

The Investigation of Antonio Ramos Pedrueza

Marginal note: ANTONIO RAMOS PEDRUEZA ATTORNEY AT LAW 5th of Tacuba 78

Mr. Secretary of Foreign Affairs

In compliance with the commission that the President of the Republic saw fit to confer upon me through the esteemed channel of that Secretariat, I traveled on August 10th to the City of Torreón to proceed with the investigations indispensable for the performance of my mission; the result of these is condensed in this report.

The city of Torreón in the state of Coahuila, rich in commerce and the center of a major agricultural region, was threatened by insurgent forces from the end of April. General Lojero militarily occupied the city and erected some temporary fortifications for its defense; however, as his forces were very small, numbering less than seven hundred men, the nearby cities of Lerdo and Gómez Palacio remained in the hands of the insurgents, who on May 12th launched a formal attack on Torreón.

This began to be observed in the early morning hours of the 13th at various points throughout the city. The [invading] columns advanced with great courage, leaving many Maderistas and some federal soldiers dead; the square remained within the perimeter defended and held by the latter.

On Monday the fourteenth, at three in the morning, General Lojero evacuated Torreón with all the soldiers under his command. Throughout the city, it is unanimously believed that the lack of ammunition was the cause of this decision; equally unanimous is the opinion that the evacuation was carried out so stealthily that all the inhabitants were astonished upon waking, having heard not a single shot.

The occupation of Torreón was not the result of a military operation; the soldiers began entering the city in disorganized groups, and the absence of the principal commanders is a verified fact. From their own mouths, I have heard the statement that they did not arrive in Torreón until around ten in the morning. It was surely some of the soldiers who began entering at six who went to notify them; but since some were as far away as Ciudad Lerdo, they delayed their arrival by two or three hours, and this, in the opinion of the undersigned, is one of the causes that contributed to the horrible disorders we now lament.

It is likely that if the principal and most respected commanders, such as Generals Don Emilio Madero and Colonels Castro, Pereyra, and Ugalde, had entered at the head of their forces, order would have been maintained—or at least the disorders would have been far less serious. But unfortunately, for more than three hours, the streets of Torreón were traversed

by groups of soldiers who, while containing largely healthy elements, also carried dangerous germs: none other than the criminals from the three prisons of Torreón, Gómez Palacio, and Ciudad Lerdo, with those from the first city being released at five in the morning, and those from the latter two having been free for the past fifteen days.

To this cause must be added drunkenness; after the groups of soldiers and populace noticed the absence of the city's defenders, they began to open the establishments selling alcoholic beverages, shops, taverns, etc., and looted the cellars of the Casino, which were well stocked with wines and liquors.

A third factor must be taken into account; this is the propaganda against the Chinese made a few weeks earlier by a Maderista leader named Jesús Flores, who, in a [speech](#) at the Cinco de Mayo celebration in Gómez Palacio, ten days before the Liberation Army took Torreón, had incited the people to eliminate the Chinese because of the pernicious influence they had on Mexican workers, especially women. I have spoken with many people who heard this speech and I include an [issue of the newspaper "Diógenes" that refers to this event](#). It should be noted that Jesús Flores was one of the most popular leaders among the Maderista soldiers, and this is confirmed by the fact that he was one of the first to attack the city on the 13th, leading one of the attack columns and dying in it.

A fourth cause must be added to the three above, and it is the following.

Since the towns of Torreón, Lerdo, and Gómez Palacio are located a few kilometers apart, the latter two from the first, and since the prisoners in the jails were released in the first days of May, the first thing that was done upon noticing the disappearance of the federal troops was to release the entire Torreón prison, so that in the early hours of the 15th, there were a good number of prisoners among the Maderista troops and the populace of the city, who must have considerably influenced the precipitation of events, among other motives, due to the desire for looting.

I must also point out, as a characteristic of the mood of the Maderista forces upon occupying Torreón, the distrust of being poisoned, which they frequently expressed in various places; I have gathered this account from different people who assured me they had witnessed displays of fear when it came to drinking water and some of the food that was offered to them.

In any case, and without attaching great importance to this last detail, the preceding ones do indeed have enough significance to be considered either predisposing or occasional causes, or even determining causes, of the fury with which the Chinese were pursued and killed in various parts of the city—from dawn until the early afternoon, and even into the later hours of the night of that tragic day, the fifteenth of May just past.

The mob is always dangerous; but when it enters armed and feels supported by a rabble thirsting for plunder, and when circumstances make it, for three or four hours, master of its

own actions—aware of its omnipotence and with no authorities whatsoever—becoming both judge and executioner, crime must inevitably follow. This is what happened during the occupation of Torreón: the lower classes, backed by the Maderista soldiers, felt omnipotent and gave themselves over to the slaughter of the Chinese and to looting, just as they might have indulged in other kinds of excesses.

In my opinion, the factors expressed explain the massacres; however horrible they may have been, causes that are not proven should not be admitted; on the contrary, the conditions in which Torreón was occupied and the quality of many of the conquering soldiers explain the events.

These events were horrible. From six in the morning, the search for the Chinese began, and everywhere they were found, they were mercilessly slaughtered. These scenes of carnage lasted until four or five in the afternoon, and some killings were even committed later that night. It is difficult to describe in detail the horror of such scenes.

Let us now examine the various hypotheses that have been put forward to explain the horrific events that are the subject of this report.

In the aftermath of the events, throughout the Republic there spread a rumor that General Lojero had persuaded the Chinese to cooperate with the federal forces in the defense of Torreón. To that end, since they had no weapons, he was said to have distributed to them arms and ammunition belonging to the federal army. The Chinese, faithfully fulfilling their commitment, had offered tenacious resistance, causing numerous casualties among the revolutionary army. This, in turn, aroused within the latter's ranks a formidable wave of indignation against the Chinese colony; and, upon entering Torreón, as a supposedly understandable act of reprisal, they began to kill the Chinese who occupied certain elevated positions from which they were defending themselves. Afterwards, the fury of the crowds spread to the Maderista soldiers, who went on to kill every Chinese person they encountered in any part of the city and under any circumstance.

My initial investigations were directed at establishing the elements of certainty for this hypothesis, and the result of my investigations was as follows.

The general opinion in Torreón, and even among the most distinguished Maderista army officers, was that General Lojero was brave and tenacious throughout the entire day of the 13th and during the early hours of the 14th. The casualties he suffered, both dead and wounded, did not amount to even ten percent of his total force. They had enough provisions to last for many days, and given the failure of the Maderista attack, it must logically be concluded that it was not the fear of a second assault that determined his conduct. His actions are perfectly explained by the hypothesis that he lacked sufficient ammunition for a prolonged siege. In Torreón, it was said that this commander discovered that some of the boxes of cartridges contained only blanks.

It is therefore implausible that under these conditions he would divert two or three hundred rifles and corresponding ammunition to deliver them to the Chinese; the amount of war munitions that seven hundred men, which the federal forces approximately numbered, including the excellent soldiers commonly called "yellows," Volunteers of Nuevo León, consume in several days of continuous fire, must be very considerable; it is not reasonable to presume that he would place such war munitions in the hands of unknown men of very dubious loyalty to the Government, with no military training, and who could not represent a significant contingent, but rather a new danger.

But there are other considerations that demonstrate the absurdity of this version of events, and these are the following.

As can be seen from the accompanying statements of the Vice-Consuls of Spain, the United States, and Germany, as well as from other statements by prominent foreign residents in Torreón, which are also included in the documentation accompanying this report,¹ it is a fully proven fact that a few days before the attack on Torreón, Colonel Palacios, the Political Chief of the City, met with the leading merchants and vice-consuls to propose the idea of forming a volunteer corps of merchants to defend their properties and interests, given the danger of looting and the resulting disorder that threatened the city.

The idea found no echo or sympathy among those attending the meeting; I have spoken with many people who attended and they unanimously tell me that no one approved it; some remained silent and finally a note was drawn up stating that the resolution was postponed until later; several people have affirmed to me that they did not want to put in writing the resounding refusal that had been given to the wishes of the Political Chief. It is natural that all this was known to General Lojero and he did not insist on the idea of arming Chinese or other foreigners; and it is also logical and natural to think that the main Chinese merchants who attended this meeting, which took place at the Chinese Reformist Association, did not want to accept the responsibility that the American, German, and Spanish residents resolutely shied away from. I find it absurd to think that the Chinese agreed to cooperate in the defense of Torreón, when this idea was met with disapproval from all the foreign colonies, just as I find highly implausible the version that General Lojero, despite the resistance of all the foreigners to help him and his scarcity of ammunition and the little usefulness of the Chinese for combat, forced them to fight.

Furthermore, another circumstance strengthens this opinion: a few days before the attack on Torreón, [a notice written in Chinese was posted in several Chinese gathering places](#) — the translation of which I include below as document number 2. From it, one can see that the main sentiment among the leading Chinese residents was fear of offering any resistance. I, the undersigned, saw one of these notices, bearing traces of having been posted, and did not rest until obtaining that document. However, I do not include it here because the envoy from the Legation earnestly requested that I leave it in his possession.

¹ My copies of Ramos Pedrueza's investigation did not include all of this accompanying documentation.

For all the reasons stated above, the version that General Lojero armed the Chinese community, and that this community then mounted armed resistance, thus causing the massacres, is implausible.

However, it could be argued that even without General Lojero having organized that resistance, it could have existed; this hypothesis should also be studied with complete composure.

Even considering the character of the Chinese, the notice pleading that no resistance be made, and the implausibility that a group of Chinese without education or military organization would attempt to continue the resistance that the federal troops themselves could not sustain, it is evident that we must nonetheless examine some of the opinions I have gathered and which I include in this report.

Mr. G.C. Carothers, the United States consular agent in Torreón, with whom I spoke at length on several occasions and of whom I formed the highest opinion, provided a lengthy, comprehensive, and frank clarification, which I include as number 3. From it, it can be seen that the armed resistance of the Chinese did not exist nor was it plausible, since the orchards in the eastern part of the city are isolated points that are very difficult to defend.

Mr. Cunard Cumiens, consular agent of the British Empire (document number 4), also clarifies important facts. He resides in Gómez Palacio and confirms that the Maderista leader Flores delivered a virulent speech against the Chinese on May 5. This gentleman tried to form a corps of White Cross aides, for which he spoke with many Maderista leaders and says that he did not find a single one who could confirm that the Chinese fired upon them. He describes a scene he witnessed: the mob looting a Chinese establishment, while the Maderista soldiers passed by in perfect order without making the slightest effort to stop it.

Mr. Enders (document number 5), whose residence is across from the house occupied by the Municipal Presidency, witnessed at ten in the morning the killing of two unarmed Chinese hiding behind a wall; and he also witnessed, later in the day, between two and three in the afternoon, a discussion among several groups of Maderista soldiers about whether or not to kill three bound Chinese being led through the street.

Mr. Terhume, Superintendent of the Continental Rubbers Company of Torreón, witnessed a skirmish between a group of “yellow” volunteers² and a large force of Maderistas, about three hundred yards from the factory. There is a Chinese orchard and another Chinese-owned orchard called “La Rosita,” the latter in a straight line a short distance from the factory. Mr. Terhume states that during the entire day of the 15th, no shots were fired from the gardens, and that shots were only fired from those gardens after they were occupied by the Maderistas (document number 6).

² That is, the volunteer army from Nuevo León referred to as the “Yellows”.

Mr. Federico Wulff, a resident of Torreón for twelve years, lives in a house located on the hill overlooking the train station and surrounding areas. This gentleman affirms that from the early hours of the morning of the 15th, he witnessed the events from the rooftop of his house; that he saw the crowd loot the Railroad Hotel, a Chinese establishment; that the Chinese offered no resistance; and that next to his house he heard a man from the town passing by saying, "Let's kill the Chinese, boys," without the slightest resistance from the Chinese, either in the hotel or in the surrounding area. (Document number 7).

Mr. Samuel Graham, Mr. Enders' partner, corroborates the latter's statements and recounted having witnessed several massacres of Chinese people, without being able to explain, he said, what reason there might have been for such massacres, nor having had any prior knowledge of any antipathy towards Chinese people. (Document number 8)

Mr. Charles S. Buford, National Railroad Agent in Torreón, stated that he had dealings, by virtue of his employment, with the Chinese at the Hotel in the Station, that he had never seen them armed, and was certain that on Monday the 15th in the morning, there were no Chinese in the aforementioned Hotel, therefore, the claim of armed Chinese resistance in this Building was untrue. (Document 10)

Mr. Erico Notholt, in charge of the Belgian Consulate in Torreón, stated that very near his house there was a Chinese store, on the corner of Avenida Morelos and Calle Jiménez, and that he and his employees knew that there were four Chinese men in the store, who, during the fighting on the 15th, were providing food and drinks to the insurgents; that the store was robbed in the early hours of the morning of the 15th; that a few moments after ten o'clock, he heard some shots and learned from the insurgent leader Leónidas González that two of the Chinese men had been killed without any reason, despite the insurgent leader's attempts to hide them. This same witness told me that around eleven o'clock on the night of the 15th, another Chinese man was killed very close to his house, and that the perpetrators were four Maderista soldiers on horseback. The same man added that some people told him that the Chinese had opened fire, but that he heard other people say that they had not, without him being able to know the truth. (Number 11)

In addition to the previous statements, I, the undersigned, received many others verbally, which it was impossible to record in writing for various reasons; these statements came from people of very different social categories and varying levels of intellectual education. I can affirm that I spoke about the events with more than one hundred people. And even though almost everyone agreed, as was the general opinion in Torreón, that the Chinese had fired upon the revolutionary troops, with the exception of four or five people whom I will address later, no one claims to have witnessed it personally nor provides convincing evidence supporting the circulated versions.

I tried to speak with the managers of the main banks and commercial establishments in Torreón, with all the consular agents, with many shop assistants, with countless men from

the town—waiters, porters, shoeshine boys, coachmen, etc., etc.—and I found many who told me they had witnessed the murder of defenseless Chinese people, but I didn't find any who had seen the attacks or acts of armed self-defense by the Chinese.

I will now address the elements of proof in this regard provided by the file compiled in the Military Court appointed by the Chief of the Liberating Army forces, Mr. Emilio Madero, in order to clarify the facts and punish those responsible for such heinous crimes.

Even though before my arrival in Torreón I had carefully studied the proceedings contained in said file, since that Secretariat had provided it to me, I reread it in Torreón and tried to reproduce the statements orally in my presence, personally questioning the main witnesses who testified in those proceedings.

I will not conduct a detailed study of each of the statements that make up that file, but I will judge them as a whole, since they all suffer from serious defects that prevent them from being taken as the basis for a full conviction.

The Maderista leaders Benjamín Argumedo, Sabino Flores, Sixto Ugalde, and the wounded Maderista soldiers José Vicuña and Marcial Adame stated in these declarations that they saw the Chinese setting fire to the orchards, the Chinese Bank building, and the Laundry Building. However, if one considers that the Maderista leaders cannot form an honest conviction due to the responsibility they bear, at least from a moral point of view, in the bloody cases that concern us, and if one considers that, in contrast to these declarations, there are others that contradict them, worthy of greater trust, which I will now mention, one must conclude that they do not prove that the massacre of the Chinese was due exclusively to them participating in the combat.

Public opinion in Torreón and all those who have testified in the investigation hold a certain agitator responsible for inciting the mob. This agitator, who at five o'clock in the morning of the 15th took a flag, mounted his horse, and began preaching looting, haranguing the crowds. This man, who is imprisoned and is named José María Grageda, does not say that the Chinese set fire to the rooftops of several buildings, nor does he mention the Chinese defense as the determining cause of the looting. Having traveled throughout the city and witnessed the events, he, better than anyone, could confirm these facts.

I also know that some of the witnesses, when I insisted that they tell the truth, changed their statements in such a way that the probative value regarding the belligerent attitude of the Chinese is reduced to nothing. Mr. Jesús E. Cárdenas declared that he heard heavy gunfire near his house, which seemed to be coming from the Chinese Laundry Building next door. When questioned by me, he stated that the truth was that not a single shot had been fired from that building, and that the Chinese who had been killed there were discovered hiding under a large pile of firewood, most of them.

Similarly, Domingo García, the attendant at the Laguna bank, an establishment located on the ground floor of the building called the Chinese Bank, assured me that it was a lie that the Chinese murdered in this building had offered the least resistance; the same statement was made to me by the caretaker of the building called the Club of the Reformist Association of the Chinese Empire, the place where nineteen Chinese who were hiding in a small room were murdered.

However, there was one statement that greatly concerned me. Mr. Miguel Robledo asserted that shots were fired from the upper floors of the building called the Chinese Bank, aimed at the crowd, which resulted in the death of a soldier and a horse. He claimed that the massacre began there, as it was believed that all the Chinese were in on it, and from then on, the killing of Chinese people began everywhere. Although I didn't give much credence to the witness Robledo because I was able to ascertain the close ties of friendship he had with the main Maderista leaders, I must confess that the existence of the wounded man and the dead horse at that location was confirmed to me by many people who saw it. Even assuming that the shots were fired from that place, this is an isolated incident that does not explain the massacres in distant and varied locations throughout the city, and even less does it explain why the killings of the Chinese continued into the night. The excitement produced because some Chinese defended themselves in isolation from those who were attacking them at a certain point does not explain the massacre everywhere, at different times and of Chinese completely unrelated to the isolated fact of having made some defense which, moreover, was very meager and weak if it existed at all and in any case restricted to this place.

I do not, however, want to leave without some explanation the undeniable fact that the general version among the people of Torreón is that the Chinese fired shots.

It is a clear and understandable phenomenon for anyone who has studied the psychology of crowds, that an emotion spreads rapidly among them even when its origin was unfounded or the product of a lie; that the intensity of the emotion grows in direct proportion to the number of individuals experiencing that emotion in a given place and time.

Those masses that filled the houses of Torreón, composed of thousands of men and supported by a leaderless and unrestrained soldiery, inflamed by the continuous gunfire and other factors such as drunkenness, were fertile ground for accepting any piece of advice that, taken to extreme proportions according to the psychological laws we know, would provoke homicidal fury, even if such causes did not actually exist or did not have proportional importance to the effect produced. Several distinguished people, and even ladies of Torreón, have assured me that the Maderistas feared being poisoned and that they would not take anything unless the person offering it had first tasted it. In the popular imagination, the rumor had spread that the Chinese legumes, water, and even alcoholic beverages were poisoned, and that degree of excitement in brutal crowds and undisciplined, leaderless soldiers is fuel enough to ignite the blaze of homicidal fury that, on this occasion, may have been due to

some imprudence on the part of one or more Chinese, which is not fully proven, erupting against this poor colony, which was ruthlessly slaughtered.

I have left for last a point of great importance in this matter; and that is the determination of what may have been the number of Chinese killed in Torreón on this past May 15th.

The Chinese Legation has set the number at three hundred and three; but I dare say that this figure is exaggerated. I must point out that the Legation lacks a reliable basis for setting it, since a large part of the murdered Chinese were transients who had arrived two or three days earlier and who were unable to continue their journey to the State of Chihuahua due to the attack on the 13th; but I went to the Administrator of the Municipal Cemetery of the City and he told me that according to the records of his office, only two hundred and five Chinese were buried there. With great care I asked most of the surviving Chinese, many of whom were wounded in the massacres, if any of the murdered Chinese were buried outside the cemetery, and none of them could give me any accurate information about any place where they might be buried.

Summarizing this already long report, I must conclude that, in my opinion, and based on the investigations I conducted—which I tried to make as thorough as possible—the massacres of Chinese in Torreón were due, first, to a certain ill will that existed among the populace of Torreón and the neighboring cities of Lerdo and Gómez Palacio, exacerbated by imprudent speeches from some Maderista leaders; second, to the circumstance that the Plaza of Torreón had been occupied in great disorder by masses of undisciplined soldiers, without the presence of leaders who could impose order; third, to the desire to loot the warehouses, which had been instilled in the Maderista soldiers and in the crowds by the numerous former prisoners from the jails of Torreón, Lerdo, and Gómez Palacio, who had been released; fourth, to the drunkenness that spread rapidly due to the looting of the warehouses, the Casino, and several bars; fifth, to the version circulating among the Maderista soldiers that the Chinese had fired and wounded several soldiers from the tops of certain buildings.

Such, Mr. Undersecretary, is my conscientious opinion, after having done everything possible in the City of Torreón, during the twelve days I remained there, dedicated entirely, without losing a moment, to gathering all kinds of data and evidence, frequently accompanied by the Representative of the Chinese Legation, Owyang King, and his lawyer, Mr. Arthur Bassett.

I respectfully submit
Mexico City, September 13, 1911

Antonio Ramos Pedrueza³

³ Hereafter were originally included over ten documents of corroborating evidence which were not included in the copies of Ramos Pedrueza's investigation that I have. Based on references in the investigation above we can surmise that these included the following:

Document 1: Delfino Rios' Letter in Diogenes (missing from my copies [but found elsewhere](#)); **Document 2:** Chinese circular warning against resistance (missing from my copies [but found elsewhere](#)); **Document 3:** G. C Carothers' Statement (included below); **Document 4:** Cunard Cummins' Statement (included below); **Document 5:** C. W. Enders' Statement (missing); **Document 6:** R. A. Terhume's Statement (spelled Terhune in another source; missing); **Document 7:** Federico Wulff Statement (missing); **Document 8:** Samuel Graham's Statement (missing); **Document 9:** (missing; the investigation text above does not indicate what this is and skips over to Document 10. Ramos Pedrueza mentions "the accompanying statements of the Vice-Consuls of Spain...and Germany..." so perhaps it is one of these); **Document 10:** Charles S. Buford's Statement; **Document 11:** Erico Notholt Statement (included here).

Document 3

Statement of Mr. George C. Carothers, made in the presence of Mr. Lic. Antonio Ramos Pedrueza, representative of the Mexican Government, and Owyang King and Arthur Bassett, representatives of the Chinese Government, on August 14, 1911, in relation to the events in Torreón on May 13, 14, and 15, 1911.

By Mr. Lic. Antonio Ramos Pedrueza – I am the representative of the Mexican Government; this is Mr. Bassett and that is Mr. King, representatives of the Chinese Government. Please state what is known to you.

From Mr. Carothers: My full name is George C. Carothers; I am the American Consular Agent in this city and have lived here for approximately 15 years. On May 13th, around 11:00 a.m., the Maderista forces began their attack from two sides of the city; one between Gomez Palacio and Lerdo, by the canyon called "Calabazas," and the other from the eastern side of the city, near the small ranch called "La Rosita." During the afternoon of the 13th, I witnessed the fighting from the windows of the Casino with a pair of very powerful binoculars. Around 4:00 p.m., the fighting seemed to be concentrated in the eastern part of the city, but I was unable to determine which side would ultimately prevail. Around four in the afternoon, I heard that an American had been shot in the stomach while watching the fighting from the windows of the Hotel San Carlos, so I thought it prudent to return home, where I remained until the morning of the 16th. During the afternoon of the 13th, I was informed by several people who lived with me and who frequently left the house to visit different parts of the city to find out what was happening, that the Federales had found some people inside the city firing at them from the rooftops. One case that particularly caught my attention was that of an individual who was found on the roof of a store called "La Prueba," owned by Tomas Zertuche Trevino, whose house faces the market and which was later looted, as I understand it, because the Maderistas said that they had been fired upon from there. The Federales in the trenches about three blocks down from the store realized someone was firing at them and conducted a thorough search, finding the man in the attic of the house, firing through the drainpipes. I was quite certain the fire was coming from the block where I lived, but I couldn't determine its source. This was on the 13th. During the night of the 13th and all of the 14th, the fighting was very slow, and I believed both sides were resting and that the battle would decisively resume on Monday. Around 4:00 a.m. on the 15th, I was awakened by several very excited police officers in front of my house calling for me. They told me that Mr. F. A. Villanueva, the state's Internal Revenue Collector, wished to see me at his house as soon as possible. Before I could get dressed and go downstairs, Mr. Villanueva was already there with the police officers.

He told me that the Federales had evacuated the city during the night and that the revolutionaries were expected to enter at any moment. I advised all the police officers to leave their weapons and uniforms in the plaza and go into hiding immediately, but I had Mr. Villanueva at my house, telling him that we couldn't do anything to remedy the situation but

that we would speak with some prominent citizens by telephone, pleading with them to come and see if it was possible to do anything. Before it was possible to assemble this committee, the Maderistas began to appear in the streets in small groups. The first thing we heard were shouts and gunshots at the jail, and shortly afterward we saw the jail and the Political Headquarters ablaze, both having been set on fire. A few moments later, an individual at the Hotel Central, which at that time was adjacent to my house, told me that the store "La Prueba" was being looted. Around 6:00 a.m., a large mob gathered in front of a Chinese-owned store on the corner of the Plaza, about half a block from my house, and began looting it. The mob continued to grow, and a group broke away, heading up the street toward the Chinese Bank, which is located on another corner of the Plaza. While the mob was there, there were tremendous explosions and gunshots. The mob continued to spread until six city blocks were surrounded and filled by them. This mob was made up of Maderista soldiers and ordinary people. I heard many versions about the looting of stores, but it wasn't until around noon that I learned the Chinese were being killed. Around 3:00 PM, Mr. W. S. Conduit, Vice President and General Manager of the Guayulera Company, came to my house in his automobile. I begged him to do me the favor of delivering a message to Mr. Emilio Madero, who, as I understood it, was having lunch at the Sternau Hotel. In the message, I pleaded with Mr. Madero to come see me at the Consulate, which he did around 4:40 PM, accompanied by Mr. Conduit. I asked him what was happening and told him that I had been informed that all the Chinese were being killed. I asked him what steps he was going to take to put an end to the massacre. He replied that he was dismayed by the killings but believed that by that time—3:30 PM—he had his men under control and that no more Chinese would be killed; that he was gathering them into groups and sending them to the barracks for their protection. Mr. Madero issued safe-conduct passes to the various refugees who were in my house and left. On the morning of May 16, I left the Consulate to make a short inspection tour of the main parts of the city. I met many people, both Americans and Mexicans, all in a state of great excitement; most of the foreigners asked me if it might be possible to arrange a train to leave the country. Many different opinions were expressed concerning the cause of the massacre of the Chinese, some saying that the Chinese had fired on the Maderistas while others vigorously denied this version. I was told that the mob was trying to loot the merchants' stores, especially the establishment of La Suiza, owned by William Peters and Company, and the market, saying that they had been fired upon from these buildings. It seemed to be the general opinion that the mob was signaling to the Maderistas that they were being fired upon from certain buildings so that they would be allowed to loot them.

I believe, although I'm not certain about the date, that on the afternoon of the 16th, a young Chinese man named Wong came to my office and told me that there were about 75 Chinese people in the restaurant where he had come from, located around the corner from my house. He said these Chinese people were starving to death. He was wearing a Red Cross badge on his arm and told me he had been with Dr. Lim on his Red Cross work. I questioned him very thoroughly, since he was the first Chinese person I had seen since the massacre, asking him specifically about the number of dead and the extent of the damage, and especially about the reason for the massacre of the Chinese. He told me there was absolutely no reason. He hadn't been outside the restaurant and couldn't give me much information except for what

had happened to his own group. A small amount of money was collected from those in my office and given to him. I told him to return for more money once he had spent what I had given him. I asked him where Dr. Lim was, and he told me that the Maderistas had taken him to Gómez Palacio on the 15th. Then I went to see Mr. Emilio Madero for further information, and he told me that he had summoned Dr. Lim and was going to send him through the gardens to look for any Chinese who might be hiding and to ascertain the extent of the damage done there. On the 19th, Dr. Lim came to see me, and I learned from him that he had searched the gardens. I asked him if it was true that the Chinese in the gardens had fired on the Maderistas, and he said that it wasn't true; on the contrary, they had been warned by means of a notice issued by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce that they should not offer any resistance. He seemed dazed and unsure of what to do. On May 20, Mr. Woo Lampo arrived from Mexico City and told me he had been commissioned by the Chinese Chargé d'Affaires in Mexico City to write a report. He showed me a copy of the notice that had been issued by the Chinese Chamber of Commerce. This copy had been removed from a post in the market. It clearly showed that it had been affixed because someone had stuck a sticky advertisement over it, and it was stained and showed signs of having been exposed to the elements. On June 6, I received instructions from the United States Ambassador, Mr. Wilson, to assist the Chinese community in every way possible in their inquiries. The Ambassador said he had requested permission from the Mexican government to do this and had received an affirmative reply. At 3:30 in the afternoon of June 6, in the company of Mr. R. L. Bonnet, Manager of the American Bank of Torreon, Mr. H. A. Cunard Cummins, British Vice-Consul in Gómez Palacio, and Mr. Foon Chuck, I made an inspection trip through the orchards of the Chinese and other properties of the Chinese where some Chinese had been killed.

The first place we visited was the orchard on Lin Ching's property. I questioned the Chinese worker who was in the garden, who told me that on the 14th, around noon, a group of six to eight Maderistas had come by, robbing the house and killing one of their compatriots. Afterward, we crossed over to Dr. Lim's orchard, where we found 10 or 12 Chinese men, and I questioned them all through Mr. Chuck, who acted as my interpreter, asking them to tell me the truth about what they knew. They told me that on the 13th, between 9 and 10 in the morning, a group of Maderistas had visited them, robbed them, and chased them with sabers, but none of them were killed; that on Monday the 15th, a large group of Maderistas appeared in the garden and ordered them to gather together because they were going to be taken to town. They were herded like sheep and driven toward the town at a run. It had rained very hard the night before, and the roads were full of mud and water. Every time one of them fell into the mud, he was shot and trampled by the horses. Of the twenty who were taken from the farm, seven died before reaching the barracks. Then we went to the orchard rented by Dan Kee and Wong Sam. We found this place guarded by a Maderista; the houses were looted of all valuables, and there were no Chinese there. The Maderista guard told me that 18 Chinese had been killed there—all of them. Afterward, we went to the place rented by Juan Quan, where I found approximately 18 Chinese. They were all extremely indignant at the mere thought that they had offered any resistance. They said that as soon as the firing began on the 15th, they had run away, hiding in the cornfields. Six of them had been killed on the 15th. From there we went to Mah Due's place, which we found destroyed, with nothing of

value left in the house. I was told that 19 had been killed and 1 wounded out of the 20 who had been working there. After that, we went to Foon Chuck's place, where we found about 8 or 10 Chinese. The house had been damaged, the doors and windows torn off and carried away, and there was no sign of anything of value, even the engine parts, pump, and boiler having been taken. Ung Shung Yee was the one in charge, and he told us that the Maderistas had first arrived there on the 13th; that they had stolen many things and withdrawn on the 14th; that another party arrived shortly after the first one withdrew on the 14th and had forced them to cook their food. He said that on the 13th and 14th, they had used the walls of their corral as a parapet, placing ladders against the walls and firing upon them. The ladders were still in place when I was there, and I personally removed several bullets from outside the wall, which proves that the Maderistas' fire was returned. He told me that on the 15th, the Maderista soldiers began killing them, killing four of them in the courtyard and 29 in the open field as they ran toward the town. Thirty-three of the thirty-eight were killed at this location. We then visited the Orient Steam Laundry, the Shanghai Port, the Wah Yick Building, and the Railway Hotel, all of which clearly showed signs of having been looted, with their windows and doors destroyed.

On two separate occasions, I testified before the military tribunal in this city, and my statements are on record. From my subsequent investigations, I have come to the firm conviction that there was no resistance of any kind from the Chinese, but that the Maderistas may have believed they were being fired upon from the Chinese gardens. They believed the Chinese were the ones firing the fires, when in fact the gardens had been occupied by the Volunteers of Nuevo León, generally known as the "Yellows" because of their uniforms. It is a well-known fact that the eastern outskirts of the city were defended by the "Yellows." It is also my opinion that when the looting of the stores and the killing of the Chinese began, the common people incited the Maderistas, telling them they were being fired upon from the houses they wished to loot. I have been informed by many people that before the start of the fighting, the Chinese had withdrawn deposits of money, hiding it in their shoes, and that in cases where a Chinese died, someone would pounce on him, remove his shoes, and almost without exception find money inside. I was also informed that the Chinese who were rescued and taken to the barracks had the money they were carrying stolen from them by Maderista soldiers after they arrived at the barracks.

Mr. Pedrueza. – Do you know anything about a version of events involving the remains of some cognac bottles, which were used some years ago at a dance and which were in the courthouse, were unfortunately taken by the Maderistas when they looted the courthouse here?

Mr. Carothers: I know the bottles were in the courthouse because I have often seen them there in the corner of the courtroom of the Second Court of Letters, and I have heard that they were taken by the Maderistas and that several deaths resulted from drinking the cognac, which has given rise to the story that the water was poisoned.

Signed: G C Carothers

Document 4

Statement of Mr. H. A. Cunard Cummins, made on August 14, 1911, in Torreon, Coahuila, in the presence of Mr. Lic. Antonio Ramos Pedrueza, representative of the Mexican Government and Owyang King and Arthur Bassett, representatives of the Chinese Government, in relation to the events in Torreon on May 13, 14, and 15, 1911.

Mr. Pedrueza: I am the representative of the President of the Republic; this is Mr. Bassett and this is Mr. King, representatives of the Chinese Legation.

Mr. Bassett: Please give your full name.

Mr. Cummins: H. A. Cunard Cummins.

Mr. Bassett: Are you the British Consular Agent in this city?

Mr. Cummins: I am the British Vice-Consul in this district, which includes Gómez Palacio, Lerdo, and Torreón.

Mr. Bassett: Please tell us everything you know regarding what happened here on May 13, 14, and 15, 1911.

Mr. Cummins: On May 5th, one of the Maderista leaders, named Jesús Flores, gave a speech in Gómez Palacio, in which he stated that the Chinese were doing no good for the country; that they were taking jobs away from women and the poor, and that one of the reforms that would result from the revolution, should it succeed, would be the expulsion of the Chinese from the country. In support of this statement, he mentioned that in the United States, the Chinese had been classified as undesirable citizens and that the necessary steps had been taken to prevent more of them from entering the country. I firmly believe that Jesús Flores had no intention whatsoever of inciting people to murder the Chinese, but nevertheless, he knew he was touching on a sensitive subject, since the competition posed by the Chinese and their independent spirit had been a source of antipathy towards them for some time. On the night of May 13, 1911, I visited Agustin Gastro, an individual who at that time was considered the leader of all the assembled insurgents, and proposed that he allow me to organize a Red Cross corps, entirely foreign in composition. He immediately agreed to my wishes and gave me a letter for General Lojero so that he could give his consent and, if necessary, instruct the federal forces regarding the meaning of the society's emblem. I left for Torreon with a guard of Maderistas, but the fighting broke out, and I had to return. Nevertheless, the corps was formed with surgeons from the hospital service, etc., and I was at the irrigation ditches opposite Torreon for part of the fighting. I heard at that time from the Maderistas that the "Yellows," a volunteer corps, the Spaniards, and the Chinese were inflicting heavy casualties on the Maderista ranks. At the time, I considered this to be just one of the many inflammatory rumors circulating at that time. I still hold the same opinion. I didn't find a single Maderista who said they personally knew that such a thing was true, that

is, that the Chinese or the Spanish were involved in any way. Around nine o'clock in the morning of the 15th, I was suddenly called from the hospital and informed that the city of Torreón had been evacuated. I immediately took a carriage in the company of Dr. de la Parra, a Dutchman, and about halfway to Torreón we met an individual who claimed to be Mr. Emilio Madero's secretary, carrying a message stating that Mr. Emilio Madero wished to see the Red Cross in Torreón as soon as possible. Upon arriving in the city streets, I saw in front of the old Chinese Bank, now the Banco de la Laguna, across from the plaza, the corpses of nine Chinese men, two of them mutilated. In the street, trampled by the horses that filled it at that moment, lay the corpses of two more Chinese men, covered in mud. In other parts of the city, I saw other corpses of Chinese men. I also saw a corpse that did not appear to be Chinese, though passersby said it was Spanish. I traveled through many of the city streets in search of the wounded, and during this time I saw many large groups of Maderistas marching through the streets in double file, maintaining perfect order. In front of a certain small house with Chinese hieroglyphs above the door, I saw a highly excited crowd trying to force the door open. Dynamite was demanded, and there was great excitement. At that moment, a cavalcade of Maderistas passed by, carrying pistols in their right hands and maintaining perfect discipline. They stopped for a few moments, observing the scene, and then continued on their way. There were Maderistas and common people of the lower classes trying to enter this building. On two or three occasions, I saw groups of 20 or 30 Maderistas on horseback leading the Chinese ahead of them on foot. It is my opinion that no more than 20% of the Maderista soldiers took part in the massacre of the Chinese subjects. I saw individuals among the Maderista soldiers who were so overwhelmed that they themselves didn't know what they were doing, in my judgment. Having stopped Agustin Castro during the formal parade, indicating to him that it was time to begin the burials, I found myself in command of about 20 Maderistas to begin said work. I gave instructions to the leader of this group to open the trenches, etc., and I left the site around six o'clock that afternoon. Torreón, August 14, 1911

H.A. Cunard Cummins

Document 11

Statement of Mr. Erico Notholt made on August 12, 1911, in Torreon, Coahuila, in the presence of Mr. Antonio Ramos Pedrueza, representing the Government of Mexico, and Mr. Owyang King and Mr. Arthur Bassett, representing the Chinese Government, in relation to the events in Torreon on May 13, 14, and 15, 1911.

Mr. Pedrueza: I am the representative of the President of the Republic; this is Mr. Bassett and this is Mr. King, representatives of the Chinese Government. Please state what you know to be true?

Mr. Notholt: My name is Erico Notholt. I am the head of the Belgian Consulate in this city. In our neighborhood, at the corner of Morelos Avenue and Jimenez Street, there was a store owned by Chinese people, and I can attest that there were four Chinese men working there. Both I and my employees who were here at the time of the fighting saw these Chinese men providing food and drinks to the insurgents. We did not see them possess or use any weapons from Saturday until Monday morning.

Mr. Bassett: From Saturday, May 13th to Monday, May 15th?

Mr. Notholt: From Saturday, May 13th to Monday, May 15th.

Mr. Notholt: Around 10:00 a.m. on Monday the 15th, we saw that the store had been robbed; I believe by the common people, and after a few minutes we saw men on horseback take two of the Chinese men out. They must have been revolutionaries. These two men were taken about two blocks from here, and we heard shots—four shots—and a short time later we were told that the two Chinese men had been killed. I myself did not witness this killing. Later, I was informed by Leonides Gonzalez, who was in charge of the Maderista outpost near my house, that these Chinese men had indeed been killed, and in addition to them, the other two.

He said he had tried to defend these two; that he had intended to hide them and help them escape. He said, as I recall, that he put one of them in the toilet and the other in the stove, but that despite his efforts they were found after he left and had been killed. This is all I can say regarding what happened in our neighborhood.

Mr. Bassett: Do you have any other reports?

Mr. Notholt: On Monday night, around 11:00 PM, a Chinese man was killed right in front of our window by four Maderistas who were there on horseback. The Chinese man didn't use any weapons.

Mr. Bassett: How was he killed?

Mr. Notholt: His forehead was completely split open from his nose to his temple.

Mr. Bassett: With a machete?

Mr. Notholt: I think it was a gunshot wound. The body was left there in the street until around 11:00 AM the following morning. That night, when this Chinese man was killed, I tried to go outside to see what was happening. I was told that four Maderistas were killing a Chinese man. The soldiers were talking loudly, and I asked them why there was so much noise. I was told they were arguing about which of them had killed the Chinese man.

Mr. Bassett: Do you know of any revolutionaries killed by the Chinese?

Mr. Notholt: No, I only saw them being taken out.

Mr. Pedrueza: Didn't you ask them why they had been killed?

Mr. Notholt: Yes, sir, and they told me they had orders from their superiors to kill all the Chinese they found in the city.

Mr. Pedrueza: Do you know anything about what happened in the gardens outside the city?

Mr. Notholt: I didn't see those things; I only heard them discussing them afterward. That is, I heard some people say that the Chinese had fired shots and others say that they hadn't.

Mr. Pedrueza: So you heard both opinions expressed?

Mr. Notholt: Yes, sir, just as I heard that they fired from the laundry here, the Oriental Laundry. There were different versions from different people. I couldn't form an opinion. I only want to say what I saw.

Mr. Pedrueza: Do you remember if many shots were fired the morning the Maderistas entered?

Mr. Notholt: No, sir, frankly I didn't hear them, probably because I was so far away. We heard some shots, but they didn't surprise me because everything was still in disarray.

Signed E. Notholt