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PROBLEMS OF LABOR IN MEXICO -
A PRELIMINARY SURVEY

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INTRODUCTION

The present inquiry is the first of a series of monographs projected in the interest of summarizing the information now available under the general head of "Industry in Mexico." In due course a number of studies will be made of specific industries such as, for example, textiles, iron and steel, breweries, mining, and oil. For the moment, however, attention will be centered on the problem of presenting a general picture of industrial Mexico and the place in this picture of the modern Mexican labor movement. Accordingly, in the following pages an attempt will be made to answer these questions: (1) To what extent is Mexico industrialized? (2) What is the share of labor in the wealth produced by Mexican industry -- i.e. what wages are paid in Mexico and what standard of living is it possible to maintain on these wages? (3) What is the history and present status of organized labor in Mexico?

THE INDUSTRIALIZATION OF MEXICO

The industrialization of Mexico began in the last half of the nineteenth century. Before 1850 Mexico was practically isolated from the rest of the world. The poor

internal communications, the slow increase of the population, the almost complete absence of internal migration due both to regional cultural groupings and the great differences of climate in the various parts of the country, the repressive influence of the semi-feudal agricultural system, -- all tended to make Mexico almost independent of the changes taking place in the outside world. In the year 1850 13 kilometers of the railroad between Vera Cruz and Mexico City were opened to traffic. This marked the first step in the conquest of Mexico by the forces of modern industry.

It was, however, during the long rule of Porfirio Díaz that the greatest advances were made in the economic transformation of Mexico. In 1876 when Díaz was elected President for the first time there were only 691 kilometers of railroad built in Mexico; by 1890 this number had been increased to 8,948 kilometers; and by 1911, when Díaz was finally overthrown, Mexico could count 24,717 kilometers of railroads in operation. In 1873 the sum of Mexico's imports and exports was 51,760,000 pesos; in 1910 imports and exports totaled 499,588,000 pesos and exports exceeded imports by 87,916,000 pesos. It is estimated that between the years 1886 and 1910 nearly three billion pesos were invested in Mexico -- mostly foreign capital. During the Porfirian epoch factories of all sorts sprang up in every part of the country. For example, in 1910 there were 135 textile factories operating in Mexico and employing 33,000 workers. The growth of factories was accompanied by the development of hydraulic power. The oil and mining industries developed by leaps and bounds.

In the nineteen years since the downfall of Díaz, although hampered and restricted by social and political disorders, Mexico has inevitably continued to develop in the direction of further industrialization. The point of interest in connection with the so-called labor problem in Mexico is: How far has this process gone? At just what stage in the industrial revolution is Mexico at the present time? In order to answer these questions it will be necessary to review briefly various types of evidence.

Manufacturing

Although, as will be pointed out shortly, the machine has left its mark on many phases of Mexican life, Mexico is not now, nor ever has been, a manufacturing country in the usual sense of the word. Indeed, manufacturing plays a very small part in the economic life of the nation. An analysis of trade statistics shows clearly that Mexico is primarily an exporter of raw materials and of materials that come from industries primarily extractive in their nature, and an importer of manufactured products. In 1910-11, for example, at the end of Mexico's period of greatest industrial expansion, out of exports totaling 293,753,638 pesos only 3,609,670 pesos were exports of manufactured products. In the same year 85 per cent of the total imports of 205,874,492 pesos were manufactured goods.¹ "In 1926 the 10 leading exports in point of value were silver, crude petroleum, lead, fuel oil, gasoline, zinc, henequén, copper, coffee, and raw cotton. These 10 products alone account for nearly 82 per cent of Mexico's total exports, or \$273,545,000

(dollars). At the same time the 10 leading imports included, with two exceptions, no products other than manufactures and foodstuffs. They were in order of their importance: machinery, iron and steel, cotton manufactures, automobiles, lard, chemicals, wheat, wood for building purposes, gold and silver, bullion and specie, and mineral oils. The aggregate value of these 10 products in 1926 was \$83,629,000, or 46 per cent of Mexico's total import trade. These figures indicate that, with few exceptions, notably in the case of henequen products and gasoline, Mexico produces practically no manufactures for export purposes. Even in its leading product, textiles, it fails by a considerable margin to supply as much as it consumes."²

The limited extent to which manufacturing industries have developed in Mexico can be shown in another way. In 1926 the Department of National Statistics reported that there were in Mexico 2,877 factories, employing 95,775 workers, and representing a capital investment of 3,413,067,270 pesos (approximately \$1,706,533,653).³ Compare these figures with those for the state of Texas. Texas, it is well known, is primarily an agricultural state, and yet, according to the United States census figures for 1925 Texas had 3,606 factories, employing 106,792 workers, representing a capital investment of about \$600,000,000, (1919), and turning out products to the value of \$1,237,953,000. (These figures for Texas do not take account of electric light and power plants which are included in the Mexican estimates.) In other words, Mexico, undoubtedly superior to Texas in natural resources, and almost three times the size of Texas in area and population, yet scarcely equals

Texas in the development of its manufacturing industries.

On the next page is given a table recently published by the United States Department of Commerce and showing, in so far as statistical data are available, the chief manufacturing industries of Mexico, the capital invested, and the annual production.

As may be noted from an examination of this table, the textile industry is by far the most important both in point of capital investment and the number of workers employed. The textile industry is one of the oldest in Mexico; as early as 1802 it is reported that some \$3,000,000 worth of cotton goods were produced in Querétaro, San Miguel El Grande, Puebla, and the Intendencia de Guadalajara. Cotton goods have always been the major product. In recent years there has been a decided tendency to depend upon the local rather than the foreign market for raw materials. In 1906, when approximately 150 mills were in operation, 3,500,000 kilos of raw material were imported, whereas in 1926, with 160 mills in operation, imports amounted to only 235,654 kilos. At the present time the textile industry, especially in cotton manufactures, is somewhat depressed. The production of cotton goods has been steadily declining and in 1927 the output was only 379,162,512 yards compared with 408,812,437 yards in 1925.⁴ The textile industry employs more than half (49,628) of all the workers engaged in manufacture in Mexico.

Mining

Mining has been called the "mother industry of Mexico"

MANUFACTURING ESTABLISHMENTS IN MEXICO

Industry	Number of plants	Capital invested (1,000 pesos)	Annual production		Number of employee
			Thousands of pesos	Thousands of kilos	
Textiles	173	87,132	--	39,554	49,628
Cordage	40	2,129	--	7,943	--
Iron and Steel	79	31,442	--	58 ¹	--
Tobacco	163	22,435	29,124	--	5,501
Flour	197	17,187	41,208	--	2,259
Sugar	106	140,000	--	168	--
Canneries	10	935	771	--	327
Vegetable oils	96	7,929	--	5,122	--
Breweries	30	21,150	26,702	--	3,037
Distilleries	1,150	39,611	18,953	38,953 ²	2,861
Soap	172	7,631	13,701	--	1,954
Tanneries	539	5,163	11,163	--	2,670
Boots and shoes	771	6,673	16,061	8,000 ³	10,520
Cement	5	8,301	--	--	1,008
Furniture	59	5,251	--	--	--
Matches	16	2,300	4,200	--	1,629
Glassware	9	2,747	2,130	--	--
Candies	181	1,508	--	8 ⁴	--
Soft drinks	845	17,484	--	--	--
Ice	176	6,041	4,315	--	1,114
Chemical products	16	2,147	2,296	--	475
Tiles and ceramics	482	4,317	--	--	--
Hats	133	1,243	--	11,933 ⁵	--
Rubber goods	15	1,253	--	--	--
Paper and paper products	20	12,808	18,974	--	2,292

Statistics from Commerce Reports, United States Department of Commerce, April 8, 1929.

1. Metric tons.
2. Liters.
3. Pairs.
4. Represents returns of 75 leading factories.
5. Number of hats; Felt, 337,999; straw and palm leaf, 11,595,000.

and both from the point of view of its age and its dominant economic importance in the economic life of the nation this designation is in a very real sense accurate. In the early days, and throughout the greater part of the Colonial period, mining in Mexico was an "industry" only in the general sense of this term. The Spaniards were interested only in the precious metals, gold and silver, and their one object was to get them out of the ground as quickly as possible. Labor was cheap and plentiful and practically all of the work was done by man power. In the nineteenth century, however, with the realization of the importance of lead, copper, zinc, and other base metals, and with the introduction of foreign capital and foreign methods, the whole direction and outlook of mining in Mexico underwent a change. Steam and electrical power came more and more into general use and the machine increasingly supplanted human labor.

At the present time mining in Mexico is almost completely mechanized and industrialized; most of the mines are controlled by a few big companies and large scale production using the most modern and approved methods is the order of the day. The following statistics for 1927 give some idea of the size and importance of the mining industry in Mexico:⁵

Number of workers employed.....	70,000 °
Wages paid in pesos.....	66,000,000
Official value of metals produced, pesos..	323,000,000
Taxes paid in pesos.....	15,600,000

°(Some authorities give the number of workers as high as 100,000.)

The Oil Industry

The development of the oil industry in Mexico has taken place in the last 30 years. In the nature of the case the extraction and refining of petroleum has, from the very beginning, been a highly industrialized and mechanized process.

The industry reached its apex in 1921 and since that time production has steadily fallen off. Despite this fact, however, oil is still, next to mining, the most important industry in Mexico. In 1921 total production was reported as 193,397,587 barrels valued at 365,873,635 pesos; in 1928 production had decreased to 50,150,610 barrels, valued at 101,945,631 pesos.⁶ In 1926 it was estimated that the total capital investment in the petroleum industry, including wells, tanks, refineries, etc. was 836,366,940 pesos.⁷ No figures are available for the number of workers employed in the petroleum industry at the present time, but judging from the estimates made for the year of greatest production, 1921 (in this year total number of workers was given as 10,000)⁸, one may assume that somewhere between 5,000 and 8,000 workers now find employment in this field.

Railroads

In any country, but especially in Mexico where the mountainous nature of the terrain makes the problem of communication and transportation unusually acute, the extent of the development of railroads is an important index both of actual and potential industrialization. Moreover, the operation and

upkeep of railroads is in itself an important industry requiring a large capital investment and the subjection of numerous workers to the regime of the machine.

In 1924 Mexico had 13,205 miles of public, private, and industrial railways in operation, 8,526 miles being under the control of the National Railways system, and the remainder owned by independent companies, with the exception of a small mileage controlled and operated by various states and municipalities.⁹ (Since 1924 practically the only new mileage which has been added is the short line connecting Tepic with Guadalajara on the Southern Pacific Railroad.) No statistics exist for the number of workers employed on all lines but the following figures have been published for the National Railways of Mexico (1927): Administration, 2,778; Way Division, 15,447; Equipment Division, 6,984; Transport Division, 10,634 -- total workers employed, 29,553.¹⁰ (It is estimated that about 10,000 men are employed on railways other than the National lines.) The gross receipts of the Mexican National Railways in 1927 were 121,883,401.75 pesos; of all railroads in Mexico, 161,130,298 pesos.¹¹

Other Indices of Industrialization

In addition to the direct evidence which has been cited above of the invasion of Mexico by the machine, it is also important to note certain more or less indirect signs of the process of industrialization. One such sign is the relatively rapid development of electric power in Mexico in recent years. Statistics relative to the kind and amount of power used in the

various industries are available only in isolated cases. The following show the estimated horsepower developed in all hydroelectric and thermoelectric plants installed in Mexico:¹²

	Horsepower
Hydroelectric plants:	
Public light and power plants (200,000 kilowatts).....	270,000
Private plants of mining concerns in their direct service (6,000 kilowatts)..	8,000
Private plants of woolen and cotton mills (16,400 horsepower are accounted for by the seven principal mills).....	30,000
Private plants in service of manufacturing and agricultural industries (estimate)..	<u>25,000</u>
Total hydraulic power.....	<u>333,000</u>
Thermoelectric plants:	
Public light and power plants (72,000 kilowatts).....	98,000
Private plants of mining concerns in their direct service (50,000 kilowatts).	68,000
Private plants of woolen and cotton mills in their direct service.....	5,000
Private plants in service of other industries (estimate).....	<u>20,000</u>
Total thermoelectric power.....	<u>193,000</u>

Foreign investments throw another interesting side light on the question of the development in Mexico of the norms and processes of modern economic life. Although it is obviously incorrect to assume that all foreign capital invested in Mexico has been devoted exclusively to the fomentation of industry, it is nevertheless true that millions of dollars have been used for this purpose. For example, the most recent analysis of American investments in Mexico shows \$998,000,000 out of an estimated total of \$1,280,000,000 clearly allocated to industry (railroads, oil, mining, and manufacturing). The figures compiled in 1925 by the United

States Department of Commerce are as follows:¹³

Government bonds.....	\$	22,000,000
Railroads.....		160,000,000
Mining and smelting.....		300,000,000
Oil lands and refineries.....		478,000,000
Manufacturing.....		60,000,000
Wholesale and retail stores.....		50,000,000
Plantations and timber.....		200,000,000
Banks, telephone and telegraph, light and power companies and tramways.....		<u>10,000,000</u>
Total..	\$	\$1,280,000,000

Figures have not been compiled recently for the investments of other countries in Mexico. The following estimates for the year 1913, however, appear in The Mexican Yearbook:¹⁴ Great Britain \$320,000,000; France \$143,000,000; other foreign countries \$118,000,000.

The Occupational Distribution of the Population

One of the simplest ways to estimate the extent to which Mexico has become industrialized would be in terms of the occupational distribution of the population. Unfortunately, however, no adequate statistics are in existence on which such an estimate can be based; the best that can be done is to make some rough approximations.

The first and most important fact to be noted is that the population is predominantly rural and the overwhelming majority of the people are engaged in agricultural pursuits. On the basis of the 1910 census José Covarrubias has made the following analysis of the population of Mexico:¹⁵

Rural population.....	10,070,826
Semi-rural population.....	430,896
Urban population.....	<u>4,658,647</u>

Total.... 15,160,369

In other words, in 1910 under the head of rural and semi-rural population could be classified over two-thirds of the total population. By occupations the rural population in 1910 was distributed as follows:

Free rural population (including administrators, small land owners, renters, and members of their families).....	479,074
Free rural laborers (i.e. not peons) and members of their families.....	203,269
"Peones de campo" (i.e. agricultural laborers held in debt servitude) and members of their families.....	<u>9,388,483</u>

Total..... 10,070,826

The 1921 census classifies 73.8 percent of the population as rural (i.e. living in communities of less than 4,000 inhabitants). Although the basis of classification is different in the 1921 census from that used in the above quoted figures for 1910, the presumption is that the larger part of the people classified as "rural" in the 1921 census are engaged in agricultural pursuits. This presumption is borne out by careful studies which indicate that the shifts which took place in the occupation distribution of the population between 1910 and 1921 were for the most part shifts within the general class "rural" (i.e. "peons" tended to become "free laborers" or members of communal villages) rather than movements from country to town, or from agriculture to industry.¹⁶

In other words, it appears to be doubtful that there

has been any great increase in the number of industrial workers in the period from 1910 to the present time. Indeed, the figures themselves seem to indicate a decrease for the numbers employed in industry. This may be seen by comparing the statistics for occupation given in the 1910 census (see Appendix A for "Classification of Population According to Occupation in 1910") and such figures as are available for recent years. If the figures which have been quoted in the foregoing pages are brought together, the following totals are obtained for the numbers of workers employed in the major industrial activities in Mexico at approximately the present time.

Mining..... ..	70,000
Manufacturing...	95,775
Oil..... ..	8,000
Railroads..... ..	39,553

WAGES AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING IN MEXICO

Recently one of the leading newspapers of Mexico City published a cartoon in which a professor is shown examining a student. Under the cartoon were placed these words:

"How many states does the Mexican Republic have?"

"Two."

"Two?"

"Yes, sir: Hunger and Revolution."

Agricultural Wages and Cost of Living¹⁷

In the last years of the Spanish rule in Mexico,

according to the best information available, the daily wages of peons were about 25 centavos in the "cold regions" (i.e. the central plateau) and 30 centavos in the "hot lands" (i.e. the tropical coasts). In 1828, or seven years after Mexico had gained her independence from Spain, it is recorded that the daily wages of "those workers who received their wages in money varied from one to three reales" (i.e. from 12-1/2 to 37-1/2 centavos). A rather detailed study for the year 1891 (see Table No.2) shows that the average daily wage paid to agricultural workers at that time varied between 23-1/2 and 50 centavos and averaged 36 centavos for all states in the Republic. In the last decade of the Díaz regime (1900-1910) statistics indicate a slight rise in money wages for agricultural laborers. The highest published estimate for this type of work during this period gives an average daily wage for the whole Republic of 46 centavos. (Some writers claim that this figure is much too high. In any case it should be held in mind that before the revolution the wages of peons were seldom paid in money; the peon simply received a time check to be negotiated at the company store. Usually the farm worker received rent free a small plot of ground and a hut (jacal) on the hacienda and frequently small allowances of food and drink (pulque) each week.) In the period following the revolution of 1910-21 money wages again show an increase. Agricultural laborers are reported in 1926 as being paid from 60 centavos a day (in the state of Zacatecas) to 3.60 pesos per day (in the northern part of Lower California). The average agricultural wages for the whole Republic in this year is given as 1.14 pesos per

DAILY AGRICULTURAL WAGE PAID PEONS IN VARIOUS STATES - 1891¹

States	Wages in "Centavos"		
	Minimum	Maximum	Average
Aguascalientes	18 3/4	18 3/4	18 3/4
Lower California	50	50	50
Chiapas	25	75	50
Chihuahua	18 3/4	25	21 7/8
Coahuila	31 1/4	75	53 1/8
Colima	25	37 1/2	31 1/4
Durango	25	75	50
Federal District	31 1/4	37 1/2	31 3/8
Guanajuato	18 3/4	31 1/2	25
Guerrero	18 3/4	50	34 3/4
Hidalgo	12 1/2	37 1/2	25
Jalisco	18 3/4	50	34 3/8
Mexico	12 1/2	37 1/2	25
Michoacan	15 1/2	75	45 1/2
Morelos	25	75	50
Nuevo Leon	18 3/4	18 3/4	18 3/4
Oaxaca	18 3/4	50	34 3/8
Puebla	18 3/4	50	34 3/8
Queretaro	18 3/4	37 1/2	28 1/8
San Luis Potosi	18 3/4	25	22 1/4
Sonora	30	1.00	65
Tabasco	37 1/2	50	43 3/4
Tamaulipas	25	50	37 1/2
Tepic (Nayarit)	25	50	37 1/2
Tlaxcala	25	50	37 1/2
Veracruz	25	62 1/2	43 3/4
Yucatan	25	37 1/2	31 1/4
Zacatecas	18 3/4	50	34 2/8
Total Average	23 1/2	50	36

1. Dept. of National Statistics, quoted in "Estadística Nacional" May 31, 1925.

day. (See Table No.3.)

It would appear from the foregoing that in the last century and more for which we have more or less accurate figures there has been a gradual advance in Mexican agricultural wages. In order to give these figures significance, however, it is necessary to compare them with the changes in the cost of living during the same period. The main items of diet in rural Mexico are corn, beans, wheat and rice. The following table shows the changes in the prices (in pesos) of those items from 1792 to 1926 in the years for which statistics are available.

	<u>1792</u>	<u>1891</u>	<u>1908</u>	<u>1926</u>
Rice per 100 kilos	7.60	12.87	13.32	27.75
Corn per hectoliter	1.75	2.50	4.89	9.25
Wheat per 100 kilos	1.80	5.09	10.17	16.12
Beans per 100 kilos	1.63	6.61	10.84	27.75

In other words, the cost of living (in so far as this can be demonstrated by the prices of the main articles of diet) increased in the 100 years from 1792 to 1891 as follows: rice 69.34 per cent; corn 42.86 per cent; wheat 182.78 per cent; and beans 305.52 per cent. Prices in 1908 had increased over those for 1792 by 75.26 per cent for rice; 179.43 per cent for corn; 465 per cent for wheat; and 565.03 per cent for beans. But -- and this is an important point -- during this same period of 116 years agricultural wages remained practically stationary.

By 1926, however, as we have seen (Table No.3), agricultural wages as compared with those paid during the last years of Spanish rule had advanced considerably. In other words, estimating the average wage paid during the Colonial period as about 25 centavos per day and comparing this with the average

TABLE NO.3DAILY AGRICULTURAL WAGES BY STATES -- 1926

<u>State</u>	<u>Average daily wage (centavos)</u>
Aguascalientes	84
Lower California (Northern part)	360
Lower California (Southern part)	180
Campeche	152
Coahuila	144
Colima	120
Chiapas	96
Chihuahua	96
Federal District	144
Durango	120
Guanajuato	60
Guerrero	48
Hidalgo	120
Jalisco	90
Mexico	96
Michoacán	90
Morelos	76
Nayarit	92
Nuevo León	96
Oaxaca	84
Puebla	72
Querétaro	80
San Luis Potosí	60
Sinaloa	112
Sonora	204
Tabasco	136
Tamaulipas	148
Tlaxcala	72
Veracruz	96
Yucatán	160
Zacatecas	<u>60</u>
Average	114

daily wage (1.14 pesos) reported in 1926, it will be noted that there is an apparent increase in money wages of 356 per cent. But that real wages increased during this period is, to say the least, extremely doubtful -- for the price of rice in 1926 was 265.13 per cent higher than in 1792; that of corn 428.57 per cent; of beans 1,602.45 per cent; and of wheat 795.56 per cent.

The figures given here refer only to agricultural workers. However, it must be remembered that as late as 1910 agricultural workers (peons) and their families represented an estimated population of 9,591,752 out of a total of 15,160,369, or more than three-fifths of the people of Mexico. It would appear, therefore, that the statistics quoted give a fairly accurate picture of wages as compared with the cost of living for the great majority of the people of Mexico for the periods indicated. As has already been noted, however, (see pp. 1 ff.) beginning in the latter part of the nineteenth century the industrialization of Mexico has proceeded rapidly, if somewhat unevenly, up to the present time. In order to round out the picture given above it will now be necessary to review such data as may be available relating to wages and the standard of living in industries other than agriculture.

Wage Scales in Various Mexican Industries

In 1925 it was estimated that about 90,000 men were employed in the mining industry (including both mining and smelting) of Mexico.¹⁸ Wages in the mining industry have been consistently higher than in agriculture. Generally speaking, wages have always been lowest in southern Mexico and tend to

rise as one approaches the border. Thus in the Pachuca district (near Mexico City) in 1909 miners received from 57-1/2 to 66-1/2 centavos per day; timbermen from 75 centavos to 2.50 pesos; mechanics from 75 centavos to 2.00 pesos. In Chihuahua miners and timbermen received 1.00 peso and 1.50 pesos respectively. Finally, in Sonora, close to the border, miners received as much as 3.00 pesos per day and sometimes more.¹⁹ Since 1910, due partly to the activities of the Unions, there has been a general advance in the wages paid in the mining industry. The average minimum wage as revealed in Table No.4 is now perhaps somewhat nearer 1.50 for common labor. In Table No.5 are given the wages paid in 1927 to various classes of employees (as distinguished from manual laborers) in the mining industry.

Wages in the oil industry have varied considerably from time to time due to the fluctuations in production. It would appear that the wage scales in the oil fields have always been higher than those in other industries. In 1927 the minimum wage for common or peon labor was reported to be around 2.00 pesos per day. The average wages paid to other types of labor in the oil fields for the year 1926 are given in Table No.6. About 8,000 workers are now employed in the oil industry.

Around 1910 the common laborer (section hand) on the Mexican railways received from 1.25 to 2.00 per day; skilled laborers were, of course, paid considerably more.²⁰ Section hands according to the latest statistics available are now paid on the average 1.44 pesos per day. In Table No.7 are shown the average wages paid other types of labor. The railways employ about 40,000 workers.

MINING INDUSTRY
AVERAGE DAILY (8 HRS.) SALARIES PAID IN VARIOUS STATES - 1927¹

Occupations of Day-Laborers ²	State			
	Guanajuato	Hidalgo	Zacatecas	Chihuahua ³
Bricklayers	1.94	3.00	1.80	--
Mine Carpenters	2.24	3.12	2.18	--
Grinders	3.35	5.16	2.69	4.00
Store Clerks	2.83	2.25	--	--
Asst. Mechanics, Drillers, etc	1.28	2.13	--	2.41
Pump Men	1.79	2.50	1.83	--
Car Men	1.87	2.75	1.75	2.80
Carpenters	2.05	4.36	2.24	3.00
Overseers	6.80	--	--	--
Despatchers	1.80	2.30	1.50	--
Greasers	1.31	2.50	--	--
Work Foremen	3.25	7.86	--	--
Line Foremen	1.55	3.00	2.00	--
Electricians	3.62	6.25	2.87	--
Testers	1.68	--	2.25	--
Silver Foundrymen	1.48	--	--	--
Safety Inspectors	--	9.29	4.33	--
Smiths	2.39	4.38	2.35	--
Mechanics	1.99	4.55	2.53	--
Mill Men	1.73	--	2.07	2.60
Muleteers	--	1.50	--	--
Peons	1.46	1.91	1.85	2.25
Drillers	2.24	2.66	3.41	--
Watchmen	1.52	2.34	--	--
Breakers	2.03	2.00	--	2.50
Pipe Men	2.05	4.00	2.25	--
Hoist Men	--	4.08	2.00	--
Timekeepers	2.25	--	--	--
Pick Men	1.38	--	2.73	3.69
Compression Men	1.80	4.00	2.00	--
"Gondoleros"	1.48	3.00	--	--
Winch Men	3.26	6.54	2.61	3.50
Mine Helpers	3.75	5.79	--	--
Separators	1.36	--	1.42	--

1. Statistics collected by Dept. of Labor, Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor. Wages given in pesos.

2. "Obreros" (day-laborers) are distinguished in these tables from "empleados" (employees).

3. Figures for 1928.

MINING INDUSTRYAverage Daily (8 hrs.) Salaries Paid in Various States - 1927¹

Occupations of Employees ²	State		
	Guanajuato	Hidalgo	Zacatecas
Manager of Company Store	4.05	6.00	5.83
Assistant to	--	3.55	3.33
Other Assistants	--	5.71	8.33
Cashier	18.00	--	--
Bookkeeper	---	--	11.67
Manager	36.00	--	--
Engineer	7.11	--	10.00
Chief of Mines	8.15	10.23	15.00
Office Employees	5.50	4.81	5.83
Superintendent	18.42	---	20.00
Timekeeper	--	3.71	4.08
Doctor	6.60	---	--
Nurse	--	1.73	--
Assayer	8.25	---	6.66
Mill Superintendent	--	---	16.66
Master Mechanic	--	---	10.83

1. Statistics collected by Dept. of Labor, Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor. Wages given in pesos.

2. "Empleados" (employees) are distinguished in these tables from "obrerros" (day-laborers).

PETROLEUM INDUSTRYAVERAGE DAILY (8 HRS.) SALARIES PAID BY VARIOUS COMPANIES - 1926¹

Occupations of Laborers	Wages in Pesos
Refinery Workers	8.38
Bricklayers	9.00
Asst. Bricklayers	4.00
Asst. Pumpmen	3.69
Asst. Carpenters	3.90
Asst. Electricians	4.43
Asst. Mechanics	3.88
Asst. Painters	3.70
Pumpmen	5.29
Coppersmiths	4.25
Carpenters	8.37
Bargemen	4.35
Electricians	17.80
Joiners	5.00
Greasers	4.17
Firemen	4.38
Brakemen	5.65
Smiths	8.17
Tinsmiths	9.00
Pump Foremen	13.63
Camp Boss	13.30
Fillers	4.55
Master Plumbers	16.66
Machinists	9.00
Sailors	4.35
Foremen	11.54
Mechanics	7.70
Gaugemen	4.62
Janitors	4.25
Well Testers	3.80
Boilermen	8.51
Peons	3.36
Drillers	24.00
Painters	6.33
Plumbers	5.06
Riveters	5.00
Distributors	4.50
Derrick Men	12.54
Well Pluggers	30.00
Tool Dressers	9.00
Pipemen	4.66
Watchmen	3.73
Mudmen	7.50

1. Dept. of Labor, Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor.

RAILWAYS
AVERAGE DAILY WAGES PAID BY NATIONAL RAILWAYS OF MEXICO - 1927

	<u>Daily Average</u> (Pesos)
<u>Maintenance of Way Department:</u>	
Section Foreman	1.92
Laborers	1.44
Telegraph Linemen	4.87
Civil Engineers and their Assistants	6.99
Quarrymen and Masons	2.71
Other Workmen	2.49
<u>Maintenance of Equipment Department:</u>	
Mechanics	6.20
Helpers	3.42
Carpenters	5.07
Boilermakers	7.79
Helpers	4.12
Foundrymen	3.33
Tin and Copper Smiths	4.83
Blacksmiths	3.87
Other Workmen	3.44
<u>Transportation Department:</u>	
Station Agents	9.07
Employees and Baggage-men	4.01
Locomotive Engineers	16.35
Conductors	15.41
Brakemen	8.60
Firemen	8.40
Coal Passers	4.91
Yard Employees	6.24
Dispatchers	15.65
Telegraph Operators	8.27
Flagmen, Switchmen and Watchmen	2.18
Storehouse Employees	4.70
Other Employees	6.88
<u>Operation of Ports:</u>	
Customs Agencies Employees	5.82
Foremen	6.18
Check Clerks	5.39
Laborers	4.57
Watermen	3.09
Derrick Men and Helpers	6.61
<u>Express Department:</u>	
General Superintendent	49.72
Division Superintendents	24.20
General Offices	5.22

(Wages Paid by National Railways of Mexico-- continued)

Agents	12.28
Travelling Inspectors	14.91
Messengers	6.82
Helpers	5.27
Chauffeurs	6.17
Day and Night Watchmen	2.79
Janitors, Cleaners and Messenger Boys	2.66
Other Employees	<u>4.77</u>
Average total, including officers	<u>4.42</u>
Average total, excluding officers	<u>4.37</u>

Textiles are Mexico's leading manufactures and at the present time about 49,000 workers are employed in this industry. Before 1910 the wages paid in the textile mills for a 12-hour day averaged 1.00 peso and ran as low as 25 centavos and as high as 2.00 pesos.²¹ As the result of strikes and continuous agitation on the part of the unions in the textile industry an agreement between the workers and employers was entered into in 1925. Since this time wages have been somewhat higher and working conditions in general somewhat more satisfactory.²² In Tables Nos. 8 and 9 are shown the wages paid for an eight hour day in cotton mills and woolen mills in 1927.

It is estimated that some 5,000 workers are employed in the manufacture of cigarettes and cigars in Mexico. In the Federal District, where the largest and most important factories are located, wages for common labor vary from 1.60 to 2.00 pesos per day (see Table No.10).

Some idea of the wage scales now in force in other types of factories may be gained from a review of the data given in Tables Nos. 11 to 16.

The wages paid office employees and clerks -- the so-called white collar workers -- in Mexico, of course, vary considerably and depend upon the experience and the ability of the employees. Generally speaking, foreign companies, and more especially the American and the English firms, pay more than Mexicans. Stenographers taking only Spanish dictation are paid from 100 to 200 pesos per month. English-Spanish stenographers get from 250 to 400 pesos per month. Bookkeepers are paid from 150 to 175 pesos per month.

COTTON MILLSAVERAGE DAILY (8 HRS.) SALARIES BY STATES - 1927¹

States and Zones	Wages in Pesos		
	Men	Women	Minors
<u>Central:</u>			
Federal District	2.60	2.50	.97
Durango	1.26	.83	.55
Guanajuato	2.18	1.17	--
Hidalgo	3.44	2.50	1.25
Mexico	2.28	1.79	1.04
Puebla	2.83	1.87	1.00
Querétaro	1.81	1.30	--
Tlaxcala	2.90	--	1.05
Average	2.70	2.04	1.01
<u>North:</u>			
Coahuila	2.50	1.86	1.84
Chihuahua	2.48	1.68	1.30
Nuevo Leon	1.94	1.62	--
Sonora	3.00	2.50	--
Tamaulipas	2.92	--	--
Average	2.38	1.93	1.54
<u>Gulf:</u>			
Veracruz	4.12	2.61	1.22
<u>Pacific:</u>			
Chiapas	1.21	.80	--
Jalisco	2.75	2.32	.84
Michoacan	2.58	1.57	1.46
Nayarit	2.59	1.81	1.28
Oaxaca	2.00	1.00	1.00
Sinaloa	3.00	1.50	--
Average	2.72	2.08	1.02
<u>Summary:</u>			
Central	2.70	2.04	1.01
North	2.38	1.93	1.54
Gulf	4.12	2.61	1.22
Pacific	2.72	2.08	1.02
Average	2.96	2.05	1.01

1. Dept. of Special Taxes, Ministry of Finance and Public Credit.

WOOLEN MILLSAVERAGE DAILY (8 HRS.) SALARIES BY STATES - 1927¹

States	Wages in Pesos		
	Men	Women	Minors
Coahuila	2.50	.75	--
Federal District	3.42	2.21	1.43
Durango	2.20	1.66	1.06
Guanajuato	2.31	1.11	.68
Hidalgo	2.89	1.37	.78
Mexico	3.15	2.34	.88
Puebla	2.65	1.25	.98
San Luis Potosí	1.64	1.23	.96
Tlaxcala	1.41	1.32	.73
Average	<u>2.68</u>	<u>1.80</u>	<u>.93</u>

1. Dept. of Special Taxes, Ministry of Finance and Public Credit.

TOBACCO INDUSTRYAVERAGE DAILY (8 HRS.) SALARIES PAID IN FEDERAL DISTRICT - 1928¹

Occupations of Laborers	Wages in Pesos
<u>Lithographing Department:</u>	
Apprentices	1.60
Chief Supply Clerk	8.72
Asst. Supply Clerks	3.73
Checkers	4.29
Cutters	6.24
Boxmen	4.51
Female Cutters	2.48
Box Shapers	6.72
Machinists	8.12
Pressmen	5.68
Printers	7.66
Feeders	4.55
Takers	2.16
Embossers	4.60
Stampers	4.35
Lithographers	7.30
<u>Packing Department:</u>	
Supply Clerks	3.37
Cutters	4.09
Wrappers	3.28
Foremen	5.52
Packers	3.28
Boxers	3.28
Forwarders	3.34
Pasters	3.28
<u>Wrapping Department:</u>	
Wrappers	2.50
Sweepers	2.00
Pasters	2.50
Janitresses	2.00
Inspectors	2.00
<u>Sorting Department:</u>	
Helpers	2.35
Sweepers	2.00
Washers	2.00
Forewomen	3.46
Janitresses	2.00
<u>Receiving Department:</u>	
Day laborers	3.00

(Salaries Paid in Tobacco Industry- continued)

Carpentry Department:

Operators 3.99

Mechanical Department:

Apprentices 3.32

Machine Foremen 13.29

Unskilled Workers 3.84

Section Foremen 17.44

Chief Mechanics 10.18

2nd Class Mechanics 7.29

3rd Class Mechanics 4.40

Miscellaneous:

Unskilled Workers 3.60

General Utility Men 3.16

Watchmen 3.66

Porters 3.75

Night Watchmen 5.29

Plumbers 6.73

Overseers 6.25

Painters 4.50

Lampareros 6.25

 1. Dept. of Labor, Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor.

SOAP FACTORYAVERAGE DAILY (8 HRS.) WAGES PAID IN FEDERAL DISTRICT- 1928¹

Occupations of Laborers	Wages in Pesos
Bricklayer	3.75
Cleaner	1.90
Cutter	3.25
Asst. Cutter	1.94
Mechanic	6.00
Asst. Mechanic	3.00
Stirrer	3.50
Supply Clerk	2.25
Packer	1.75
Fireman	4.25
Lye maker	3.00
Fat mixer	3.00
Janitor	3.00
Pourer	3.00
Night Watchman	3.00

1. Dept. of Labor, Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor.

MATTRESS FACTORYAVERAGE DAILY (8 HRS.) WAGES PAID IN FEDERAL DISTRICT- 1928¹

Occupations of Laborers	Wages in Pesos
Sewers	2.13
Cutters	2.00
Sorters	1.08
Sweepers	1.05
Fillers	2.01
Mechanic	4.00
Mechanic's Assistant	1.76
Pressmen	1.73
Machine men	1.71
Unskilled labor	1.64
Janitor	3.33
Wool cleaners	1.64
Wool beaters	1.64
Night Watchman	3.20

1. Dept. of Labor, Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor.

LITHOGRAPHING SHOPAVERAGE DAILY (8 HRS.) WAGES PAID IN FEDERAL DISTRICT- 1928¹

Occupations of Laborers	Wages in Pesos
Typesetter's apprentice	2.00
Lithographer's apprentice	1.00
Typographer's apprentice	.75
Miscellaneous helpers	3.55
Glazé cleaner	4.25
Typesetter	6.00
Counter	5.50
Feeder	1.75
Draftsman	7.00
Binder	5.50
Lithographer	8.00
Janitor	2.00
Pressman	6.12
Liner	7.00

1. Dept. of Labor, Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor.

SHOE FACTORYAVERAGE DAILY (8 HRS.) WAGES PAID IN FEDERAL DISTRICT- 1928¹

Occupations of Laborers	Wages in Pesos
Master Shoemakers	9.94
Assistants, 1st class	5.42
Assistants, 2nd class	2.92
Apprentice	1.61
Minor Apprentice	.60
Unskilled labor	2.42

1. Dept. of Labor, Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor.

SHIRT FACTORYAVERAGE DAILY (8 HRS.) WAGES PAID IN FEDERAL DISTRICT- 1928¹

Occupations of Laborers	Wages in Pesos
Cutter	5.80
Asst. Cutter	2.40
Sewer	1.82
Expert Maker	4.00
Minor Apprentice	.78

1. Dept. of Labor, Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor.

FLOUR MILLAVERAGE DAILY (8 HRS.) WAGES PAID IN FEDERAL DISTRICT - 1928¹

Occupations of Laborers	Wages in Pesos
Masons	2.50
Mason's Assistant	1.50
Cleaners	2.00
Carpenters	4.00
Chauffeurs	4.50
Electrician	3.00
Electrician's Assistant	2.50
Chief Packer	3.40
Packer's Assistant	3.00
Greasers	3.40
Mechanics	8.33
Miller	16.66
Unskilled Laborers	2.23
Porter	4.66
Night Watchman	5.83
Weigher	10.00
Hortelano	2.25
Harinero	6.66
Limpias	5.80
Jardinero	2.25

1. Dept. of Labor, Ministry of Industry, Commerce and Labor.