lind by people in Mexico whose positions enabled them to inform and advise him about various aspects of the Mexican situation: Federico Adams represented Lord Cowdray's oil interests in Mexico; James N. Galbraith was connected with the Waters Pierce Oil Company of Tampico; George R. Hackley was an executive of the Southern Pacific Railroad of Mexico; Sloan W. Emery managed an experimental hacienda owned by the University of Minnesota; J. J. Slade, Jr., was a businessman; Loring Olmstead managed the British Club in Mexico City; Louis d'Antin was first clerk and legal counsel in the United States embassy in Mexico City; Robert H. Murray was the Mexican correspondent for the New York World; William A. Burnside was United States military attaché in Mexico City; Frank F. Fletcher and William A. Moffett were officers in the United States Navy. A comparison of the content of these manuscripts with that of the dispatches suggests that while Lind did receive communiques from and hold meetings with native-born Mexicans and other individuals, he usually relied more heavily on the diverse data received from foreign-born, English-speaking confidants in formulating both his reports to Washington and his own opinions. This circumstance necessarily put severe limitations on the perspective from which he and officials in Washington viewed Mexican affairs.

Printed materials in the papers include newspapers, magazines, and clippings as well as pamphlets, leaflets, flyers, and broadsides in both English and Spanish which Lind either collected himself or received from others during his Mexican sojourn. With copies of official government documents, they supplement the information in the dispatches and other correspondence and give an added dimension to the topics discussed.

Non-Mexican items of interest for this period include correspondence and newspaper clippings pertaining to the political implications of Lind's resignation from the board of regents of the University of Minnesota.

1914-1916

Lind returned to the United States in mid-April, 1914. He had hoped to proceed home to Minnesota but was detained in Washington until early June, 1914, by the A.B.C. Mediation Conference called during the crisis in American-Mexican relations following the occupation of Veracruz. That Lind played a pivotal role in the conference negotiations by serving as an adviser not only to the State Department but also to the Constitutionalists is amply revealed in the papers. Copies of letters, memoranda, and reports submitted by Lind to Wilson and Bryan give his assessment of the conference and outline his policy recommendations, which strongly favored the Constitutionalists. Comparison of his handwritten drafts and notations with copies of official Constitutionalist communications indicates that statements he composed were often released by the Carranzistas essentially as he wrote them.

The papers also disclose that Lind's delicate position was further complicated by his serving as a liaison between Zapata and the State Department. This involvement proceeded from a commitment made shortly before leaving Mexico to Zapata sympathizers Herbert L. Hall, an American who had resided in Mexico for over twenty years, and Arnold Shanklin, the United States consul general at Mexico City. Zapata was attempting to blackmail the United States government into sending him money, arms, and relief supplies by threatening to attack Mexico City, thereby jeopardizing the mediation negotiations. Copies of telegrams indicate that Zapata's demands and Bryan's replies were transmitted in "underground messages" through intermediaries Shanklin in Mexico City and Lind in care of the State Department. The key figures in the situation were referred to in these messages by code names -- Lind was known as Juárez, Zapata as Dix, Shanklin as Paz, Hall as Clark, and a General Martinez as Brady.

It is obvious from the correspondence, newspaper and magazine articles, pamphlets, flyers, news releases, information sheets, copies of official documents, and other materials in the collection for this period that Lind's concern with Mexican affairs did not wane when he returned to Minnesota after severing his official connection with the State Department. Through letters and memoranda he continued to submit to Secretaries of State Bryan and Robert Lansing and Secretary of the Interior Franklin K. Lane his views of the Mexican situation. He passed on to them information received from informants and urgently pressed the necessity of recognizing the Carranza government as the only alternative to military intervention.

Lind kept abreast of and undoubtedly influenced developments in the vigorous campaign for recognition being waged by Carranza's representatives in the United States through contacts with such men as Charles A. Douglas, their chief counsel, and Eliseo

Arredondo, the "First Chief's" confidential agent and head of the Constitutionalist mission in Washington. In correspondence and during periodic trips to the East at critical times to give advice in person, Lind suggested actions to be taken and drafted statements for public release. Both before and after the United States granted de facto recognition, Lind persistently recommended that the Constitutionalist mount a publicity effort to counteract the anti-Carranza campaign of the American Catholic church.

Lind also kept up a lively correspondence with friends and informants who continued to supply him with data on conditions in Mexico and developments in Mexican-American relations. Some of the subjects discussed in these letters are the continuation of the alleged anti-American conspiracy of Carden and the English oil interests; the feud between Villa and Carranza and the anti-Carranza rebellion launched by Villa; and various public and private Mexican relief efforts.

Also in the papers are some letters and numerous newspaper clippings about the reported break between President Wilson and his adviser, Colonel Edward M. House; Lind's allegations that the former ambassador to Mexico, Henry Lane Wilson, had prior knowledge of Huerta's coup d'état and the plan to execute President Madero; Lind's trip to the Mexican town of Piedras Negras to meet the "First Chief" and the speculation that he would be named ambassador to Mexico; the anti-Constitutionalist attitude of the American Catholic church and press; the pressure for military intervention by the United States in Mexico; and the Punitive Expedition against Villa led by General Pershing. Lind's speech about Mexico to the Industrial Club of Chicago in November, 1914, prompted many comments by correspondents, particularly in reference to charges of plagiarism and anti-Catholicism that followed its publication in the Bellman and in pamphlet form under the title The Mexican People. There are also requests for copies of the pamphlet.

Non-Mexican topics of interest include World War I and Lind's hearty approval of Wilson's policy of neutrality; the election of 1916, in which Lind campaigned for Wilson's re-election; and the request by former President Taft that Lind serve as chairman of the Minnesota chapter of the League to Enforce Peace.

1917-1931

Materials photographed for the period 1917-31 consist only of those items from the Lind Papers that relate to Mexico. They fall into four major categories: (1) correspondence between Lind and persons he had met during the course of his Mexican endeavors whose occasional letters inform him about mutual friends, report on conditions in Mexico, or ask his assistance in securing jobs; (2) letters and newspaper clippings pertaining to Mexico's role in

World War I, including correspondence discussing Lind's scheme to recruit an independent Mexican brigade for service in France, an action that he believed would foster closer relations between the peoples of the United States and Mexico in the face of Carranza's continued insistence on Mexican neutrality; (3) correspondence relating to legal work Lind performed in 1917 on behalf of a client who owned a hacienda in the Mexican state of Oaxaca; (4) printed pamphlets on various social, economic, political, and religious aspects of the Mexican situation.

Other notable items are newspaper clippings regarding the activities of Villa and the withdrawal of the Punitive Expedition from Mexico; a copy of a speech made by Lind at a Loyalty Day rally sponsored by organized labor in September, 1917, in which he refers to Wilson's Mexican policy in the course of urging support for the president's revised war policy; materials regarding Lind's testimony before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, which in 1919-20 conducted an investigation of Mexican affairs; and letters exchanged between Lind and several magazine and newspaper editors seeking articles or interviews about Mexico, some of which contain interesting reminiscences.

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books listed above contain extensive bibliographies of primary and secondary sources in both English and Spanish.

The following government publications also are helpful: United States Department of State, Papers Relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1913-17, 5 volumes (Washington, 1920, 1922, 1924, 1925, 1926); and United States Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, Investigation of Mexican Affairs, 66 Congress, 2 session, 2 volumes (Washington, 1920).

The numerical files of the Department of State records in the National Archives which contain the greater part of the official papers pertaining to the United States' relations with Mexico for this period are in Record Group 59. The most important of these is the 812.00 file, "Records Relating to the Internal Affairs of Mexico, 1910-1929." The 711.12 file, entitled "Records Regarding Political Relations Between the United States and Mexico, 1910-1929," includes some additional materials. Microfilm copies of both files (accompanied by pamphlet inventories) may be purchased from the National Archives as Microcopies 274 and 314, respectively. Roll 1 of each of these microfilm publications is available at the Minnesota Historical Society. These rolls contain "Lists of Documents," i.e., brief abstracts of the items reproduced in the microcopies which also serve as finding aids. Roll 1 of Microcopy 274 covers only the period February, 1910-March, 1914, while Roll 1 of Microcopy 314 lists documents for the entire period.

Additional manuscript and printed sources on Lind and on pertinent facets of Mexico's foreign relations, history, politics, and government in the manuscripts department and library of the Minnesota Historical Society are indicated in the catalog cards filmed on Roll 7 of the microfilm.

THE MICROFILM

The Mexican Mission Papers of John Lind

Correspondence and Miscellaneous Papers

- Roll 1. Undated, January-October 15, 1913
- Roll 2. October 16-November, 1913
- Roll 3. December, 1913-February 10, 1914
- Roll 4. February 11-April 15, 1914
- Roll 5. April 16, 1914-February, 1915
- Roll 6. March-December, 1915
- Roll 7. 1916-31; Catalog Cards

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