

## DON JACOBO HAROOTIAN, AN ARMENIAN IN THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

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Jacobo Harootian on horseback, August 19-23, Tejalpa, Morelos. Source: published in *La Actualidad*, 25 August 1911, p. 6, photograph by Samuel Tinoco



On the afternoon of September 19, 1911, reserve police agents broke into room 34 of the *Del Jardín* Hotel on Mexico City's *16 de septiembre* street to arrest the *maderista* colonels Jacobo Harootian and his young friend and companion-at-arms Miguel Othón de Mendizábal on charges of rebellion.

The news circulated in newspapers in the capital under various headlines. On September 20, *El Demócrata* announced: "General Almazán's second-in-command apprehended yesterday", and on the 22<sup>nd</sup>: "To be deported from Mexican territory". The following day *Maderista* daily reiterated the news: "Harootian finally charged today, deportation from the country being processed". The final note appeared on September 26 under this headline: "Harootian proves he is a [North] American citizen, Department of State failed to deliver proof of the accusation".

Reading between the lines provides additional information on those two individuals: we learn from *El Demócrata* that Jacobo was "relatively well-off, judging by the substantial pecuniary resources at his disposal, and if he joined the Revolution, it was to support the principles that had cost the Mexican people such enormous sacrifices". Of the young Mendizábal all it said was that he was "a cultured law student near graduation"; both were deemed "men of principle".<sup>1</sup> Two days later the same newspaper wrote that judges very rarely sought to "apply" Article 33 of Mexico's Constitution to foreigners residing in Mexico, because the vast majority lived honestly and avoided any association with "pernicious" activities. This explains, at least in part, the enormous interest spurred by Harootian's trial, as he was an Armenian and "once a member of the Army of Liberation".<sup>2</sup>

*Nueva Era* reported that on September 24<sup>th</sup> the second district judge, an attorney named Cayetano Castellanos, would decide whether or not to formally imprison Harootian, adding that many *ex-maderistas* were following the course of the proceedings from the penitentiary.<sup>3</sup> Finally, on September 26<sup>th</sup>, the paper published the outcome, noting that the judge had freed

Harootian due to lack of evidence, as the Department of State, which had pressed the charges in the first place, had not submitted any incriminating proof. Thus, upon completing the 72 hours of detention allowed by law, Harootian was free to go. While in jail, he had succeeded in proving that he was, in fact, an American citizen and not an Armenian, as people had been saying. Upon his release from prison, Harootian was met by at least five well-known figures from the business world, "who had arrived to finalize some deals involving thousands of pesos in which Harootian was a principal figure".<sup>4</sup>

So, who was this wealthy Armenian-North American, ex-member of the Army of Liberation, second-in-command to General Juan Andreu Almazán, and former *maderista*, who was almost deported from Mexico through the application of Article 33 of the Constitution? This article presents a profile of this rich miner who lived in Zumpango del Río (hereinafter Zumpango), in the state of Guerrero in western Mexico, and participated actively in the Mexican Revolution.

#### FROM ALEPPO TO FORT MCINTOSH

Jacobo Harootian was born in 1862 in Aleppo, a city that at the time formed part of the Ottoman Empire, thus making Jacobo, officially, a subject of that entity, though by birth and religion he was an Armenian and member of the Armenian Apostolic Church. Though Aleppo is not an Armenian city, the small Armenian community that had existed there since the early centuries of the Christian era grew substantially in the 11<sup>th</sup> century due to a flow of migrants from Ani, the capital of Armenia, which had surrendered after being invaded by the Seljuk Turks. By the 14<sup>th</sup> century, the Armenian colony in Aleppo was well structured with its own churches, schools and even an apostolic prelate.

At around age 19 or 20, young Hagop (Jacobo in Spanish, Jacob in English), like many Armenians in Asia Minor, decided to "do America". Though the massive migration of Armenians did not begin until after the Genocide of 1915-1918, evidence indicates that 523 Armenian citizens entered the United States from 1872 to 1882, but only 68 of them were from Asiatic Turkey. Sadly, we have not yet found the record of Jacobo's entry into the US, but a letter he wrote<sup>5</sup> on October 28, 1911 as part of his application for Mexican citizenship states that he lived in that country for nine years. In a second letter,<sup>6</sup> we learn that he entered Mexico in 1891, suggesting that he may have arrived in the US in 1882, though in his book, *The Armenians in America*, Vartan Malcom states that no Armenians from Asiatic Turkey entered that nation in 1882.<sup>7</sup> However, records do indicate that five

Armenians migrated in 1881. Thus, it is possible that Harootian arrived in the US in that year.

The earliest document that sets us on Harootian's trail after his arrival in the US is the *Army Recruitment Registry*<sup>8</sup> which, under entry number 806 for the year 1883, contains his basic data, including age (21) and place of origin (Aleppo, Turkey). We know that he enlisted in the Army for 5 years in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania on December 7, 1883. His earlier trade was listed as "engraver", but it is not clear whether he practiced this activity in the US in 1881-1883, or if it had been his job in his hometown. We learn that he had black hair and dark brown eyes and was 5 feet 5 inches tall (1.67 m). He joined Company H (for 'Heavy') of the Third Cavalry Regiment, formed in 1845, was present in the Mexican War of 1848 and the American Civil War (1861), and was transferred to Fort McIntosh in Laredo, Texas, in 1885. His discharge came on December 6, 1888 upon completion of his 5-year stint. Though he never participated in active combat (that Regiment's next military action would not take place until 1898 in the war against Spain in Cuba), he rose to the rank of First Sergeant and, according to his service record was, "Excellent in every respect".

As Harootian notes in his application for Mexican citizenship: "... I was affiliated with the Third Cavalry Regiment, Company H, of the Regular Army of that country [the US], and because of that acquired American citizenship at the age of twenty-two".<sup>9</sup> Thus, in the year 1884, while still in Philadelphia, he had become a naturalized American citizen, a fact he was able to prove to Judge Cayetano Castellanos in September 1911. The day after his discharge, December 7, 1888, at the age of 26, he decided to re-enlist in the unit for another 5-year period<sup>10</sup> at Fort McIntosh. However, he did not complete the second term and was discharged for unknown reasons on September 16, 1889, after almost 6 years of service (December 7, 1883-September 16, 1889). We have no record of his activities from that moment until he entered the Republic of Mexico in 1891.

## IN MEXICO

In 1891, Porfirio Díaz was elected to his fourth term as President of Mexico. Among the policies that his government pursued was expanding the nation's railways through a system based on granting concessions. Harootian wrote that from 1891 to 1895 he worked as a sub-contractor for the federal government, specifically on two railroad projects that were underway at the time: *Ferrocarril Interoceánico* and *Ferrocarriles del Sur*.

Because railroad construction was one of the pillars of the Díaz regime in those years, ample financing was available, and Harootian soon learned the ins-and-outs of applying for government funds for such initiatives. Later, after

settling in Zumpango in the final years of the Porfiriato, he was also entrusted with building several miles of the highway between Iguala and Chilpancingo.

We assume that as a sub-contractor for *Ferrocarril Interoceánico* after 1891, Harootian attended the inauguration of the stretch of railroad between Mexico City, Puebla and Veracruz on April 1, and perhaps participated in the construction of the 179 kilometers of track from Los Reyes to Jojutla, or the 19 kilometers built in 1892-1894 that reached as far as Puente de Ixtla. Because *Ferrocarril Interoceánico's* original project was planned to reach Acapulco, Harootian must have spent the years 1891-94 traveling over a broad region that spanned Mexico City, Puebla, Matamoros, Cuautla, Jojutla and Puente de Ixtla, and he may even have explored the rough terrain between the latter and the port of Acapulco, which required a 7-day journey on horseback across rivers and over high mountains. But in 1895, when construction reached the point where Puente de Ixtla joined the branch running from Cuernavaca to the Pacific Ocean, the project was suspended and *Ferrocarril Interoceánico* ceased its participation, leaving construction of the line to Acapulco<sup>11</sup> to *Ferrocarril de Cuernavaca al Pacífico*, which built the stretch from Cuernavaca to Balsas, Guerrero, in 1897-1899.<sup>12</sup> It was while carrying out the explorations required for continuing the railroad to Acapulco that Jacobo first arrived at Zumpango, where he settled permanently in 1895, as he wrote:

In the year eighteen ninety-five, I abandoned those tasks and settled in the town of Zumpango, where I devoted my time to mining and to the purchase-sale of all types of land. In that locality, I married a Mexican woman in a civil ceremony, thus cementing my aspiration to abandon all earlier nationalities and establish the center of my business affairs definitively in Zumpango, my place of residence in my adopted homeland; since then I have had no other residence or domicile.<sup>13</sup>

Once established in Zumpango, he wed Benita Sánchez Moctezuma, originally from Chilapa, Guerrero, who had arrived in Zumpango around 1890 with a son born in Chilapa in 1895: Elías Abarca Sánchez. Harootian became the boy's stepfather and took charge of raising him. The Harootian-Sánchez marriage produced no children of its own.

#### • THE MINES

In that small town, known in colonial times as Zumpango de las Minas, Harootian began his ventures in buying and selling properties, but also began to accumulate numerous mining permits, a total of 34 between 1900 and 1907,<sup>14</sup> though not all of them were valid at the same time, as they came with expiry dates and, therefore, had to be renewed periodically. We can only



suppose that some of those initiatives simply failed and that only a few ever yielded any significant profit. In total, the area included in those claims was 1,143 hectares (2,824 acres). Jacobo obtained his first concession (permit or license) on July 12, 1900, a claim called *La Doncella* in Zumpango with gold, copper and iron deposits on an area of 10 hectares (24.7 acres). In 1901, he procured the rights to a concession in the Mina district that had gold and silver, also on 10 hectares. He christened that mine *Lincoln*. In 1902, he obtained three additional claims: *Santa Elisa* (30 h. [74 acres] in the Álvarez district), *San Juan* (20 h. [49 acres] in the Zaragoza district), and *Moylan* (100 h. [247 acres] in the Bravos district). The first two were copper mines in which he was a partner, while the third produced iron ore. It is important to note that, in all likelihood, those mines were named *San Juan*, *Santa Elisa* and *Moylan* for Juan J. Moylan (and his wife, Elisa), a well-known merchant and miner with whom Harootian conducted a great deal of business, both in mining and large-scale land purchases and sales. Harootian would go on to obtain other mines between 1903 and 1905.<sup>15</sup>

Moylan and Harootian's entrepreneurial relationship began at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>16</sup> when the former also operated as a sub-contractor in railroad projects and installed water and sanitation works.<sup>17</sup> It is also probable that some of the mine titles that mention Moylan as owner included a partner, quite possibly Harootian. Similarly, the latter was listed as the proprietor of mines in which Moylan probably also had a financial interest. The 1905 book by J. R. Southworth, mentions one of Moylan's mines in the Bravos district and how ore was extracted there on a daily basis and carried by mule to Acapulco. From that port it was sent to California to the benefit of North American foundries.<sup>18</sup>

Due to the absence of foundries in the state of Guerrero, Moylan and Harootian had no choice but to ship their ore to the US, but that opportunity also led them to purchase large areas of land in Acapulco between Llano Largo and Puerto Marqués. In all, Harootian bought 988 hectares (2,441 acres) close to the area where the pier for the *La Dicha* mining company had been erected; this firm was said to have built a few miles of railway in the port around 1909. Rosendo Pinto, however, wrote that that particular construction was just a 'bluff'; i.e., an attempt to artificially inflate the value of the shares of the mine in the stock market.<sup>19</sup>

Whether or not the building of that railroad was a 'bluff', we do know that Harootian maintained his interest in the *Ferrocarril Interoceánico* in the first decade of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Perhaps he thought that, sooner or later, the railroad would be built and would reduce the cost of transporting the products of his mines, for, as Bernstein observed with respect to the foundries, "they are completely dependent on the railroads. The central

foundries were not constructed until the network of railways was completed".<sup>20</sup> Indeed, the interaction between trains and mining companies was very obvious: of the 22,822 kilometers (14,181 miles) of track that existed in 1908, 3,749 (2,330 mi.) served mines and 21 of the 44 railroad companies were active in transporting ore. Harootian had to resolve the problem of transporting his ore to the foundries, so the railway to Acapulco was one of his projects, or dreams; he knew that the railway should be completed and that Díaz' federal government shared his opinion. But, as we shall see below, it was the secondary project that eventually won the day.

Harootian and Moylan were not the only foreigners who became involved in mining in the Bravos district. In addition to the established, profitable mines of *La Dicha* and *La Delfina*, a series of smaller mines had other owners, like the Englishman William Niven, who discovered some tracer mines along the Balsas River near Zirándaro,<sup>21</sup> and Noble Brandon Judah, a US citizen and business partner of Manuel D. Asúnsolo (from Chihuahua). Their trials and tribulations in mining enterprises may have been quite similar to those that Harootian confronted; in fact, Harootian and Asúnsolo knew each other and fate would soon make them comrades-in-arms.

Apparently, Asúnsolo and Judah failed to make a profit on their mining initiatives, though Harootian did have some success. However, the real source of the latter's income was his other entrepreneurial activities: buying and selling land,<sup>22</sup> commercializing wood, and the 'trade' he had learned after arriving in Mexico as a sub-contractor in road-building enterprises.

#### PRIVATE LIFE IN ZUMPANGO

As is widely and publicly known, not only in my place of residence but also throughout the State of Guerrero, my acts and conduct have always obeyed the idea of identifying myself with the interests and destiny of the noble and heroic people of Mexico, whose nationality I have adopted not only in word but also by cooperating personally and financially in the material and moral growth of my locality, having spent more than ONE HUNDRED THOUSAND PESOS from my own pocket in material works and education, during the sixteen years that I have resided in the State of Guerrero.<sup>23</sup>

Among the contributions that Harootian made to the town of Zumpango was a store called *La Armenia*, which, in addition to offering goods to residents, was also a medical dispensary. According to Elías Abarca's grandson, Vito Abarca,<sup>24</sup> Jacobo practiced medicine and offered his services to patients without charge. He had water piped in from his lands around *La Ciénega*, installed the first electric lighting, and laid out and organized the

streets of a town that, according to the 1910 Census, had 2441 inhabitants. Moreover, he installed a generating plant in his home, perhaps with the idea of electrifying some of his mines.

Jacobo Harootian also had some properties in Zumpango that he had purchased between 1903 and 1905: *La Ciénega*, *La Cruz*, and a terrain called *El Visoso*;<sup>25</sup> in addition to his own home, which he finished building in 1904 and called *Casa de Alto* or *La casa del Armenio*. It was the only two-storey house in Zumpango, and one that would be the site of great activity during the Mexican Revolution. In the late *Porfiriato*, it was also a house frequented by travelers, as Adolfo Dollero observed: "he knew how to create a privileged home, where one is safe and finds open hospitality and all the comforts of a luxurious home in the grand Capital."<sup>26</sup>

#### THE ROAD FROM IGUALA TO CHILPANCINGO AND THE IDEA OF EXTENDING IT TO ACAPULCO

The road that we found [upon our arrival] is almost completed; it is a titanic chore, such that the name of the Governor who conceived it and ordered it be built should be permanently engraved in the history of the State. This roadway, which shall extend all the way to the port of Acapulco, is a marvel: we have not seen its equal in any other State of the Republic [...] this road is beautiful, magnificent, perfect, worthy of a grand governor and a grand people.<sup>27</sup>



*Benita Sánchez and Jacobo Harootian in Zumpango, 1905. Source: Abarca family Collection, Zumpango, Guerrero*

Indeed, the name of Damián Flores, the governor who planned it, will always be remembered, but mostly for several dark episodes that marked its construction, as he forced prisoners to build the highway.<sup>28</sup> After fleeing from Guerrero at the end of his term in office, in September 1911, Flores responded to charges published in *El Demócrata* that accused him of illicit enrichment. Referring to the highway he stated: "Work on the road was done

by the Administration and through contracts that involved Humberto I. Braschi, don Ramón Oliveros and don Jacobo Harootian. In the sections made by the Administration, the labor of free peons and convicts was employed, at a wage of 20 to 60 centavos per day, according to the tasks performed [...]."<sup>29</sup> Those convicts were forced to work in one of the most inhospitable regions in all of Mexico, and for less than the daily minimum wage!

Begun in 1907, the road was inaugurated in 1910 by President Porfirio Díaz himself, as part of the celebrations that commemorated the Centennial of Mexico's independence. Construction of the Chilpancingo-Acapulco road continued after the inauguration of the Iguala-Chilpancingo section, and by the end of that year reached the locality of Acahuzotla. Harootian was in charge of building that particular stretch.

Harootian yearned to finish the project begun while he was working as a sub-contractor on the railroads, that is, to extend the railway to the port of Acapulco. Finally, fate, but above all his friendship with Damián Flores - also a miner - had given him the opportunity to do so, though in the form of a road. It is no coincidence that by 1903 the first automobiles had appeared in Mexico. Indeed, Harootian had at least one and was the first person to journey to Zumpango by car. Perhaps he contemplated using trucks instead of railroad cars to transport the ore from his mines. Also, perhaps, he had a plan to build a pier and/or staging area to prepare shipments for the US, which would explain why he purchased the aforementioned 988 hectares in Acapulco, at a place called *Llano Largo* or *El Marqués*. Though we are not sure whether it was to pay for this terrain in Acapulco or to finance some other road-building project - perhaps the purchase of additional heavy machinery - in October 1910, Harootian applied for a loan in the amount of 5000 pesos from the *Banco Nacional de México* in Chilpancingo. Apparently, he believed that the Revolution announced for November 20 of that year by a miner from the state of Coahuila, Francisco I. Madero, would have no repercussions on his business activities; if so, he was sorely mistaken.

In fact, the day after the Revolution began, November 21, 1910, found Harootian in the Chilpancingo office of the Mexican Petroleum Company, *El Águila*, purchasing materials (*naftolina*, *diamante*, *monarca*) he needed to continue his road-building. Those products cost 783 pesos, payable in 30 days, and were delivered to Charles S. Walker in Iguala, where the receipt was issued. But Jacobo would never pay off that debt, for the Revolution had broken out, and his dream of building a road to Acapulco was never realized: the tidal wave of Revolution put an end to that dream and carried Harootian away to more intense adventures and, eventually, into exile.



## THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

We do not know whether Harootian participated in some way in the *maderista* rebellion, but the trust that the *hacendada*, Eucaria Apreza, later showed suggests that he had some dealings with her. Also, it is highly likely that he had business relations with Manuel D. Asúnsolo,<sup>30</sup> as both men were involved in mining operations in the Bravos district. Moreover, before the Revolution began he was acquainted with Ambrosio Figueroa; documents show that this *maderista* chief invited Harootian to participate in the siege of Iguala on May 14, 1911, as Jacobo himself pointed out in his aforementioned application for Mexican citizenship:

Nor could I reject the invitation that the worthy General Ambrosio Figueroa sent me to accompany him in the assault on the Plaza de Iguala on May fourteenth [of that year]. Thus, I went to said siege, given the efficacious and laudatory terms of the missive signed [and sent] by Ambrosio Figueroa and Martín Vicario to all the other leaders who figure therein, and that I annex with a copy, so that the original may be returned to me.<sup>31</sup>

For some reason that original was never returned so, fortunately for us, it is in the *Archivo Histórico de Relaciones Exteriores*. The letter from Ambrosio Figueroa to his lieutenants, Julián Blanco, Laureano Astudillo, Manuel C. Mesa, Pedro Ramírez and Néstor Adame, in which he praises and recommends Harootian, is a document of primary importance for it proves that the Armenian participated in the *maderista* Revolution:

Yguala, 16 de mayo de 1911

[...]

My good sirs and comrades-in-arms

I beg you to reserve all manner of considerations for Mr. Jacobo Harootian, who has provided me with valuable services that have contributed largely to the planning of the assault on the city of Yguala that was successfully effectuated on the 14<sup>th</sup> day of this month.

Having no doubt that you shall be deferent in presenting my recommendation, I send you my most sincere appreciation as your great friend and comrade.

*Effective suffrage, no re-election* [Madero's motto to incite the Revolution]= Yg<sup>a</sup> [Iguala]

May 16, 1911

Commander-in-Chief

Ambrosio Figueroa

The G. C.

Martín Vicario

P.S.

Allow me also to beg you to provide the person I recommend all support that he requests for his safety and security.

So be it.

Figueroa

(reverse)

On behalf of myself and the forces I command, Mr. Don Jacobo Harootian shall receive all manner of guarantees for his person and interests.

Laureano Astudillo

We know that Harootian gave the *maderista* Revolution the sum of 200 pesos, as well as 48 horses and "fifty-two rifles, some of which were to protect my mine workers, and some acquired at very high prices expressly during the revolution, and six hundred and sixty cartridges most bought at a cost three times above normal".<sup>32</sup> Those materials were given to several leaders, including Ambrosio Figueroa, Asúnsolo and Almazán. We assume that this first contribution coincided with the attack on Iguala, where Harootian arrived from Zumpango and likely served under Brigadier General Asúnsolo, as the latter's signature accompanies that of Figueroa, the Commander-in-Chief of the Insurgent Forces in the states of Morelos and Guerrero. Moreover, a letter penned by Commander Vicario and dated in Iguala on May 15, 1911, awarded Harootian the rank of 'Colonel in the Insurgent Forces', thanks to his outstanding performance in the siege of Iguala. The fact that it was signed by Brigadier Asúnsolo certainly suggests that Harootian was under his command.

After receiving the rank of Colonel and obtaining the letter citing his participation and commendation in the attack on Iguala on the 16<sup>th</sup>, Jacobo returned to Zumpango - perhaps on Figueroa's orders - to try to convince leaders in Chilpancingo to accept the appointment of Francisco Figueroa as state governor.

The revolutionary leaders quartered in Chilpancingo under Almazán's command discussed the proposal by the rebel chiefs who had just captured Iguala, but roundly rejected Figueroa's appointment. Almazán alluded to that episode in his *Memorias*, where he wrote that they were upset by the imposition of Figueroa as governor and were disinclined to accept it. At that point they received an invitation from Harootian to join him at his home in Zumpango. Because one of Almazán's lieutenants was friends with the Armenian, Harootian received a hearty recommendation and, thanks to that endorsement, Almazán went to Zumpango with Eucaria Apreza and Donato Miranda to confer with Jacobo. After three hours of talks, Colonel Harootian convinced them to accept Figueroa's appointment as governor.<sup>33</sup>

That event marked the beginning of his work as a conciliator in Guerrero during the Revolution, but other episodes ensued; for example, he made the trip to Iguala - along the road he had helped build as a sub-contractor - in one of his cars, paying all expenses from his own pocket. Later, Almazán would observe that it was "a clever move that allowed Figueroa to peacefully assume the governor's chair".

On May 17 in El Paso, Texas, the armistice between the Díaz government and the Madero-led rebels was signed. In an attempt to gain a more favorable position, Ambrosio Figueroa ordered some of his troops, including Asúnsolo's unit, to mobilize to the state of Morelos and lay siege to the town of Jojutla. On the 22<sup>nd</sup>, after the federal army had fled, Asúnsolo<sup>34</sup> triumphantly entered the city of Cuernavaca.

On May 24, Ambrosio Figueroa left Iguala for Chilpancingo to officially install his brother, Francisco, as state governor. Either there, or during a stopover in Zumpango, he met with Almazán and Harootian, who by May 16 was serving under Almazán in the Serdán Brigade, apparently with Ambrosio Figueroa's consent. Once Almazán and the Figueroa brothers had ironed out their differences, the former decided to go to Mexico City with his lieutenant, Laureano Astudillo, and Harootian, to meet with Madero, "having complete confidence in the spirit of justice that impels Mr. Madero, he decided: in agreement with his [lieutenants] to await the aforementioned Mr. Madero's arrival in Mexico [City] and equably resolve the conflict".<sup>35</sup> On the way, they stopped in Iguala, where General Almazán formalized his command over Colonel Harootian, as the following appointment letter written there on May 16 shows:

By virtue of the faculties invested in me by the 'Revolutionary Command' [*Junta*], residing in San Antonio, Texas, and in view of the military valor you have shown on multiple occasions, and the innumerable services you have provided to the cause, it is my honor to name You Colonel of the Brigade under my command.<sup>36</sup>

Written by hand on the letter is the legend, "Chief of the General Staff" above 'Colonel', though it is unclear whether this correction was made then or later on. Whatever the case, Harootian did become the Chief of the General Staff of the Serdán Brigade. Two days later, also in Iguala, Almazán sent a telegram to the editor of the newspaper *El País* in Mexico City in which he declared publicly that there was no 'supreme leader' of the Revolution, but that Ambrosio Figueroa, Almazán himself, and other chiefs commanded the units that each of them had recruited. This suggests that Almazán had left the decision to name the leader of the Revolution in Guerrero to Madero, though we also know that he was trying to reconcile the differences between Zapata

and Figueroa, because on that same day he wrote to the former offering his services as mediator. Zapata sent a train from Cuernavaca to bring Almazán and his troops (around 1000 men) there. They arrived on May 31 and were received by Zapata and Asúnsolo, thus reuniting the latter with his former subordinate, Harootian. They spent only one night in Cuernavaca, and on the following day - June 1 - their troops prepared to move to Mexico City to receive Madero, the leader of the Revolution. At the vanguard was the unit commanded by Almazán, together with Astudillo and Harootian; the Brigade reached the outskirts of Mexico City on June 3.

With his troops quartered in San Ángel, Almazán went with his aides (probably including Harootian) to San Juan del Río, Querétaro, to await the train carrying the leader of the Revolution. They met there on June 7, 1911 and traveled together to make a triumphant entry into Mexico City at midday on June 8. Waiting for them at the train station were Asúnsolo and Zapata, among other generals. Almazán and his General Staff were lodged in the *San Carlos Hotel*, where they busily lobbied other groups and attended other activities. Almazán and Madero spoke several times between June 8 and 11, but it appears that Madero decided to ratify General Ambrosio Figueroa as the leader of the Revolution in Guerrero. At that point, the young general Almazán asked that his troops be disbanded, a request that was granted on June 11, after each soldier had received a payment of 40 pesos.<sup>37</sup>

On the night of June 11, Madero attended a serenade with over 10,000 people in the *Plaza de la Constitución*. On the morning of June 12 he set out for the state of Guerrero, passing through Cuernavaca. In the town of Tres Marias he was received by Asúnsolo, who joined him for the rest of the trip. They arrived at the Cuernavaca station where a boisterous crowd awaited them, as one can see in a film shot by the Alva brothers. In Cuernavaca, Madero received a tribute from the combined armies of Asúnsolo and Zapata and, on the following day, June 13, continued the journey to Iguala. Waiting for him there were the governor, Francisco Figueroa and Eucaria Apreza, with General Ambrosio Figueroa and Martín Vicario. That afternoon, they attended a banquet at the home of the president of the municipal council (*ayuntamiento*), Antonio Moronatti, where Madero officially ratified Francisco Figueroa in the position of interim state governor and authorized his candidacy for that post through popular election.

The next day, Madero and his entourage left Iguala for Chilpancingo. López Victoria writes<sup>38</sup> that along the way, following a previously approved itinerary, they were joined by General Almazán and, we assume, Harootian. On the morning of June 14, they arrived in Chilpancingo, where parades, poetry readings and photo sessions took place, as in the other cities that the *caudillo* passed through. That evening, there was a musical program in the



house of their host, Egidio de la Fuente. The following morning, they returned to Iguala, and on June 16 boarded a *Ferrocarril Interoceánico* train to go back to Mexico City, by way of Puente de Ixtla, Yautepec, Jojutla and Cuautla. All along the way, people applauded their leader before the train stopped for a brief photo session in Popo Park. The first editions of the *Historia Gráfica de la Revolución Mexicana* relate that Harootian appears in those photographs, though editions published after 1970 include a correction: Harootian did not return with Madero's entourage; it seems that he stayed in Zumpango to deal with several pressing business difficulties.

Almazán did return with Madero's group and remained in Mexico City, as it was clear to him that the leader had made a decision that went against his interests. An interview with *El Demócrata* on June 19, 1911 was entitled "General Almazán releases his troops and returns to the classroom; after demobilizing 10,000 soldiers of the Southern Liberation Army, he goes back to life as a student". That note praised the efforts of the young general who, after spending two months in San Antonio, Texas, preparing the Revolution, proceeded to cross the entire country by train, on foot and on horseback, with no money, but always managing to command a large army. The report included the 'farewell' letter that Almazán wrote to his troops, where he affirmed that the reward for his contributions was not in 'metal' (*i.e.*, money) but, rather, "in the tranquility of conscience that our children will be allowed to savor".<sup>39</sup>

The fatherly letter that Almazán addressed to his subalterns left a favorable impression on the Minister of Government, who named him Commander-of-Arms in the state of Guerrero. Almazán accepted the appointment and sent a telegram to his former soldiers ordering them to present themselves in Chilpancingo. However, at that precise moment, Madero asked him to accompany him to Tehuacán, so Almazán was unable to make the trip to Guerrero. In his place, he commissioned Harootian, on instructions from the Minister of Government, to go to Chilpancingo and temporarily take charge of his military office there.

Clearly, the discord between Ambrosio Figueroa, the Inspector of the Rural Corps, and Almazán, the recently named Commander-of-Arms in Guerrero, would make any effective political action impossible. It appears that on July 17 or 18 Harootian left Mexico City for Iguala, where he met with Rómulo Figueroa, who informed him that he would not accept Almazán's designation and that, if the appointment were formalized, he and all the other insurgent leaders in the state would retire to private life. Harootian continued to Chilpancingo, but upon his arrival Ambrosio Figueroa also told him Almazán's designation was unacceptable because the people of Guerrero had recognized *him* as their leader. In his *Memorias*, Almazán referred to another

attempt at pacification by Harootian related to that incident. According to Almazán, Figueroa had met with several of Almazán's former subordinates and asked them to suspend their support for him. Fearful that fighting might break out between Almazán's forces and troops loyal to Figueroa, Harootian sent an urgent telegram to the Minister of Government and Madero, imploring them to suspend Almazán's recently announced appointment, "due to pressing reasons of public convenience". His timely issuing of those telegrams won Harootian warm congratulations from the Minister. Shortly afterwards, Vázquez Gómez recommended that Almazán go with the Armenian to the state of Morelos to take up the post of Commander-of-Arms there; that is, his appointment was upheld after Harootian's intervention but the place was changed. Almazán mentions that Harootian accepted his invitation, "though it meant neglecting his important private businesses".<sup>40</sup>

In reality, though, Harootian had by then abandoned his enterprises; indeed, while he was traveling between Mexico City and Chilpancingo in the service of the Minister of Government, his lawyer and legal representative in the latter city, Lic. Gudiño, negotiated a mortgage of his lands in Zumpango and Llano Largo (Acapulco) with the *Banco Nacional de México*; "due to the poor condition of the businesses not only in Guerrero but throughout the nation, Mr. Harootian applied to this branch office for a new period of two years to pay off the total amount of his debt [...] guaranteeing payment with four rural properties".<sup>41</sup> That loan application was drafted on July 17 1911 for the amount of seven thousand pesos.

After the telegrams from Harootian, and his subsequent recognition by the government, Madero interceded to have Almazán confirmed in the same position in Morelos. Thus, on July 25 or 26 Almazán returned to Cuernavaca to take up his post there as Inspector of the Rural Corps. Soon after that, he brought Harootian in as his second-in-command. Several revolutionary generals were living in Cuernavaca at that time (in addition to Almazán, Asúnsolo and Zapata), as was Juan Nepomuceno Carreón, the provisional governor installed by Asúnsolo, who looked unfavorably upon Harootian, whom he took to be with an Arab. In a telegram to the Minister of Government, Vázquez Gómez, dated July 29<sup>th</sup> Carreón wrote that Harootian was partners with Damián Flores and that

...as soon as the towns in the South get wind of his involvement in government affairs they will rise up unanimously to protest, and justifiably so, because it could well be thought that the aforementioned Harootian, who is well known in these parts, is working as a spy for the previous government. Given [his] antecedents, I am sure that he will insist upon serving the Government out of his own personal and speculative interest and will cost the Nation dearly.<sup>42</sup>

Zapata detested Carreón, and considered him a puppet of the old *hacendados* in Morelos who were seeking to disarm the revolutionary troops by any means possible. The proverb holds that 'the enemy of my enemy is my friend', but we have no record of amicable relations between Zapata and Harootian at that time, though the latter's superiors - Asúnsolo and Almazán - were friendly with him.

Almazán wrote in his *Memorias* that while serving as Inspector of the Rural Corps in Morelos he spoke with Zapata, who expressed his complete willingness to retire into private life and cease his involvement in the political affairs of that state. Having accomplished this, Almazán appeared in Mexico City for a meeting with the interim President, De la Barra, the Sub-minister and Minister of Government (Vázquez Gómez), and Madero, to apprise them of recent events. It is said that he sent several telegrams in an attempt to obtain the funds he needed to buy arms and pay the two hundred men he had brought from Guerrero, who were garrisoned, but starving, in Cuernavaca. Harootian also sent telegrams for this purpose, and finally received a reply from Vázquez Gómez on July 31 to a missive he had sent two days before, assuring him that "the order of payment has been issued".<sup>43</sup> Just two days later, however, serious disagreements with De la Barra and, more importantly, with Madero, led Vázquez Gómez to resign from his position as Minister of Government.

Almazán, Harootian and other revolutionary leaders arrived for a demonstration in Mexico City at the building of the Ministry of Government and the offices of the newspaper *El Demócrata*, which on August 3 published the following headline on page one: "Protest by All Revolutionaries against the Forced Resignation of Mr. V. Gómez". Two insets on the same page read: "Madero states that he asked for Lic. Vázquez' resignation because he is deemed to lack political tact"; and, "Declaration that Mr. Francisco I. Madero will be repudiated as Leader of the Revolution".

Forcing Vázquez' resignation was one of Madero's first serious errors, but an even worse one was his contempt for the revolutionaries. When the latter met with him in Tehuacán, Puebla, to discuss the Vázquez affair, he became incensed and hurled expletives to the four winds. Among those who signed the document supporting Vázquez we can identify at least three members of the Serdán Brigade, Almazán, Harootian (Chief of the General Staff), and Guillermo Castillo y Tapia (an engineer).

*La Actualidad* published a more alarmist report:

The exuberance, we repeat, has been enormous and commentaries have abounded, to such a degree that some said that an armed movement would break out last night, with its first victims being the President of the

Republic and don Alberto García Granados, governor of the district, who was named by the aforementioned President to replace Vázquez Gómez.<sup>44</sup>

In an interview with that newspaper, García Granados would say that he despised the bravura of the revolutionaries who boasted that they were going to 'kick him out' of the Ministry. Their support for Vázquez, which entailed rejecting García Granados and, by association, Madero himself, was a very delicate policy adopted by the revolutionaries who signed the petition, and one that was to have serious consequences. On August 4, the revolutionaries and anti-re-electionists named their own candidates for the presidency, Vázquez Gómez himself, and for the vice-presidency, Jesús Flores Magón. With that, the rupture between Vázquez Gómez and Madero was complete.<sup>45</sup>

Despite their connections to the future candidate, Almazán and Harootian did not leave their posts in Cuernavaca; indeed, we know that Harootian returned there between August 3 and 9, while his superior, Almazán, stayed behind in the *Del Jardín* Hotel in Mexico City, sick in bed.

#### THE INCIDENT ON ARTEAGA STREET

At 3 a.m. on Friday, August 12, Joaquín Berdejo arrived at the *Del Jardín* Hotel in Mexico City to inform the still ailing Almazán of a bloody incident that had occurred the day before and involved ten men from the Rural Corps stationed in Cuernavaca. He described the situation in such "horrific detail" that Almazán decided to leave for Cuernavaca immediately, accompanied by Castillo, the press and a photographer.

The incident was reported in an "extra" edition of *La Actualidad* at 5:00 that afternoon, with the news that General Huerta's troops had taken Cuernavaca and were busily rounding up the revolutionary forces: "Colonel Jacobo Harrotiam [sic] (...) has been captured and is being subjected to a truly inquisitorial process". Huerta's column, the report added, had gone to Cuernavaca to relieve the revolutionary troops from duty. Almazán

asks that we report that he is most upset with Mr. Madero for this procedure, as they had agreed that the demobilization of Zapata's forces would be carried out in complete peace, and that he finds it very strange that this measure was performed in such an abrupt and inopportune way with no advance notice and usurping his authority.<sup>46</sup>

The next day, *La Actualidad* clarified the information by writing that the first news to reach them was somewhat exaggerated, as it had been conveyed by Almazán on the basis of Berdejo's report, but noted that upon arriving in Cuernavaca and speaking with Huerta they received the official version: the federal troops had arrived around 2:00 p.m. on Thursday afternoon with



orders –not secret– to reestablish order and guarantee the residents' lives and properties, which were threatened by revolutionaries who had not been demobilized, but were not under the orders of the Rural Corps. Those soldiers knew of the imminent arrival of the federal troops and were waiting in peace, but that was not the case of the *zapatistas* who, fearing they would be routed, had fled to the sierra. Thus, the federal soldiers had entered the city without incident until they reached the headquarters of the Rural Corps. There, eyewitness reports cited in the newspaper stated, the federal unit had opened fire on a larger group, killing two women and a little girl. Upon hearing the attack, Harootian shouted to his troops not to return the fire, and managed to calm them. After that assault, Huerta had first disarmed and then imprisoned Harootian and the *maderista* soldiers.<sup>47</sup>

*El Imparcial* arranged an interview with Harootian<sup>48</sup>, who commented that after parading in front of the state governor, the federal troops had gone on to take *Arteaga* Street where the office of the *Rurales* was located, and where they encountered the *maderistas*, and that from one of the balconies in the building the secretary of the office, young Mendizábal, saw how one of their men (Porcallo) had raised his pistol and was aiming it at the federal soldiers. Mendizábal tried to prevent him from shooting, but a dispute ensued that ended with bullets flying. Two women, a boy and a *maderista* officer (a corporal) died, and several others were wounded.

We do not know how long Harootian remained in jail, but it is clear that he spoke with Huerta at length; indeed, the two men may have become friends. We can assume that at some point they discussed Madero, and that something in that conversation presaged future understandings. In his *Memorias*, Almazán wrote that he arrived to find his officers in perfect harmony with the federal soldiers, and that "he, of course, spoke with General Victoriano Huerta, while walking with him for the two days they were together, in perfect agreement". López Victoria observed that Huerta apologized to Almazán and that, on orders from higher up, put himself at the latter's service. Then Almazán organized a banquet for him on August 12 in the *Moctezuma* restaurant. As a reporter from *El Imparcial* noted in an item on August 13, that event was attended by *maderista* leaders, army leaders and officers, in a "...get-together marked by great cordiality". He also wrote that Huerta made a toast to "reestablishing the business and progress of the Fatherland", which was answered on behalf of Almazán by the loquacious Guillermo Castillo, who spoke of the glories of the National Army. As secretary of the Headquarters of the Rural Corps, Mendizábal, the young student and future ethnologist, took the floor to comment on the unfortunate confrontation that had taken place two days before (August 10), affirming that no one had been at fault and that it was a tragedy; words that Huerta himself seconded. After speeches and a

few drinks - some attendees drank more than others - it was decided to take up a collection to aid the wounded and the orphans of the victims of the altercation on *Arteaga* Street. They gathered a reasonable amount before their lunch ended at around five on that August 12 afternoon.

The cordiality born with that meal at the *Moctezuma* continued on August 13 at the *Madrid* Hotel (today the *Ocampo* Theater) where it was Huerta's turn to play host. That occasion became a 'photo-op' and produced many pictures that allow us to identify those in attendance.



*Victoriano Huerta and Andreu Almazán seated in the center, also Harootian and Mendizábal. Behind don Jacobo is the engineer Guillermo Castillo y Tapia; Major Felipe Álvarez is behind Almazán; also present are Mario Ferrer, Francisco Feves, Alfonso Romano, General Rivera (of the 5<sup>th</sup> Regiment), Maldonado (of the revolutionary forces) and the reporter Fernando Ramírez de Aguilar. Source: El Imparcial, 15 August 1911, p. 3*

At six p.m. on August 13, Madero arrived in Cuernavaca to deal with the issue of disbanding Zapata's troops, and to speak with Almazán, as he had been informed that the young general had indicated his desire to retire to private life. Of course, another burning question was Almazán's open support for Vázquez Gómez and his intention to repudiate Madero as Leader of the Revolution. Earlier, on August 9, Madero had written to Ambrosio Figueroa - Zapata Almazán and Asúnsolo's bitter enemy - offering him the governorship of the state of Morelos. That act showed that Madero's method of peacekeeping consisted in placing a sworn enemy of those he wished to pacify in a position of power. Also that day, or perhaps on the 14th, (as Casasola states),<sup>49</sup> Huerta organized a parade for the candidate, Madero, accompanied by Harootian. Almazán does not appear in the photo, so we do not know whether he attended or sent a representative, perhaps his second-in-command. What we do know is that at the end of the parade Madero

addressed the Rural Corps and asked them not to retire from service. He was aware that Almazán had asked them to demobilize, but urged them to continue serving until the state of Morelos was completely pacified and reconstruction well underway.

Almazán, in his *Memorias*, wrote that Madero called for him (we do not know if it was before or after the parade) and other officers (including Harootian) to try to convince the Rural Corps to desist from their plan to retire, but was unsuccessful because Almazán's decision was firm and irrevocable. Moreover, during that talk Madero said that he was extremely upset by their friendship with Castillo and forbade them to have any dealings with him, as it "was not in the best interests of his propaganda".<sup>50</sup> Of course, Almazán objected vociferously that Castillo had been his teacher and was a good friend, adding that Madero and Castillo's political differences were no reason for him to break off their friendship, so he refused.

Despite affirming his opposition to Madero's candidacy for the presidency, and unconditional support for Vázquez Gómez, Almazán agreed to accompany Madero to Cuautla on August 17, passing through Mexico City, to help mediate the pacification of Zapata. Though he disagreed with Madero's conduct, he wrote in his *Memorias*, he returned to Mexico City and from there traveled to his hometown of Olinalá, where he began to elaborate "the propaganda he had planned".

#### THE YAUTEPEC CAMPAIGN

Meanwhile, on August 16 Harootian had received a telegram from the Ministry of Government requesting, or ordering, him to join Huerta's forces and fight against Zapata, who had objected to the demobilization plan. Ever the obedient soldier, Harootian followed the order, although Almazán, his superior officer, later sent several telegrams ordering him to return to Cuernavaca with his - Almazán's - troops.<sup>51</sup>

The Yauatepec campaign against Zapata caused the rupture between Huerta and Madero, as shown by the letter that the latter sent to the former on October 31. Also, it appears to have opened the rift between Almazán and Harootian. The federal troops under Huerta and the Rural Corps led by Harootian all left Cuernavaca on August 16<sup>th</sup> on their way to the town of Las Tetillas. A telegram from the correspondent for *La Actualidad* at 7:00 in the evening of that day states that Harootian's soldiers were deployed to answer enemy fire,<sup>52</sup> i.e., gunfire from Zapata's men. That meant the Armenian had declared his willingness to disobey his leader, who considered Zapata a friend and ally. In fact, Almazán wanted to speak with Zapata, which was why he had agreed to go to Cuautla with Madero to peacefully demobilize Zapata's troops. That night, Harootian's Rural Corps and Huerta's Expeditionary Column

camped in Las Tetillas, accompanied by several reporters, Samuel Tinoco, a photographer, and a military *attaché* from the US Embassy, Captain Stutterbach, who was there as an observer.

Harootian was an experienced traveler in the area, as he had worked on the *Ferrocarril Interoceánico* railroad that passed through those lands. In addition, he was a prospector and soldier, no doubt a very useful leader for Huerta who, in fact, had stated that the Rural Corps' leaders, officers and soldiers were in magnificent condition, and showed great diligence and an excellent disposition.<sup>53</sup> In Tinoco's photographs the Rurales can be distinguished clearly because they are not wearing uniforms and bear a dark-colored band tied on their right arm.<sup>54</sup>

The Expeditionary Column was active in battle at that time - first, in a firefight between Zapata's soldiers and Huerta's troops on the outskirts of Yautepec, where Blanquet participated, and perhaps Harootian as well. Madero was furious when he learned of Huerta's decision to take the square and denounced him to President De la Barra for acting on orders from General Reyes. Madero recommended that De la Barra order the federal troops to return from Cuernavaca in order to achieve the pacification of Morelos. When Madero appeared in Yautepec on August 20 to restore the calm disrupted by the presence of Huerta's Column, he was accompanied by his brother Evaristo and sister, and by Almazán. While there he wrote to the President again of his belief that it would be imprudent to send federal troops to that community, and that the best tactic was to use the troops assigned to Casso and the Rural Corps.

On August 21, Huerta wrote Madero to ask him to have Zapata's troops leave the town square in Yautepec, as President De la Barra had ordered, because his Expeditionary Column in Tejalpa "lacked water for even the most urgent necessities". Madero replied that the square had been evacuated, so he could move in and occupy it. He then sent Rubén Morales to Yautepec, accompanied by the reporter Aldo Baroni of *El Diario*, to oversee the occupation of the square by the Expeditionary Column and make sure that all the *zapatistas* had gone. Also, he ordered that "forage and provisions [be] sent to the camp in Tejalpa". The occupation of Yautepec began at 10 a.m. on August 22, enlivened by the music from two bands. Harootian participated in the event, as we learn not from written documents but from Tinoco's published photographs, including the one that appears below in which he walks between Huerta and Blanquet as they arrive at the atrium of the church in Yautepec. Through a curious touch of irony, this photo also captures the *Maicería*, a store that sold just the kind of forage that was so sorely needed in Tejalpa. On the night of August 22, the Column made camp in the Yautepec cemetery.



On August 25, "The Commander of the Rural Police, Jacobo Harootian" received an urgent telegram from the Minister of Government at his camp in Tejalpa ordering him to "immediately send a detachment of 20 men to the Hacienda San Vicente, district of Cuernavaca". It seems that Harootian did go to that hacienda because, at 6 p.m. on that same day the train traveling to Balsas was stopped by revolutionaries in San Vicente<sup>55</sup>, Morelos, and was only allowed to continue on its way after all passengers had been relieved of their personal belongings. That act infuriated the leaders of the Rural Corps - Harootian and Lieutenant-Colonel Alfonso Romano - who immediately presented their resignations to General Almazán in an act of protest against the government. On that same day, Harootian was separated from Huerta's Column by order of Clemente Villaseñor and returned to Cuernavaca where governor Carreón gave him orders to disband his troops. Immediately, he set out for Mexico City with some members of his disbanded unit.

Almazán arrived in the capital on August 29, fed up with Madero's erratic handling of Zapata, known by then as the "leader of the south" (*jefe del sur*), and agreed to an interview with the press. *El Imparcial* wrote that the young general had declared his support for Vázquez Gómez and proposed that both Madero and General Reyes renounce their candidacy for the presidency. *El Demócrata* published an extensive interview on September 1 in the same terms.<sup>56</sup> In this second interview Almazán was asked directly: "Do you have some specific reason for not supporting Mr. Madero?", to which he replied: "Not one, but many (...) Mr. Madero cannot be a good president... If he is elected and carries on the policy he has followed up to now, the people will surely be as tired of him within two years as they were of Porfirio [Díaz] after the thirty-five years of his dictatorship". He ended the interview by saying that in the following month of October he would leave for Europe to continue his studies in medicine that had been cut short by the events of the time.

Almazán turned out to have a prophet's voice in that interview, as Madero would be assassinated within two years. Moreover, he also foresaw that Madero's adversaries, including himself, would fall, one-by-one. Just two days after his arrival, he left Mexico City for his native Olinalá to visit his dying father and participate in the campaign in favor of Vázquez Gómez.

Thus, the spark of the so-called *vazquista* rebellion was lit. On September 3 in Chilpancingo, General Julián Blanco showed the governor of Guerrero, Francisco Figueroa, a letter from Jesús Salgado in which he invited him to rebel, citing his fraternal ties with Almazán. López Victoria points out that Almazán had been informed of this and that it was the real reason why he left Mexico City. López Victoria then wrote to Huerta on September 5 asking him to intervene on his behalf and offer him guarantees of safety. Around the same time, Harootian was in Iguala with plans to go to Zumpango, a move

that was deemed suspicious, perhaps suggesting collusion with Almazán. For that reason, Martín Vicario reported on Harootian and kept him under surveillance. On September 10, Ambrosio Figueroa issued the order for Harootian's arrest in Chilpancingo.<sup>57</sup>

Also on September 10, Vázquez Gómez granted an interview in which he tried to help Almazán. Hence, he stated that, "It is not true that the *jefe del sur* [Zapata] is recruiting soldiers in the state of Guerrero to support his candidacy",<sup>58</sup> and that he had received four emissaries from Almazán who were given propaganda leaflets and newspaper clippings to aid his campaign in Guerrero, a fact that would seem to indicate that the campaign was being conducted in peace. Who were those emissaries? Castillo was still in prison, so was it Jesús Salgado? or Mendizábal? Meanwhile, Almazán had joined forces with Eufemio and Emiliano Zapata and, with Francisco Mendoza, had taken Xochihuehuetlán, Guerrero, at 12 p.m. on September 10. Vázquez Gómez had erred; Almazán had indeed taken up arms.

On September 12, the Zapata brothers and Almazán, with 300 men on horseback, occupied Huamuxtitlán without firing a shot, and on September 13 Zapata and Almazán fought a battle in Tlapa against Añorve's troops, after which they made peace and Zapata invited Añorve's to reject Madero as "an ingrate". Later, Zapata and Almazán settled in Tulcingo, near Olinalá, where on the 17<sup>th</sup> we find them attending rodeos and bullfights. On September 18 the press in Mexico City published the news that Almazán had been taken prisoner in Olinalá, though that item was corrected the following day.<sup>59</sup> But what was true is that an order for his arrest had been issued, just as in the cases of Harootian and Mendizábal.

#### HAROOTIAN AND MENDIZÁBAL IMPRISONED FOR REBELLION

Upon his release from jail in Chilpancingo, Harootian returned to Mexico City on September 18. While his former leader was fighting beside Zapata in the state of Guerrero, in an open rebellion against Madero, Harootian registered in the *Del Jardín* Hotel on 16 de Septiembre Street, accompanied by Mendizábal, the young ethnography student.

Born in the capital on July 2, 1890, son of Miguel de Mendizábal, a former Director of the Mexican Mint, and Carmen Román, young Miguel Othón was a student in the *Escuela Nacional Preparatoria*, and would later study with \* Andrés Molina Enríquez at the National Museum of Archaeology, History and Ethnology, where he took courses in archaeology, history and ethnography. Later, he won "a position as an assistant in aboriginal ethnology, and was soon named Director, a [promotion] that ensconced him firmly in the anthropological sciences".<sup>60</sup> "In 1910 he was mentioned as a member of the group that, under the leadership of José de Jesús Núñez y Domínguez and

Manuel M. Ponce, founded the second Mexican Folkloric Society".<sup>61</sup> In 1911, perhaps with Castillo, he enlisted in Almazán's unit and appeared in photos taken on August 11 or 12 in the *Madrid* Hotel in Cuernavaca accompanying Harootian, Almazán and Huerta.<sup>62</sup> It appears to me that he maintained a close relationship with Castillo and Almazán, two other "students" in the Serdán Brigade, the military unit he served as secretary. Also, he was often seen in the company of Harootian and was jailed with him on September 19 in the penitentiary in Mexico City. At that point he became a bitter enemy of Madero and would later participate in the events at La Ciudadela.

Why were Harootian and Mendizábal imprisoned? In the case of the former there are four possibilities, though only two for Mendizábal. The first is suggested by the fact that the press described Harootian as a "pernicious" foreigner. It is interesting to read how the September 22 edition of *El Demócrata* affirmed that the Armenian was to be expelled from the country under Article 33, while on September 26 *Nueva Era* reported how he had "proven that he was an American citizen", as if being an American somehow exempted him from being deported. Of course, being an Armenian citizen was one thing, and being a US citizen something quite different, especially when it came to the protection that those two governments could provide; indeed, at that moment no state named Armenia even existed. Above all, there was a clearly racist element in the tone of those news reports that reflected the nature of Mexican society. Harootian proved that he had obtained American citizenship in 1884, while serving as a soldier in the US Army. Also, as soon as he was released from prison, he set about the task of obtaining Mexican citizenship "officially" since, as he wrote in his petition for naturalization, he had never cited his American citizenship in any of his property transactions in Mexico, and that meant that by law he should receive Mexican citizenship expeditiously.

The second possibility for his detention was his participation in the Yauhtepec campaign under Huerta's command. As we saw above, that event had infuriated the future president, Madero, as proven by the letter he wrote to Huerta on October 31. However, Harootian had received orders from the government to join in the incursion against Zapata, and obeyed them, though that had meant turning against Almazán, his superior officer at the time. The third reason was the pronouncement he signed to support the non-conformity of the revolutionary leaders after the resignation of Vázquez Gómez. Those signees began to fall one-by-one, including General Cándido Navarro and the engineer, Guillermo Castillo, a member of Harootian's own brigade, both of whom were still in prison at that time. The final likely cause of his arrest was the uprising led by Almazán, despite the fact that Harootian had declared that

he was opposed to his former superior and was unaware of his plan to join Zapata in the rebellion on the border between Puebla and Guerrero.

In fact, all four of these factors led to the issuance of the order to arrest Harootian: he was a foreigner who not only had become embroiled in the country's domestic politics but had also taken up arms (though, of course, the Boer General Viljoen and the grandson of the famous Garibaldi were also among the *maderista* revolutionaries, though they were never threatened). Also, Harootian had taken part in the Yautepec campaign that, as governor Carreón pointed out, had seriously annoyed the residents of Morelos. Finally, he had signed to show his support for Vázquez Gómez, so his name was likely on the list of potential detainees compiled by Pimentel y Fagoaga the interim governor of the Federal District. In reality, the stated cause of his arrest, "the crime of rebellion", probably rested upon the support he showed for Vázquez Gómez, though the 'straw that broke the camel's back' may have been the fact that he had served as Almazán's second-in-command.

There is no definitive record of Mendizábal signing the pronouncement in favor of Vázquez Gómez, and it is doubtful that his name was on Pimentel y Fagoaga's 'black list'. Nor do we have information as to his possible participation in the Yautepec campaign. He did, however, accompany Harootian while carrying out some of Almazán's orders, and I believe that led to the accusations and, finally, his detention, though he declared that he was "a victim of politics", and that perhaps he had been jailed only because he was in the wrong place at the wrong time, in the company of Harootian, the "pernicious" Armenian. The report in *Nueva Era* of Harootian's release does not mention Mendizábal, so it is not clear if he was released before or after. Indeed, we lose track of Mendizábal at that point, until he reappears in February 1913, participating in the ouster of Madero.

Harootian left prison on September 25 and stayed in Mexico City through October and November while his application for Mexican citizenship was being processed. Finally, on November 4, 1911, he was naturalized and his papers were signed by President León de la Barra, just one day before he renounced the presidency, leaving it in the hands of the recently elected Francisco I. Madero. After that, Harootian went back to Zumpango to attend to his business interests there, and in April 1912, he wrote to President Madero asking him to return the money he had contributed to the Revolution. But then he maintained silence, perhaps due to some lingering animosity against the Madero regime. In March 1913, just a month after the fall of Madero's government, Harootian proclaimed his support for the *huertista* faction and served as a reserve colonel throughout that year in the pacification of the state of Guerrero. He fought against Zapata in Guerrero state, and also against Pancho Villa in the battle of Zacatecas then, after the



fall of Huerta in 1914, exiled himself to the US,<sup>63</sup> where he devoted his talents to producing counterfeit bills to undermine Venustiano Carranza, part of the *huertista* plot to combat that regime. His former secretary, Mendizábal, also participated in that conspiracy, traveling between Guatemala, New Orleans and Cuba during that year. In 1915, while his Armenian countrymen were suffering genocide at the hands of the government of young Turks in his homeland in the Ottoman Empire, Jacobo Harootian, abandoning his properties in Mexico, migrated to the Dominican Republic. There, he returned to life as a miner and sub-contractor on road-building projects. His children and grandchildren were born there, and he died in La Mina, canton of San Cristóbal, Santo Domingo province... but that is another story.

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> "Fue Aprehendido el 2º del Gral. Almazán," *El Demócrata*, September 20, 1911, p. 1.
- <sup>2</sup> "Será Expulsado del Territorio Mexicano," *El Demócrata*, September 22, 1911, p. 4.
- <sup>3</sup> "Harostian y Mendizábal," *Nueva Era*, September 23, 1911, p. 7.
- <sup>4</sup> "Harootian Probó ser Súbdito Americano. La Secretaría de Gobernación no Envío Pruebas de Acusación," *Nueva Era*, September 26, 1911, p. 8.
- <sup>5</sup> Letter from Jacobo Harootian to the Minister of Government and Foreign Relations Office, Mexico City, October 28, 1911; file 43-12-38, Archivo Histórico De la Secretaría de Relaciones Exteriores de México (AHDSREM).
- <sup>6</sup> Letter from Jacobo Harootian to the Minister of the Foreign Relations Office, Mexico City, November 7, 1911, p. 1; file 43-12-38, AHDSREM.
- <sup>7</sup> Vartan Malcom, *The Armenians in America*, Pilgrim Press, Boston, 1919.
- <sup>8</sup> Register of Enlistments, U.S. Army, 1798-1914, year 1883, p. 104.
- <sup>9</sup> Harootian Letter of November 7, 1911.
- <sup>10</sup> Register of Enlistments, US Army, 1798-1914, year 1888.
- <sup>11</sup> Camille Krantz "Chemins de Fer et Travaux Publics", *Le Mexique au Debút du XX Siècle*, Librairie Delagrave, n.d., Paris, 1904, p. 17.
- <sup>12</sup> There, the company decided it would not be profitable to build the railroad to Acapulco along the established route, but that a viable course would be to follow the Balsas River to its mouth and then continue construction towards Zihuatanejo, and from there to Acapulco. However, due to lack of funding, he was only able to build the bridge over the Balsas (Francisco R. Calderón. "Los Ferrocarriles", in Daniel Cosío Villegas, *Historia Moderna de México. El Porfiriato, la Vida Económica*, Editorial Hermes, Mexico, 1974, pp. 587-588.
- <sup>13</sup> Harootian Letter of November 7, 1911.
- <sup>14</sup> "Boletines" of the *Secretaría de Fomento*, Mexico, 1904-1907.
- <sup>15</sup> In 1903, he obtained eight mining concessions, also eight in 1904, but in 1905 he was only granted one.
- <sup>16</sup> By 22 July 1892 the newspaper *Two Republics* mentioned the relationship of Harootian and Moylan, as they arrived at the *Iturbide* Hotel in Mexico city from Matamoros, Puebla, both contractors of the *Ferrocarril*.

- <sup>17</sup> Mario Bolio, "La Fábrica de la Magdalena Contreras (1836-1910). Una Empresa Textil Precursora en el Valle de México", in Carlos Marichal, and Mario Cerutti (comps.), *Historia de las Grandes Empresas en México, 1850-1930*, Universidad Autónoma de Nuevo León-F.C.E., Mexico, 1997; Margarita García Luna O, *El Movimiento Obrero en el Estado de México. Primeras Fábricas, Obreros y Huelgas*, Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México, Toluca, 1984.
- <sup>18</sup> J.R. Southworth, *Las minas de México, Historia – Geología – Antigua Minería – y Descripción General de los Estados Mineros de la República Mexicana*. Tomo IX, Mexico, October, 1905, p. 118.
- <sup>19</sup> Rosendo Pintos, *Acapulco, Monografía Anecdótica Contemporánea*, Mexico, 1949, pp. 166, 305-306.
- <sup>20</sup> Marvin D. Bernstein, *The Mexican Mining Industry 1890-1950: A Study of the Interaction of Politics, Economics, and Technology*, State University of New York, Albany, 1964, p. 33.
- <sup>21</sup> Harootian, perhaps through a relationship with Niven, also had lands in Zirándaro, Mina district, an unexplored region. Curiously, by 1910, a locality called Armenia had appeared (though it vanished after 1930 with its population of 34), and a mountain over 3000 meters high that divided the municipalities of Mina and Montes de Oca was also called Armenia, (Héctor López, *Diccionario Geográfico, Histórico, Biográfico Y Lingüístico del Estado de Guerrero*, Editorial Pluma y Lápiz de México, Mexico, 1942.
- <sup>22</sup> In partnership with Moylan, he commercialized over 60,000 hectares from 1904 to 1909 in the Ayutla district, Jalisco.
- <sup>23</sup> Harootian Letter of November 7, 1911.
- <sup>24</sup> Pers. comm., January 2011, Zumpango.
- <sup>25</sup> *Banco Nacional de México, Sucursal en Acapulco, Gro. vs. Jacobo Harootian*, c. 1896. Tribunal Superior de Justicia del Distrito Federal (TSJDF), Archivo General de la Nación (AGN).
- <sup>26</sup> Dollero, *México al Día*, Librería de la vda. de C. Bouret, Mexico, 1911, pp. 591-2.
- <sup>27</sup> Dollero, p. 590.
- <sup>28</sup> "El Científico Damián Flores y el Camino Carretero a Iguala," *El Demócrata*, August 29, 1911, p. 4.
- <sup>29</sup> "Contesta los Cargos Concretos que se le Hicieron, el ex Gobernador de Guerrero, D. Damián Flores," *El Demócrata*, September 10, 1911, p. 2.
- <sup>30</sup> In addition to being a miner, the young Manuel D. Asúnsolo, as described in a letter by his partner, Noble Judah, was considered the 'black sheep' of a wealthy hacendado family in Chihuahua, as he frittered away the inheritance he received upon his father's death, was sent to study at the Military Academy in Michigan in 1900, and in 1903 wedded a Canadian woman, Marie Moran, before settling in Chilpancingo, where his father had had mining interests. There, he formed his partnership with Judah (Lee M. Penyak and Pilar García Fabregat, "El general Manuel D. Asúnsolo y su paso por la Revolución Mexicana", *Revista de Historia de América*, Instituto Panamericano de Geografía e Historia, no. 136, January-

December, 2005). He spoke perfect English and shared with Harootian a common past in a U.S. military academy and the mining business.

<sup>31</sup> Harootian Letter of November 7, 1911.

<sup>32</sup> Harootian Letter of November 7, 1911.

<sup>33</sup> Juan Andreu Almazán, "Memorias," *El Universal*, October 19, 1957.

<sup>34</sup> Described by Rosa King as a "decent" young man, quite distinct from the *zapatista* revolutionaries, *Tempest over Mexico. A Personal Chronicle*, Little, Brown and Company, Boston, 1935, pp. 66-67.

<sup>35</sup> Statement to the 2<sup>nd</sup> Tribunal, February 9, 1912, reproduced in "Memorias."

<sup>36</sup> Letter of appointment from Almazán to Harootian, May 26, 1911, found in the file "Jacobo Harootian", 43-12-38, AHDSREM.

<sup>37</sup> "Licenciamiento de Maderistas," *El Demócrata*, June 12, 1911, p. 5.

<sup>38</sup> José Manuel Lopez Victoria, *Historia de la Revolución en Guerrero, Tomo I, de 1901 a 1912*, Gobierno del Estado de Guerrero-Instituto Guerrerense de la Cultura, Chilpancingo, 1985.

<sup>39</sup> "El General Almazán Licencia sus Tropas y Vuelve a las Aulas, Después de Mandar á Diez Mil Hombres del Ejército Libertador en el sur Vuelve á ser Estudiante," *El Demócrata*, June 19, 1911, p. 1.

<sup>40</sup> "Memorias."

<sup>41</sup> "Banco Nacional de México".

<sup>42</sup> Telegram from J. N. Carreón to Vázquez Gómez; Cuernavaca, Morelos, July 29, 1911 (Archivo Isidro Fabela).

<sup>43</sup> Telegram in file 43-12-38, "Jacobo Harootian" AHDSREM.

<sup>44</sup> "El Sr. Madero Aprueba la Destitución del Lic. Vázquez," *La Actualidad*, August 3, 1911, p. 3.

<sup>45</sup> "La Traición de Madero," *El Demócrata*, August 4, 1911.

<sup>46</sup> "El Gral Andreu Almazán desconoce a Madero," *El Demócrata*, August 12, 1911, p. 7.

<sup>47</sup> "El Gral. Andreu Almazán Desconoce a Madero," *La Actualidad*, August 12, 1911, pp. 7, 14. In that report, Almazán expressed his resentment of Madero, whom he accused of being completely under the thumb of Gustavo, his brother. "He is not afraid of being imprisoned, as he considers that he has committed no crime, but if he were to be deprived of his freedom, he believes that thousands of men would protest with all their might".

<sup>48</sup> "Harootian fue internado en la Penitenciaría" *El Imparcial*, 19 September 1911.

<sup>49</sup> Gustavo Casasola, *Historia Gráfica de la Revolución Mexicana*, Editorial Trillas, Mexico, 1973.

<sup>50</sup> "El Ingeniero Castillo Será un Nuevo Judío Errante. Iba a ser Fusilado y el General Huerta le dio Garantías. Comienza el Éxodo," *La Actualidad*, August 17, 1911, p. 6.

<sup>51</sup> "Colonel Harootian failed to obey this order from me in order to follow, with full subordination and discipline, the determinations of [his] superiors. You are well aware of the worthy and efficacious form with which Mr. Harootian fulfilled his duties, offering undeniable proof that he is a man of sound order and criteria" (letter to President De la Barra, "Memorias.")

<sup>52</sup> "El Ingeniero Castillo Será", p. 14.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> As we can see in the photo of Harootian at the beginning of this article.

<sup>55</sup> López Victoria (*op. cit.* p. 135).

<sup>56</sup> "Uno de los Generales Insurgentes de Mayor Prestigio se Declara Vazquista," *El Demócrata*, September 1, 1911, p. 1.

<sup>57</sup> They jailed him for those few days, but he was released on September 16 after proving that he had no relation with Almazán. On September 18, he passed through Zacatepec on his way to Mexico City, according to the correspondent of *El Imparcial* on September 19, 1911.

<sup>58</sup> "Contesta los Cargos Concretos," p. 1.

<sup>59</sup> "El General Almazán Fue Preso Ayer," *El Demócrata*, September 18, 1911, p. 4; "No ha Sido Aprehendido el General Juan Andrew Almazán," *El Demócrata*, September 19, 1911.

<sup>60</sup> P.M. de R., "Miguel O. De Mendizábal", *Revista de Estudios Antropológicos*, vol. VIII, 1946, pp. 265-266.

<sup>61</sup> Andrés Medina, *Recuentos y Figuraciones. Ensayos de Antropología Mexicana*, UNAM, Mexico, 1998, p. 125.

<sup>62</sup> Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán wrote: "Mendizábal never joined the PCM [Mexican Communist Party]; during his youth he served in the illegitimate regime of Victoriano Huerta and was exiled; with the fall of *carrancismo*, he began his revolutionary trajectory; he was a companion of Moisés Sáenz but not an official (...) he never abjured his profound nationalism", in "El Indigenismo y la Antropología Comprometida", in García Mora, Carlos and Andrés Medina (eds.), *La Quiebra Política de la Antropología Social en México, Tomo II*, UNAM, Mexico, 1986, p. 260. Upon his return from exile, Mendizábal founded Mexico's *Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia*, and was the first Director of the *Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales* at the National Autonomous University (UNAM) in Mexico City. He authored some twenty books and articles.

<sup>63</sup> Benita Sánchez Moctezuma, his wife, died while in exile, probably in Veracruz. The following year in New Orleans, Harootian met Mary McCulloch, who would become his second wife.

ՏՈՒ ԺԱՔՈՊՈ ՅԱՐՈՒԻԹԵԱՆ. ՀԱՅ ՄԸ ՄԱՆԱԿԻՑ՝  
ՄԵՔՍԻԹԵԱՆ ՅԵՂԱՓՈԽՈՒԹԵԱՆ  
(Ամփոփում)

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1862ին Հալեպ ծնած հայ մը անցնելով Մեքսիքո, եւ ճանցունելով իրբեւ ժաքուպօ Յարութեան, կը մասնակցի Մեքսիքայի 1911ի պատմական յեղափոխութեան: Յարութեան նիւթալէս կ'աջակցի յեղափոխութեան, կ'ընդգրկուի յեղափոխութեան սպայակոյտին մէջ եւ գործօն մասնակցութիւն կը բերէ անոր յաջողութեան:

Յօդուածը կ'ուսումնասիրէ Յարութեանի՝ մեքսիքեան յեղափոխութեան գործունէութիւնը: