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American Ethnologist, Vol. 20, No. 3. (Aug., 1993), pp. 583-603.

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Chicano Indianism: a historical account of racial repression in the United States

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In this article I propose to describe forms of racial repression experienced by people of Mexican origin living under the legal system of the United States. I also propose to document cases in which people of Mexican descent were compelled to argue in court that they should be treated as Caucasians in order to gain the legal rights of full citizens. Focusing on citizenship and racial legislation from 1848 to 1947, I will argue that the U.S. legal system accorded privilege to whites and, conversely, legitimated the inferior treatment of racial minorities. Because Mexican-origin people were of mestizo descent (Spanish and Indian ancestry), they were placed in an ambiguous legal position. Their Indian ancestry linked them to people of color, subjecting them to heightened racial discrimination, while their Spanish ancestry linked them to whites, protecting them from the full impact of the racial laws of the period.

My fundamental aim is not to argue that Mexican-origin people are unaware of their indigenous past or that they have no indigenous historical consciousness. Rather, it is to show that they are among the dark-skinned peoples who historically have been discriminated against by this country's legal system. In embarking on this exploratory venture, I found it necessary to examine documents in which information about the racial repression of Mexican-origin people could be obtained. As primary sources, I consulted federal and state supreme court records and 19th-century citizenship legislation. These legal discourses illustrate more than a century of arguments used to justify racial discrimination in the United States.

My historical inquiry will begin with a review of Mexicans' legal status after the Mexican-American War of 1846–48. I will focus on the conflicting racial laws of the governments of Mexico and the United States with respect to the political rights of mestizos and Indians, describing the dissolution of the Mexican racial caste system and considering the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo to demonstrate how the citizenship laws of Mexico and the United States conflicted and how resolution of the binational conflict adversely affected Mexican people. I will then review the major political events that influenced the Mexicans' racial status from the late 19th to the mid-20th century, including an analysis of how segregationist laws affected Mexicans and how U.S. citizenship legislation conferred unequal political rights on them.

This article offers a historical analysis of the racial repression experienced by people of Mexican origin in the U.S. legal system from 1848 to 1947. Using records of court cases and citizenship legislation, it demonstrates that from the 19th to the mid-20th century federal and state racial laws accorded particular legal statuses to Mexicans on the basis of their racial appearance, and it concludes that Mexicans of predominantly Indian descent were more severely discriminated against than Mexicans who were classified as white. [racism, segregation, Chicanos, American Indians, Mexican origin, race, prejudice, citizenship]

American Ethnologist 20(3):583-603. Copyright © 1993, American Anthropological Association.



often used the Mexicans' indigenous heritage to undermine the civil rights language of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Article VIII of the treaty stated that the United States agreed to extend U.S. citizenship to all Mexican citizens, regardless of ancestry, who remained in the ceded territories. If individuals did not want U.S. citizenship, they had to so indicate within one year; otherwise they would become citizens automatically (cited in Tate 1969). Under Article IX the United States further agreed that Mexicans who chose to become U.S. citizens would have all the attendant rights. Article IX stipulated that "Mexicans who, in the territories aforesaid, shall not preserve the character of citizens of the Mexican Republic . . . shall be incorporated into the Union of the United States, and be admitted at the proper time . . . to the enjoyment of all the rights of citizens of the United States" (cited in Tate 1969:20).

Regardless of the treaty, however, the U.S. government refused to ratify the racial equality laws of Mexico. When the annexed southwestern territories joined the Union, their state constitutions did not extend to American Indians the political rights guaranteed by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and the Mexican constitution. And soon after the enactment of the treaty, controversy arose over the citizenship status of the Mexicans. The exclusionary Indian citizenship laws, endorsed by the southwestern legislators, became the legal basis for limiting the political rights of the Mexicans. Government representatives commonly argued that the language of the treaty and the U.S. Constitution was unclear as to whether Mexicans of Indian descent should be treated as American Indians or should be extended the privileges of whites (Surace 1982; United States v. Joseph 1876; United States v. Lucero 1869; United States v. Ritchie 1854; United States v. Santistevan 1874).

Ironically, the political privileges that the Spanish and Mexican governments had previously given people in the Southwest were abolished by the U.S. racial laws. The Mexican mestizos and Indians entered a new racial caste-like order in which their civil rights were limited. Given the nature of the U.S. racial system and its laws, the conquered Mexican population learned that it was politically expedient to assert their Spanish ancestry; otherwise, they were susceptible to being treated as American Indians (Padilla 1979). At the same time, as this historical blueprint suggests, it became politically expedient for American Indians to pass for Mexican mestizos if they wished to escape the full impact of the discriminatory Indian legislation (Forbes 1973). Let us now examine how the political disenfranchisement of the Indians affected the Mexican population.

the denial of citizenship for American and Mexican Indians

After ratification of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, government representatives of the annexed region began to pass new racial-restriction citizenship laws (Cal. Const. 1849, art. II, sec. 1; New Mexico Organic Law [Act] of 1850, sec. 6, cited in First Legislative Assembly 1851:20; Organic Act of Arizona 1863, revised 1864, ch. 24, sec. 6, cited in Hoyt 1877:226; Tex. Const. 1845, art. III, sec. 1). Most American Indians were prohibited from obtaining citizenship, and the anti-Indian legislation adversely affected the Mexicans of partial or full Indian descent. Unless a Mexican was predominantly white, he or she was subject to racial harassment (Forbes 1973; Tate 1969). Those classified as Mexican Indians were not entitled to exercise full political rights or even basic civil rights: they were not allowed to vote, practice law, marry Anglo-American women, or run for political offices such as district judge (Konvitz 1946; Murphy 1970). They were also subject to severe human rights infringements, such as being placed in debt peonage and being forced to live on reservations.

After the annexation of Mexico's northern frontier, the southwestern territories and states enacted ruthless, discriminatory Indian legislation. The Anglo-American legislators were able to enforce the laws with the help of the U.S. military and the Anglo-American settlers. It became common policy to place American Indians on reservations, drive them out of the southwest, or

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exterminate them (Heizer and Almquist 1971; Lamar 1966; Newcomb 1985; Spicer 1962, 1969). With few exceptions, only former mission Indians were allowed to reside in white settlements and to retain title to secularized mission lands or family parcels. By the mid-1860s, however, most mission Indians had lost their property and become vagrants and paupers. Many of the mission Indians also ended their days in debt peonage, because between 1850 and 1865 it became lawful to place in bondage Indians who were vagrants, paupers, or orphans (Heizer and Almquist 1971; Lamar 1966). In many California towns it was also lawful to enslave them. By the late 1870s, the process of displacing Indians from their fertile southwestern land was practically complete. Thousands of Indians had been exterminated and the remainder placed on reservations. In Texas, indeed, this had been achieved as early as 1852 (Newcomb 1985). The Anglo Americans' blatant disregard for the Indians' right to life became an alarming warning to the Mexicans. If Mexicans were to have more political rights than Indians, they could not be identified as Mexican Indians.

Of the annexed regions, California and Arizona enacted the most discriminatory Indian legislation, clearly and strongly professing that all Indians, regardless of territorial origin, were to be denied citizenship. To a large extent, California's and Arizona's exclusionary racial laws reflected the Anglo-American political brokers' interest in limiting the rights of the Mexicans and preventing them from having any governmental power. Both states passed laws to disenfranchise Mexicans of Indian descent and to allow only white Mexicans full political rights.

In California, the state constitution of 1849 included a racial-restriction clause allowing only whites the right to vote. The purpose of this clause was to disenfranchise Mexicans of Indian descent, who constituted the overwhelming majority of the conquered population. The constitution made it explicit that only white U.S. males and white Mexican males had the right of suffrage; Indians and mestizos were ineligible to vote and therefore were stripped of most political rights. The California constitution stated:

Every White male citizen of the United States, and every White male citizen of Mexico, who shall have elected to become a citizen of the United States, under the treaty of peace exchanged and ratified at Queretaro, on the 30th day of May, 1848, of the age of twenty-one years who shall have been a resident of the state six months next preceding the election, and the county or district in which he claims his vote thirty days, shall be entitled to vote at all elections which are now or hereafter may be authorized by law. [Cal. Const. 1849, art. II, sec. 1; emphasis added]

The state legislators were aware that this racial restriction infringed the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo and international laws of territorial cession. They were, however, more concerned with preventing Mexicans from obtaining political control of California.

The legislative debates of California's first constitutional convention of 1849 summarized the overriding view that Mexicans were Indians and should not be given the right to vote. Mr. Hoppe, a state legislator, proposed that it was unwise to give the descendants of Mexican Indians the right to vote, regardless of whether or not they were acculturated and paid taxes. He stated in reference to Mexicans that

there are Indians by descent, as well as full-blooded Indians. . . . Many of the most distinguished officers of the Mexican government are Indians by descent. At the same time, it would be impolitic to permit the full-blooded Indians who held [sic] property the right to vote. Those who held property would, of course, be taxed. [cited in Heizer and Almquist 1971:102]

The legislators further argued that denying Mexicans the right to vote did not violate the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. Mexicans would be allowed to become U.S. citizens and at the same time would be denied the right to vote. Mr. Bott, one of the state legislators, proposed:

This Treaty . . . is binding in every clause because it does not contradict the Constitution of the United States, it does not prescribe who shall be our voters. If it had made citizens of Mexico directly citizens of the United States, it would not have said that they should be voters of the State of California. [cited in Heizer and Almquist 1971:101]

Mr. Dimmick, another legislator, concurred with Mr. Bott and argued in favor of denying Mexicans the right of suffrage: "Are we to admit them to rights superior to those which we enjoy ourselves? Does anyone pretend to assert that we are under obligation to do this? Does it follow that the right of suffrage is one of these rights? . . . It is not necessarily the right of a citizen" (cited in Heizer and Almquist 1971:101). The final decision of the convention rested on the premise that the legislators were obliged to give Mexicans the right to vote or else the U.S. Congress would reject the state's constitution because it blatantly violated the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (Heizer and Almquist 1971:100-102). Nonetheless, the legislators concurred that neither the treaty nor the U.S. Constitution precluded them from placing racial-restriction clauses in the language of the California constitution. They concluded that Mexicans were to be given the right to vote only if they were "white." Ironically, the California state legislators did not clarify what they meant by a "white Mexican" and thus left open to local interpretation what racial criteria constituted a white, mestizo, or Indian Mexican. At the community level, this legal ambiguity allowed Anglo Americans to discriminate against Mexicans. Each township had the power to determine whether its Mexican residents were white and therefore to exempt them from or subject them to the state's racial laws (Padilla 1979).

When Arizona gained political independence from New Mexico in 1863, its existing territorial constitution was abandoned. Arizona legislators decided to base parts of their new territorial constitution on California's constitution: California's citizenship and electoral eligibility requirements were adopted, and only white males and white Mexican males were allowed to vote (Organic Act of Arizona 1863, revised 1864, ch. 24, sec. 6, cited in Hoyt 1877:226). A fundamental purpose was to disqualify American Indians, mestizos, and Mexican Indians from the electoral process (Hoyt 1877; Tate 1969). Arizona's territorial act disenfranchised Mexican Indians and mestizos until 1877, and the legislators passed additional racist laws against Mexican citizens. Once again Mexicans were disqualified, on the basis of race, from serving as justices of the peace and from practicing law (Murphy 1970); between 1864 and 1888 only white males were allowed to enter those professions. The Anglo-American power brokers were apparently determined to prevent Mexican Indians and mestizos from influencing Arizona's political structure.

The constitutions of Texas and New Mexico were less discriminatory against Indians and theoretically extended the full rights of citizenship to most Mexicans. The Texas constitution of 1845 and the amendments of 1850 extended the right of citizenship to "free whites," Mexicans, and a few detribalized, taxpaying Indians (Judd and Hall 1932). To acquire this right of citizenship, however, Mexicans had to have resided in Texas prior to 1845 (Padilla 1979); any Mexican immigrants arriving in Texas after that date had to prove that they were white in order to apply for citizenship. The detribalized American Indians were classified as citizens but were not given the right to vote (*Elk v. Wilkens* 1884), and the only American Indians who were granted citizenship (without suffrage) were those who resided in Mexican towns and had adopted the Mexican culture. Few other than the detribalized Mexican Apaches from the San Antonio District were eligible to be considered citizenship because they no longer posed a political threat to the Anglo power structure. By 1850, most Indians had been exterminated and Mexicans constituted a minority population (Montejano 1987; Newcomb 1985).

Between 1850 and 1913 the citizenship laws extended to the Indians in New Mexico were ambiguous, and governmental opinions vacillated between liberal and racist positions. The differing attitudes toward the Indians appear to have been strongly associated with the shifts of political power from the Mexican mestizos to the Anglo Americans. From 1850 to the mid-1870s, a period when the Mexican mestizos retained considerable negotiating power, relatively liberal Indian legislation was passed in New Mexico (Lamar 1966). Conversely,

between the mid-1870s and 1913, as the Anglo Americans gradually came to monopolize New Mexico's government, attitudes toward the Indians became less sympathetic.

New Mexico's first territorial constitution was drafted on May 15, 1850, and was titled the Organic Act of New Mexico. Twenty delegates were present at the constitutional convention: 11 Mexicans and 9 Anglo Americans (Larson 1968). The Organic Act conferred full rights of citizenship upon "free whites" and those citizens of Mexico who had become citizens of the United States as a result of the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (First Legislative Assembly 1851:20). Within days, confusion arose over two issues: were the Pueblo Indians part of the conquered Mexican population that had obtained U.S. citizenship under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, and did they thereby acquire the right of suffrage? A month after the act was drafted, the Cochiti Indians (part of the Pueblo Indians) sent a delegation to Santa Fe, where it met with government officials to discuss the Cochiti's citizenship status (Larson 1968). The Cochiti were assured that civilized Indians were counted as part of the conquered Mexican population and were therefore eligible to vote. When New Mexico's first territorial election was held, the Cochiti and other Pueblo Indians were allowed to vote.

On September 5, 1853, however, the U.S. Congress rescinded the Pueblo Indians' voting rights (Larson 1968). Ironically, though Congress prohibited the Pueblo Indians from voting, New Mexico's territorial legislators gave them a special citizenship status that allowed them to vote at the township level (Deavenport 1856:142). The Pueblo Indians, however, had to demonstrate that they practiced a Mexican lifestyle (that, for example, they had a "Mexican political village structure"). New Mexico's courts also prohibited federal Indian agents from relocating any Pueblo Indian onto a reservation (*United States v. Kolowoski* 1874; *United States v. Lucero* 1869; *United States v. Santistevan* 1874; *United States v. Varela* 1874).⁶ The courts reasoned that because the Pueblo Indians' had adopted the Spanish culture and the Mexican township system, they had the right to obtain special privileges not extended to other Indian groups. In *United States v. Lucero* (1869), for example, the main argument offered in defense of the Cochiti was that generations of Spanish cultural indoctrination had uplifted their race. It was concluded that they had become a Mexicanized Indian race that had adopted the culture, names, and traditions of their Mexican neighbors. The court offered the following opinion:

Their names, their customs, and their habits, are similar to those of the people in whose midst they reside, or in the midst of whom their pueblos are situated.... In the absence of law or decision on the subject, are we not at liberty to conclude from these facts that the laws, the decision of the courts, and the acquiescence of the people, all recognized the pueblo Indians as citizens, as "Mexicans"? We do so conclude. [United States v. Lucero 1869:454, 456]

In short, the court decided that the Pueblo Indians of Cochiti were part of the conquered Mexican people who had obtained U.S. citizenship under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.

The liberal New Mexico Supreme Court rulings and territorial laws were short-lived. In 1876 the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the Pueblo Indians' right to claim U.S. citizenship under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (Davis and Mechem 1915; *United States v. Joseph* 1876). It appears that the dissolution of the Pueblo Indians' citizenship rights coincided with the growth of the Anglo-American community. In the late 1870s the Anglo-American population gradually increased; by 1880 it had become the majority, numbering over 90,000 (Lamar 1966). And with population growth came political power. The Pueblo Indians' right to claim citizenship faced its first serious challenge when Anthony Joseph charged that he had been discriminated against by New Mexico's legal system.

In 1874, Joseph, an Anglo-American resident of New Mexico, challenged the Pueblo Indians' property rights and attempted to lay claim to a parcel of their land. Government officials fined him and evicted him from the Pueblo territory. Joseph refused to pay the fine, and the dispute was finally resolved in court. He lost the trial at the territorial level (*United States v. Joseph* 1874) but, unsatisfied with the court's decision, appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court. In *United*

States v. Joseph (1876), he argued that the Pueblo Indians had no legal right to the land because they were not U.S. citizens. In response, the Supreme Court offered a convoluted decision regarding the citizenship status of the Pueblo Indians. The Court ruled that under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo the land of the Taos Pueblo Indians was protected from homesteaders. The Court also ruled, however, that although many Pueblo Indians practiced Mexican customs, they could not be considered U.S. citizens of Mexican descent. It concluded that because of the topic's complexity, the final decision would have to be made in future cases when the political rights of the Pueblo Indians were questioned. The final blow to the citizenship rights of the Pueblo Indians came from the Supreme Court in 1884. In Elk v. Wilkens the Court ruled that Indians—whether or not they were acculturated—were not U.S. citizens.

In New Mexico, the impact of the federal Supreme Court rulings on Indian issues was to dismantle the Pueblo Indians' special status. For example, in 1897 the Pueblo Indians' right to vote in town elections was rescinded (Davis and Mechem 1915). Moreover, when the New Mexico territory gained statehood in 1912 additional discriminatory laws were passed. Under the new state constitution (adopted January 21, 1911) the Pueblo Indians were declared to be "like any other Indian tribe" and their tribal land was brought under U.S. jurisdiction as "Indian country" (N.M. Const. 1911, art. XXI, sec. 8). Finally, in 1913, one year after statehood, New Mexico's supreme court passed a ruling stipulating that the Pueblo Indians were savages and therefore had no right to claim U.S. citizenship under the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. In United States v. Sandoval (1913) the court concluded that although the cultural heritage of the Pueblo was ambiguous, New Mexico's constitution classified them as an Indian tribe and not as a Mexican ethnic group. The court offered the following analysis of the Pueblo Indians' culture, concluding that they were a primitive and inferior people:

The people of the pueblos, although sedentary rather than nomadic in their inclinations, and disposed to peace and industry, are nevertheless Indians in race, customs, and domestic government. Always . . . adhering to primitive modes of life, largely influenced by superstition and fetichism [sic], and chiefly governed according to the crude customs inherited from their ancestors, they are essentially a simple, uninformed and inferior people. [United States v. Sandoval 1913:39]

United States v. Sandoval effectively symbolized the degeneration of the Indians' legal status during the Anglo-American political domination of New Mexico. Moreover, the derogatory views that the state and federal courts held of the Indians reflected the general racial prejudice felt by Anglo Americans toward people of Indian descent. Larson (1968) and Lamar (1966) posit that during the 19th century the major obstruction to New Mexico's statehood was the racial prejudice of U.S. congressmen toward a Spanish-speaking and predominantly nonwhite population. Congress was unwilling to extend statehood to a Mexican population that did not represent "the best blood on the American continent" (Larson 1968:303).

During the 19th century, then, racial laws in the Southwest discriminated against the Mexican-origin population, in particular those of Indian descent. Mexicans who were of American Indian or predominantly Mexican Indian descent were not able to exercise the full rights of citizens. It is now necessary to further examine the legislative and judicial repression of Mexicans and Indians in order to show why Mexicans were pressured to argue in court that they were of Caucasian descent.

citizenship by birth: racial restrictions and the 14th Amendment

Passed in 1865, the 13th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution abolished slavery and involuntary servitude, freeing blacks from slavery and releasing thousands of American Indians held in indentured bondage (Feagin 1989; Heizer and Almquist 1971). The question of whether blacks and other racial minorities should be incorporated into the nation as voting citizens then arose. The federal government determined that if racial minorities were to be allowed to vote,

a federal law rescinding the states' right to prescribe citizenship requirements had to be enacted (Hyman and Wiecek 1982). The 14th Amendment was passed in 1868 with the intention of legislating a uniform citizenship law and eliminating the states' right to establish citizenship eligibility (U.S. Const. amend. XIV, sec. 1, cited in Hyman and Wiecek 1982:517–531). Ironically, although the 14th Amendment became the paramount law of the land and people born in the United States were granted full citizenship rights, including the right to vote, the amendment excluded the American Indians from its protection. Thus, this legislation adversely affected the Mexicans because Anglo-Americans continued to argue that most Mexicans were Indians and therefore should receive the same treatment (Surace 1982). Let us look at two judicial cases in which Anglo Americans attempted to deny Mexicans and American Indians the protection of the 14th Amendment by arguing that both populations were Indian.

Regardless of whether American Indians adopted the lifestyle of Euro-Americans, the government refused to grant them the right to obtain citizenship under the 14th Amendment. A case in point is John Elk, an acculturated Indian, who in 1884 was denied that right. According to the U.S. Supreme Court, Elk was technically a tribal Indian because his people had never enacted a treaty with the United States and had not been granted U.S. citizenship. Although Elk was a taxpayer, had terminated all relations with his reservation, and had served in the U.S. military, he was found unfit to claim citizenship. He was also denied the right to apply for naturalization, because Indians were ineligible: Indians could only become citizens by an act of Congress. With the *Elk v. Wilkens* ruling, the government made it clear that Indians were disqualified from applying for citizenship or naturalization. This law also applied to the American Indians of partial Mexican descent, including many Pueblo Indians of New Mexico (*United States v. Sandoval* 1913).

Throughout the late 1800s, anti-Indian feelings were projected onto Mexicans and used as a rationale for denying them full citizenship rights (*Hardy v. De Leon* 1849; *Kilpatrick v. Sisneros* 1859; *McKinney v. Saviego* 1855; *People v. Naglee* 1850). In 1870, Pablo De La Guerra, a district judge and a prominent citizen of Santa Barbara, was prosecuted by the state of California for "illegally acting" as a U.S. citizen. In the state supreme court hearing, the attorneys for the state argued that De La Guerra was not a U.S. citizen because the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had never had the power to make citizens of Mexicans or Indians. Therefore, they proposed that Mexicans who had remained in the United States after the Mexican-American War might only obtain citizenship by naturalization. Embellishing the facts, the attorneys for the state further argued that because the constitution prohibited Indians from applying for naturalization, and because Mexicans were Indian, Mexicans were also ineligible to apply for naturalization. In his defense, De La Guerra argued that he was white and was therefore exempt from California's racial laws. The court records indicate De La Guerra testified that he "was born at Santa Barbara in 1819, and has ever since resided at that place and is admitted to have been a White male citizen of Mexico" (*People v. De La Guerra* 1870:339, emphasis added).

Although the state supreme court ruled in favor of De La Guerra, concluding that he was white and therefore not subject to Indian jurisdiction laws, it passed a convoluted decision that upheld California's right to limit citizenship on the basis of race. (De La Guerra was also judged to be a U.S. citizen because the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had conferred that privilege upon him.) The court ruled that although De La Guerra was entitled to the full rights of citizenship because he was white, nonwhite Mexicans were not entitled to the same rights. The court stated that citizenship did not guarantee Mexicans full political rights because the government had the power to limit political privileges for certain types of Mexicans. It was implicit in the language of the court that only white Mexicans were entitled to full political rights. Ironically, although two years earlier the federal government had passed the 14th Amendment, which prohibited the states from limiting the political rights of U.S. citizens on the basis of race, the state supreme court upheld California's right to practice racial discrimination. It is unclear

whether the court elected to ignore the 14th Amendment or decided that it did not apply to Mexicans. The court's concluding statement affirmed California's right to discriminate against Mexicans of Indian descent:

The elective franchise is denied to certain persons who had been entitled to its exercise under the laws of Mexico. The possession of all political rights is not essential to citizenship. When Congress admitted California as a State, the constituent members of the State, in their aggregate capacity, became vested with the sovereign powers of government, "according to the principles of the Constitution." They then had the right to prescribe the qualifications of electors, and it is no violation of the treaty that these qualifications were such as to exclude some of the inhabitants from certain political rights. [People v. De La Guerra 1870:343–344]

The court further proposed that Mexican Indians born in the United States were ineligible to vote because Indians were denied that right.

New Mexico and Arizona took similar discriminatory actions. Despite the 14th Amendment, the Arizona legislators continued to deny nonwhite Mexicans the right of suffrage as well as to prevent them from serving as lawyers or justices of the peace (Murphy 1970). In New Mexico, although the Mexican mestizos retained considerable control of the territorial government during the 1870s, there is evidence that the Anglo Americans attempted to disenfranchise Mexicans by accusing them of being traitors. Mexican judges, in particular, came under overwhelming attack (Carter v. Territory of New Mexico 1859; Quintana v. Thompkins 1853).

Throughout the late 19th century, state governments prevented "American-born" racial minorities from exercising their citizenship rights (Kansas 1941). Anglo Americans argued that the spirit of the 14th Amendment applied only to blacks and whites and that therefore Asians, American Indians, Mexicans, and "half-breeds" were not entitled to its protection (Hull 1985; Konvitz 1946; Padilla 1979). As large numbers of American racial minorities began to challenge the states' interpretations of the 14th Amendment, their cases began to appear before the states' supreme courts. The federal Supreme Court was then pressured to offer a final and uniform decision on two citizenship questions: were nonblack racial minorities who had been born in the United States citizens; and if they were, should they be entitled to full political rights? In 1897 the case of United States v. Wong Kim Ark reached the federal Supreme Court, and the racial questions were resolved. The Supreme Court ruled that a child born in the United States acquired citizenship by virtue of the 14th Amendment and that race and national origin could not be used to deny a person the rights of citizenship.⁷ The Court also ruled that the Civil Rights Act of 1866 (ch. 31, sec. 1-6) guaranteed all persons born in the United States (and not subject to any foreign power), regardless of racial background, full and equal benefit of the laws enjoyed by white citizens. Ironically, the Court exempted the majority of the American Indians, the rationale being that the spirit and language of the 14th Amendment were based on the principles of the Civil Rights Act of 1866, which exempted most American Indians.

Following the *Wong Kim Ark* decision, Mexicans born in the United States were in theory indisputably guaranteed the full legal rights of citizenship. However, because most Indians were denied the 14th Amendment's protection, Mexicans remained a vulnerable target of discrimination. Mexicans born in the United States were entitled to full political privileges, but at the community level they were subject to the Anglo Americans' interpretations of the 14th Amendment. There are abundant historical records demonstrating that anti-Indian attitudes were extended to Mexicans and that on a daily basis the two ethnic groups were often treated alike (Spicer 1962; Surace 1982; Taylor 1934). For example, newspapers typically depicted Mexicans as half-breeds or quarter-Indian bloods who stole cattle and assassinated Anglo Americans (Paredes 1978; Pitt 1966). Journalists also warned the American public to be wary of Mexicans because many "savage" Indians were attempting to pass for Mexican (Kenner 1969; Lange and Riley 1970, 1975; Reister 1928).

Discriminatory anti-Indian attitudes also surfaced in the area of naturalization, and the Mexican immigrant became the target. Reasoning that Mexicans were Indian, federal agencies

attempted to extend to Mexicans the exclusionary naturalization laws that applied to Indians. This was potentially damaging to the Mexican population as the era of Mexican migration began to unfold in the late 19th century. Thousands of Mexicans were entering the United States in an attempt to escape the repressive Mexican hacienda system, while others were deciding to settle in the Southwest as a means of reuniting families separated by the U.S.-Mexico border (Galarza 1964; Paredes 1978). Over 8,000 Mexican immigrants entered the United States legally between 1869 and 1900, and many more thousands of unregistered immigrants arrived (Galarza 1964; Zambrano 1986). It is thus important to explore the racial rationales used by Anglo Americans to prevent Mexican immigrants from obtaining U.S. citizenship.

citizenship by naturalization: Mexican immigrants

In the 19th century, Mexican immigrants who planned to participate in American electoral politics and receive other political rights had to obtain citizenship by way of naturalization. For Mexicans and other racial minorities the process was arduous. Racial minorities did not have the right to apply for naturalization merely because they were immigrants (Hull 1985; Kansas 1941; Konvitz 1946). On the contrary, from 1790 to 1940 only "free white immigrants"—and, after 1870, black immigrants—were extended the privilege of naturalization (Naturalization Act of 1790, ch. 3, sec. 1; Naturalization Act of 1795, ch. 20, stat. 2, sec. 1; Naturalization Act of 1802, ch. 28, stat. 1; Naturalization Rev. Stat. of 1870, sec. 2169). The historical failure of the federal government to classify Mexicans as white adversely affected the Mexican immigrants who planned to apply for citizenship. If Mexican immigrants wanted to be naturalized, they had to prove that they were eligible to apply because they were white (Padilla 1979); consequently, they also had to prove that they were not Indian, because the naturalization eligibility requirements excluded Indians. In effect the naturalization process discouraged Mexican immigrants from asserting their indigenous heritage within the legal system. In Arizona, there is evidence that still more restrictive naturalization policies prevented Mexican immigrants from obtaining citizenship. The citizens of Apache County considered the naturalization racial clauses to be excessively lax, and so in 1885, local government officials defied the rules of the naturalization board and took it upon themselves to determine which types of white immigrants would be allowed to become U.S. citizens (Murphy 1970).

It is difficult to determine how many Mexican immigrants were successful in obtaining naturalization and how many were turned down on the basis of race (Hull 1985). The case of *In re Rodriguez* (1897), however, delineates the type of rationale used by the naturalization board to exclude Mexican immigrants. In 1897, Ricardo Rodriguez, a citizen of Mexico, filed in the county court of Bexar, Texas, his intention to become a citizen of the United States. His application was denied on the ground that he was an Indian and therefore not eligible to apply for citizenship. Rodriguez appealed, and his case was heard by the San Antonio Circuit Court. In his defense, Rodriguez argued that although his race was Indian he no longer practiced Indian traditions and knew nothing about that culture.

The naturalization board contested Rodriguez' right to apply for naturalization, arguing that the federal government did not extend this privilege to nonwhites other than blacks. The board, represented by attorney A. J. Evans, asserted that although many Mexicans were white and qualified for naturalization, most Mexicans, like Rodriguez, were Indian and thus ineligible to be naturalized (Naturalization Rev. Stat. of 1870, sec. 2169). Evans argued that Rodriguez was unmistakably Indian in appearance:

I challenge the right of the applicant to become a citizen of the United States, on the ground that he is not a man or person entitled to be naturalized.... [The] applicant is a native-born person of Mexico, 38 years old, and of pure Aztec or Indian race.... The population of Mexico comprises about six million Indians of unmixed blood, nearly one-half of whom are nomadic savage tribes, ... about 5 million whites

or creoles . . . and twenty-five thousand . . . mestizos, or half-breeds derived from the union of the whites and Indians. . . . Now it is clear . . . from the appearance of the applicant, that he is one of the 6,000,000 Indians of unmixed blood. . . . If an Indian, he cannot be naturalized. [In re Rodriguez 1897:346–347]

Evans' colleagues, Floyd McGown and T. J. McMinn, presented supporting legal cases to contest Rodriguez' naturalization application. Offering several precedents in which racial minorities had been denied the privilege of naturalization, they argued that the federal government had made it very clear that only blacks and Americans of pure European descent were eligible. McGown and McMinn stated that the precedent for denying Mexican immigrants the right to apply for naturalization had been set in 1878 by In re Ah Yup. In that case the Circuit Court of California had ruled that the Chinese were not white and therefore were ineligible to apply for citizenship. The attorneys argued that In re Ah Yup indisputably applied to Mexicans because everyone knew that Chinese, Mexicans, and Indians were mongolians. That argument was their ethnological analysis. They then stated that the decision to exclude half-breed immigrants from citizenship had also been upheld by the government in the case of In re Camille (1880), in which the Circuit Court of Oregon had ruled that half-breed Indians were not white and therefore not eligible for naturalization. Using *In re Camille* as their precedent, the attorneys for the board of naturalization argued that Mexican mestizos were disqualified from applying for naturalization because the court had ruled that a person must be at least three-quarters white to receive the privileges of a white citizen. They also appealed to a Utah Supreme Court decision on a Hawaiian immigrant (In re Kanaka Nian 1889) as evidence that racial minorities who inhabited conquered territories were ineligible for naturalization. Employing unsubstantiated rhetoric, Evans and McGown asserted that inhabitants of ceded territories, such as Hawaii and the Mexican northwest, could not apply for naturalization. Because Kanaka Nian had been born in Hawaii and Rodriguez in Mexico, neither one was eligible.

The final case used to challenge Rodriguez' right to naturalization was the U.S. Supreme Court case *Elk v. Wilkens* (1884). The attorneys representing the board of naturalization argued that *Elk v. Wilkens* clearly indicated the U.S. government had never intended to naturalize Indians, even those who were acculturated or had terminated their tribal relations. Therefore, they concluded Mexicans were ineligible because everyone knew that the true Mexican was an acculturated Indian. In sum, the attorneys for the board argued on the basis of race against extending Rodriguez the right to apply for naturalization. In supporting arguments they alleged that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo did not have naturalization powers, and they concluded by opining that acculturation did not transform an Indian into a white person.

The dissenting opinion was offered by T. M. Paschal in defense of Rodriguez. Paschal's opinion clearly supported Rodriguez, yet it had a racist tone and indicated an intolerant attitude toward cultural diversity. Paschal argued that Rodriguez was an undesirable candidate for naturalization and should be denied that right based on the fact that he was an Indian and an ignorant Mexican who was unable to read or write Spanish or English. Paschal asserted, however, that the federal laws of the land had to be upheld by the district courts and Mexican immigrants had to be given the right to apply for citizenship. He argued that when the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was ratified the United States agreed to extend Mexican citizens the same political privileges enjoyed by whites. Therefore, Paschal proposed, if the U.S. government had agreed to treat the Mexicans of the ceded territory as "white," then the same treatment had to be extended to Mexican immigrants, irrespective of race. Paschal concluded that although Rodriguez was an Indian, the racial precedents set by the In re Ah Yup, In re Camille, In re Kanaka Nian, and Elk v. Wilkens cases did not apply to Mexicans, for the U.S. government had agreed to extend them the privileges of whites. Naturalizing Rodriguez, he argued, would not violate the racial clauses of the naturalization laws. To provide further evidence that Rodriguez was eligible, Paschal asked Rodriguez to testify in his own behalf and prove to the

court that he no longer identified himself as Indian. What follows are the counsel's questions and Rodriguez' replies:

- Q. Do you not believe that you belong to the original Aztec race in Mexico?
- A. No, Sir.
- Q. Where did your race come from? Spain?
- A. No. Sir.
- Q. Does your family claim any religion? What religion do they profess?
- A. Catholic religion.

Paschal then said, "The supporting affidavits show upon their face that the applicant is 'attached to the principles of the constitution of the United States, and well disposed to the good order and happiness of the same'" (In re Rodriguez 1897:338). District Judge Maxey concurred with Paschal's defense. Maxey concluded that Rodriguez was eligible for naturalization based on international laws of territorial cession and on his having proven that he was no longer an Indian.

Interestingly, Elizabeth Hull (1985) argues that although a large number of Mexican immigrants were naturalized in the early 20th century, it was not until 1940 that the U.S. government changed the language of the naturalization laws and without a doubt conferred that privilege on Mexican Indians. According to Hull, it was only with passage of the Nationality Act of 1940 that the U.S. government formally allowed indigenous immigrants from the Western hemisphere to obtain naturalization rights, and only with several revisions of the act that it allowed all "nonwhite immigrants" to obtain citizenship. Chinese were granted that privilege in 1943, Japanese in 1945, Pilipinos and East Indians in 1946, and all other races in 1952 (Hull 1985; Konvitz 1946).

de jure racial segregation

In the late 1800s, when de jure segregation was enacted at the federal level, the question of whether or not the Mexican people came under the mandate of the segregationist "Jim Crow" laws became salient. Because the U.S. government had failed to designate a racial category for Mexican people, their racial status in the courts remained ambiguous. The government acknowledged that most Mexicans were partly white, but because of their Indian ancestry it failed to classify them as Caucasian (Padilla 1979). Classifying them as Indian, however, was politically problematic (Heizer and Almquist 1971; Weber 1982). There is evidence indicating that in the Southwest, dark-complexioned Mexicans were segregated from whites. I will therefore discuss judicial cases in which nonwhite people of Mexican origin were discriminated against by the U.S. legal system. I will also examine the Mexican people's responses. Understandably, Mexican litigants defended themselves in court by challenging the applicability of the segregationist laws to their ethnic group. Their attorneys attempted to protect them by arguing either that Mexicans were white or that they had the political right to be treated as white citizens. To introduce this discussion, I will briefly review the first two major segregationist cases to come before the federal Supreme Court: Robinson v. Memphis & Charleston Railroad Co. (1883) and Plessy v. Ferguson (1896). These cases will illustrate both the rationale for passing national segregationist laws and the rationale for including nonwhite Mexicans under those laws.

In 1883 the landmark segregationist ruling on *Robinson v. Memphis & Charleston Railroad Co.* legally allowed the exclusion of racial minorities from hotels, restaurants, parks, public conveyances, and public amusement parks. This ruling also upheld the right of business owners to provide segregated services for racial minorities or to refuse them services. The arguments of subsequent segregationist laws were structured or supported by this Supreme Court decision,

and they were not completely overturned until passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (Salinas 1973).

The significance of the *Robinson* case was that it successfully overturned the liberal Civil Rights Act of 1875, which had prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, religion, and national origin. Sections 1 and 2 of the act were overturned because of their allegedly unconstitutional implications, for the Court concluded that they advocated reverse discrimination against whites. The majority opinion was that allowing racial minorities to be in public places forced whites to interact with them and thus violated the civil rights of white people. It also stated that excluding nonwhites from public places was not a violation of the 13th and 14th Amendments because interacting with whites was a privilege and not a right for racial minorities.

Thirteen years after the *Robinson* ruling, *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) was deliberated by the Supreme Court. This case became the most devastating and segregationist ruling to date, as the Court legalized all forms of social segregation, including school segregation. The ruling also provided more specific language about who could legally be segregated. In *Plessy*, the Supreme Court justices addressed the problem of racial classifications, ruling that for purposes of segregation every state had the right to determine who was white and who was nonwhite. It also gave each state the power to decide if any racial minority group should be segregated. That is, although the Court did not mandate that "all racial minorities" be segregated, it supported the states' rights to institute segregation if desired by the state legislators. The *Plessy* decision served to reinforce the Mexicans' inferior political status. In other words, during the era of de jure segregation the indigenous heritage of Mexican-origin people linked them to the people of color, and dark-complexioned Mexicans could be racially segregated.

In Colorado and Texas, for example, people of Mexican origin were legally excluded from public facilities reserved for whites. In *Lueras v. Town of Lafayette* (1937) and *Terrell Wells Swimming Pool v. Rodríguez* (1944), the courts concluded that Mexicans were not white and therefore were not entitled to use such facilities. Although the two Mexicans in these cases argued that they were of Spanish descent, their dark skin color indicated that they were racially mixed and thus they lost the trials (Salinas 1973). Social scientists Albert Camarillo (1984) and Guadalupe Salinas (1973) report that similar civil rights injustices occurred in California and Arizona during the same period.

School segregation cases serve to further illustrate discrimination against dark-complexioned Mexican-origin people on the basis of race. Although the rationales used to segregate Mexican students ranged from racial to social-deficit justifications (including language, intelligence quotients, and the "infectious diseases of Mexicans"), some legislators attempted to segregate Mexican students on the ground that most of them were nonwhite (Wollenberg 1974). California provides the best examples of how the indigenous racial ancestry of the Mexican students was used to place them under the mandate of de jure segregation. During the 1920s and 1930s, government officials attempted to classify Mexican students as Indians; their intent was to pass a paramount state law that would give all school boards the unquestionable right to segregate Mexicans (Donato, Menchaca, and Valencia 1991). On January 23, 1927, the attorney general of California offered the opinion that Mexicans could be treated as Indians and should be placed under the mandate of de jure segregation (Hendrick 1977:56), and in 1930 he issued a similar opinion. According to him, Mexicans were Indians and therefore should be treated as such: "It is well known that the greater portion of the population of Mexico are Indians and when such Indians migrate to the United States they are subject to the laws applicable generally to other Indians" (cited in Weinberg 1977:166). Finally, in 1935 the California legislature passed legislation officially segregating certain Mexican students on the ground that they were Indian. Though the school code exempted white Mexicans, it clearly applied to Mexicans of Indian descent. Without explicitly mentioning Mexicans, the code prescribed that schools segregate Mexicans of Indian descent who were not American Indians:

The governing board of the school district shall have power to establish separate schools for Indian children, excepting children of Indians who are wards of the United States government and children of all other Indians who are descendants of the original American Indians of the United States, and for children of Chinese, Japanese, or Mongolian parentage. [cited in Hendrick 1977:57]

The ambiguous school code made Mexican students the principal target of discrimination and released American Indians from mandated school segregation (Donato, Menchaca, and Valencia 1991; Gonzalez 1990). Dark-complexioned Mexican students could be classified as Indians and the segregationist educational codes applied to them. California school boards now had the legal right to use race as a rationale to segregate certain Mexicans.⁸

During the early 1930s, the two states with the largest concentrations of Mexicans practiced school segregation on a large scale. In Texas by 1930, 90 percent of the schools teaching Mexican students were racially segregated (Rangel and Alcala 1972). In California by 1931, 85 percent of the Mexican students were in segregated schools or classrooms (Hendrick 1977). However, the rationales for segregating Mexican students varied, as schools could not use race to segregate white Mexican students. The case of Independent School District v. Salvatierra (1930) illustrates this point. In 1930 the Mexican community of Del Rio, Texas, won a partial victory when it proved in court that the Del Rio Independent School District had unlawfully segregated white Mexican students (Rangel and Alcala 1972). The attorneys for the school board justified the segregationist actions by arguing that the Texas legislature, the U.S. Constitution, and federal statutes allowed government agencies to segregate Mexican students when it was necessary. They also argued that the district had primarily segregated nonwhite Mexican students. The judge ruled that because half the Mexican population in Del Rio was Spanish and belonged to the white race, not all of the Mexican students were subject to the mandates of de jure segregation. However, the judge also ruled that the Del Rio school board would not be asked to rescind its actions. First, the school board had not acted with malice when it segregated the Mexican students of Spanish descent. The judge proposed that this error resulted from the failure of the Texas courts to determine whether all Mexicans belonged to the same race. Second, because federal statutes on treaties had recently allowed government agencies to reverse treaty agreements, the school board had the right to segregate any Mexican student who did not speak English (Independent School District v. Salvatierra 1930:794). The judge concluded that because a large number of the Mexican students were white, it would be unjust to segregate Mexicans arbitrarily. White Mexican students, therefore, could be segregated only if they did not speak English.

Educational historian Gilbert Gonzalez (1990) proposes that the *Independent School District* case set the legal precedent cautioning school boards in the Southwest not to use race as the only justification for segregating Mexican students. After the Del Rio incident other rationales were often used to legitimate school segregation, but they were only smokescreens for racism. A case in point is *Roberto Alvarez v. Lemon Grove School District* (1931), in which a California school board used language as a justification for segregating Mexican students (see Alvarez 1986; Gonzalez 1990). In this case, however, the court ruled in favor of the Mexican community and ordered the desegregation of the Mexican students (Alvarez 1986), arguing that separate facilities for Mexican students were not conducive to their Americanization. Americanization symbolically meant the right to be acculturated into the Anglo-Saxon society (Gonzalez 1990).

In 1947 the era of de jure segregation in the schools finally came to an end for the Mexican community of the Southwest. The *Mendez v. Westminster* case (1946, 1947) ended de jure segregation in California and provided the legal foundation for overturning the school segregation of Mexican students throughout the Southwest. In that case, Judge Paul McCormick ruled that the school board had segregated Mexicans on the basis of their "Latinized" appearance

and had gerrymandered the school district in order to ensure that Mexican students would attend schools apart from whites (Wollenberg 1974). He decided that neither *Plessy* nor the 1935 educational code of California applied to Mexican students because there was no federal law stipulating that all Mexicans were Indian (Gonzalez 1990). He also concluded that the segregation of Mexican students was illegal because the 14th Amendment and the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had guaranteed Mexicans equal rights in the United States. The Westminster school board appealed the ruling, but the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco upheld the decision on April 14, 1947 (Gonzalez 1990). Although the *Mendez* case helped to end de jure segregation in the schools, the segregation of Mexican students remained widespread. In 1968 nearly 50 percent of Mexican-origin students attended segregated schools, and in 1980 about 70 percent of Latino students (two-thirds of whom were of Mexican origin) were enrolled in schools with minority enrollments of 50 percent or more (Donato, Menchaca, and Valencia 1991).

conclusion

I have described some of the racial repression experienced by people of Mexican origin in the United States, intending not to document all forms of racial discrimination but rather to examine how the legal system was used to deny Mexican-origin people their political rights. As part of my analysis, I have also examined the circumstances that strongly influenced some Mexican-origin people to assert their Caucasian ancestry in court in order to obtain their full rights of citizenship.

Court and legislative records from 1848 to 1947, I argue, reveal that the skin color of Mexican-origin people strongly influenced whether they were to be treated by the legal system as white or as non-white. During the 19th century, Mexican-origin individuals who were predominantly of Indian descent were subject to heightened racial discrimination. They were, for example, not allowed to become naturalized citizens if they were immigrants, to vote in the states of California and Arizona, to practice law in the state of Arizona, or to be exempted from segregationist legislation. The segregationist laws continued to affect darker-skinned Mexicans into the mid-20th century. Furthermore, 19th- and early-20th-century legal records indicate that although New Mexican state officials attempted to confer full citizenship privileges on "Mexicanized American Indians," the federal government rescinded their actions. In the legal domain, the federal government failed to acknowledge the existence of people who practiced both Mexican and American Indian traditions; these individuals experienced greater racial discrimination than the rest of the Mexican population. The legal records also indicate that under the law Mexican-origin people of predominantly Caucasian ancestry were ostensibly allowed to exercise the full political rights of citizens. However, the question of whether they could actually exercise those political rights is beyond the scope of this article. In the state of Texas, for example, there is evidence that local governments found alternative legal methods of discriminating against Mexicans who were identified as white. In the Independent School District v. Salvatierra court case, it was determined that "white Mexican students" could be legally segregated if they did not speak English.

I also argue that the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo played three major roles in protecting the Mexican-origin population. In 1898, as a result of the treaty, the Naturalization Act of 1790 became inapplicable to Mexican immigrants (Kansas 1941); unlike other racial minorities, Mexican immigrants were exempted from the act and allowed to apply for naturalization. In the 19th century, the treaty also served to protect the political rights of someMexicans, albeit only those of predominantly Caucasian ancestry; in the states of California and Arizona, "white Mexican males" were given the right of suffrage because the state legislators concluded that the treaty gave certain types of Mexicans full political rights. And in the 20th century, the treaty

was used to help dismantle de jure school segregation for the Mexican-origin students of the Southwest. In *Mendez v. Westminster* (1946, 1947) McCormick ruled that the treaty and the 14th Amendment prohibited the unequal treatment of the Mexican population (Wollenberg 1974). *Mendez* was used in subsequent school desegregation cases and became the legal foundation for ending the era of de jure school segregation.

In sum, this analysis outlines a history of racial repression and discrimination against members of the Mexican-origin community in the United States. Government officials used the people's indigenous ancestry to deny them equal citizenship rights and to keep them in a politically subordinate position. The legal case studies in particular demonstrate that Indianism was used to construct an image of Mexican-origin people as inferior and therefore deserving of separate and unequal treatment. With respect to future scholarship on the racial history of the Chicano people, I trust that this exploration has demonstrated the value of using legislative and judicial records as evidence that this American minority group has experienced severe racial discrimination in the United States.

notes

- 1. The terms *Mexican* and *Chicano* refer to people of Mexican origin who reside in the United States. *Mexican* is used in reference to those individuals who lived in the 19th and early 20th century, and *Chicano* to those living in the contemporary period.
- 2. For extended discussions of the racial terms white and Caucasian, refer to the court cases In re Camille (1880), In re Ah Yup (1878), and United States v. Thind (1922). In all of these cases the courts stated that the term white had historically referred only to Caucasians. White women were considered part of the "free white" population, but they were not allowed to vote or run for political office.
- 3. Refer to Konvitz (1946) and Kansas (1941) for extended discussions of civil rights offenses committed against nonwhites. Among these offenses were denying people the right to vote or run for political office, prohibiting nonwhite men from marrying white women (in most states), and restricting various occupations to white citizens.
- The Mexican delegates to the first constitutional convention also voted against legalizing slavery in New Mexico (Larson 1968).
- 5. In northern New Mexico during the Spanish and Mexican periods, the relationship between the small-scale mestizo farmers and the American Indians of the Rio Arriba was one of both conflict and cohesion. The mestizos in the Rio Arriba region retained their social distance from the Indians, yet ironically, they developed economic and kinship alliances with them; it became common for the mestizos to trade with and even marry the Indians (Kutsche 1979; Swadesh 1974). The relationship between the Spanish elite and the Indians in Rio Abajo (also in northern New Mexico), however, is better described as one of conflict and mutual exploitation. The Indians often raided the farms of the Spanish elite, stealing livestock and crops. In turn, the Spanish elite attempted to place Indians in a state of semislavery.
- 6. The government of New Mexico reconsidered the Pueblo Indians' political rights on February 16, 1859, in a heated debate on the issue of extending suffrage to acculturated Pueblo Indians. Many legislators favored extending voting rights to the Pueblo Indians. Transcripts of the assembly debate are rare—most had disappeared by 1877 (Davis and Mechem 1915).
- 7. In *United States v. Wong Kim Ark*, Justice C. J. Fuller offered the dissenting opinion and argued that the U.S. government should have the right to deny any race the right of citizenship for whatever reason. Fuller stated: "I am of opinion that the President and Senate by treaty, and the Congress by naturalization, ... have the power ... to prescribe that all persons of a particular race, or their children, cannot become citizens" (*United States v. Wong Kim Ark* 1897:732).
- 8. Refer to Donato, Menchaca, and Valencia 1991 for a comprehensive history of the school segregation of Mexican students in the 20th century.

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submitted August 14, 1990 revised version submitted February 27, 1991 second revised version submitted September 5, 1991 accepted November 12, 1991

MEXICAN INTELLIGENCE

By CARLETON BEALS

EXICANS lack intelligence. They fight instead of work; most of them wear guaraches instead of shoes, sombreros instead of hats. They are a nuisance, continually upsetting us over petroleum taxes and hectic elections.

"Scientific" support exists for this widespread American conviction. Professor E. A. Ross in his The Social Revolution in Mexico points out that Dickson, by use of the customary intelligence tests, found the intelligence quotient of "Spanish" (i. e., Mexican) children in American schools to be 78, six points below the Portuguese and Italians and thirty-eight below the I. Q. (106) of American children of North-European ancestry. Young tested twelve-year-old "Spanish" (i. e., Mexican) children in certain California schools; in the Alpha test only 21½ per cent. exceeded the lowest fourth of American children; in the Beta test, 30 per cent. as compared to the 75 per cent. required to equal our native stock.

But that these tests are especially disadvantageous to the Mexican child may be seen by taking into consideration: first, the character and condition of our Mexican immigrants; second, the relatively unfair nature of some of the tests; third, the comparative results of tests made of Mexicans in Mexico; and fourth, the general psychological orientation of the Mexican. Given approximate equality of opportunity, the Mexican holds up his lend of the plank.

T

Our Mexican immigrants come largely from northern Mexico and are descendants of the various Seri, Otomí, and allied race-groups which were among the

most backward mentally and socially in all pre-conquest Mexico. Our Mexican immigrants had already been dislocated in their own country; i. e., had become migratory workers of the lowest grade, whereas the immigrants from Portugal and Italy came from settled relatively advanced communities.

The Mexican workers in our country are more ruthlessly exploited than are other foreigners. They are not absorbed rapidly into autonomous unions in industrial centers and so cannot escape the pitiless exploitation that the "greener" almost invariably suffers; instead, they are soon cogged into the debt-enslaving Southern plantation system. Doctor Luis M. Orcí, the immigration healthofficer in Ciudad Juárez, made a careful study of numerous case histories of mentally unsound immigrants deported back to Mexico. The majority were driven insane by cruelty, exploitation, and neglect. "Our countrymen arrive into a medium entirely unfamiliar to them: language, customs, climate; in frequent instances they receive almost brutal treatment; later comes unemployment and the imperious necessity of providing bread for the family." Large numbers are lured across the border by enganchadores, unscrupulous employment agents; and the Mexican, in order to pay back his transportation and numerous other actual or fictitious fees and expenses, receives but a few cents a day and becomes inescapably enmeshed in debt-as in the salmon fisheries of Alaska and the beet-sugar industry in Michigan. Unfamiliar, uncongenial, and harsh economic circumstances are mentally benumbing. The handicaps of the Mexican are accentuated.

II

The Binet-Simon tests, as modified by Terman of Stanford University, depend greatly upon language.

While innate mental capacity is probably not affected by the unfamiliar form-feelings imposed by an alien tongue, confusion of thought temporarily ensues. Speed of mental development is retarded. Adjustments are required. Sprachgefühl is a subtle, semi-conscious possession. New language forms impose psychological correlates that are often obscure, or, at best, only approximate. Now the Mexican child is often bemired in three languages: Indian, Spanish, and English. From two to four million people in Mexico do not even speak Spanish. And even though the indigenous tongue be unknown to the subject, he is still subtly influenced by an earlier Indian habitat, which has canalized his thoughts and emotions into language form-feelings confusingly different from those of the English or the Spanish tongue. The Italians and Portuguese are burdened with dialects; but even a dialect so distinct as the Sicilian has fine form-relations with the national tongue, an affinity not found between the various Indian tongues and the Spanish.

In addition, the European immigrant's native language is firmly fixed; it has rounded out contours; like a solar system, it has its laws of balance and established forces of action and reaction, a well-discernible, almost "geometric system of reference;" it has served for literature, philosophic understanding; it has been buttressed up by text-book teaching based upon classic models. In Mexico the Spanish is by no means so firmly fixed; it is an evolving, uncertain language in vocabulary, morphology, and pronunciation, still attempting to orient itself to the various Indian tongues. Mexican-Spanish has not as yet become sufficiently environmented to serve as a ready literary vehicle. The small so-called Mexican aristocracy has been too jostled by the frontier, too dislocated by revolutions, to find leisure or interest in

acquiring literary polish. The psychological reactions of this class have been invariably European, not native scarcely influenced by the more deeply rooted national

forces and languages.

Thus the average Mexican immigrant, when dealing with concepts dependent upon language, is confronted with a greater thought-confusion than is the Italian or Portuguese. For example, one of the Terman test-words is "pity." Now "pity" invokes "piedad." "Piedad" has a more varied meaning than "pity." Almost synonymous with the Spanish word are: compasión, misericordia. clemencia, etc. The word dilutes out to "charity," "mercy," "forgiveness," until preciseness is lost. And "piedad" has extensive theological and feudal connotations. Thus the subject's definition of "pity" might well prove unacceptable. Furthermore, Indian ideas have canalized into "piedad." In Nahua the word roughly corresponds to teicnoitlalitzli, icnoyotl, tlacollotl, tecatlacoyalitxli, nite, and a whole series of connate words and derivatives. A wide range of form-feelings is invoked, together with a complex of ideas revolving around "cacique," "hierarchical," etc.—reflex of the communal ejidal, tribal scheme of life from which the Mexican so recently sprang. Of course, to argue that child or parents have the least conception of the facts set forth in this paragraph would be absurd; ideas of both are, in all probability, simple, naïve, uninvolved; yet the Mexican mind has been given a distinctive coloring and orientation scarcely expressible in English. These subconscious recomplexes have relentless bearing upon the pictorial and language concepts of each individual; and as the Mexican passes into the Spanish and from Spanish into English. the mental mold is distorted, confused, or broken up. This difficulty is not lessened by the fact that Mexico's percentage of illiteracy is higher than that of any other modern nation except Russia.

The pictures of the Stanford Scale deserve comment. Take the group in front of the post-office: Mexicans gather in the plaza, the market, or the patio. The clothing worn, the attitudes, the general significance of the scene would be incomprehensible to the inadequately Americanized Mexican child. Nor would a Mexican child, examining the picture of an Indian paddling a canoe. containing, apparently, an eloping couple, recognize the Indian as an Indian. He himself is part Indian, but he does not dress in the traditional North American Indian fashion. A man and a woman eloping in a canoe have, for him, no precedent. Marriages and elopements in his society are arranged in such an entirely different way that he would scarcely give an adequate interpretation. Nor has Mexico any all-year-round rivers that permit of canoeing.

Some of the tests are too brutal. The Mexican enjoys his bull-fights and his cock-fights; he has his knifeescapades; he dynamites trains. Nevertheless his mind reveals queer inconsistencies. Obregón, for example, refused to use poison-gas in his recent campaigns. Scratch Mexican and you find cruelty; caress him and you encounter sentimentality, pity, generosity. Instincts of cruelty dawn late in the Mexican's adolescence. Mexican children are, as a rule, more kindly, courteous, and attentive than American children of the same age. There is little of the gangster spirit; the Mexican child does not impose ruthless conformity on his fellows. Thus when a Mexican child is told to repeat: "We are having a fine time. We found a little mouse in the trap," his keen imaginative visualization causes him to be immediately repulsed. He does not consider this a "fine time" at all.

Or the child is told that a doctor, a notary, and a minister call successively at the house of a neighbor. The answer might be: someone is dying or, if eugenic laws are in vogue, a marriage is projected. In Mexico the priest would take the place of the notary; and even the calling of the doctor and priest might not imply either of the two acceptable alternatives.

The Army Beta test, which attempts to eliminate all difficulties due to language, includes a series of pictures in which something is missing. The Mexican would not readily discern that a chimney is lacking in the picture of a comfortable American home; he lives in a simple semi-agrarian environment, in an adobe cabin; and even the best Mexican homes, owing to the mildness of the climate, have no chimneys. Certainly a Mexican child would be entirely baffled by a picture of bowling or of tennis; and the crab, in another picture, is an animal little known to him; lastly, the Mexican plays not with the French cards depicted in the tests, but with Spanish naipes.

III

The testing of Mexicans in their own environment is instructive. The psycho-technic department of the Mexican penitentiary, under the direction of Professor Pablo Boder, a Russian scientist, has found that Mexicans tested in Mexico by the Binet-Simon-Terman Scale, slightly modified to eliminate the most glaring injustices without in any way weakening the tests, grade as high as Americans of North American stock in similar economic and social circumstances. The average Mexican business man, for example, tests the same as an average American business man. Says the Boletín Psicotécnico, the organ of the Department of Psychotechnique and Mental

Hygiene of the Government of the Federal District (February, 1924, page 133):

Our short experience with delinquents, of whom we have examined about eight hundred, children and adults, has demonstrated that in this group at least the Mexican results differ very insignificantly from the American data.

Both peoples, evidently, are distinguished by their temperament, ideals, certain exterior forms of civilization, but, probably, not by their intelligence, especially in the sense implied by experimental psychology.

As principal of the American High School in Mexico City some years ago, I had the opportunity to observe Mexican and American children in the same class-rooms. Where the Mexican child had capably mastered the English, he invariably ranked higher than the American child of the same age, especially in mathematics and drawing, both perhaps a reflection of Oriental heritage, mental preciseness, and love of the handicrafts. In all cases, the Mexican child proved more courteous and better bred; and though the Mexican child, as a rule, showed poorer application, he compensated for this by mental quickness and more mature understanding of life. The American children seemed more handicapped by the difficulties of language dualism.

IV

Climatic and physiological factors operate to meld the manner of thinking. Puberty in the Mexican child arrives early. A child during this period shows little immediate increase in mental stature. At the same time his diffidence and sensitiveness are increased; and unless the examiner is peculiarly discerning and tactful, results are nullified. The Mexican is more highly sexed, and his reactions where sex is involved are different from those of an American.

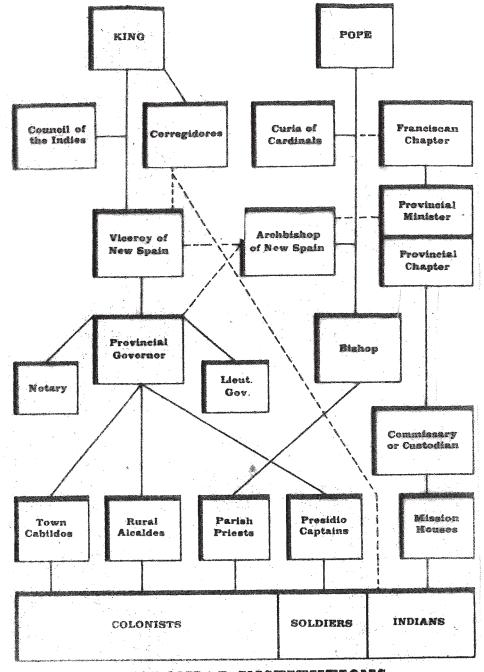
All in all, the Mexican's outlook upon life approaches

the Oriental; it is never mechanistic; it scorns efficiency for efficiency's sake. The Mexican's evaluation of ideas of human activities is, consequently, almost unintelligible to us. The thought-forms, the social régimes, the mode of living, all are different. The Mexican's economic-political-racial-social complex is more widely separated from that of the American than are those of the Italian and the Portuguese; and you can't use a yardstick to measure a spherical angle.

An intelligence test, developed specifically for Mexicans, might result in their grading higher than Americans. The American tests are pragmatic, placing the emphasis upon efficiency, practicality; they are peculiarly linked with American civilization and practices. Now. if modern psychology has taught us anything, it is that thought-processes are dependent upon environment, prejudice, sex-reaction, instinct, emotion; the major part of our thinking is merely rationalization of emotional desires or of life-mishaps. Tests based more directly upon the intensity of the basic human impulses might well prove more congenial to Mexicans; without doubt, tests demanding refined sensibilities would result in the Mexican's favor. The poorest Mexican has an appreciation for form, line, color, and music that is far more innate. mature, and delicate than that of the average American Even among lower class European Latins (I have traveled in all the Latin countries of Europe) there is no such wide-banked reservoir of appreciation for the elements of art. Not only should tests for Mexicans give them a fair opportunity to reveal their intelligence in connection with the more keenly vigorous, sensuous sides of their natures (which the factory-system has atrophied in the more matter-of-fact American) but should take into account the Mexican's richer emotional world and allow

for the greater subtlety of his psychic reactions. We certainly would not ask a Chinaman, even the most highly educated Chinaman, to be judged by his understanding of Western music; and how well would an American fare if compelled to make deductions upon the more complex Chinese orchestrations? The American tests, applied to Mexicans and to many other foreigners, are not only too gross, too pragmatic; their whole philosophic axis is at an unfamiliar tilt. Can people be tested successfully outside of their environments? Can psychological tests say more than that an individual is or is not suited for properly functioning in the community in which he was born and raised?

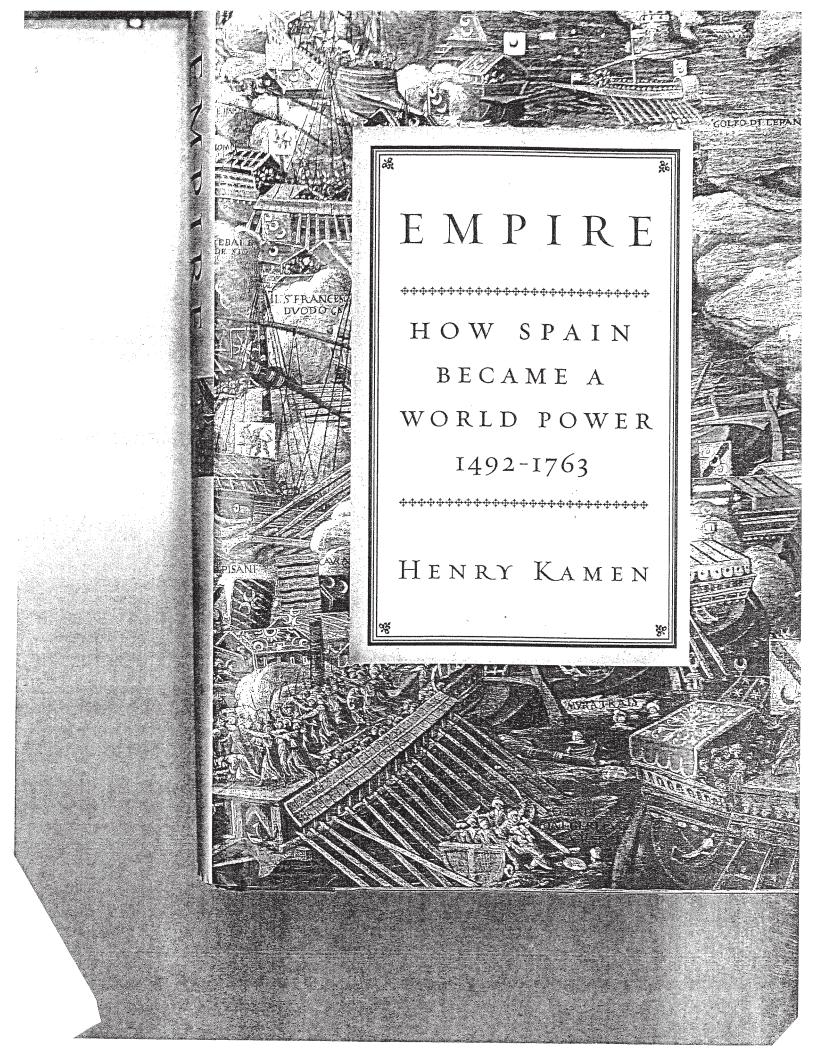
An even more basic question is involved: just what is fundamentally valued in life? This is admittedly quite outside the scope of the tests. Not only do the intelligence tests given to foreigners in the United States fail to provide any criterion for generalizing about the range of cultural possibilities of a people as a whole-for who would assert that the United States has equaled Russia in the fields of literature and music?—but the most casual historic recollection reminds us that power, efficiency, material prosperity have ever been rated lower in the minds of great philosophers than have art, literature, beauty. The Platonic world, however at odds we may be with its methodology and lack of relativity, is, perhaps, . as high an imaginative realm as that of Machiavelli. And when we come to evaluate the racial heritage, we set up before our eyes just those ages in which the finer things of the Mexican mind and soul had their greatest flowering. Mexico City will never become the Carthage, the great Handelstadt of the New World, but it may become the only western Florence. The intelligence tests will not help us here.



COLONIAL INSTITUTIONS

before 1776 Simplified diagram

79



EMPINE: HOW SPAIN BERAME A WORLD POWON: 1492-1763

Ho Kamen

EMPIRE

they both accepted it as a reference point and imitated it. In parts, northern Peru the curacas, in order to emphasize their superiority over their fellow Indians, dressed entirely in the Spanish style, in Spanish hats, stockings, shoes. Though historians have with good reason devoted great attention to the themes of depopulation and the destruction of indigenous culture, only more recently have they emphasized that adaptation and survival were also a fundamental aspect of life in post-conquest territories!

Epidemics, for example, did not always destroy. Natives of inland regions seem to have been less affected by the disastrous fall in population brought about by contact with the outsider. In Peru in 1620, the coastal areas that were the worst affected had only twelve per cent of the Indian population; the substantial remainder that lived inland was more likely to have survived. As the demographic situation stabilized towards the eighteenth century, native culture began to regain confidence and to claim its own identity outside the structure of colonial society. It was, in some areas, a favourable situation. In central Mexico (Oaxaca and Meztitlan) Indians still retained a good proportion of the land; by the end of the eighteenth century communal Indians (de pueblo) far outnumbered Indians who depended on the Spanish hacienda system.

In the process of surviving, the natives retained essential aspects of their identity. Away from the Spanish-dominated cities they were able to develop a parallel society without overt conflict. It was not necessary to reject or rebel against Spanish society; indeed very many natives absorbed Spanish religion and customs without problems. The Nahuas, for example, had never used a clear naming system. In referring to themselves in the early sixteenth century they – or at least those of central Mexico – normally used the phrase 'nican titlaca', 'we people here'. They very quickly took to the Spanish naming system, and by mid-century had adopted it completely. Living at the very heart of the Spanish system, the Nahuas adopted aspects of Spanish culture that could be reconciled with their own, but at the same time preserved their parallel existence and ignored colonial society. At one and the same time, therefore, the post-colonial Nahua people functioned within the imperial system but continued to preserve the framework of their own identity.

Throughout the New World there were others who maintained their identity on the fringes of the system. Very many surviving native popu-

IDENTITIES AND THE CIVILIZING MISSION

lations were not integrated into the empire, did not speak its language and did not accept its culture. This was almost normal in frontier areas. Among the western Pueblo people on the New Spain frontier, the Hopi tribes were an outstanding example. The missionary programme in their towns began in 1629, and like their neighbours they accepted the Spaniards passively for decades. They gave their support to the Pueblo revolt in 1680 but in like manner accepted the reimposition of Spanish control. From about 1700, finally, the majority of the Hopis refused to accept the missions and reverted exclusively to their own cultural ways, continuing in this manner until the end of Spanish rule.

Another example of cultural independence comes from the Guajiro people of the province of Riohacha in New Granada. 104 Two hundred years after the conquest, they were unconquered. They never accepted the new religion: 'among all the barbarous nations of America', a Jesuit reported in 1750, 'none is more needful of reduction than the Guajiro Indians'. While maintaining their independence, they made free use of the settler population as well as of foreign smugglers in order to ensure their own survival. They sold livestock, hides and tallow to outside buyers, and in return received weapons, manufactures and liquor; in this way they sustained the settler economy without being formally part of it. Their relationship with the empire duplicated that of an untold number of other native peoples. 'What would the whites do without the Indians?', the Guajiros are said to have asked local Spaniards repeatedly and with deliberate irony. There was the same persistent autonomy among the peoples of northern Luzon in the Philippines. They were a variety of different ethnic formations but for simplicity the Spaniards called them all 'Igorots'. For three centuries they successfully resisted assimilation into the Spanish empire. The first missionaries ventured to enter the territory in 1601 but were killed; after the 1630s no further efforts at penetration or evangelization were made. 105

In addition to natives who maintained their autonomy from colonial culture, there were others who were forced to modify their structures and outlook under the pressure of the advancing Spanish frontier. To a substantial degree, of course, all non-Spaniards had to take stock of their role within the empire. For some, however, there were radical consequences, which recent scholars have categorized under the term of 'ethnogenesis'. The term can be understood as referring to the creative adaptation of certain peoples to the violent changes they suffered in the

period of empire, and the consequent emergence of new identities. ¹⁰⁶ The adaptation involved a substantially new definition of every aspect of culture. A remarkable example is that of the Jumano people of the southern plains of Texas. 'Jumano', like 'Pueblo', was a Spanish word used to identify the Plains Indians, who from 1670 were drawn into the Spanish frontier by the founding of missions. ¹⁰⁷ As collaborators of the Spaniards, the Jumanos became the target of repeated attacks by the Apaches. The colonial presence, war, drought, all helped to undermine them; by the early eighteenth century they were extinct and the Apaches dominated the plains. That, at any rate, is what appearances suggested. The likelihood, however, is that under pressure the Jumanos simply displaced themselves, moved on and changed their profile, emerging in time as the beginnings of the Kiowa nation. ¹⁰⁸

The rich and complex experience of the peoples under Spanish rule makes it clear that the familiar picture of a powerful colonial regime controlling and dominating a subjected population is no longer convincing and was never in any case plausible. A recent historian has affirmed with justice that 'gone are the images of the colonial state as an iron arm of conquest, erecting caste barriers to create stable, nucleated villages of impoverished Indians'. ¹⁰⁹ Nor does it any longer seem credible to present a picture of cultures that collapsed instantly under the shock of confrontation with the superior Spanish world. The demographic catastrophe that afflicted the central regions of the empire in the New World and the Pacific, was by no means the counterpart of a generalized suicide wish. Over large extents of the New World landscape, the Indians survived and maintained their organization, even while accepting the pressures of the Spanish regime.

The contrast of parallel societies is perhaps clearest in the Andean region. Here the big reality in the middle of the sixteenth century was the existence of the inferno of Potosí, where thousands of Indians laboured and died for decades in order to produce silver for the empire. But beyond Potosí, Andean communities built up their own economy and market structure: they worked as artisans, in local trades; they developed lands, in order to promote cash-crop agriculture; they controlled much of the overland transport industry. ¹¹⁰ Both as individuals and as families, and working sometimes independently of the traditional ethnic groupings such as the ayllus, Andeans played an important part in the markets, to which they contributed through their labour and their



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Author(s): Rosaura Sánchez

Source: American Literary History, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Summer, 1997), pp. 350-363

Published by: Oxford University Press

Stable URL: http://www.jstor.org/stable/490291

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Reconstructing Chicana Gender Identity

Rosaura Sánchez

Home Girls: Chicana Literary Voices By Alvina E. Quintana Temple University Press, 1996

Massacre of the Dreamers: Essays on Xicanisma By Ana Castillo University of New Mexico Press, 1994; Penguin-Plume, 1995

Cultural politics concerned with representation and pluralities of difference are in good measure dominating the humanities and social sciences these days, displacing in the process a variety of more historically and materialist-grounded analyses. This phenomenon is also seen within gender and literary studies and, in keeping with this shift to micropolitics, certain strains of feminism that one might term "culturalist" advocate orienting the scope of politics to "intervening in and changing cultural representations, signifying practices and textualities" (Ebert, "Knowable Good" 40). This tendency to transform a critique of bourgeois society into a critique of culture is evident in Alvina E. Quintana's Home Girls: Chicana Literary Voices and Ana Castillo's Massacre of the Dreamers: Essays on Xicanisma, works dealing with Chicana gender issues that, though very different in conception, scope, and vision, fall in line with the trend to prioritize the cultural and the discursive as the sites of political and cultural struggle.

The culturalist tendency observed in the two Chicana writers recalls other current women's essays offering commentary that not only affirms gender identity but reintroduces the personal and foregrounds concern for the self. These "identity essays," though inspired by identification with some collectivity, often tend to become fundamentally self-reflexive and individualist in focus, as the writer assumes an ethnographicautobiographical mode, where the "I" that identifies on the basis of gender, race and ethnicity, nationality, sexual orientation, religion, or career is analyzed as a textual site for defining and interpreting a group's particularism. In so doing, gender essays of this kind assume a critical and countercultural perspective, uncovering the constructed nature of identity and contesting dominant cultures and identities (Eurocentric, national, male) on the basis of particular differences and, more specifically, ostensibly new constituted identities. The focus on difference, identity, and selfrepresentation assumes center stage, casting contextual and historical factors into the background and reducing historical struggles to discursive struggles and to processes of particularism.

Gender identity essays, like those by Quintana and Castillo, though highly self-reflexive, seek to go beyond the personal and focus on the status and reality of Chicana women in modern US society, offering what Mary Louise Pratt terms in a review of a series of gender essays an "analytical commentary on the spiritual and social conditions of women" (18). Castillo and Ouintana thus share two current feminist and identity concerns: challenging Eurocentric intellectual authority and dominant processes of canon formation and protesting women's marginalization and repression while countering the particular oppression of women of Mexican and working-class origin. Both writers, in varying degrees, also assume culturalist positions wherein the textual crystallization of a Chicana identity and culture is seen to provide direction and a sense of order in an otherwise chaotic, late-capitalist world. Dissertation projects in earlier phases, the two volumes are quite distinct in approach, scope, and tone. Home Girls is a book of critical analyses of several Chicana writers, while Massacre of the Dreamers is a personal exploration of Chicana culture in 10 gender essays. The two also have an ethnographic approach in common, wherein personal experience is privileged over historical or materialist theories and analyses that make experience intelligible (see Ebert, Ludic Feminism 22).

Quintana's Home Girls does not, as the title might suggest, consider works about young women from urban Chicano/Chicana working-class barrios. The term "home girls," as Quintana explains, is her chosen trope for women of color in the US. The fact that women of color are divided by issues of class and ethnicity is not taken up in any great degree, however. The book begins with a personal essay on the stress inherent in dealing with cultural and linguistic difference and discrimination, both in the US and in Mexico, when one is neither fully Mexican nor, culturally, "American." This dual cultural dilemma underpins Ouintana's entire discussion of Chicana identity construction. After an overview of Chicano/Chicana history and Chicanas' subordination within the early Chicano Movement, Quintana goes on to examine Chicana writers' strategic construction of ethnic and gender identity and their disidentification with both Anglo-feminist and Chicano male perspectives. In defining her critical approach, Quintana also reviews and critiques earlier studies of Chicano/Chicana literature, specifically those of Chicana critics Marta Sánchez and Cordelia Candelaria, who, while differing at the level of feminist/female distinctions, avoid any

For Quintana, the historical is primarily cultural, and textualized cultural representation is assumed to correlate closely with actual cultural reality.

discussion of ideological tensions (Quintana 25). In contrast, Quintana proposes to deploy an ideological approach that accounts for both the historical and the aesthetic, as exemplified in the work of critic Ramón Saldívar, and allows for a discussion of the counterhegemonic discourses of Chicana writers. Such an approach goes beyond what she terms a "celebratory interpretation" (Quintana 29).

For Quintana, the historical is primarily cultural, and textualized cultural representation is assumed to correlate closely with actual cultural reality. The premise is that Chicana writers, as would-be ethnographers, deconstruct their own experience through self-analysis and self-representation and, in that way, ostensibly "eliminate the possibility of outside misinterpretation of cultural symbolic systems," enabling the marginal "to become the subjects of their own discourse" (Quintana 34). As discussed in Quintana's analyses, Chicana literature is fundamentally centered on the subject, albeit a plural subject, as it is said to mirror "Chicana multiple subjectivity" (35). It is in the illusory equation of the constructed individual subjectivities with the subject status, the historical conditions, and the ideologies of real Chicana/ Mexicana collectivities that Quintana's argument belies a culturalist and neohistoricist confusion.

Quintana argues that gender debates within the Chicana community, generated principally by cultural and religious ideologies, provoke four modes of literary responses: discourses of apology, rage and opposition, struggle and identification, and what she calls a new vision (39). This is the weakest part of the analysis, as the modes are not always readily distinguishable and in fact overlap substantially in the work of the Chicana writers cited as examples (39-53). The more substantive part of Ouintana's book begins with chapter three, a rereading of Sandra Cisneros's House on Mango Street. Here Quintana focuses on Cisneros's literary and ideological discourses, crediting the novelist for "subvert[ing] conventional literary form" (56) and countering hegemonic discourses of "the American Dream" (57). Contesting critiques of assimilationism in Cisneros's text and attributions of a "middle-class, mainstream perspective" (74), Quintana insists on recalling the necessary distinction between author and narrator. She further reconstructs the main character, Esperanza, as a means for cultural critique not only of traditional Mexican patriarchal expectations for women but also of dominant ideologies "that simply envision liberation in individualistic terms" (60). The character Esperanza is, for Quintana, a product of internalized oppression: "a state of mind prompted by her belief in the American dream and her desire for the escape

that assimilation offers" (63). Drawing on Frantz Fanon's model of anticolonial writing, Quintana argues that the construction of the character Esperanza allows for a critique of the naive and escapist expectations of a marginalized and ideologically dominated child, the colonized subject. What Quintana stresses here is the importance of a critical reading of the text that considers the characters in specific relation to their constructed cultural conditions. In positing that, for Esperanza, the narrator of these stories, "the narrative thus functions as the ultimate strategy for escape from confining traditions" (74), Quintana concedes the point, however, in what amounts to a circular argument. For in Cisneros's text Esperanza goes beyond naively dreaming of a white house with all the basic conveniences, a dream that is a product of her marginalization within a consumer society, to put her narrative "down on paper" (101). In so doing, Esperanza proposes to write herself out of the urban Latino barrio. In effect, the narrated solution is culturalist in nature, for through signifying practices the struggle of the Latino community is to a large extent depoliticized and transformed into a discursive struggle. If the book appeals to middle-class readers, perhaps this is because in the end The House on Mango Street affirms "the American dream" in its version of salvation via individual literary creativity, an ending that puts into question Quintana's contention of the narrative's counterhegemonic stance.

Quintana's ethnographic model serves her as well for an analysis of Ana Castillo's Mixquiahuala Letters. Castillo's text is seen as a blend of "personal narrative with cultural analysis" (76). From the vantage point of an insider authority, unlike the outsider anthropologist, Quintana argues, the Chicana writer is in a position to construct her own "autonomous cultural and feminist identity" (80). The ethnographic model entails, however, its own discursive traps. Closely following Clifford Geertz, Quintana assumes that culture is represented culture, that is, that Chicana writing is the recording of an always already written text. The inclination to mistake the text for the historical subject leads Quintana to view unquestioningly the "self-fashioning" of Castillo's protagonist as a mirror of Chicanas' relations to and assumptions about society. Because culture is viewed as an "artifact" rather than as a product of specific historical conditions, Quintana can privilege the discursive and unproblematically go on to propose that autonomy for the subaltern is a product of cultural critique: "Through cultural production, Chicana writers can critique the systems that oppress them and thereby begin to establish autonomy" (85). No one can deny the importance of struggle at the discursive level, but it is at best risky and at worst

foolhardy to confuse represented emancipation with social emancipation. Exploitation and oppression are not, of course, simply discursive constructs.

In her analysis of Denise Chávez's work, Quintana examines first the Novena Narrativas, a series of dramatic monologues by nine female Mexican-origin characters of varying ages and from different walks of life that focus on everyday events, problems, and cultural traditions, especially those of a religious nature, in New Mexico. Quintana stresses that the monologues highlight women as a social group linked, despite their socioeconomic differences, by gender and culture. If the Novena Narrativas stresses gender identity and the private domain, Chávez's novel The Last of the Menu Girls situates the main character Rocío within both family and public spaces. In these seven interrelated stories, domestic space serves as women's refuge, and women are idealized within the cultural family (women as "shooting stars" [105], as music) and essentialized as well (women as inherently private and hermetic). Quintana's critique, on one level, recognizes this, yet she later goes on to applaud these selfsame multiple voices in Chávez's works for "undermin-[ing] essentialist notions about Chicanas" (102). Quintana thus highlights and depoliticizes the representation of difference within Chicano/Chicana family culture in Chávez's work. In fact, class, racial, and ethnic distinctions pointed to in the novel would seem to shatter illusions of monolithic gender and/or cultural unity, as Rocio's interaction with Anglo women at the university and the interactions of Chicana women with Mexican patients at the hospital would indicate, but Quintana does not deal at length with gendered class differences in any of the narratives. Problematic as well is Quintana's comment on Chávez's celebration of and focus on women's adherence to patriarchal cultural traditions, attributing this exaltation of traditional roles within patriarchy to a "tension between female and feminist representation" (111). Here Quintana opts for dealing gingerly with Chávez's conformism, alleging that there are other ways "to challenge the confines of patriarchy" and that admittedly "radical feminism is not necessarily relevant to all Chicanas" (110). Thus, here too, in keeping with the overall culturalist bent of the project, Quintana's own celebration of gendered cultural representations takes priority over her critique of counterfeminist discourses.

The last chapter in Quintana's *Home Girls* ties in well with the second work discussed here. In her chapter on "New Visions: Culture, Sexuality and Autobiography," Quintana offers an excellent analysis of more recent examples of Chicana literature and

cultural analysis, evident in the work, for example, of Gloria Anzaldúa (Borderlands/La Frontera) and Cherrie Moraga (Loving in the War Years). Ouintana begins by distinguishing between the work of these two lesbian Chicana writers in terms of their ideological differences, made clear in their respective priorities and analytical schemata. For Moraga, the feminist, the recovery and maintenance of one's culture (vis-à-vis "gringo" culture) is akin to gender solidarity and sexual liberation. In a society of multiple "differences," awareness of oppression at one level can trigger consciousness of additional differences and oppressions, concomitantly positioning one within several communities (gender, sexual, and ethnic); here Moraga is particularly concerned with her exclusion from her own ethnic culture on the basis of her fair skin as well as with her identity as a Chicana feminist lesbian. Awareness of cultural differences and the need to take a distance from hegemonic culture take both Moraga and Anzaldúa back to the preconquest days of Mesoamerica and indigenous mythology, but, as Quintana points out, while Moraga's approach is feminist. Anzaldúa's focus on mestizaje and hybridity leads to a "woman-centered" narrative (127) and to what is akin to a feminine version of the mythology of the masculine cultural nationalism prevalent among Chicanos in the 1970s. Anzaldúa's "self-fashioning quest" and her "commitment to women and to ancient indigenous culture" (Quintana 127) are described as a conscious effort to construct a new mestiza community, a new identity, in response primarily to dislocation as a lesbian within her ethnic community. Hybridity becomes a utopian space (and, by definition, an exclusively discursive space) wherein Western dualistic thinking "is transcended" (Quintana 133). Seemingly hesitant to critique the idealist notions implicit in Anzaldúa's work (134), Quintana does in the end point out essentialist features of the "womanist" agenda (135) and the "new-age feminist nationalism" (136) of Anzaldúa's project, even as she makes a point to underscore Anzaldúa's challenge to masculinist interpretations of indigenous mythology and to "conventional Anglo-American modes of perception that tend to separate feeling from thinking" (137).

Citing Paolo Freire, Quintana sees in the Chicana writers examined in her essays evidence of cultural resistance born of a need to counter a colonized mentality (144n2). Claims to cultural resistance notwithstanding, a culturalist framework privileging the textualization of *mestizaje* or hybridity and gender over other struggles runs the risk of masking exploitation and other forms of oppression and, in turn, of essentializing *mestiza* women. And while *mestizaje* may become a representational space and even a

trope for all types of cultural hybridity, there is always the danger of reifying miscegenation and foregrounding "consciousness," spirituality, and cultural representation as *the* necessary political acts granting legitimacy and emancipation.

This same danger is found in Ana Castillo's Massacre of the Dreamers: Essays on Xicanisma, a collection of 10 essays written in many ways along the same lines as Anzaldúa's and Moraga's autobiographical multigeneric commentaries and narratives and, like these, driven by gendered themes, with a strong emphasis on both the body and spirituality. Castillo, as we shall see, goes one step further and amalgamates Moraga's strong feminism with Anzaldúa's cultural nationalism to produce what Castillo calls "Xicanisma," a Chicana feminist's identity as "Mexic Amerindian" (10–11).

Increasingly, as we approach the millennium, reports on New Age cults and nontraditional healing methods and practices are featured even in mainstream news journals (see Wallis), much as they were in the 1960s when the occult, psychedelia, holistic medicine, and esoterica were popular as alternatives to mainstream culture. The decades of the '60s and '70s also saw a similar interest in Aztec mythology among Chicano/Chicana college students, leading, for example, to Luis Valdez's incorporation of indigenous myths into his Teatro Campesino productions and inspiring Chicano poet Alurista to rename and claim the Southwest as "Aztlán," the mythic homeland of the Aztecs. So too today, there is a resurgence of interest in indigenous culture among Chicano/Chicana students. While Chicano/Chicana academics and writers, more generally, continue to focus on Aztec mythology, college students are becoming interested in concrete indigenous practices, chants, rituals, languages, and ceremonies. In Arizona, California, and Washington State, specifically, Chicanos and Chicanas have made contact with Native American peoples and learned firsthand about sweat lodges, spiritual rituals, and healing practices. When Native Americans from the US went down in caravans to show solidarity with the Chiapas Indians in 1994, there were a number of Chicanos and Chicanas among them.

It is within this context that Castillo's hybrid text, which combines personal narrative with interviews and cultural analysis with social critique, must be seen. More than a text organized around personal and theoretical reflections, Castillo's Massacre of the Dreamers: Essays on Xicanisma can be taken both as a Chicana manifesto and as a jeremiad.² Assuming an exhortatory style at times ("Han de saber"—Know ye), the book's essays seek to fashion a modern myth of "Xicanisma," which, with its blend

of feminism and indigenismo, will counter the defunct "American dream" and provide spiritual direction for Chicanas. Offering a critique of the American myth and an indictment of what are deemed failed social and political movements, Massacre of the Dreamers calls first and foremost for the spiritual renewal of the Mexic-Amerindian population, particularly that of Amerindian women, proffering advice (recipes so to speak) on how to attain harmony and spiritual equilibrium. Through personal reflections and fast (at times facile) reconstructions of Chicano/Mexicano history and Aztec mythology, the work constructs an identity for politically aware (concientizadas) feminist Chicanas and attempts to forge a gendered utopian consensus at the level of poetics. The title of the book refers to the massacre ordered by Moctezuma of dreamers summoned to reveal dreams prophesying the fall of the Aztec Empire. For Castillo, today's dreamers or spiritual guides are Chicana poets and writers who provide a vision and direction for their communities but can offer their clairvoyant guidance more globally.

It bears remembering that the appropriation and manipulation of myths from an indigenous past at the heart of Castillo's project has long been a common political practice in nationalist movements. In these cases the reconstruction of mythic texts has served to legitimate modernizing political and economic practices by coupling the new with the autochthonous; in the process the historical grounding of these myths is more often than not lost. Mythic texts are, of course, historical social products, and, as sociologists and anthropologists acknowledge, they serve as socially symbolic acts, discursive arenas for imaginary problem solving within a particular society at a particular historical moment (Jameson 79). The case of the appropriation of Aztec myths by Chicano and Chicana writers offers a prime example of what is for the most part a decontextualized and dehistoricized manipulation of indigenous narratives. For the indigenous populations of the Americas, especially those of Central America and Mexico, pantheistic myths, such as those in the Quiché Popol Vuh, served to construct mythical origins and group identity, explain matter and energy, and justify the ruling social structure. Such indigenous myths were studied and memorized primarily by the noble and priestly castes; to what extent the lower strata of people—the actual producers—in any of the indigenous societies shared any knowledge of these intricate stories is not certain, but clearly the worship of deities, represented in carvings, sculpture, and pictographs, was widespread. In appropriating and disassociating these myths from the specific history of the indigenous population that led to their production, Chicano/Chicana literary and cultural producers in effect reduce them to exotic discourses of *indigenismo* for the construction of a contemporary and radically different ethnic identity, imitating in the process cultural strategies for the construction of national identity deployed by the Mexican government after the 1910 Revolution.

This refashioned indigenismo in Anzaldúa, Castillo, and in other recent Chicano and Chicana publications becomes the shaping discourse that enables the writers to counter Western rationalism and, more specifically, white Anglo-Saxon Protestant traditions, while at the same time positioning the writers as the bearers of ethnic authenticity. In Castillo's work stress on these indigenous myths thus serves two complementary purposes. (1) The indigenous rhetoric, here as in Anzaldúa, is a technique of estrangement to mark Chicana disidentification with mainstream US society (Chicanas as "countryless women") while simultaneously countering masculinist Eurocentric discourses and "Anglophile culture" (31). (2) These discourses, validated by pre-Columbian antecedents, further establish claims for indigenous origins and a mestizo identity. Unlike contemporary Afrocentrists seeking to trace Western civilization to Egyptian and thus African roots, Chicanos/Chicanas seek to displace Western myths and origins with Native American mythology and traditions, heretofore ignored and dismissed in the US, much as the Chicano population and Chicana women in particular have been rendered nearly invisible. In effect, there is an attempt to construct a counterculture of modernity, but the strategy does not go far enough, for there is no call for a transformation of the capitalist system of production that has generated oppression and exploitation, only a call to resist "spiritual oppression" and sexual repression (223) culturally through "mestiza concientización" (220), that is, a new mestiza consciousness. Curiously, what is not considered in any substantive way in any of these texts is how particular notions of "indigenous culture," including those exalted by these writers, have been reified in Mexico in particular and manipulated to serve as cultural artifacts by the ideological apparatuses of the Mexican state, an entity known neither for its sensitivity nor enlightened stance toward either women in general or its indigenous populations.

It is not only on matters of the appropriation of indigenous cosmologies that Castillo's work is quite heterogeneous and at the same time full of contradictions. On the one hand, it makes sweeping generalizations about the Chicana population and, on the other, it provides astute and penetrating insights into specific social problems, including sexism, racism, and "socioeconomic subjugation" (33). The agenda at the forefront of these essays

is to exhort the interpellated Chicana female reader to become politically and culturally conscious of her indigenous roots as well as to assert her spiritual and sexual needs. While it is not feasible to catalog all the various arguments presented in the text, a sampler of the main notions presented by Castillo in her search for identity and direction is called for here.

- 1. Throughout the text Castillo offers numerous general comments and observations on the social and economic context of the population of Mexican origin, as well as on the neocolonial status of Mexico, but, more often than not, these insights are left undeveloped as the text slips constantly into a culturalist analysis. Brief reference to the exploitation of an immigrant labor force and to the devastating impact of transnational capital on the Mexican economy, for example, are subsumed under the subtitle "clashing of cultures" (36). In her discussion of the Watsonville Women's Strike of 1986, Castillo joins in the chorus of the now fashionable attacks against socialist feminism and Marxism, showing little understanding of either: "[D]espite Marxist claims, a degree of economic relief has not ended the limits on women's participation in society" (44), as if Marxists advocated "a degree of economic relief." Likewise, the relation between patriarchy and capitalism, recently discovered by Castillo (57), has in fact long been the focal point for socialist feminist critiques. In another section she derides drives for unionization and draws the conclusion that the "abuse of women of color in the labor market" will only end when capitalists and government join forces to protect them: "Only drastic measures taken on their behalf by government policies and corporate interests can protect them" (61). One is left only to wonder who, if not corporate interests, is benefiting from "the exploitation of poor working women of color" (61). Castillo, by the same token, attributes the failure of the Chicano Movement against Chicano and Chicana oppression, acculturation, and accommodation to right-wing politics to the movement's roots in "Marxist oriented theory" (33), an oft-repeated commentary throughout the book; more than anything, sweeping comments of this sort reveal Castillo's radical misconceptions of Marxism and lack of understanding as to the cultural nationalist roots of the Chicano Student Movement, what she ambiguously calls the "Movimiento Chicano/Latino" (32).3
- 2. In its attempts to enhance "difference" within the Mexic-Amerindian group, *Massacre of the Dreamers* is especially concerned with constructing the multiple origins of a *mestizo* population. Unlike some feminists seeking to destabilize identities through an affirmation of difference, Castillo, in celebrating

Mexic-Amerindian difference, stays within the mestizo subset of women, thereby congealing the unique identity of a cultural and, by definition, a genetically determined collectivity. In addition to the reiterated indigenous origins of the population, Castillo goes on to trace Chicano/Chicana culture to the Moorish conquest of the Iberian peninsula and, given the long social contact between the two main cultures (711-1492), notes cultural similarities, especially at the level of gender relations, between Chicano/Mexicano and Arabic cultures. For the most part, however, she concentrates on Amerindian roots and lavishes praise on the Aztec culture's accomplishments while criticizing its sexism. In one of the text's more questionable statements, Aztec history or collective memory is said to be imprinted genetically and accessible to modern-day "Xicanas" (17). Thus, while Castillo's book for the most part focuses on culture and differences within and extols the virtues of these, there is a running thread of biologism in the text that would be difficult to construe as other than deterministic and essentialist.

3. In affirming shared experiences within the gendered cultural group of mestizas, Castillo offers a valuable critique of mainstream feminism from which, she argues, Chicanas feel justifiably alienated. Thus, differences between mestiza feminists and mainstream white feminists are a running theme throughout the text. Notions of what Castillo calls "the feminine principle" are particularized and explicitly defined as the "Mother-Bond Principle" (223) or "the Virgen de Guadalupe/Tonantzin—the feminine principle within ourselves" (88), which ties all activist mestiza feminists or "Xicanistas" together (204). Thus gender or "the feminine" is always considered in relation to ethnicity and culture but not always in relation to class. By this calculation Chicanas are said to have more in common with Algerian women than with white women or even Mexican or Chicano men (23). It would follow then that since Third World women of color are not distinguished by class, presumably Castillo feels more in common with an upper-class Algerian woman than with a working-class white woman. Fortunately, this type of facile overstatement is elsewhere tempered in the text by assertions that Chicanas do indeed have more in common with mestiza domestic workers in Mexico than with "their intellectual mexicana colleagues" (214). Needless to say, most of Castillo's statements carry with them caveats or disclaimers that permit the writer to retract or disallow some aspect of the very statement made or point raised. In this way, Castillo's rhetorical style combines essentialist statements with discourses proffering a degree of ambi-

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guity and indeterminacy, so favored by culturalist feminists today.

4. The process of identity formation central to Castillo's work is linked not only to a genetic hybridity but to a cultural hybridity. The two, however, become so intertwined as to be commensurate in her attribution of a particular cultural trait to women: their spirituality. "[T]his undercurrent of spirituality which has been with woman since pre-Conquest times and which precedes Christianity in Europe—is the unspoken key to her strength and endurance as a female throughout all the ages" (95). In fact, the mestiza's identity is said to be defined by her spirituality (95) and her sexuality (136). Stressing the close link between ethnicity, gender, sexuality, and spirituality, Castillo attacks Catholic dogma and, of course, Marxist theory for repressing Chicanas sexually and spiritually (102). Castillo views both socialism and Catholicism as "doctrines" that are inherently male dominated (87). It is curious, then, that for Castillo the greatest challenge to patriarchal institutions, ideologies, and traditions is centered on the icon Tonantzin/Virgin of Guadalupe, a dual (Aztec/Catholic) symbol and embodiment of "the feminine principle." That the very myth of the Virgin's appearance was a patriarchal construction of the Catholic church is not taken up. Castillo's only critique, in this regard, is that the Virgin has been "manipulated by men to serve nationalism" (98). Rejecting support for adherence to a Hispanic "women's liberation theology," still rooted in male-dominant Christianity (102), Castillo, on the contrary, advocates "our own myth making from which to establish role models to guide us out of historical convolution and de-evolution" (119), myth-making that addresses "our spiritual, political, and erotic needs as a people" (122). Like other culturalist feminists, Castillo shifts the site of struggle from socioeconomic emancipation to sexual and spiritual liberation when she concludes that "[a]ll of our conflicts with dominant society . . . are ultimately traceable to the repression of our sexuality and our spiritual energies as human beings" (136). For adherents of "Xicanisma," moreover, this new spiritual road leads to old indigenous ways of healing that include ritual, herbal treatments used by curanderas, and espiritismo, quintessentially female practices that are not to be-she insists-mistaken or confused with New Age techniques that are commodified and devoid of "authentic" spiritual content (158).

The privileging of mythmaking and of the spiritual relinking to a constructed past carried out in *Massacre of the Dreamers* underscores Castillo's culturalist approach, which leads her to

Castillo posits that solutions lie within; they are cultural (textualist) and spiritual. . . .

favor idealist and ahistorical conclusions. For Castillo, the fundamental and pressing problem is the cultural survival of Chicana mestizas (221), long spiritually and sexually repressed. Given this point of departure, Castillo posits that solutions lie within; they are cultural (textualist) and spiritual; they require the construction of a discrete mestiza identity in literature and the reformulation of "spirituality" from a feminine indigenous perspective. Clearly, Castillo sees herself as a priestess with a vision that extends backward and forward. This "Xicanista" consciousness (188), the road map to this posited evolution, she goes on to argue, is found in works by writers with a mestiza vision, like Castillo herself, Anzaldúa, and Moraga (171).

Their shortcomings notwithstanding, Chicana works like those of Anzaldúa and Castillo need to be seen in the context of other ethnographic and autobiographical texts written by Chicanos, like those of Richard Rodríguez or Rubén Navarrete, for example; the spectrum reveals a noteworthy state of flux among Chicano and Chicana writers, worth remarking for what they have to say about contestatory or hegemonic discursive strategies and their appropriation. While the Rodríguezes and Navarretes strive to accommodate to and make a place for themselves in mainstream US society, Anzaldúa, Moraga, and Castillo express a profound discontent with the status and condition of the Chicano/Chicana community and, more specifically, with the place of women within it. That their search and their visions for renewal and regeneration are fundamentally grounded in the realm of the cultural and spiritual should not, however, mask or minimize the very marked and strongly shared underlying gender and ethnic resentment and frustration. These reactions to the sociocultural status of Chicanas and Chicanos are not of mythic or spiritual origin but products of very concrete social problems and contradictions, including sexism, racism, homophobia, and, more specifically, class differences, which define the particular material conditions of both Chicanas and Chicanos. Clearly, works like those of Quintana and Castillo are invaluable in drawing attention to the gender and class location of Chicanas and in provoking much needed dialogue on these issues and on analytical approaches.

Notes

1. The neologism "Xicanisma" is derived from *mexicanola* (from Mexica, the Meshica Indians) wherein the x denotes a sixteenth-century pronunciation: "meshicano." The word *chicano* is a shortened form of *mexicano* or *meshicano*.

Writing it with an x (chicano = xicano) is historically accurate and now fashionable because of Chicano interest in indigenous cultures and media attention to Generation X. The -isma suffix is an attempt to change the historically and linguistically determined grammatical gender of the suffix -ismo.

- 2. For my use of the term "jeremiad," see Sacvan Bercovitch, *The American Jeremiad* (1978).
- 3. The Chicano Movement is an umbrella term referring to several social movements in which various segments of the Chicano/Mexicano population in the US Southwest, including students, participated in the '60s and '70s. Except for the farmworkers' struggle, these were not labor-oriented movements but political and cultural struggles. When Castillo refers to "El Movimiento," it is unclear what aspect of the movement she is discussing.

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CRÓNICA DE LOS SEÑORES REYES CATÓLICOS DON FERNANDO Y DOÑA ISABEL DE CASTILLA Y DE ARAGÓN

ESCRITA POR SU CRONISTA HERNANDO DEL PULGAR

PART TWO

Chapter LI (1476) How the Hermandades were organized in Castile.

In those times of strife justice suffered and could not be carried out upon the malefactors who robbed and tyrannized in the towns, on the roads, and in general in all parts of the kingdom. And no one paid his debts if he did not want to; no one avoided committing any form of crime; no one thought about obeying or respecting a superior. And thus during the present war, just as during the past troubles and wars of the time of the king Don Enrique, the people became used to so much disorder that whoever did not make use of violence felt inferior, and the townsmen and the peasants and peaceful men were not masters of their own property and could appeal to no one about the robberies and acts of violence and other evils which they suffered from the commanders of the fortresses and from the other thieves and robbers. And everyone would have gladly contributed half of his goods in order to make his person and family safe. And there was much talk in the towns of organizing hermandades (brotherhoods) or of making a mutual agreement to cure all the evils and violence that the people were continually suffering, but the right person was lacking with zeal for the justice and peace of the kingdom, who would bring about an assembly of the towns which would agree upon a remedy to those evils. The king and queen punished what they could but the war that they were waging with the king of Portugal did not allow them to put an end to the situation as they would have liked. When the knight Alfonso de Quintanilla, high treasurer of the king and queen,...and Don Juan de Ortega..., sacristan of the king ... heard what was being said, they spoke to the king and queen complaining of the corruption and evils which they saw in the land and asked them if it would be their pleasure to hold an assembly of the towns to organize an hermandad among them, in which would be enacted things fitting to the service of God and of their majesties and to the general good of the kingdom for the prohibition of those evils which they saw. The king and queen were very pleased because they desired the good and the peace of their kingdoms and they ordered the two men to work to put their plan into effect. These two gentlemen...spoke with some of the leading men of the cities and towns of Burgos, Palencia, Medina, Olmedo, Ávila, Segovia, Salamanca, Zamora, and their territories, pointing out to them the evils and harms that they were suffering and how much greater ones would arise if they were not remedied in time. Every one of these men spoke about this matter in his town and finally it was agreed that each city and town would send its procuradores to meet on a certain day in the town of Dueñas. And on the day that was assigned all the procuradores of those towns, who were a great number, met in the town of Dueñas..., and each and all recounted with great anguish the robberies and evils and the ransoms which they suffered from the commanders of the fortresses and from the tyrants and other robbers who were daily increasing in number, and they complained about them to each other.

And, taking sides, some proposed one manner of remedy and others another, and neither did they reach a conclusion nor come to an agreement, and they all wanted to return to their homes because they could not find a cure for the evils that they were suffering. That knight Alfonso de Quintanilla, saddened because his efforts were bearing no fruit, spoke to all the procuradores in this manner:

When this knight Alfonso de Quintanilla had finished his reasoning, all those knights and learned men and townsmen and peasants who were there were happy and praised the speecin he had made and even more his excellent plan to put an end to the evils they were enduring. And all, recovering their good spirits, which had left them because of the losses that they were suffering, unanimously said that it was just and reasonable that the land be freed from danger and that the hormandad of which he spoke should be formed and the necessary money should be apportioned and armed men should be called and all those things should be done that that knight had proposed. And then all those procuradores, who had come each with sufficient powers from his city or town or village, made and set up an hermandad to last three years according to which the towns were to be responsible to each other and to help each other against the tyrants and robbers. And the procuradores appointed certain knights and learned men who established five types of cases which were to be judged by the officers of the hermandad. The first case was every act of violence or robbery or theft or wound committed in the open country. The second, every robbery or violence or theft committed in towns or cities when the criminal escaped from the scene of his crime to another town. The third, every case of burglary. The fourth, every rape. The fifth, all infringement of the royal laws. And they determined that there would be in each city, town, village two alcaldes de hermandad who would have full jurisdiction to judge and decide in these five cases in every instance. They also set up a certain number of bands of armed men to pursue robbers and criminals. Likewise they appointed certain knights and wise persons of good intent to whom they assigned the disbursement of the money which they were to collect in each town. And they also agreed that each hundred inhabitants of all the cities and towns and villages of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon which should join that hermandad should pay the salary and expenses of one horseman who was to be ready at all times to pursue any criminal under the captain to whom he was assigned Thus were formed hermandades in which were included all the cities and towns and villages of the kingdoms of Castile and Leon and Toledo and Andalucía and Galicia. The towns and lands belonging to the nobles (de señorio) did not at once join because of the difficulties which their lords made. Therefore Don Pedro Fernández de Velasco, constable of Castile and Conde de Haro, who had a greater number of vassals than any other lord south of the Guadarrama Mountains, was asked to have his lands join the hermandad. He replied that the proposition pleased him and that he not only would permit his vassals to join it but that he would order and require them to do so....When all the knights and lords who had vassals saw how the constable had ordered his lands to join the hermandad, they ordered their towns and villages likewise to join it. And out of what the towns contributed to this hermandad was paid a steady salary to two thousand horsemen, who were ready to carry out the orders of the king and queen and who made safe the roads and pursued the criminals. And in view of the great utility which was derived from it, the hermandad was continued for another three years.

Chapter LXX (1477) How the Queen went to the city of Seville and of the things she did there.

In the city of Seville there were wars and strife between Don Enrique de Guzmán, Duque de Medina Sidonia, and Don Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, Marqués de Cádiz. And in the city of Córdoba there were likewise other great disputes and hostilities between Don Diego Fernández de Córdoba, Conde de Cabra, and Don Alonso de Aguilar, Senor de Montilla. As a result, in the times of the King Don Enrique, in those two cities and in their domains there occurred great scandals and wars which resulted in the death of men and in other crimes and acts of violence that laid waste the land. And especially the fortresses which were in the territory of those cities fell into the hands of persons who refused obedience to the king and the cities and made war and peace as they pleased without recognizing any superior. As a result that land was divided between two rival parties. Observing that those cities and their domains were not enjoying peace as they should because of the quarrels of those lords, the queen decided to go to the province of Andalucía to pacify it and to stop the hostilities. And then she went to the city of Seville where she was received with great joy and solemnity by the knights, clergy, citizens, and the common people of the city; with games and festivities that lasted several days. As soon as the queen took up her residence in that city, she was informed that there were many people who had suffered injustices and wished to come to her with their complaints, and she agreed to hold public audience every Friday in a large hall of her palace..... And when there was a case which necessitated hearing the other side, she entrusted it to an official of her council, ordering him to examine the case with such diligence and to find out the truth in such a way that the injured party would be afforded justice within three days. And in this way in the space of two months many civil and criminal cases were settled. Moreover, several criminals were executed after due legal process and many persons recovered possession of their goods and inheritances which had been taken from them by force, cases which had long been pending. And these sentences which she ordered carried out made her beloved of the good people and feared by the bad. The latter, fearing the justice of the queen, left the city, and some went to the land of the Moors and some to the kingdom of Portugal and to other places....

Chapter LXXI. Of the claims of the Duque de Modina and the Marqués de Cádiz against each other.

The queen, seeing the multitude of lawsuits and affairs that there were in that city, ordered her doorkeepers to allow everyone to enter who came with a plaint, and she continued her public audiences in her chamber.....Then the Duque de Medina Sidonia, who had in that city a large following of relatives and servants both of his own and of his father and grandfathers, recounted to the queen how the Marqués de Cádiz and many of his party had committed many great crimes throughout the land; and how they had so destroyed law and order in the city in the time of the king Don Enrique, her brother, that the city had often been on the point of ruin....He also told her that the Marqués was oppressing the city of Jeréz and had deprived its inhabitants of all liberty, doing them many wrongs, and that he was ruling despotically the fortress of Alcala de Guadaira and other fortresses belonging to the city of Seville and abetting their commanders in not coming to the aid of the city but instead in carrying out acts of violence.....When the Marques heard about this he decided to come to the queen alone with one servant. And one night when the queen had withdrawn to her chamber, the Marqués entered and spoke these words: "Here I am in your hands, most powerful Queen, and if it shall please Your Royal Majesty, I shall prove my innocence; and when it has been seen, let

your Royal Highness do with me as you wish.....And in order not to anger Your Majesty, I shall not tell how the Duque my enemy assembled the greater part of the people of this city or how he came to my house and threw me out of it and banished me from the place of my birth. No more do I wish to speak of the injuries that he has done to me and to mine because Your Highness will learn about them through true reports. And above all, believe, Your Highness, that I should rather suffer your wrath than his pride...." When the queen had heard his explanation, she was very happy because he spoke briefly and effectively, and she said to him: "Marques, it is true that I have not received good reports about you, but the confidence with which you have come before me offers proof of your innocence; and even if you were guilty, your having put yourself in my hands in this manner would oblige me to treat you with indulgence. Therefore, turn over to me my fortresses of Jerez and Alcalá, which you have, and I shall order an investigation of the disputes between you and the Duque de Medina and shall decide what is just, being careful not to injure your honor...."

Chapter LXXII. About the fortresses of Seville which were delivered to the queen.

Since the coming of the Marqués and the delivery which he made of those fortresses had not been anticipated by the Duque and all those of his faction and in general by all of that region, they were astonished. The obedience of the Marqués was a blow to the men of bad intentions both of his own party and of the opposing one, because they expected that the anticipated rebellion of the Marqués would cause great wars and troubles in that land from which they had hoped to benefit. When the fortresses of Jerez and Alcalá had been delivered by the Marqués, the queen ordered the Duque likewise to hand over the fortresses of the city which he had. In view of the delivery which the Marques had made, the Duque gave over fortresses of Frexenal, Aroche, Aracena, Librixa, Alanis, Constantina, and Alcantarilla, which the Duque and the Marqués and some knights of their factions had held. And the queen appointed as commanders of these fortresses natives of the city who had come with her and were not partisans of either side.

Chapter XCVIII. Of the arrangement which the king and queen ordered carried out in the kingdom of Galicia.

In the following year of our Lord 1481, the king and the queen decided to leave the town of Medina del Campo and to go to the town of Valladolid....And because the kingdom of Galicia had for many years been the scene of wars and corruption of such long standing that the inhabitants of all that province had fallen under the power of tyrants and robbers. And neither the king Don Enrique, brother of the queen, nor even less the king Don Juan, her father, could subdue this kingdom as they should, nor did the knights and inhabitants of it carry out the royal orders or pay their taxes except when they wished to; and the tyrants appropriated the royal income for themselves. Moreover, the tyrants took the income and landed property of the churches and made themselves their patrons; and many a monastery did not dare to spend its own income except as it was doled out by the knight who had taken possession of it. Likewise in those times many fortresses were built in that kingdom without permission of the late kings, where dwelt robbers and thieves who kept the towns in subjection; and so used were the people to that condition that it had become a custom and no one objected anymore;

and everybody seized as many towns as he could subdue and all the income he could take. In such a wise were oppressed by the knights of that Kingdom the cities and towns of Tuy, Lugo, Orense, Mondonedo, Vivero, and all the others, in which the king and the prelates had few followers. Although the late kings sent governors and corregidores with men at arms to that kingdom to enforce the law, such was the confusion and the number of the tyrants that never were they able to establish order as it should be. The king and the queen, realizing that it was fitting for the service of God and their own to progide good government in that Kingdom, sent Don Fernando de Acuma, son of the Conde de Buendía,....and a man of letters of their council, the licentiate Garci Lopez de Chinchilla, who was very learned and of good judgment and firm in the administration of justice. With powers from the king and queen, this knight and this man of letters went to the city of Santiago in the kingdom of Galicia, taking with them armed horsemen. And by virtue of the powers which they had, they ordered all the cities and towns and cotos of the kingdom of Galicia to send thither their procuradores to discuss with them matters concerning the pacification of that kingdom. These came to the city of Santiago, and when they had all met together, that knight and that licentiate told them how they had come with the duty of administering justice in that kingdom and putting a stop to the outrages to which it was subject. Some of the procuradores were hesitant about receiving them because they did not believe them to have sufficient forces to administer justice upon the tyrants who had been accustomed for so long to rob and rule despotically. For the custom was of such long standing that the robbers had acquired the right to their robberies and took them each year from the towns; and those who were robbed were so used to suffer those robberies that they accepted them as an obligation. The procuradores especially thought that it would be difficult to dispossess those tyrants of the fortresses and castles in which they had fortified themselves and to punish such a multitude of thieves as there was in that kingdom, because if all the criminals and tyrants should join together, as they had done many times before, they were without comparison far more numerous than the men at arms that Don Fernando had with him. And some who believed it was impossible to enforce law in that kingdom replied that, just as the two men had been empowered by the king on earth, it was also necessary that they be empowered by the King in Heaven in order to be able to punish as many tyrants and criminals as there were in that kingdom; otherwise they did not believe it was possible to execute justice. Those procuradores gave these and many other reasons, doubting whether they should receive the two men, afraid of angering the knights and tyrants of that kingdom, since they thought that if they showed themselves favorable to royal justice, they would arouse their oppressors and the forces of justice would be too weak to free them from their hands. When they had heard these excuses, that knight and the man of letters said to them: Take courage, Sires, and place your hope in God and in the foresight of our lords the king and queen and in the determination that they have to administer justice and also in the desire that we have to execute it in their name, and with the help of God we shall work to put an end to the tyrannies, to punish the tyrants, and to let every one of the inhabitants of this kingdom live in peace, master of his own property, without suffering the affronts that you have suffered up to now."

The procuradores, although they were not convinced by that promise, nevertheless desired to see justice enforced, and they received the knight as governor and the man of letters as corregidor; and they told them to remain always in that kingdom and not to abandon it until order should be established, and they said they would provide men to help them in the accomplishment of their task. That knight and that man of letters promised what they desired; and when all matters had been settled between them, the procuradores returned to the cities and towns

whence they had come. The knight and the man of letters began to hear complaints and to bring the criminals to justice, and they caught some and executed justice upon them. So great was the terror inspired by their enforcement of the law that in the space of three months more than fifteen hundred robbers and murderers flod from the land. And when the people realized that the knight and the licentiate were executing justice without fear of the threats that they had received from the knights and tyrants and without favoritism, all took their side whenever they were called upon and they paid the king and the queen their dues, which the knights had long been seizing for themselves, and they razed forty-six forts throughout the kingdom of Galicia which had been used as bases for committing many wrongs. They brought to justice many men who had formerly committed wrongs and crimes, among whom was a knight named Pedro de Miranda and another named the Mariscal Pero Pardo, neither of whom thought he would see the time when the law would dare touch him. After they had been caught they offered great quantities of gold for the war against the Moors if their lives should be spared, but that knight and that man of letters did not accept their offers.

They also restored to the churches and monasteries and to the clergy many lands and beneficies which long ago had been seized by force. By acting in this way, in the space of a year and a half they brought peace to the kingdom of Galicia, so that the inhabitants of that land, who had not expected to enjoy justice or liberty, gave thanks to God for their safety, just as if they had been rescued from a long captivity, and they praised highly the diligence which the king and the queen ordered in the enforcement of justice, which was now being administered as it should be, thanks to the fine cooperation of those two ministers....

<u>Crónica de los Reves Católicos</u> <u>Hernando del Pulgar</u>

Chapter CIV

At the beginning of the following year, 1482 of our Lord, the king and the queen left the city of Valencia for the town of Medina del Campo While they were in that town, they dealt with the question of appointments to the bishoprics and churches of their kingdoms, which they desired would be made in Rome according to their requests and in no other fashion. Because the Holv Father nad assigned the church of Cuenca, which was vacant, to a cardinal, his ne thew, native of Genoa, an appointment to which the king and queen did not consent because it was given to a foreigner and was contrary to the request that they had made to the pope, they determined to ask that he should make this and future appointments to vacant churches in their kingdoms of the natives of these kingdoms whom they should propose, and not of other persons. This practice had been followed by earlier popes, justly, considering that former kings of Spain had, by dint of much effort and bloodshed as Christian princes, won the land from the Moors, enemies of our holy Catholic faith, establishing in it the name of our Redeemer Jesus Christ and extirpating the name of Mohammed. This fact gave them the right of patronage in all the churches of their kingdoms and dominions, so that appointments were given according to the kings! desires to acceptable and faithful subjects and not to other persons

On the pope's side it was alleged that he was the prince of the Church and had the right to confer the churches of all Christendom upon whomever he determined, that the authority of the pope and the power that he held on earth from God were unlimited, and that he was not bound to confer churches according to the desires of any prince except as he should conceive to be in the service of God and for the good of the Church. The king and queen sent several ambassadors to Rome over this dispute . . . Because these ambassadors could not reach the settlement with the pope which the king and queen desired, they ordered all their subjects who were at the court of Rome to leave it. The royal pair did so with the intention of inviting the princes of Christendom to hold a council to deal with this matter and with other proposals they intended to make for the service of God and the good of the cuniversal Church.

(The pope sent an ambassador to the king and queen, who refused to receive him.) After some days the Cardinal of Spain interceded for him (the ambassador) and begged the king and queen to treat him kindly and to take up again the question of the agreement with the pope. Through the mediation of the cardinal a settlement was reached according to which the pope was to confer the principal churches of all these kingdoms upon those worthy and capable subjects whom the king and queen should propose. And the pope revoked the appointment that he had made to the church of Cuenca of the Cardinal of Saint George, his nephew, and conferred it on Don Alomso de Burgos, first chaplain of the queen, who was then Bishop of Córdoba, for whoma the appointment had been requested.

The king and queen always took care to propose that the churches that fell vacant in their kingdoms be given to generous persons, to reward those and the relatives of those who had served them. Many times they proposed religious persons, educated men of clean lives, believing that the affairs of the state would run well only insofar as the prelates and ministers of the churches were men of good lives, learned, and preachers of good doctrines, who would be examples to all persons



Winds and Currents in the Atlantic Ocean



Scholar claims U.S. neglected Mexico in international issues

By DIRK WERKMAN

Daily News Staff Writer

When he read the 1,500-page memoirs of Henry S. Kissinger, something seemed odd to Abraham F. Lowenthal.

Only once did Kissinger, former Secretary of State, mention Mexico in his book, Lowenthal said.

And that, Lowenthal continued, was to tell how Kissinger met with a Mexican official to mislead the press about a secret trip he made to China.

To Lowenthal, director of the Latin American Program at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars in Washington, D.C., the Kissinger book was a good example of the way the United States has neglected Mexico.

If Mexico has been overlooked by U.S. officials in the past, that is no longer the case, an official of the Reagan Adminisration said in response to Lowenthal.

"That (neglect) certainly has not been he case the past year or so," declared rank Crigler, director of the office of lexican Affairs at the U.S. Department

"Our two countries are paying attenon to each other," Crigler said during a onference last week on "Mexico and

Sponsored by the Center for U.S.lexican Studies at the University of alifornia, San Diego, the conference at oronado brought together more than 0 government officials, business leaders, journalists and students who examined Mexico's growing role in world affairs.

The feeling now in Washington, D.C., Crigler said, is, "you can't dismiss Mexi-

Crigler pointed out that Reagan and President Jose Lopez Portillo of Mexico have met three times since Reagan was elected president.

Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr. and his counterpart have met many times and often consult by telephone, Crigler said.

Vice President George Bush and several members of Reagan's cabinet have traveled to Mexico for meetings and many contacts involving lower ranking officials have and continue to take place, Crigler said.

He described as a "mistaken perception" any feeling Mexico has been "elbowed aside" by U.S. officials.

But the State Department official conceded that although leaders of the two nations are talking, they do not always

A case in point is the Cancun conference hosted by Mexico last year. The conference involved the heads of state of 22 nations and was designed to increase the dialogue between the industrialized countries and the developing areas that need financial help.

Andres Rozental, Mexico's ambassador and permanent representative to

the International Organizations headquarters in Geneva, said he believes little progress has been made since the Cancun session last October. "I don't believe we are closer to the goal of global relations than we were before."

Reagan was never "keen" about such discussions, Crigler replied. "Had it (the Cancun meeting) been hosted by just about any other country" than Mexico, Reagan would not have attended, he

Crigler denied suggestions the administration is brushing aside Mexican peace proposals designed to help the U.S. and Nicaragua settle their differences. "They certainly have not been dismissed," Crigler said of the proposals.

But he said Mexico has proposed that U.S.-Nicaraguan talks take place in Mexico while Washington believes such discussions should take place through normal diplomatic channels involving the disputing countries.

Crigler said the U.S. and Mexico have serious differences over such issues as trade policies and commercial fishing activities.

But Reagan and Lopez Portillo made it clear following a meeting at Camp David that such problems should not be allowed to "fester," Crigler said.

"I believe relations are on a good footing right now," Crigler said of the two nations, adding, "prospects are not bleak for the future."

Immigration comments and our angry politics of fear

By Tim Rutten

Early last week, former Florida Gov. Jeb Bush — regarded by many as a likely candidate for the 2016 Republican presidential nomination — ignited a fire storm of abuse with what seemed to any reasonable person an inarguable observation about undocumented immigrants.

Speaking to a gathering at his father's presidential library in Texas, the younger Bush brother remarked that, for many newcomers without papers, undocumented immigration - with all its dangers and hardships — was an "act of love." Bush mused, "Someone who comes to our country because they couldn't come legally, they come to this country because of their families - the dad who loved their children was worried that their child didn't have food on the table. And they wanted to make sure their family was intact, and they crossed the border because they had no other means to work to be able to provide for their family. Yes, they broke the law, but it's not a felony ... It's an act of commitment to your family. I honestly think that that is a different kind of crime. There should be a price paid, but it shouldn't rile people up that people are actually coming to this country to provide for their families." He went on to urge an end to the "harsh political rhetoric" around the immigration reform issue.

(Actually, his brother, George W. Bush, put the matter even more succinctly in his 2000 presidential campaign when he remarked, "Family values don't stop at the Rio Grande.")

It wasn't the first time that Jeb Bush has strayed from the unbending anti-immigrant orthodoxy of the GOP's so-called conservative grass roots. Less than a year ago, he echoed the consensus among most serious economists when he told the Faith and Freedom Conference that "immigrants created far more businesses than nativeborn Americans, over the past 20 years. Immigrants are more fertile, and they love families, and they have more intact families, and they bring a younger population. Immigrants create an engine of economic prosperity."

Within hours of his most recent comments, Bush was being accused on Fox News and across the right-wing recesses of the Web of "betraying" not just his party's principles, but also the nation's. Even the more sober among his critics charged that Bush had all but disqualified himself from winning the GOP nomination by merely observing that most undocumented immigrants undertake the dangerous crossing of our border out of concern for their families' well-being.

Charles Krauthammer labeled Bush's comments "bizarre" and alleged that, politically, he was pointlessly "leading with his chin." The National Review's Jim Geraghty alleged that the remarks were among "these nagging indicators that he's either not in touch with the mood of the conservative grass roots, or he's willfully at odds with the conservative grass roots, and confident he can dissuade the grass roots of their opinion." The Republican congressional leadership quickly disavowed the prospective candidate's opinion, but that was nothing compared to the right-wing websites and commentators, who accused Bush of joining "the treason lobby" and even attacked his Mexican-born wife, falsely alleging that she had entered the country as an "illegal alien."

The abuse showered on Bush contrasted starkly with the national Republicans' silence last week, when their party's leading California gubernatorial candidate - Twin Peaks Assemblyman Tim Donnelly — unflinching said he stands by remarks he made in 2006 as a leader of anti-immigrant vigilantes. "I am a descendant of Jim Bowie who died at Alamo," he told his audience. "It is rumored that he took a dozen Mexican soldiers to their deaths before they finally killed him. How many of you will rise up and take his place on that wall. We are at war. You may not want to accept it, but the other side has declared war on us ... There is a growing insurgency right here in Los Angeles ... Right

... There is a growing insurgency right here in Los Angeles ... Right now, in the United States, there are 850,000 gang members, two-thirds of whom are illegal aliens." Donnelly argued that the belief that undocumented immigrants come in search of a better life "is one of the lies. At least 20 percent are coming to commit the crimes that American criminals no longer will commit."

There's so much mean-spirited wrong-headedness running through those remarks that they don't bear dissection. Suffice to say, it's easy to see why the latest Field Poll on the California governor's race shows the Democratic ingumber 1 percent of the vote and Donnelly with 17 percent. Similarly, the sort of dismissive abuse hurled at Bush from across the country is a pretty good partial explanation of why the GOP has lost the popular vote in five out of the last six presidential elections.

Immigration reform is just one of the issues that festers unresolved because of the angry, resentful, inflexible, fantasy-fueled character of so much of our national political life. Jeb Bush, for example, is in most ways a candidate with impeccable conservative credentials. His financial conservatism has made him a Wall Street favorite. As governor of Florida, Bush — a convert to Catholicism — demonstrated a consistent social conservatism that won him a following among a large swath of the religious right. However, depart from the anxiously inflexible checklist orthodoxy that now dominates so much of our grass-roots politics, and you're a heretic banished to the outer darkness. (The same is increasingly true in many Democratic constituencies; no matter what your other credentials, try running in one of the party's primaries if you try oppose any restriction on abortion, or maintain religious reservations about marriage equality.)

In his 1993 study of resurgent ethnic consciousness across the globe, "Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism," Michael Ignatieff wrote: "I cannot help thinking that liberal civilization — the rule of laws, not men, of argument in place of force, of compromise in place of violence - runs deeply against the human grain and is achieved and sustained only by the most unremitting struggle against human nature. The liberal virtues - tolerance, compromise, reason - remain as valuable as ever, but they cannot be preached to those who are mad with fear."

History suggests that we add compassionate humanity to those other virtues and the categorical rejection of its introduction into the national conversation on immigration reform is worse than alarming. The instantaneous and savage pillorying to which Jeb Bush was subjected this week is further evidence that the real crisis is not over this particular question of national policy, but in our increasingly angry and fearful politics themselves.

Tim Rutten is a columnist for the Los

anic Review

Limpieza and the ghost of Americo Castro: Racism as a tool of literary analysis

THE collapse of totalitarian systems within our time, has encouraged those who believe in the ability of the human spirit to resist oppression. More than a generation of Hispanic scholars have not been so optimistic about the capacity of the spirit in early modern Spain. Many have depicted an Iberia utterly in contrast with a surrounding free Europe. Don Americo Castro, in a pioneering presentation first published in 1948, when the Franco regime was firmly ensconced in Spain, expressed the pessimism of many when he concluded that "el entronizamiento de la ineptitud mental y la paralisis de los capaces de usar con acierto su inteligencia" were consequences of the regime of the Inquisition, and that "no pensar, no saber, no leer" became the order of the day (Castro 597-8). In his brilliant analysis of the influences that affected literary creativity, Castro focussed above all on the cult of "pure blood" (limpiexa de sangre), which he also associated with the Inquisition. Many students of Golden Age literature have since then found it difficult to resist approaching the subject without dwelling on the theme of limpieza. Otis Green, like many other distinguished scholars, concluded that "the sixteenth century in the domains of the Spanish monarchy. . .found totalitarianism congenial," and that "racism . . . became a part of Spanish life and the source of national weakness" (4: 150, 165).

These presuppositions have played a major role in the work of Hispanists. They have frequently determined our view of Spanish society and literature. A French historian claimed recently that "limpieza de sangre was one of the factors responsible for the economic backwardness of the country" (cited with approval in Marquez Villanueva). A recent work of history presents the sixteenth century as a "tiempo de silencios," in which "la mayor de la intelectualidad de Castilla. y Aragon" gave its support to limpiexa de sangre (Contreras 16, 18). The mors of these sweeping statements, perhaps inevitably, do not attempt to offer supporting evidence for them.

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The fact is that we have, in limpiexa and racism, fruitful concepts which in the hands of the unwary can be made iield quite extravagant conclusions. It should no longer be possible to cling to the antiquated view of the quisition as "one of the most lavish and terrifying apparatuses for state control of its citizens in modern times" (Heiple 231). We happen now to know a bit more about how limpiexa and the Inquisition functioned. Some consideration of these issues may help us to reconsider our approach to the society of Golden-Age Spain. In the process, we may clarify our perspective of the role of antisemitism in the literature and mentality of that time.

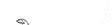
Writing with little factual precision, scholars have referred to "a Spain obsessed by limpieza" (Sicroff 262) and a "paranoia de limpieza" (Contreras 77, 109). The evidence for such affirmations is hard to find. A statute of limpieza was, quite simply, a membership rule drawn up by private bodies in the fifteenth century. It normally excluded people of Jewish or Moorish origin from membership. The most controversial of the early statutes was that drawn up by the city council of Toledo in 1449. Directed against converso members of the city elite, it was denounced immediately by the archbishop of Toledo, by the pope, and by the king. It was also denounced in several well-known tracts (Kamen, Inquisition 116). The Toledo statute deserves attention, because it demonstrates two key facts. First, all such statutes were drawn up primarily and exclusively because there were status struggles between groups. Wherever we find a statute -in a city council, in a religious order, in a cathedral chapter-it is because two competing groups were locked in conflict. The central issue was power: race or religion was secondary. Second, the statutes had their heyday in the late fifteenth and very early sixteenth centuries, coinciding with the bloody repression of conversos by the Inquisition. Thereafter they faced growing opposition.

The parameters of limpiexa were even narrower than this. The statutes, it is vital to remember, had no judicial or legislative basis. They never formed part of the laws of **Spain**. They had the status only of rules adopted by private societies, and had no validity or force outside them. Since they had no force in law, they were frequently not mplied with even where they existed. Second, the statutes could be found only in Castile and only in a very nall number of bodies there. The notion of paranoia collapses before the fact that no general support was ever given to **limpieza** rules, and no scholar has ever been able to cite more than a handful of bodies that had them. A sprinkling of organizations in Castile-university colleges, some towns, some religious orders, some urban guilds—make up the absolute total of those with statutes. Their number does not add up to an epidemic. Of the 35 sees in sixteenth century Castile, for example, possibly only ten ever had them; and in some - as in Siguenza in 1567 (Dominquez Ortiz 65)—the clergy refused to observe the statute. Several religious orders with statutes later revoked them. The statutes were, before the late sixteenth century, virtually unknown in the Basque country and the crown of Aragon. The whole controversy over **limpieza** was, notoriously, not Spanish but Castilian. And even in Castile majority opinion was not in favor.

It has been suggested that "combatir la **limpieza** era el maximo acto de rebeldia contra la sociedad espanola" (Marquez Villanueva, quoted by Heiple 231). If this were true, we would be faced by the unlikely fact that the most eminent personages in Golden-Age **Spain** were in rebellion against their society. At every level, kings, bishops, theologians, and tribunals declared limpiexa to be wrong. Ferdinand and Isabella in 1486 opposed the adoption of a statute by their favorite order, the Jeronimites (Carrete Parrondo). Their hostility was shared by other leading authorities in Golden-Age **Spain**. In 1532 the Cortes of Castile, no nest of rebellion, petitioned Charles V to restrict the statutes where they existed (Gonzalez Davila 2: 212).

An important step in favour of **limpieza** was, however, taken in 1547. The archbishop of Toledo, Siliceo, succeeded in imposing a statute an his cathedral. This has been viewed, erroneously, as the triumph of the statutes. The fact is that the 1547 Toledo statute

as immediately condemned by the highest court in the land, the Council of Castile, as "injusto y escandaloso," and by the bishop of Siguenza as "inconveniente" (archive of Simancas, section Camara de Castilla, legajo 291



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fol.1). It was also condemned by the city of Toledo and by the University of Salamanca. It was ineffective a the start (conversos continued to be appointed to posts in the cathedral) and confirmed by a doubtful Philip It nine years afterwards. Limpieza then and later was openly and explicitly attacked by a host of leading writers, who never veiled themselves in "dark allegories" (Heiple 217). Declared enemies of the statutes included Pedro Soto, Martin de Azpilcueta, fray Luis de Leon, Melchor Cano, Diego de Covarrubias, and many others in the sixteenth century. By the late century it was commonly accepted in the manuals written to guide confessors that "no es incapaz de tener beneficio eclesiastico o dignidad secular, el que luego que nacio, fue bautizado y no falto jamas en la fe, aunque descienda de padres judios o moros" (Ortiz Lucio 43). An identical phrase can be found il the highly popular Summa de Casos de Consciencia (it was published in several editions in Lisbon, Saragossa, Barcelona and Salamanca) of fray Manuel Rodriquez, first published in 1593 (Rodriguez 81). These authors recognized, however, that private bodies had a clear right to make their own rules about entry, provided such rule were not based on "odio." Limpieza discrimination was wrong in the public sphere, they ruled, but permissible i private. This was certainly the view of Castile's foremost legal authority, Castillo de Bobadilla, who ruled in 159 that the statutes were permissible in the "colegios y algunas iglesias" where they existed (Bobadilla I, 105). In short, not a single authoritative work of the late sixteenth century sanctioned the practice of public racial discrimination.

The growth of opinion against the statutes affected the Inquisition itself. In 1580 the Inquisitor General, cardinal Gaspar de Quiroga, who over thirty years previously had helped to vote for the statute in Toledo cathedral, begar move in favor of modifying the limpiexa rules. His policy, followed by the three subsequent Inquisitors General, developed into a movement to abolish the statutes completely. Quiroga obtained the support of Philip II. By the king's death nothing had been done, although a special committee was set up to discuss the matter (Kamen, "A crisis of conscience" 8-9).

One of the most relentless opponents of limpiexa at the end of the sixteenth century was the Jesuit Juan de Mariana. A solid conservative and no whit a rebel, Mariana in an uncompromising passage denounced discrimination against conversos and held that "las notas de infamia no deben ser eternas" (540-42). "No deban pagar los descendientes las faltas de sus antepasados," he maintained. For him, the policy of discrimination was "solo propio de tiranos." His words were taken up and repeated by subsequent writers on the subject. But this wa only one dimension of a general movement, supported by the Inquisition itself, in favor of restricting or abolishin the statutes.

The list of public critics of limpiexa grew larger in the seventeenth century, and reached its culmination in the very years during which Lope de Vega was writing. In these years a public campaign was mounted by the government the Inquisition, and the Cortes, to remove racial discrimination from the Spanish agenda. In 1599 the Dominican friar Agustin Salucio published a Discurso sobre los estatutos de limpieza with the written support of three archbishops and of the chief minister Lerma. In it he appealed to the new king, Philip III, to "ensure the peace of this realm by limiting the statutes so that Old Christians and Moriscos and conversos should all come to form one body" (Kamen, "A crisis of conscience" 11). Salucio's book formed the subject of an impassioned debate in the Cortes in January and February 1600. Thereafter the floodgates of criticism were opened. Throughout the 1620s and 1630s--a background to be borne in mind when assessing Lope de Vega's references to popular antisemitisma public debate took place in Castile over limpiexa.

"For many years," a deputy to the Cortes of 1618 said in a speech there, "attempts have been made to limit and reform the statutes." In 1624 a member of the Supreme Council of the Inquisition stated openly that "there is no longer any good reason for the statutes, and with the changing times they have become not simply unjust but totally superfluous" (Serrano 77). In 1626 the Suprema itself concluded of the statutes that "to get rid of them utterly would be an act for which all would be grateful" (Kamen, "A crisis of conscience" 17). There was no reason, the inquisitors argued, for any discrimination to be practised between those of Jewish and those of non-Jewish origin. From these summary details, it is obvious that the struggle against limpieza was not a preserve only

of rebels against society. It was a struggle which deeply preoccupied civic and religious leaders, at the when Lope de Vega was active and Calderon was writing his earlier plays. The work of these dramatists viewed against a background, not only of traditional racism, but also of conscientious soul-searching amon, Castilian clergy and intellectuals.

In the twilight of the Golden Age, the policy of racial discrimination was frankly breaking down. "En llegando a materia de limpieca," a well-known friar wrote in 1629, "ay cosas dignas de lastimarse mucho. Es cosa absurda de gran perjuycio" (Penalosa chapter 13). Many institutions preserved their statutes despite the criticisms. But it practice they were no barrier to social success. One may cite the cases in the late seventeenth century of the converso financier Manuel Jose Cortizos, whose father was known to be a practising Jew but who was nevertheless created marquis of Villaflores; and of Dr. Diego Zapata, one of Madrid's most eminent physicians, whose career was unaffected despite clear evidence of his Judaism.

This brings us to the question of the response of Spaniards to antisemitism. As the western region with the long experience of Jewish culture, Iberia breathed antisemitism through every pore. It was a common, vulgar respons to almost any communal or personal friction. In parts of Catalonia where there were not, and never had been, ar Jews, sixteenth- century tribunals had to sort out the quarrels of protagonists who insulted each other as "Jews.' The Inquisition also acted decisively at all times against those using the phrase, on the grounds that it was socia divisive and also theologically meaningless unless heresy was involved. Yet the practice continued. In the 1690 the Moroccan ambassador in Madrid was surprised to find that some courtiers even considered the duke of Lerr responsible for the expulsion of the Moriscos in 1609, as a Jew, since his act was held to have been inimical to Spain. At every level, then, in the villages and in the court itself, Spaniards freely indulged in a rotund antisemitism. If literary works of the Golden Age contain, as many do, vivid antisemitic phrases, it is because antisemitism was--as in Germany, Poland, and wherever there had been a sizeable community of Jews-an undercurrent of the social scene. This by no means meant that Spain was in the grip of an anti-Jewish neurosis.

Antisemitism (bitterly attacked by eminent figures such as Ignatius Loyola and Luis de Granada) was one thing the statutes another. A powerful current of educated opinion in **Spain** rejected any attempt to discriminate again conversos on account merely of their Jewish origins. The most important contemporary treatise on **Spain**'s nobility, the Summa nobilitatis Hispanicae, was published by Juan Arce de Otalora in 1553. In it he cites and approves the law that converted **Jews** in **Spain** "puedan aver todos los officios y honrras que han todos los otro Christianos" (184). It is well known, he says, that many noble Spaniards are of semitic origin: "inter nobiles ac illustres nostrae Hispaniae sunt nonnulli de quibus constat, vel saltem est vehemens opinio, quod per lineam virilem parentum habeant non nihil derivatum a Iudaeorum et Sarracenorum genere" (186). The Jewish ascendancy of public figures was well known (St. Teresa of Avila is a typical example) but was not necessarily held against them. No law in existence in **Spain** allowed discrimination on grounds of race alone. Throughout t Golden Age, scholars, businessmen and politicians of converso origin continued to enter the elite despite their known Jewish origins. But controversy arose when the origins were deliberately used to block promotion.

The other face of Spain's antisemitism, too often forgotten, was its ready acceptance of coexistence with Jews. Americo Castro cited many examples, to back up his vision of an "oriental" Spain. We may add a few more. O textbooks do not mention the fact that there had been strong Christian opposition to the Jewish expulsions of 14 The historian (and inquisitor) Jeronimo de Zurita reported that "fueron de parecer muchos, que el rey hazia yer in driving them out (Zurita, ano 1492: 9). The sixteenth-century theologian and royal confessor Domingo de Scruled the expulsions morally wrong; and the first solid historian of the Inquisition, Luis de Paramo, referred to other "quosdam doctos viros" of his day who considered that the rulers of Spain had acted wrongly (Paramo 16 And the expulsions, let us remember, were limited only to the peninsula. Judaism continued to be tolerated in a the territories of the Spanish empire outside of Spain and its colonies. Take Milan, Spain's chief military base Europe. Here Philip II confirmed the rights of Jews in 1579, 1580 and 1581. Only in 1597, when Philip was dy and decisions were no longer his, were the Jews expelled (Simonsohn 1: xxxiii).

As in the case of **limpieza**, therefore, we have a clear case of the Spanish ability to do two totally contrar, simultaneously. Americo Castro was perfectly aware of this. Some later scholars have not been so careful, have stressed only the antisemitic aspects, to the detriment of **Spain**'s perennial fascination with the Jewish presence.

We may note in passing a common confusion between the issues of race-purity and honor. Americo Castro and others have rightly emphasized the enormous distress caused to Castilians whose claim to military status was blocked by the problem of Jewish origins.

The best known outburst of anger, caused by this, was the publication in the sixteenth century by Cardinal Mendoza of the Tizon de la Nobleza de Espana. The problem was, in reality, restricted principally to one institution: the council of Orders. The council controlled access to the military orders of Castile, which all had limpieza statutes. New pretendants to encomiendas in the orders had to run the gauntlet of blood enquiries. Ther was inevitably, as Mendoza's tract showed, an uproar if pretendants were not allowed in. Protesting against the statutes in 1626, the Inquisition specifically stated that their impact was mainly on "posts in encomiendas, colleg and churches." Apart from this, Jewish origin was not necessarily a hurdle for those wishing to enter the nobility

Finally, we need to be clear about the role of the Inquisition. The Holy Office was an unpleasant institution, but hardly lavish (its finances have been exhaustively studied). And, apart from the bloody persecution of conversos the period 1480-1520 in southern **Spain**, it was hardly the most terrifying persecutor of early modern times. A reputable historian, William Monter, has pointed out that "the lay tribunals in Germany executed up to ten times more heretics between 1520 and 1550 than the Holy Office did in **Spain**" (Monter 124). The English courts in th sixteenth century, on my estimation, executed at least five times more heretics than the Spaniards did. The problems of conversos in sixteenth-century **Spain** were nothing compared to the persecution of Huguenots in France. Yet students of the literature of early modern England, Germany and France do not give themselves over to the pessimism which Hispanists dedicate to the fate of the creative spirit in the **Spain** of the Inquisition.

Castro chose to place his emphasis on the tyranny exercised by the Holy Office over converso intellects. No one can doubt that specific writers of Jewish origin, down to Antonio Enriquez Gomez, had problems with the Inquisition. Their cases are no proof that the Inquisition crushed Spanish literature. Antonio Enriquez has demonstrated decisively that the impact of the Inquisition on scholars was more complex than this (176-81). In virtually every sphere of its activity, there is good reason to point a finger not only at the Inquisition, but at other factors operative in the cultural development of **Spain** (Kamen, Inquisition, 98-99, 262-3).

In conclusion, we may approach the general issue of conversos, limpiexa and the Holy Office through the experience of one man, Dr. Diego Perez de Valdivia. One of the great preachers and spiritual figures of the sixteenth century (he died in 1589), Perez was a disciple of Juan de Avila. Like Avila and like St. Teresa, Perez was a known converso. In the 1570s he was imprisoned for nearly three years by the Inquisition of Cordoba. He was accused among other things of stating that "los confesos habian de ser preferidos a los cristianos viejos, por ser gente ms humilde" and that "quien guardaba el estatuto de la limpieza pecaba" (Perez de Valdivia 66). The statements did not in the end seem harmful to the inquisitors (how could they, since the standard confessor's manuals of the day censured limpieza?). He was exonerated and subsequently, with the full support of the Inquisition, became for over ten years the guiding force behind the religious renewal in Catalonia (Kamen, Phoenix 271). Here we have the combination of repression and tolerance that was typical of the role of converso in Spanish society. They suffered (as they would have in any other European country) from antisemitism, but the were also able to benefit from the peculiarly prosemitic environment in the peninsula.

Our approach to a nation's literature is determined by our vision of its society. The vision of a Spain agonizing

under the impact of limpiexa (Sicroff 300) is erroneous, and also unreliable as a tool of analysis. Limpieza played an identifiable role in determined parts of the peninsula, at determined times. But it had a restricted impact, was no scorned by the social and intellectual elite, and did not have much effect among the mass of the population. Liva el Ultimo argumento y mas fuerte contra los estatutos," wrote a leading Jesuit in a tract published in 1632 with the approval of the Inquisition, "que les ha faltado el respeto de nuestra republica" (Valdes 126). His argument deserves to be taken seriously.

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1632

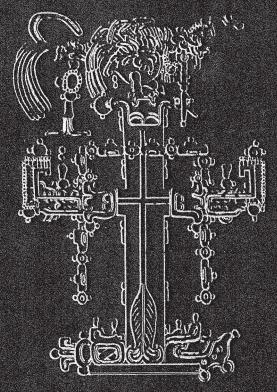
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"Dr. Orozco has made an excellent and most needed contribution to historical scholarship. The author most effectively utilizes the religious, sociological, philosophical and anthropological disciplines and perspectives which make his book most interesting and informative. Professor Orozco's excellent work will be stimulating to students of history, theology, ethnic studies, and sociology."

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"An in-depth study of the philosophical roots of the 'Chicano Problem' in the United States, this work is a well-researched and scholarly analysis of an important topic. It represents the beginnings of interpretive *Chicano* scholarship. The book is not only a Chicano synthesis of the cultural components of the Mexican and Chicano way of life, but a perspective resynthesis of the popular 'American Civil Keligion' idea hereiotore only peripherally studied by Anglo-American scholars. This study is destined to become a classic account of the Chicano experience in the United States,"

—Gloria E. Miranda, Ph.D. Former Chair, Chicano Studies Los Angeles Valley College he world from which the conquistadores came was undergoing a time of transition, and transitional periods, whether in the lives of individuals, nations, or civilizations, are many-sided and difficult to categorize, save under the rubric of change. They are fluid ages in which much of the old still lingers and most of the new has not yet crystallized into definite shapes or patterns. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Europeans were in the process of becoming "modern" without ceasing to be medieval. The change was gradual, but still unmistakably definite.

Probably the most striking of the changes taking place was the progressive breakdown of the feudal framework of an earlier day. The feudal state, in which the king had been merely suzerain or lord in little more than name, was becoming a state in which the king or prince was truly sovereign. He was less and less bound by contractual obligations to feudal peers and moving closer to the position of absolute domination over all his subjects, nolling and cleric as well as commoner and peasant. Late medieval princes had not yet arrived at that pinnacle of absolute power from which they could rule untouched and unchallenged, passing down decrees and decisions from which there was no appeal, but they were moving in that direction. As the fifteenth century drew to a close, Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain were setting an example of power and centralization which fellow monarchs would seek to equal or better. It is not without significance that the Americas were discovered and colonized in an era of strong monarchical control in mother countries.

The feudal economy, based on landholding and the human relationships arising therefrom, was changing to a capitalistic money economy of individual enterprise. The old corporatism of the guild was no longer so necessary in states where some semblance of law and order reigned and where the individual could look elsewhere than to the company of his fellows for protection of life and property. The consequent rise of towns had robbed the medieval manor of its importance and had robbed the land of its earlier character as the most tangible form of wealth. The later medieval centuries saw a gradual shift of the center of gravity in Western life from the countryside to the new towns. And, the bourgeoisie was gradually displacing landowning nobles at the top of the economic ladder.

Feudal society, with its traditional three-tiered hierarchy of noble-clericpeasant was disintegrating under pressure from the ambitious nonfeudal burgher class, rapidly emerging as the dynamic element in this new society. The bourgeoisie found willing and ready allies in the princes of the age, since bourgeois wealth and cooperation helped kings and lords to become independent of feudal dues and services, allowing them freedom of action which had been impossible in earlier centuries. In return the bourgeoisie hoped that royal favor would bring advantages and position which current society denied those of lowly origin. New World opportunities would further cement the prince-merchant alliance.

Another late medieval development which should not be overlooked because of its importance for the immediate future was nascent nationalism. The Europe which a century or so before had been the unit called Christendom, united by many common bonds, was breaking into territorial segments, with individualized customs, distinctive languages, and, most of all, divergent and often conflicting ambitions. In 1453, France and En-

gland closed a struggle which had lasted for over a century, the Hundred Years' War. Germany had broken into a multiplicity of rival states. Spain and Portugal were often feuding with one another. The cast of characters, so to speak, for the future American drama was appearing.

The Impact of the Renaissance

During these centuries the medieval mind cast was undergoing change as a spirit of "this-worldliness" and preoccupation with the temporal and the material slowly but surely supplanted the typical "other-worldly" outlook of the Middle Ages. The new age would not necessarily be an irreligious one, but Christian ideals and standards would no longer dominate people's minds and actions as they had in previous centuries.

Various factors caused this new orientation of the Western mind. Greater knowledge of the pagan past of antiquity was one potent force. True, Europe possessed Greco-Roman tradition as one or the foundation stones of its culture complex, but it was not pagan culture unadulterated such as came into the West with the Renaissance. Earlier, churchmen had supervised the intermingling and screened out much of what was considered potentially harmful and dangerous in antique culture. Medieval people had been given to understand that their Graeco-Roman predecessors had little to offer them; the ancients had not known the God of Revelation nor Christ nor the Virgin, even though they had written magnificently of humanity, exalting the human body, and cultivated the mind. Medieval thinkers viewed a preoccupation with temporal things as less than laudable; to them it was the soul that counted, and the soul was destined not for this life but for the next, where fulfillment of human destiny alone would be achieved. Ideally, medieval Western Europeans kept their sights fixed heavenward, minding little the temporal, the natural, the material world through which they passed.

Then came the Renaissance, and westerners awakened to find their natural as well as supernatural selves, their bodies, and nature which lay roundabout them. The experience was unbalancing and intoxicating, but it prepared westerners for the great and challenging adventures that were in store. Italy felt the first and fullest impact of the Renaissance. Other westerners followed the Italian lead. The Iberian peoples were the last affected by the paganism of the Renaissance, but many aspects of the new thought and attitudes crossed the western Mediterranean to the peninsula or slipped across the Pyrenees.

Other Facets of the Age The new orientation toward the natural brought a rebirth of scientific activity, the study of nature and the universe. Humans became curious about the world around them. In its way, this curiosity contributed to the events of the 1490s. It pushed people not only into the laboratory, but also out onto the oceans. It brought into being new inventions or introduced old ones from distant lands, such as the compass, and gunpowder from the Orient.

The bourgeoisie, too, had its share in shaping new trends of the age. The capitalist spent a large share of his waking hours scheming, planning, laboring to build his wealth. He believed that if he was ever to rise to prominence in western society, it would be by means of money and through outstanding service to the material well-being of his fellow humans. Here

the capitalist opposed prevailing medieval views and practices concerning the possession of this world's goods-for example, the medieval prohibition against usury and interest. This prohibition did not deter the burgher who began to develop his own bourgeois ethic, which tended to debase old and enhance new values. Another impulse was thus given to the already present materialistic or "this-worldly"

trend of the age.

Another significant feature of the times was the marked decline in the influence and prestige of the papacy. Throughout the medieval centuries the cultural as well as the spiritual guides of the West, the popes, were losing that position of leadership. The compromising Avignon period and the disgraceful and disconcerting Great Western Schism had contributed much to this drop. By the time the setback had been overcome, the new spirit was already strong and vital. Later, instead of holding themselves above and beyond the movement, in a position from which they could weigh, evaluate, and direct, some of the popes of the later fifteenth century drifted, instead, with the stream. The Christian vigor of the West was impaired.

All in all it was a vibrant age and an extremely complex one. Europe's new enthusiasm, as in the late eleventh century, needed a field or an enterprise to absorb its bubbling energy. The crusading expeditions of the High Middle Ages had been a salutary experience for the West of that day. Once again the situation was much the same: a Europe ready to move. The difference in this instance, as compared with the Crusades, was that all of Europe would not take part immediately. Domestic problems and soon the religious differences of the first half of the sixteenth century would keep many Europeans at home. Two nations, however, would

escape deep involvement in domestic affairs and, owing to this and also the fact of priority by right of discovery, Spain and Portugal took the lead in the expansionist and imperial movement which was soon to open.

The Two Iberian Nations

Spain and Portugal were alike and yet, interestingly unlike the rest of their fellow European nations. They had gone through a distinctive medieval development. They possessed many traits in common with other peoples of the West. Their society was basically feudal in structure; the Church, as elsewhere in medieval Europe, was powerful; the nobles were arrogant, the common people inarticulate. Builders followed Romanesque and Gothic forms, even though these might be modified by Moorish inspiration; thinkers cast their thought in Scholastic molds. But life during the Early and even into the High Middle Ages had been dominated by one great central theme, the reconquista, which had shaped and colored almost everything Spanish or Portuguese. And long contact with the Moslem invaders had turned the men of the peninsula into distinctive Europeans. There were many things peculiarly Iberian which did not quite fit into the medieval patterns of the rest of Europe.

The Moorish influence was twosided, productive of both good and ill. The Spanish were no novices in culture and refinement in that fateful eighth century, when foreign invaders from Africa stepped onto their peninsula. But during the next centuries their land became particularly rich culturally, while fellow Europeans were scarcely able to fend off the threat of anarchy and dissolution and, therefore, had little time for things of the spirit. In the Middle Ages, Spanish literature and art enjoyed a richness unequaled anywhere

in Europe at the time. For these advantages the Spaniards often had to thank the invaders who, though African Moors, were in close contact with their fellow coreligionists of the Levant.

The Iberian knight and noble, like his counterpart to the north, was a warrior, but the presence of the Moslem in his land also made him a crusader—not merely on occasion but for long centuries. He fought for more than simply feudal gain; he warred to repossess his homeland and for the religion which he cherished—to him the Moslem in Spain was both invader and infidel. There was ruthlessness and cruelty on both sides, and it is little wonder that habits formed during centuries of unrelenting conflict became part of the Iberian character.

Pre-Moslem Spain Down to A.D. 711 there was little to set off the provinces of the Iberian Peninsula from the rest of the future European nations then in the first stages of formation. The Spaniard's ethnic background may have been somewhat more complex, for in ancient time, his peninsula, set strategically at the western gateway to the Mediterranean, had attracted many peoples, some to conquer and settle, others merely to trade and exploit.

The original Iberians reached the peninsula some thousands of years before Christ, while humankind was still in the paleolithic period. As the centuries passed, the Iberians developed their culture, mastering elementary farming techniques and learning to produce bronze from tin and copper. Next came the Phoenicians, sailortraders from the eastern Mediterranean. Perhaps as early as 1100 B.C. they had heard of Spain's mineral wealth and had moved westward to plant trading posts in the land of Tarshish. The Greeks later found this far western land and established a colony there,

thus at an early date putting the peninsula in touch with the Western-civilization-to-be which was developing to the east.

Previous to the sixth century B.C. Celts from the heart of Europe began to filter into the peninsula and soon came in numbers sufficient to conquer and settle the land. The Iberians absorbed the rude barbarians, fusing a new race, the Celt-Iberians.

Aggressive war lords next harassed the descendants of the old Phoenicians, still living in several little towns along the southern coast. They called for help from a Phoenician colonial people of North Africa, the Carthaginians. The Carthaginians responded, and their arrival marked the beginning of a future constant in the Iberians' story-influences from North Africa. Carthaginians were content at first to establish settlements in southern Spain, but in the third century B.C. they undertook conquest. Celt-Iberian resistance and newcomers, the Romans, halted Carthaginian advances. During the second century B.C. the Romans took over most of the peninsula.

The six centuries of Roman domination were highly important in the formation of the Spanish and the Portuguese people. It took the Romans two centuries to establish control, but once that was accomplished they integrated the peninsula into the larger Roman Empire, as the province of Hispania with a sub-province of Lusitania to the west. In time Hispania became very Romanized, producing emperors, soldiers, writers, and artists, and in many ways contributing to imperial glories and successes.

During the Roman period Hispania accepted Christianity, and in time Spanish Christians felt the wrath of the Empire, and experienced the persecution tendered their Christian fellows in other provinces of the Roman world.

When religious peace came, after Constantine's Edict of Milan in 313, Roman Spain had famous sons to point the way in a new age. Bishop Hosius of Córdoba was the papal representative at the Council of Nicaea in 325. The poets Juvencius and Prudentius were among the creators of the Latin-Christian literature of the age. Orosius, disciple of Augustine of Hippo, laid the groundwork for a Christian philosophy of history.

During the next period, the fifth through the seventh centuries, Spain shared experiences with the remainder of the Roman West. Spain as well as other parts of the Empire proved unable to withstand barbarian pressure, and the old order broke under the impact. The Suevi appeared in the peninsula early; the Vandals pushed through en route to conquer North Africa; the Visigoths came, conquered, and stayed. As elsewhere, there were cultural clashes, Hispano-Roman versus Germanic barbarian. In the peninsula this was aggravated by the fact that Visigoth conquerors were Arian Christians. No until the Visigoths had foresworn their heresy was real fusion possible with the determinedly orthodox Hispano-Romans. The century following A.D. 560 was the boom period of Visigothic Spain.

Moslem Spain In 711, in the heat of internal strife, the story goes that one faction invited help from the Moors of North Africa. These Berbers of the desert needed no second invitation, for they had long looked jealously across the strait and occasionally had tried to breach Visigothic defenses. Now, by invitation, a certain Tarik led some seven thousand Moors and Berbers, possibly with a sprinkling of Arabs, onto the peninsula. Mousa came the next year with almost twice as many, and more bands followed. The Moslem conquest of Spain was on.

These North Africans had recently been converted to Islam and were fired with the typical enthusiasm and zeal of neophytes. Instead of simply aiding one Visigothic faction against its opponents, the Moors saw their opportunity to take over in their own right. City after city fell before their pressure, and province after province came under the domination of the invaders. Emboldened, the Moslem flood swept over the Pyrenees and threatened to overrun Gaul, until the day in 732 when Charles Martel turned them back at Tours-Poitiers.

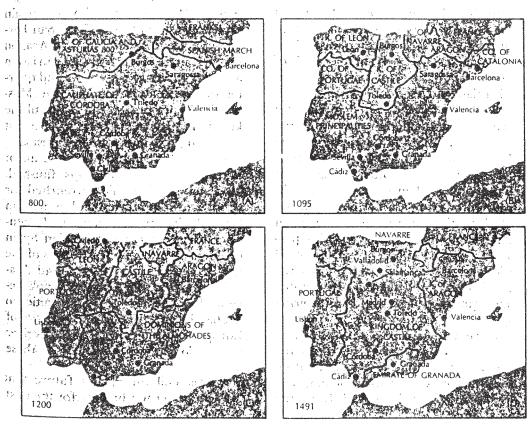
Many Spaniards of the towns submitted peaceably to Moslem overlords and fitted into the society which they established, but others fled from the invaders to seek refuge in the mountainous provinces of the northwest. There in the north, which the Moslems did not take the trouble to conquer, was born the movement known as the Reconquista. Under Pelayo, the Christians rallied and won their first victory at the Cave of Covadonga in 718. They would not lay down their arms until the last infidel invader was driven from the peninsula, and this endeavor occupied them until 1492.

Moslem Spain became, for a time, part of the greater Islamic empire. Then it was a province in rebellion, sheltering the heir of the deposed Ommayad dynasty. In the tenth century Abd-er-Rhaman III created the Caliphate of Córdoba, which had a short but brilliant existence. This was a new period of aggressive Moslem expansion, and successive caliphs carried the fight far into the north. In 997 Al-Mansour even captured the Christians' sacred city of Compostela, destroying its cathedral shrine and carrying off its bells to be melted into lamps for the great mosque of Córdoba.

The Reconquista Little kingdoms emerged in the Christian north. The Kingdom of the Asturias was the first,

and it became the core of the resistance movement. There were other Christian principalities to the east: Navarre in the folds of the Pyrenees, Aragon, and Catalonia. Alfonso II of the Asturias, contemporary of Charlemagne, carried on an offensive against the Moslems, driving them beyond the Tagus. He then called to the great Charles for assistance, but when it became apparent that the Carolingian had arrived not only to repel the Moslems but also to dominate Spain, Spaniards united to oppose his pretensions. In these years, the Christian Spaniards formally put I themselves under the patronage and protection of Saint James the Apostle, and Santiago, whose body, said Spanish tradition, was buried near Compostela. (14. Internal squabbling, very much a trademark of Christian Spain in the 15 medieval centuries, prevented a union

of the several kingdoms and an effective cooperative Christian effort. Actually, two vigorous young kingdoms emerged, León and Castile, which were destined to absorb the older Asturias. Ordoño of León (914-924) conquered the Meseta Leonese and moved his capital from Oviedo to León. By the end of the tenth century Castile had thrown off dependence on León and claimed the right to rule itself. In 1037, Fernando I of Castile was strong enough to incorporate the older kingdom as a unit of a greater Castile, after which Castile became the driving force of the Reconquista. In the tenth century the Sanchos of Navarre ensured the independence of their little kingdom. Farther to the east, the Spanish Mark, or March, continued to be ruled, as it had been since the days of Charlemagne, by the Franks.



Progress of the Reconquista

Despite minor gains by the Christians, the tenth century was often a humiliating one for them. The Caliphate of Córdoba was at the height of its fortunes. The Moslems held both military superiority and the richest of the provinces of the peninsula; those of the Christians were rugged, mountainous, and poor. However, the rise of Castile was one bright spot, for her kings would concentrate on the Reconquista.

Christians in High Gear Alfonso VI of Castile, taking advantage of the disunity among the Moslems, now broken up into a number of rival states, drove a wide wedge into central Spain as far as Toledo. His conquest was not extensive but the territory regained was strategically important. Toledo became a base for successful operations, and especially for effective raiding southward, which at times reached as far as the Moorish kingdom of Seville. Before the end of his reign Alfonso was collecting double tribute from the lord of Seville, paid to buy freedom from Christian raiders.

The last decades of that eleventh century we essed the exploits of the Spanish hero, El Cid Campeador—Ruy Díaz Vivar. Despite his hero's rating, his allegiance was often a matter of personal expediency; now he fought with Alfonso of Castile, now with the Moslem king of Saragoza, and again served his own advantage in his personal conquest of Valencia. Even so, El Cid left a tradition of valor and energy which overlooked his turnabout antics and transformed him into an inspiring symbol.

Christian successes of the late eleventh century threw fear into the warring Moslem factions. Forgetting their differences for the moment, they united and called for aid from the

Almorávides of North Africa. And during the first half of the twelfth century Almorávides controlled the Moslem provinces and kingdom, until they were overturned by new intruders, the Almohades. Both groups enjoyed some success against the Christians, but neither was able to win back lost territory. Division among the Spanish kingdoms was in large measure responsible for most of the Moslem victories of the twelfth century. Castile and León quarreled, and each went its separate way. Aragon, now united with Catalonia, meddled in the affairs of western neighbors. And Portugal was winning its independence.

During the thirteenth century, however, the Christians enjoyed better fortune. In 1212 the energetic and very capable Alfonso VIII of Castile won a smashing victory over the Almohades at Navas de Tolosa. His grandson, Fernando III, known as El Santo, again united Castile and León. With San Fernando in Castile and Jaime I of Aragon on Fernando III's flanks, Christian armies won victories in the second quarter of that century, pushing the Moslems farther and farther back until the kingdom of Granada became their last remaining province in the peninsula.

By mid-thirteenth century the major part of the *Reconquista* was finished. Moslems would remain entrenched for another two centuries and a half in Granada, but on the defensive. Institutional development in Christian Spain could go on unhampered. Rulers of the two major kingdoms, Castile and Aragon, even had the leisure to look beyond their borders for opportunities to dabble in the affairs of the rest of Europe. Alfonso X, *El Sabio*, lawgiver and diplomat, was a symbol of these new trends.

It was well for Spain's future that Moslem power was broken, for the next two centuries saw a good deal of anarchy in both Castile and Aragon. Feuding and blind rivalries were everywhere in the ascendant. Ferdinand and Isabella faced many and complex problems when they came to their respective thrones early in the second half of the fifteenth century and began to fuse their domains into a united Spain.

The Emergence of Portugal In 1095 Alfonso VI of Castile-León granted a slice of territory along the Atlantic side of the peninsula known as the County of Portugal to Henry of Burgundy, his son-in-law as a consequence of marriage to Alfonso's illegitimate daughter. Teresa. The grant's boundaries extended from the Minho to the Tagus. Strife followed the death of this first Henry, for ambitions of independence from Castile were born early. In 1143 Affonso Enriques was finally acknowledged as lord of an independent Portugal and he sought to protect himself by accepting the realm as a fief of the Holy See. During the following years Affonso Enriques added to his prestige by taking Lisbon from the Moors and making it into his capital. Pope Alexander III, in 1179, sanctioned the assumption of the title of king by the lord of Portugal.

Having gained independence, Portugal set itself to carve out a larger domain at the expense of the Moors. By mid-thirteenth century the knights of Portugal's military orders had driven the Moslems from the entire seacoast strip, in the process adding Algarve to their territory. There was periodic friction with Castilian neighbors to the east, for Castile never relinquished its ambitions to annex the small western kingdom.

Following a disputed succession, one John de Avis came to the Portuguese throne in 1385. Later in that same year,

at Aljubarrota, with a small but determined force, John turned back a Castilian attempt to break his hold on the kingship. This marked a real turning point in the history of Portugal. It would continue to be troubled periodically by Castillian meddling, but had, as of 1385, won the right to determine its own destinies. The House of Avis became the symbol of this new independence.

Under successive kings of that house, Portugal advanced and prospered. By the end of the fifteenth century that country deserved to be ranked among the more progressive and prominent of the emerging national states in a changing Europe. Portuguese maritime pioneering in the Atlantic, the basis for much of this greatness, will be noted presently.

Life and Society in Medieval Spain

Before continuing the story of Spain under Ferdinand and Isabella, a brief survey of institutional developments in the Iberian Peninsula during the Middle Ages is in order, since these are the societal patterns which would be transferred overseas. The organization of society in Castile and Aragon differed somewhat, but for present purposes they need not be considered separately.

Feudalism existed in both kingdoms, but the system was not nearly so highly integrated as it was in medieval France or England. Lords had no real political jurisdiction within their lands or over those of their vassals. Possession of land carried no title to political authority, and there was no system of mutual rights and obligations binding lords and vassals to one another. As a rule, the lower classes enjoyed considerably more freedom than their fellows beyond the Pyrenees. There were the three traditional medieval classes—

noble, cleric, and peasant—with each divided into several distinct categories. The clergy enjoyed considerable power and prestige. Its consistent cooperation in preaching and supporting the *Reconquista* had been rewarded by grateful lords with many privileges and exemptions, and the semi-religious character of the *Reconquista* further enhanced the position of the churchmen. The higher clergy, as elsewhere in Europe, often shared political power.

The Castilian nobility was composed of three groups or classes: the ricos hombres or hombres grandes of ancient and high noble lineage—these were the "grandees"; next the hidalgos, who formed the rank and file of the aristocracy and who, in most instances, had gained their title as a reward of merit; and finally the caballeros, originally fighting men who could equip themselves with a horse but who later came to enjoy special privileges as a social class. Besides these there were the members of the military orders of Calatrava, of Santiago, and of Alcántara. These corporate bodies of knights, pledged to a semimonastic form of life and devoted to fighting the infidel invaders of the peninsula, had become both rich and powerful, and with the passing centuries tended to form something of a kingdom within the kingdom.

The Aragonese nobility was divided into only two groups. The higher nobles were men of the stamp, background, and independence of the Castilian grandees. The lower noble class had several divisions; the mesnaderos, attached to the person of the monarch; the caballeros or knights; and the infanzones, younger sons of noble families. Here, as in Castile, the nobles were testy, self-assertive, highly individualistic, proud and arrogant, men whose major function was to engage in war and whose whole cast of thought was military.

The lower or nonprivileged class were divided into two rather distinct bodies: the rural population and that of the towns. Town dwellers, however, were not quite as distinctive a group as the burghers or bourgeoisie of the northern nations. In the scheme of the Reconquista, the town was much more than simply a center of commercial activity; it was the strong force in holding and consolidating the gains in battle in the advance into infidel-held territory. The towns were given fueros, rather elaborate charters of rights and liberties. They regularly were allowed to administer their own affairs, which was done ir a quite democratic fashion by their consejos de vecinos (citizen councils); they passed their own laws and elected their own officials-regidores (aldermen), alcaldes (magistrates), alguaciles (officers of law), and so on; they maintained their hermandades (brotherhoods) as agencies for the preservation of law and order. Spain in the Middle Ages retained many of the urban traditions she had known in Roman days.

The conquistadores brought these traditions of town organization overseas. It might be noted that, had royal absolutism been less effective in that period, both at home and in the colonies, it is quite likely that the English would not have been the only colonials to build on democratic patterns. In medieval Spain there existed a spirit of democracy and high regard for the individual antedating that which the Anglo-Saxon peoples ultimately developed.

Within Spanish towns during the Middle Ages resided two alien groups or classes: the Jews who had been in the peninsula long before the Moslems came, and the conquered Moslems, or mudéjares, who stayed on under Christian overlords. As a rule both groups fared somewhat better in Aragon than in Castile, but in each kingdom they were subjected to a certain degree of

segregation and to periodic persecution, and both were unceremoniously expelled in the sixteenth century. The Jews, particularly, were often roughly handled, now because of religious prejudice and again because they were suspected of making common cause with the Moors. The Spaniard's high-strung loyalty to Christianity left little room for tolerance toward dissenter minorities—his Latin American descendants inherited this trait.

Despite the great power of the Crown in the colonial centuries, it should be noted that the medieval kingship in the peninsula was a weak institution, save in instances when remarkable individuals ruled. In such times royal power was grounded on a personal, rather than an institutional, base. Kings were held in check by a representative body called the Cortes. Indicative of the power of the medieval Cortes is the oath taken by that body to each new king of Aragon—and things were not much different in Castile-"We who are as good as you, swear to you, who are no better than we, that we will accept you as our king and sovereign lord, provided you observe all our liberties and law, but, if not, our oath is yoid." Respect for royal authority, or any authority, save possibly that of the Church, was hardly a characteristic of the medieval Spaniard. Again, the cona quistador carried such an attitude in his cultural baggage.

Los Reyes Católicos Castile into the middle decades of the fifteenth century experienced numerous problems. Kings John II and Henry IV were incompetent; factious nobles were unruly, and the Moslems were threateningly insolent. Both kings were dominated by favorites. Beltrán de la Cueva, adviser of Henry, was familiar with his queen and by her, if one can trust the opinion of the times, had a daughter, known in history as "La Beltraneja."

When in 1468 the Infante Alfonso died, a strong court faction sought to establish the rights of this young woman to the throne. A counterfaction, however, headed by the Pacheco-Carrillo party, stood out for the rights of the Infanta Isabella, sister of Henry IV. This was the famous Isabella the Catholic. In 1469 Isabella was married quietly in Valladolid to young Ferdinand, heir to the throne of Aragon.

The pair was diversely endowed with remarkable talents and abilities, and they would need them all, for they would face a major challenge. In 1474, with the death of her brother, Henry IV, Isabella became sovereign of Castile; Ferdinand succeeded his father five years later. In the early years Isabella had to stand off a determined Portuguese attempt to unseat her in favor of La Beltraneja, engaged to Affonso V of Portugal. Ferdinand inherited troubles with the restless Catalán nobles and a struggle with France over claims to Cerdagne and Roussillon. Several years passed before both were free to turn, together, toward a realization of their mutual ambitions, a united Spain. This did not appear overnight.

Building One Spain—The Moorish Problem One of the first goals Ferdinand and Isabella set for themselves was the expulsion of the last remnants of the Moors from their peninsula. Reduced to Granada, the Moslems had been contained, but they always remained a potential threat in the event that they might secure sufficient aid from North African brethren to embark on their own campaign of reconquista. By 1484 the so-called "last crusade" was ready to move, enthusiastically patronized by the Spanish nobility and generously blessed by the pope.

The next years saw notable Christian gains. In 1487 Málaga was taken, and Baza was won back two years later; only the city of Granada itself remained.

Early in 1492 this last stronghold capitulated, and the Cross at long last was again supreme in all the peninsula. It is interesting to note that in the shadow of the walls of Granada, Columbus had his last and decisive prediscovery conference with Isabella. The expulsion of the Moors is, perhaps, one of the more noteworthy of the exploits of Ferdinand and Isabella, but it was certainly not the most far-reaching in its consequence.

Internal Challenges Problems of reorganization within Spain itself were many. The baronage had become much too independent and, therefore, had to be brought back into line. Again, there were racial and religious differences, which might threaten the strong internal unity which Ferdinand and Isabella envisioned, so steps had to be taken to dampen these. First, the Spanish Inquisition, sanctioned by Pope Sixtus IV, was instituted. That body was a version of the older medieval Inquisition, and its prime task was to ensure Christian orthodoxy among all Spaniards. In the past many Jews and Moors had, at least externally, professed adherence to the faith of the increasingly dominant Christians. At times the sincerity of their conversion was open to question. Ferdinand and Isabella would tolerate no divergence, either in belief or in practice, and they were willing to use strong means to ensure universal orthodoxy as one important facet of the unified Spain which they envisioned. From first to last the Inquisition was as much a political instrument as it was a religious institution. Next, the Jews who refused to conform to Christian belief were ordered out of Spanish domains in 1492. Ten years later the Moors, who had been treated leniently following the conquest of Granada but who meantime had become worrisome and suspect, were likewise exiled. Historians

have frequently questioned the wisdom of these decisions, for in both instances Spain stripped itself of subjects who might have contributed notably to its economic well-being in the age which was dawning. In the minds of the monarchs, however, and especially in that of Isabella, the nation was thus ridding itself of undesirable elements which stood in the way of the achievement of absolute unity.

Other policies of internal organization were likewise directed toward this same goal of flawless unity under a regime of tight centralization. Lawlessness in Castile was countered by the establishment of a civil militia, the Santa Hermandad, and a like institution was organized in Aragon. The militiamen became agents of swift justice, something of a royal police force. Before the fifteenth century was out, the Santa Hermandad had in large measure done its work, and Spaniards everywhere in the realm could enjoy a sense of security.

Bit by bit the nobles, too, were reduced to obedience. One means used to accomplish this was the reduction of the power of the Cortes, in which the nobles were the leading figures. In both realms these representative bodies were gradually deprived of authority; they still held meetings, but these were called less frequently—in fact, almost only when the monarchs needed funds.

The almost independent preserve of the military orders was another area into which royal absolutism intruded. The three—Santiago, Calatrava, Alcántara—had grown exceedingly powerful, both because of the esteem in which they were held by the people generally and because of the considerable service they had rendered in the crusades against the Moslem invaders. They might have posed a serious block to the absolutist ambitions of the monarchs; hence, they were marked

for elimination, at least as potential political forces. Ferdinand, through clever maneuvering, of which he was eminently capable, contrived to become grand master of one after another and was thus able to channel the orders' might and, not to be overlooked, their considerable wealth, to the support of royal policies and enterprises.

In the field of law and justice, Ferdinand and Isabella introduced important reforms. The whole judicial system was thoroughly reorganized. The audiencia became a royal court, and various such bodies were established throughout the realm. During the reign of the Reyes Católicos, a new codification of Spanish law, the Leyes de Toro, was promulgated.

in In this latter work, as well as in other

areas of administration, the Reyes Católicos were greatly aided by a group of non-noble helpers and advisors known as letrados. The great majority were lawyers, and most, if not all, were commoners. Successive monarchs had come to rely both on their expertise and on the loyalty which elevation to an important position had engendered. In the days of Ferdinand and Isabella and, perhaps, to an even greater degree under subsequent Spanish kings, the letrados became key cogs in the bureaucratic machine which ran the empire in the Indies. They were men of education and wisdom such as few nobles had the time or inclination to acquire. 6 No class of Spaniards and no section of the country was immune from royal attention, and interference. Under the direction of the Crown's minister, Cardinal Jiménez Cisneros, the Church and the religious communities were subjected to a thorough reform of discipline, in some instances urgently needed. The age-old municipalities which had long enjoyed a surprising measure of freedom and autonomy saw their fueros revoked or at least curtailed

and their special privileges dwindle into insignificance and even their administration come under the supervision of a host of royal officers. These omnipresent oficiales reales lengthened the royal shadow until it fell everywhere.

Economic Policies Nor were the Reyes unmindful of the necessity of an enlightened interest in the economic development of their two kingdoms. In the first place, the rule of law and order which they established was a powerful aid to economic activity and prosperity, particularly since such enterprise had been so badly handicapped for years by fear of bandits, highwaymen, and overbearing nobles. The discovery of the New World prompted an acceleration of the shipbuilding program which had previously been inaugurated. From the very beginning of their reign, the wool industries of Toledo and Seville were accorded generous encouragement, as was the silk industry in the southern provinces. Favor, too, was given the sheepmen's guild, the powerful Mesta of Castile. In the long run this was unfortunate, for it put too much emphasis on pastoral and grazing enterprises to the detriment of agriculture. In a country with relatively little arable land, like Spain, agriculture is likely to languish unless properly encouraged and, possibly, even subsidized by the government. An equally serious blind spot in Ferdinand's and Isabella's economic politics was the expulsion of the Jews and the Moors which deprived Spain of their manufacturing and artisan know-how, an area in which the Spaniards themselves were too little skilled and too little interested.

Even so, altogether Ferdinand and Isabella did a remarkable job, considering conditions under which they began their reigns. They did not leave a closely knit nation—no Spanish king or leader has ever achieved that—but they

did turn over to their grandson, the Hapsburg Charles V, the materials for building Spain into a ranking power in the sixteenth century. And they did fashion a Spain which could quite successfully meet the challenge which the opening of a New World presented.

European Interest in the East

One last item should be noted before closing this brief survey of the European background for the Age of Discovery. This was the European interest in the East which characterized the late medieval centuries. It was this preoccupation which ultimately led the Europeans to the New World—paradoxically, because they had been looking and dreaming east so very long, they found lands to the west.

During the early stages of European development, the great successes of Islam in the Mediterranean basin had almost shut Europe in on itself; it was effectively cut off from easy contact with the eastern half of the old Roman world. The Crusades, however, changed this. In the Levant, a whole new world of culture and civilization opened before the Crusaders. And this world of the Eastern Mediterranean put the Europeans into contact with another civilization and culture still farther east by introducing them to the goods of the Orient-spices, silks, and fine textiles, gems, perfumes, china and porcelain, and other exotic products. The Western demand was immediate, and the Italian maritime towns grew rich in the ensuing trade as middlemen.

In the thirteenth century a few Westerners, traders and missionaries, actually made their way eastward and returned to tell of wonders almost unbelievable. The Book of Ser Marco Polo, the story of the Venetian who had spent several years in the lands

of the Great Khan of China, became a best seller in days before the princing press made books widely available. Europeans read his tale, and there imaginations soared. Many dreamed of the fortune that could be theirs, if only they might be able to reach Caliculand Cathay, Cipangu (Japan), and the Spice Islands.

The capture of Constantinople by the Ottoman Turks in 1453 added a new urgency to Western planning. The traditional trade route now completely controlled by unfriendly people might one day be closed or, at the very least trade through the outlets of the Levant might be seriously crippled by the imposition of prohibitive taxes. Many Oriental products were no longer luxuries; they had become necessities to Western diet and living. Something had to be done not only to take profits from the Italian middlemen, but also to cir cumvent the potentially troublesome Turks.

Actually, since early in the fifteenth century, quietly and without fanfare, the Portuguese had been doing something. What had begun with crusading inspiration against the North African Moslems had by the third quarter of the century turned into a determined search for an all-water route to the Indies of the East around the African continent. Voyage after voyage went south, but Africa seemed to extend indefinitely; still they kept on. The experience in sailing the open ocean and the accumulated navigational knowledge would be one of Portugal's most significant contributions to the Age of Discovery, which was dawning as the fifteenth century moved into its final decade.



THE TEMPTATION OF EVE

Codex Vaticannus B, sheet 48.

The Origins of Mexican Christianity 7

"False" Americanism—1899 Amorphous Christian Credos

American Catholic Church

- 1. That church should adapt itself to modern civilization
- 2. Church should relax ancient rigor
- 3. Show tolerance toward popular theories and methods
- 4. Put <u>natural</u> virtue over or above the <u>supernatural</u>
- 5. Discard its tradition approach to dissenters

Bautista Elguézabal, A Description of Texas in 1803," ed. and trans. Odie B. Faulk, Southwestern Historical Quarterly 66 (1963), 513-15. For California, see C. Alan Hutchinson, Frontier Settlement in Mexican California, The Hijar-Padrés Colony and Its Origins, 1769-1835 (New Haven: 1969), pp. 81, 138, 346-47. It is not my purpose here to analyze the reasons why some Franciscans and upper class Mexicans viewed frontiersmen as lazy. Manuel P. Servín has provided a good explanation of the case of the Franciscans in "California's Hispanic Heritage: A View into the Spanish Myth," The Journal of San Diego History, 19 (1973): 1-9.

It is interesting to note that peninsulares frequently regarded Mexicans as lazy (see, for example, Christon Archer, "The Key to the Kingdom: The Defense of Veracruz, 1780–1810," The Americas, 27 [1971]: 427, 430) while Mexicans regarded peninsulares as generally "disdainful of applying themselves to work which they look on as too servile." Benito María de Moxó, quoted in Hugh Hamill, The Hidalgo Revolt, Prelude to Mexican Independence (Gainesville: 1966), p. 30.

- 38. See, for example, Odie B. Faulk, Land of Many Frontiers. A History of the American Southwest (New York: 1968), p. 79; and Charles E. Chapman, A History of California: The Spanish Period (New York: 1921), pp. 391–92.
 - 39. Charles Gibson, Spain in America (New York: 1966), p. 190.
- 40. Zavala, "The Frontiers of Hispanic America," in *The Frontier in Perspective*, ed. Walker D. Wyman and Clifton B. Kroeber (Madison: 1965), pp. 36–58. Scholes, "Civil Government and Society in New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century," *New Mexico Historical Review*, 10 (1935): 98. León-Portilla, "The Norteño Variety of Mexican Culture. An Ethnohistorical Approach," in *Plural Society in the Southwest*, ed. Edward H. Spicer and Raymond H. Thompson (New York: 1972), pp. 110–11. Not all historians, of course, would agree. Two recent works that suggest opposite conclusions are Hutchinson, *Frontier Settlement in Mexican California*, p. 399; Lynn I. Perrigo, *The American Southwest: Its Peoples and-Cultures* (New York: 1971), pp. 416–17.
- 41. For Ramos Arizpe and Von Humboldt, see Zavala, "The Frontiers of Hispanic America," pp. 48–49. For Pino, see his comments about paupers in Mexico in H. Bailey Carroll and J. Villasana Haggard, eds., *Three New Mexico Chronicles* (Albuquerque: 1942), pp. 27–28.
- 42. "Pike's Observations on New Spain," in Donald Jackson, ed., The Journals of Zebulon Montgomery Pike with Letters and Related Documents, 2 vols. (Norman: 1966), 2: 58. Among the few Americans who agreed with Pike's analysis in later years was John Fox Hammond, who thought the New Mexicans indolent, but nonetheless more industrious than "the inhabitants of lower Mexico." See A Surgeon's Report on Socorro, New Mexico. 1852 (Santa Fe: 1966), pp. 26–27.
- 43. Poinsett and Tayloe suggest this possibility in their observations on Mexico. Poinsett found rural Mexicans generally more virtuous than city dwellers (Notes on Mexico, pp. 266–67, 163, 175). Both men offered something of a "reverse frontier thesis." As Poinsett put it, "where nature has done much, man is indolent," and he added: "To no part of the world has nature been more bountiful, and in no part of it is there so little of comfort among people" (p. 181; see also Tayloe, Mexico, p. 69). This environmental explanation for indolence was popular through much of the nineteenth century in describing Anglo-American residents of Texas, too. See Marilyn McAdams Sibley, Travelers in Texas, 1761–1860 (Austin: 1967), p. 100. A more detailed analysis of the question of indolence on Mexico's far northern frontier would need to distinguish between regions of the frontier. See, for example, how Pil-a's description of Texas differed from his description of New Mexico (The Journals, 2:58, 8)
 - 44. Farnham, T. vels, p. 142.
 - 45. Allport, Natue of Prejudice, p. 200.

- 46. Quoted in Ibid., p. 199. See, too, the fine discussion of this question by Joan W. Moore and Alfredo Cuéllar, Mexican Americans. Engelwood Cliffs. N. J. (1970), p. 5.
- 47. Schain to the Viceroy, the Marqués de Branciforte, May 14, 1796, in *Phe Letters of José Schain*, O.F.M. Mission San Buenarcutura, 1796–1823, trans. Paul D. Nathan, ed. Lesley Byrd Simpson (San Francisco, 1962), pp. 3–4
- 48. Sosa to Governor Manuel de Salcedo, May 26, 1810. quoted in Carlos E. Castañeda, Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519–1936, 7 vols. (Austin, 1936–1958), 5: 429.
- See, for example, José Bandini, A Description of California in 1828, trans. and ed. Doris M. Wright (Berkeley: 1951), pp. 6-7. See, too. Robinson, Life in California, p. 152.
- 50. Nettie Lee Benson, ed. and trans.: "A Governor's Report on Texas in 1809." Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 76 (1968), 611.
- 51. Allport, Nature of Prejudice, p. 190. For a different view of this question, see David J. Langum, "Californios and the Image of Indolence," Western Historical Quarterly, 9 (1978), 181–96, and my commentary and his reply, Western Historical Quarterly, 10 (1979), 61–69.
- 52. For a discussion of stereotypes in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, as well as a good guide to sources on this question, see the recent article by José E. Limon, "Stereotyping and Chicano Resistance: An Historical Dimension," *Aztláin*, 4 (1973): 257–70.

Examples of the ways in which stereotypes have been used to justify imperialism and to exploit. Mexicans are abundant. For historical treatments see the overview by Carey McWilliams, North From Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States (New York: 1948), and my own Foreigners in Their Native Land. Historical Roots of the Mexican Americans (Albuquerque: 1973).

the economic conditions of Mexicans in United States, or to make relations between Mexicans and Anglo Americans more harmonious, need to be reminded that deeply rooted stereotypes stand as a formidable obstacle to progress. We have come a long way since Noah Smithwick thought that Mexicans were "scarce more than apes," but we have not come nearly far enough. ⁵²

NOTES

- 1. This is the picture that emerges from such studies as Cecil Robinson, With the Ears of Strangers: The Mexican in American Literature (Tucson: 1963), and David T. Leary, "The Attitudes of Certain United States Citizens toward Mexico, 1821–1846" University of Southern California, 1970).
- 2. Thomas Jefferson Farnham, Travels in California (1st ed., 1844; Oakland, California: 1947), pp. 147-48, 161.
- .3 In an article sent to Manuel Alvarez (a Spaniard), Taos, March 30, 1845, quoted in Ward Alan Minge "Frontier Problems in New Mexico Preceding the Mexican War. 1840–1846" (Ph.D. diss., University of New Mexico, 1965), p. 309. Harold H. Dunham, "Charles Bent," in *The Mountain Men and The Fur Trade of the Far West*, ed. LeRoy R. Hafen, 10 vols. (Glendale, Calif. 1965), 2.44.
- Noah Smithwick, The evolution of a State: or, Recollections of Old Texas Days (1st ed., 1900; reprint, Austin: 1935), p. 45.
- 5. Richard L. Wilson, Short Ravelings from a Long Yarn, or Camp Sketches of the Santa Fe Trail, ed. Benjamin F. Taylor (1st ed., 1847; reprint, Santa Ana, Calif., 1936), p. 120.
- 6. In this article I am following Gordon Allport's widely accepted distinction between a stereotype and a valid generalization. *The Nature of Prejudice* (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pp. 190-91.
- 7. Quoted in Rosemary Gordon, Stereotype of Imagery and Belief as an Ego Defence (Cambridge: 1962), p. 5. Psychologists give Lippman considerable credit for popularizing the term stereotype.
- 8. Charles D. Poston, Building A State in Apache Land (Tempe: 1963), p. 75. Sir George Simpson, Narrative of a Journey Round the World, 2 vols. (London: 1847), 4:381.
- 9. Lansing Bloom, ed., "Santa Fe and the Far West in 1841," New Mexico Historical Review, 5 (1930): 300.
 - 10. Lewis H. Garrard, Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail (Palo Alto, Calif. 1968), p. 194.
- 11. Quoted in James H. Lacy, "New Mexico Women in Early American Writings," New Mexico Historical Review, 34 (1959): 41.
- 12. This argument was put forth by Cecil Robinson, With the Ears of Strangers. pp. 29–30 and Samuel H. Lowrie, Culture Conflict in Texas, 1821-35 (New York: 1935), pp. 82, 88. Herbert E. Bolton, in a more generalized essay, advanced a similar thesis. See "Defensive Spanish Exploration and the Significance of the Borderlands," in Bolton and the Spanish Borderlands, ed. John Francis Bannon (Norman: 1964), pp. 33–34.
- 13. Mier y Terán to Guadalupe Victoria, Nacogdoches, June 30, 1828, in Allaine Howren, "Causes and Origin of Decree of April 6, 1830," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 16 (1913):395.
- 14. Robinson, With the Ears of Strangers, p. 29.
- 15. To James Brown Austin, July 8, 1822, and June 13, 1823, quoted respectively in

Lowrie, Culture Conflict, p. 89, and William S. Red, Texas Colomsts and Religion, 1821-36 (Austin: 1924), p. 43

- 16. See J. Fred Rippy Joel R. Poinsett, Versatile American (Durham, N.C., 1935).
- 17. J. R. Poinsett, Notes on Mexico, Made in the Autumn of 1822......(London, 1825), p. 37. At one point Poinsett departs from his generalization to indicate that the "labouring class" in cities, towns, and countryside is "industrious" p. 163.
 - 18. Ibid., pp. 161, 162, 112.
 - 19. Ibid., pp. 160, 100, 174, 51
 - 20. See, Ibid., p. 58.
 - 21. Ibid., Appendix, p. 7.
- 22. C. Harvey Gardiner, ed., Mexico, 1825-1828. The Journal and Correspondence of Edward Thornton Tayloc (Chapel Hill, N.C.: 1959), pp. 54, 69, 116, 55.
- 23. The writings of Poinsett and Tayloe are the only book-length descriptions of Mexico by Anglo Americans to be published in the 1820s. See C. Harvey Gardiner, "Foreign Travelers' Accounts of Mexico, 1810–1910," *The Americas*, 8 (1952): 321–51.
- 24. Such views continued to be articulated by visitors to Mexico City in the 1830s and 1840s, as David Leary's dissertation suggests. By that time, of course, these views could have been influenced by reports about Mexicans on the frontier.
- 25. Harry Bernstein, Making an Inter-American Mind (Gainesville: 1961), pp. 6–10. See also Stanley T. Williams, The Spanish Background of American Literature, 2 vols. (New Haven, Conn.: 1955), 1:9, 15.
- 26. Quoted in Joseph Carl McElhannon, "Imperial Mexico and Texas, 1821–1823," Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 53 (1949): 137.
- 27. Philip Wayne Powell. Tree of Hate: Propaganda and Prejudices Affecting United States Relations with the Hispanic World (New York: 1971), p. 118. Mr. Powell's work is the best history of the Black Legend in English. The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New, ed. Charles Gibson (New York: 1971), contains well-chosen selections of anti-Spanish writing.
- 28. The only other writers who have made this connection are Cecil Robinson, in discussing the notion that Mexicans are unusually cruel (Ears of Strangers, p. 190), and Harry Bernstein, who says that the Black Legend "became Americanized under the name of Manifest Destiny" (Making an Inter-American Mind, p. 4). Powell and Bernstein were both trained in Latin American history. Historians of Manifest Destiny, such as Federick Merk and Albert K. Weinberg, who were trained in United States history, seem to be unaware of the depth of anti-Latin feeling in the United States, or else believe it unimportant.
 - 29. Garrard, Wah-To-Yah and the Taos Trail. p. 194.
- 30. For a discussion of this theme see Robinson, With the Ears of Strangers, pp. 67–74. In addition to those writers cited by Robinson, explicit statements about the evils of miscegination are found in the writings of men such as Rufus B. Sage, Thomas James, and Thomas J. Farnham.
 - 31. Manuel Zozaya, quoted in McElhannon, "Imperial Mexico and Texas," p. 137
- 32. Andrew Forest Muir, ed., Texas in 1837: An Anonymous Contemporary Narrative (Austin: 1958), p. 104.
- 33. Albert Pike, Prose Sketches and Poems Written in the Western Country (With Additional Stories), ed. David J. Weber (Albuquerque, 1967), p. 247.
 - 34. Alfred Bobinson, Life in California (1st ed., 1846; Santa Barbara, Calif., 1970)), p. 99.
- 35. Richard Henry Dana, Jr., Two Years Before the Mast, ed. John Haskell Kemble (1st ed., 1840; 2 vols.; Los Angeles: 1964), 1: 172.
- 36. Quoted in Thomas Workman Temple, II. "Our Heritage from the Days of the Dons," Southern California Quarterly, 40 (1958); 70.
- 37. See, for example, José María Sánchez, "Trip to Texas in 1828," trans. Carlos E. Castañeda, Southwestern Historical Quarterly, 29 (1926): 250–51, 258; and Governor Juan

anthropologist Miguel León-Portilla. 40 It was also mentioned by contemporaries such as Miguel Ramos Arizpe in Texas, Pedro Bautista Pino in New Mexico, Alexander von Humboldt, the German savant and traveler, and Zebulon Montgomery Pike, the "lost pathfinder." 41 Pike, for example, termed the inhabitants of New Mexico "the bravest and most hardy subjects in New Spain," because of "their continual wars with the savage nations who surround them," because of their isolation from the rest of New Spain, and because they lacked gold and silver, a source of easy wealth. 42

It is possible, then, that Mexicans on the frontier were not lazy and were perhaps even harder working than their countrymen to the south. 43 Nevertheless, Anglo-American visitors generally described frontier Mexicans as lazy. How can this be explained? The Black Legend, which identifies Spaniards as lazy, offers part of the explanation. An understanding of Anglo American attitudes toward racial mixture also adds to the explanation, for Anglo Americans generally regarded persons of mixed blood as lazy. In 1844, for example, Thomas Jefferson Farnham. described the complexion of upper class Californians as "a light clear bronze; not white . . . not remarkably pure in any way; a lazy color."44 Still a third explanation needs to be considered. Psychologists tell us that we stereotype ethnic groups in part because "in them we may perceive our own shortcomings."45 According to Maurice Janowitz and Bruno Bettelheim, "ethnic hostility is a projection of unacceptable inner strivings onto a minority group."46 The ethnic group, in other words, becomes our alter ego. Examined in this context, the Anglo-American observation that Mexicans were lazy may tell us more about the rigorous work ethic of nineteenth-century Americans than it does about Mexican culture.

The fact that many Anglo Americans blamed the economic and cultural under-development of Mexico's far northern frontier on the "indolent" character of the Mexican settlers not only reveals a bias, but is simplistic. Better explanations for underdevelopment could have been found by looking into historical, geographical, and economic circumstances that contributed to the relative backwardness of the region. Indeed, had they looked more closely, Anglo Americans might have found that underdevelopment was not as much a result of the supposed laziness of Mexican frontiersmen, but instead, the frontiersmen's lack of initiative was a result of underdevelopment and of peculiar frontier conditions. As one astute Franciscan, José Señán, summed up the situation of the californios; "Y have good reason to accuse the settlers of laziness, but there is equal good reason to excuse them in large part. Their lack of enthusiasm for heir work is not surprising, inasmuch as they regard most of it as fruitless." In a province dominated by the military, Señán

explained, a settler was prohibited from selling grain or other surplus crops to anyone except the quartermaster at "absurdly low prices" fixed by law, "while being charged exorbitantly for whatever goods he can procure." Clothing, farm implements, and household goods were in short supply and soldiers had first preference at purchasing them. Even if the settlers had cash, then, "there would be no place to spend it." The situation in Texas was similar, according to Fray Mariano Sosa, who saw the lack of a market for agricultural goods as destroying "incentive to raise larger or better crops." **

Whereas some padres blamed the military system for economic stagnation and lack of incentive among the frontier settlers, some settlers, especially in California, criticized the padres for monopolizing Indian labor and the best lands.⁴⁹

Those who truly understood the rugged conditions of life on the frontier and the legal restrictions on trade and commerce, then, were not so quick to label frontiersmen lazy. Indeed, some knowledgable officials expressed admiration for the frontiersmen's tenaciousness and initiative. As Governor Manuel Salcedo wrote of the *tejanos* in 1809: "one . . . marvels at how the most of them cultivate their lands without the necessary farming tools, . . . how some have built houses without artisans . . . how in this poverty they have been able to dress themselves and their families." ⁵⁰

For most Anglo-American observers, however, there was no need to look too closely for explanations of lack of economic progress on the Mexican frontier. The stereotype of Mexican laziness constituted a sufficient explanation. Historians of the border region need to be reminded, then, that Anglo Americans did not necessarily see what they said they saw. This contention may be unprovable, but it is not unreasonable. A stereotype, psychologist Gordon Allport tells us, "may interfere with even the simplest rational judgments." 51

This discussion of the historical roots of Anglo-American stereotypes is not solely of academic interest, for stereotypes have had a profound impact on Mexican-United States relations and on the treatment of Mexicans and Mexican Americans in the United States. The stereotype of the inferior Mexican lay behind the arrogant sense of cultural and political superiority, known in United States history as Manifest Destiny, that led to the United States seizure of half the Mexican Republic in 1846–47. The stereotype of the inferior Mexican has been used to the present to justify efforts to "Americanize" Mexicans in the Southwestern United States, substituting their "folkways," with "superior" Anglo-American culture. Stereotypes have also helped Anglo Americans rationalize their exploitation and mistreatment of Mexican and Mexican-American workers in the fields and factories of the border region. Those who seek to improve

freemen, carrying with them our language, our laws, and our liberties." Should Texas remain part of Mexico, however, Clay warned that "it may become the habitation of despotism and slaves, subject to the vile domination of the Inquisition and of superstition." ²⁶

For our purposes, suffice it to say that Mexicans, the descendents of the Spanish conquistadors, inherited the reputation of their forefathers. As Phillip Wayne Powell recently put it: "We [Anglo Americans] transferred some of our ingrained antipathy toward Catholic Spain to her American heirs."

Powell is one of the few historians to take note of this connection between the Black Legend and anti-Mexicanism, ²⁸ but one does not need to read too carefully in the writings of Anglo-American visitors to the Mexican frontier to find evidences of the Black Legend. One of the most explicit statements comes from young Lewis Garrard, who visited New Mexico during the Mexican War. After briefly characterizing the New Mexican males as alternatively "servile," and "villainous," he explained the reason for their depravity in terms which show clearly the influence of the Black Legend. "The extreme degradation into which they are fallen," Garrard observed, "seems a fearful retribution on the destroyers of [the] Aztec Empire."

In addition to the Black Legend, Anglo Americans found one other element to despise in Mexicans—racial mixture. Color-conscious Anglo Americans were nearly unanimous in commenting upon the dark skin of the "swarthy" Mexican mestizos who, it was generally agreed, had inherited the worst qualities of Spaniards and Indians, resulting in a "race" still more despicable than that of either parent group. ³⁰ In suggesting that Anglo Americans were racists, I am not trying to ignore the racist nature of Mexican society. We do not have time to elaborate on this matter and for present purposes I simply want to suggest that a belief in the Black Legend, combined with a belief in the inferiority of mixed-bloods, enabled Anglo Americans to predict erroneously what Mexicans would be like (that is, to construct a stereotype) even before coming into significant contact with them. Not surprisingly, the Anglo Americans' expectations were fulfilled.

Anglo-American stereotypes of Mexicans, then, did not originate in the border region. Indeed, as early as 1822 the Mexican minister in Washington recognized that Anglo Americans viewed Mexicans as "inferiors." There can be little doubt, however, that the growing number of travelers, merchants, trappers, and settlers who entered northernmost Mexico after 1821 nourished the stereotype and through writing and con—reation, encouraged its growth throughout the United States.

To understand better the nature of Anglo American stereotypes of

Mexicans, let us examine how one of its components functioned—that is, the frequent charge that Mexicans were lazy.

Disparaging remarks regarding Mexicans' lack of initiative were widespread, and were especially abundant in literature describing the border region. Typical was a visitor to San Antonio who observed in 1837 that "The life of the Mexican here is one of unconcerned indolence and ease. As long as he is satisfied with a bare living for the present, there is no reason that he should give himself much trouble about the future."32 Many writers expressed their disdain for Mexicans' work habits in more colorful terms. Albert Pike, visiting New Mexico in 1831, found the nucco mexicanos "a lazy gossipping people, always lounging on their blankets and smoking the cigarrillos—living on nothing and without labor."33 How Mexicans lived on nothing, Pike does not trouble himself to explain. An American resident of California told his readers that "you might as well expect a sloth to leave a tree, that has one inch of bark left upon its trunk, as to expect a Californian to labor, whilst a real glistens in his pocket."34 Richard Henry Dana likened laziness in California to an endemic disease, terming it "California Fever," which, he said, might spare the first generation but which, "always attacks the second." 35 As an enduring monument to the laziness of Mexicans, there is said to be a gravestone somewhere in California which bears the inscription: "Aquí reposa Juan Espinosa. Nunca en su vida hizo otra cosa."36 ("Here rests Iuan Espinosa. Never did he do anything else.")

Contemporary accounts of the laziness of Mexican frontiersmen are abundant, then, and even include accusations made by officials from Mexico City and Mexican or Spanish-born clergy who had their own reasons for labeling the frontiersmen lazy.³⁷ Some historians have taken these contemporary accounts at face value and perpetuated the stereotype of Mexican indolence. 38 Yet, it is not only possible to refute the charge that Mexican frontiersmen were lazy, but there is reason to suppose that Mexicans on the frontier were energetic pioneers who worked as hard, if not harder, than their compatriots in the more "civilized" areas of central Mexico. With the exception of Alta California. it was more difficult to exploit Indian labor on the frontier than in central Mexico; frontiersmen had to work with their own hands. For example, the encomienda (a system of distributing Indian labor), was unsuccessful and short-lived in the Borderlands, operating only in seventeenth-century New Mexico. 39 Hard work by colonists from Mexico was necessary in some areas of the frontier to provide defense against hostile Indians. Moreover, hard work was probably rewarded on the frontier, where there seems to have been greater social mobility than in central Mexico.

The idea that Mexican frontiersmen were industrious has been suggested by historians such as Silvio Zavala and France Scholes, and

bigoted and superstitious to an extreem [sic], and indolence appears to be the general order of the day." "To be candid the majority of the people of the whole nation as far as I have seen them want nothing but tails to be more brutes than the apes." ¹⁵

It could be said that Austin's previous experience in Texas had predisposed him to dislike Mexicans wherever he found them. This was not the case with Joel Roberts Poinsett, who never set foot in what is today the Southwest. 16 In 1822 Poinsett visited Mexico for the first time, traveling to Mexico City by way of Vera Cruz. In his well-known Notes on Mexico, Poinsett pronounced Mexicans in general to be lazy. 17 The Indians and mixed-bloods were "indolent," he said, and the "lazy" creoles "are not remarkable for their attainments, or for the strictness of their morals." He described the upper class as a complacent, self-satisfied group. The clergy, Poinsett said, had too great an influence in society, and the people were superstitious. 18 Just as visitors to the frontier would note. Mexicans practiced terrible vices of gambling and smoking, and gave little thought to the future. Poinsett found the people to be generally ugly, and one can only wonder if this was because he had also discovered them to be "swarthy." 19 Compared to most of his contemporaries. Poinsett's observations tended to be sophisticated. The well-traveled Poinsett showed some awareness of his prejudices and tried, but often failed, to avoid overgeneralizing. 20

More typical was another visitor to Mexico in 1822 whose notes, describing a journey from Tampico to Mexico City, appeared in the appendix to Poinsett's work. This anonymous traveler dismissed all Mexicans with the characteristic stereotype:

Their occupation seems to consist, principally, in removing fleas and lice from each other, drinking pulque, smoking cigars, when they can, and sleeping.²¹

On a return visit to Mexico in 1825, Joel Poinsett brought with him a young secretary, Edward Thornton Tayloe, another person who had had no previous contact with Mexicans. Tayloe quickly judged the residents of Mexico City, including the upper class, to be superstitious and lazy. Not as gallant as some of his contemporaries, Tayloe singled out upper-class women, especially, as "idle and useless." "They can do naught but eat, sleep, smoke or talk, or visit the theatre." The Mexicans, Tayloe wrote, were ignorant, vicious, thieving, and incapable of governing themselves as republicans. In fact, Mexicans had no virtues whatsoever. "Should I attempt to find them out," Tayloe wrote, "I fear I shall fail." "22"

These remar¹ by a necessarily small sample²³ of Anglo-American visitors to Mexic City in the early 1820s, seem to indicate that Anglo Americans did not as Cecil Robinson said, mistake "a part" of Mexico "for

the whole thing." A negative stereotype of Mexicans was articulated very early, almost as soon as foreigners began to get a good look at Mexico City after 1821.²⁴ The relative uniformity of the stereotype suggests the possibility that the observers were making valid generalizations—that Mexicans were lazy, ignorant, bigoted, superstitious, cheating, thieving, gambling, cruel, sinister, cowardly half-breeds, incapable of self-government or material progress. Yet, a closer look at American thought suggests that the stereotype was based not so much on direct observation or experience with Mexicans, but was in large part an extension of negative attitudes toward Catholic Spaniards which Anglo Americans had inherited from their Protestant English forebears.

During the colonial period, English colonists on the Atlantic Coast had almost no contact with Mexicans or other Latin Americans. Nonetheless, seventeenth-century Protestant New Englanders, such as Samuel Sewall and Cotton Mather, took a jaundiced view of Catholic Latin America, based largely on what they had read in literature from England. Sewall believed that Mexican culture was doomed to fall before a triumphant Protestantism and hoped that Mexico would hasten the process by revolting against Spain. Mather took the trouble to learn Spanish in order to write a missionary tract for Spaniards in the New World, designed "to open their eyes and be converted . . . away from Satan to God." 25

Anti-Spanish views inherited from England were far more complex than simple anti-Catholicism, however. The English colonists also believed that Spanish government was authoritarian, corrupt, and decadent, and that Spaniards were bigoted, cruel, greedy, tyrannical, fanatical, treacherous, and lazy. In attempting to respond to these charges, Spanish historians have found it convenient to give them a pejorative label: the Black Legend. Not surprisingly, in defending themselves from the "blackening" effect of this "Legend," Spaniards have often gone to the other extreme of whitewashing Spain of all faults, giving rise to what Spain's detractors called a White Legend.

The origins of the Black Legend are complex. Some of its roots lie in the New World where Spanish conquistadors have been viewed as the apotheosis of evil. Interestingly, Spain's enemies drew much of their inspiration from the self-critical writings of Spaniards themselves, most notably Bartolomé de las Casas, who was widely read in England and in her American colonies. In this literature, Spaniards were depicted as grasping adventurers who came to the New World, not to seek liberty or better homes for their families as did the English, but to search for treasure and to live in idleness on the sweat of enslayed aborigines. This image remained alive. In 1821, the same year that Mexico won independence from Spain, Henry Clay told Congress that if Anglo Americans moved into Texas "it will be peopled by freemen and sons of

Not all Americans who came to the Mexican frontier shared Farnham's passionate contempt for Mexicans, but many did and they expressed their feelings in no uncertain terms. Charles Bent, a merchant who became prominent in New Mexico in the 1830s and 1840s and took a Mexican woman as his common-law wife, wrote that "the Mexican character is made up of stupidity, obstinacy, ignorance, duplicity, and vanity." Noah Smithwick, who settled in Texas in 1827, later recalled that "I looked on the Mexicans as scarce more than apes." This image of Mexicans as subhuman creatures was shared by a Santa Fe trader who preferred not to consider Mexicans as part of "humanity," but to classify them separately as "Mexicanity."

If Anglo Americans had portrayed individual Mexicans in a negative fashion, we might think little of it, for surely there were Mexicans, just as there were Anglo Americans, who fit the description. When such characterizations are applied to an entire people, however, they clearly are no longer based on empirical evidence and cannot be regarded as valid generalizations. Sweeping generalizations, which either have no basis in fact, or which are based on "overgeneralizations of facts," are known as stereotypes. Negative stereotypes are, of course, an obstacle to communication and understanding for they are usually expressions of prejudice which, as Walter Lippman once put it, "precedes the use of reason."

Stereotypes need not always be negative, of course. In describing Mexicans as a peculiarly depraved people, for example, early Anglo-American writers, who were almost always males, frequently took pains to exempt Mexican women from their disparaging remarks. Hence, the negative stereotype applies to the male half of the Mexican population; the feminine half has enjoyed a positive image. "The men of northern Mexico," wrote one early American settler in Arizona, "are far inferior to the women in every respect." Similarly, an English visitor to Alta California in 1842 concluded that women were "by far the more industrious half of the population."

Male visitors to the Mexican frontier, who usually had not seen a woman for several months, were frequently impressed with the beauty, kindness, and flirtatiousness of Mexican women. In forming this positive stereotype, American males allowed their hormones to overcome their ethnocentrism. Indeed, one visitor to New Mexico put aside his characteristic chauvinism to pronounce Mexican women "more beautiful" than their counterparts in the United States. Another young American traveler in Nev Mexico carried a stereotype to its extremes by asserting that "women is "omen the whole world over, no matter where she is found." 10

Americans found some things to dislike about Mexican women, to be

sure, but in general their high regard for Mexican women stands in sharp contrast to their contempt for Mexican men. Francis Parkman, £raveling in the far West in 1846, revealed this dichotomy in American thinking clearly if unconsciously when he termed Mexican women "Spanish" and Mexican men "Mexicans."¹¹

How did a negative stereotype of Mexican males develop? There are many approaches to that question which cannot be explored in a brief paper. As a historian, I would like to suggest that the answer has larger dimensions than usually suggested by Southwestern writers. One popular explanation, implied more often than it is stated, is that a negative stereotype of Mexicans developed as a result of the contacts made between Mexicans and Anglo Americans in the border region in the two and a half decades before the so-called Mexican War.

There is no doubt that Anglo Americans' first significant contact with Mexicans occurred in the border region. Anglo-American trappers, traders, and settlers first entered Texas, New Mexico, and Alta California in the 1820s, after Mexico achieved independence from Spain and relaxed restrictions against foreigners. The Anglo Americans who entered northernmost Mexico in the 1820s, 1830s, and 1840s, it is said, came to know an area of Mexico that was backward politically, economically, and culturally. Thus, it has been suggested, Anglo Americans formed a mistaken notion of what all Mexicans were like on the basis of contact with relatively few Mexicans in the border region. 12

Writers who have taken this position have found support from a contemporary Mexican visitor to the frontier, General Manuel Mier y Terán, who, after inspecting Texas in 1828, reported to President Guadalupe Victoria:

It would cause you the same chagrin that it has caused me to see the opinion that is held of our nation by these foreign colonists [i.e., Anglo Americans], since, with the exception of some few who have journeyed to our capital, they know no other Mexicans than the inhabitants about here, and excepting the authorities . . . the said inhabitants are the most ignorant of negroes and Indians. 13

As literary historian Cecil Robinson summed up the situation, "Early American writers and chroniclers in dealing with Mexico generally mistook a part for the whole thing." ¹⁴

I would like to suggest that no such mistake occurred. On the contrary, many Anglo-American writers held a contemptuous view of Mexican males wherever they encountered them. General Mier y Terán, for example, would have been even more chagrined had he known the private views that Stephen Austin expressed about Mexicans during a visit to Mexico City in 1822–23. Austin wrote that: "the people are

romanticized view of the past, which is especially strong in California, has a negative counterpart that depicts Spanish-Mexicans as a lazy, dirty, depraved, superstitious, and inept people who lived sordid lives until The American Way of Life came to rescue them from themselves. The following essay explores the causes of Anglo Americans' negative stereotypes of Mexicans and suggests some of the pernicious results of those stereotypes.

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NOTE

1. Students interested in pursuing this question further might be guided by my notes, but should also consult two articles by Raymund A. Paredes that have appeared since this article was revised: "The Mexican Image in American Travel Literature, 1831–1869," New Mexico Historical Review, 52 (1977): 5–29, and "The Origins of Anti-Mexican Sentiment in the United States," The New Scholar, 6 (1977): 139–65. Doris L. Meyer adds another dimension to the question in her article, "Early Mexican-American Responses to Negative Stereotyping," New Mexico Historical Review, 53 (1978): 75–91.

"Scarce more than apes." Historical Roots of Anglo American Stereotypes of Mexicans in the Border Region.

Many nineteenth-century, Anglo-American visitors to what is today the Southwestern United States (defined for present purposes as the four border states of Alta California, Arizona. New Mexico, and Texas), depicted the Mexican residents of that area in the most unflattering terms. Mexicans were described as lazy, ignorant, bigoted, superstitious, cheating, thieving, gambling, cruel, sinister, cowardly half-breeds. As a consequence of their supposed innate depravity, Mexicans were seen as incapable of developing republican institutions or achieving material progress. These opinions of Mexicans, some of which endure to the present, are familiar to most Southwesterners and can be found in the writings of many early Anglo-American writers. One example will suffice. Thomas Jefferson Farnham, a New England attorney who toured Alta California in the early 1840s, described the californios thus:

There never was a doubt among Californians that they were at the head of the human race. In cowardice, ignorance, pretension, and dastardly tyranny, the reader has learned that this pretension is well founded.

Thus much for the Spanish population of the Californias; in every way a poor apology of European extraction; as a general thing, incapable of reading or writing, and knowing nothing of science or literature, nothing of government but its brutal force, nothing of virtue but the sanction of the Church, nothing of religion but ceremonies of the national ritual. Destitute of industry themselves, they compel the poor Indian to labor for them, affording him a bare savage existence for his toil, upon their plantations and the fields of the Missions. In a word, the Californians are an imbecile, pusillanimous, race of men, and unfit to control the destinies of that beautiful country. . . .

No one acquainted with the indolent, mixed race of California, will ever believe that they will populate, much less, for any length of time, govern the country. The law of Nature which curses the mulatto here with a constitution less robust than that of either race from which he sprang, lays a similar penalty upon the mingling of the Indian and white races in California and Mexico. They must fade away. ²



"Scarce more than apes." Historical Roots of Anglo-American Stereotypes of Mexicans*

David J. Weber

Editor's Introduction

Try as we might to see the past accurately, our vision is clouded by stereotypes and prejudices that abound in American popular culture. One common stereotype depicts Spanish-Mexicans before the American conquest of the Southwest enjoying a life of ease and comfort in a pastoral setting. Handsomely clothed *caballeros* and bejeweled *señoritas* dance the night away at colorful *fandangos* while contented mission Indians sleep peacefully, anticipating the welcome sound of the Church bells to summon them to morning Mass and another day of work. This highly



^{*}An abbreviated version of this paper appeared under the title "Stereotyping Mexico's Far Northern Frontier," in *An Awakened Minority: The Mexican-Americans*, ed. Manuel P. Servín (Beverly Hills: 1974), pp. 18–26. This expanded essay appears here with permission of the publisher and was prepared for a bilingual symposium at the University of Texas at El Paso, September 1975.

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EDITED BY ERSKINE CALDWELL

DUELL, SLOAN & PLANCE . NEW YORK

damaged although the rest of the building was destroyed; that an earthquake is much more terrifying than a cyclone, but not quite so frightful as a tornado, and just slightly less ghastly than a hurricane; that Californians should construct "earthquake cellars"; that "the first temblor is always hardest"; that, in fact, there is only one real quake, the subsequent temblors being merely "echoes" of the first; that it is extremely dangerous to rush out of doors during an earthquake; that the best place to be during an earthquake is in a doorway; that the reason the government never built a fort in California was because of the earthquake hazard; that every community which escaped serious damage was "not in the path of the fault" and was, therefore, a safe and good place to live; and that the earthquake, followed as it was by the appearance of a mighty meteor on March 24, presaged the beginning of the end.

How deeply the experience of living in an earthquake country has impressed the residents of the region is clearly shown in the novels that have been written about California. In many of these novels, one will find that the climax of the tale invariably is reached at precisely the moment when the dishes begin to rattle, the stove to bounce, and the chairs to dance. According to the novelist Lawrence Rising, there is a stillness and expectancy in California "found only in earthquake countries." Myron Brinig closed a novel about Southern California with a fantastic, perhaps prophetic, vision: "Los Angeles tobogganed with almost one continuous movement into the water, the shoreline going first, followed by the inland communities . . . the small pink and white, blue and orange houses of the shore were blown like colored sands into the tempest. All of California, from the Siskiyous to Mexico, from the eastern border to the coast, started sliding swiftly, relentlessly, into the Pacific Ocean." (See also Frank Fenton's novel, A Place in the Sun, pp. 182-183, where a somewhat similar impression is recorded.) As a matter of fact, the German geographer, Alfred Wegener, in a treatise written in 1924, hinted that something of this sort might actually happen. Studying his theory of the origin of continents and islands, one can readily imagine that this island-on-theland that is Southern California, this sub-tropical paradise, might someday be severed from a continent to which it has always been capriciously attached and float gently westward into the Pacific to become, as it has always been destined to be, a charming Tahiti in some glazed and azure sea.

"He hangs in shades the orange bright, Like golden lamps in a green night."

CHAPTER XI

THE CITRUS BELT

LEARLY marked as a distinct region, Southern California has a number of equally well-defined climatic sub-regions not apparent from a casual inspection of the land. Within the region, for example, there is an amazing variation in rainfall. The average rainfall in San Diego is 9.7 inches, while the average for Los Angeles is 15.0 inches. On the foothill slopes, the rainfall increases, in some areas, by ten inches in a single steep mile. Riverside, with an elevation of 850 feet, has 10.8 inches of rainfall, but San Bernardino, ten miles distant, with an elevation of 1050 feet, has 16.1 inches of rainfall. On the rim of the mountains surrounding this semi-arid region, the rainfall frequently averages 30, 40, and 50 inches. Differences in temperature and the incidence of frost vary as widely, and as imperceptibly, as the amount of rainfall. Thermal belts mark the pathway of warm air currents. The areas penetrated by fog, along the river bottoms, are the areas of frost and the early freeze. Not charted on the maps, these freakish climatic sub-regions had to be discovered by a painful and costly trial-and-error process, prompting Van Dyke to observe that Southern California was "a land of solid realities and glittering frauds."

The existence of these climatic sub-regions accounts for the highly specialized character of the region's agriculture. Throughout the region today one can see a number of clearly defined belts or zones of agricultural production, the present visible tokens of invisible soil

and climatic variations. Alfalfa, grain, sugar beets, and other crops not injured by frost, are planted in the lowlands; farther up the slopes appear the belts of grapes and fruit crops; still higher, and usually in the form of a dark-green horseshoe curve around the rim of the valleys, is the orange belt; and, still higher on the slopes, are the zones of lemons and avocados. In this paradoxical land, orchard crops are raised, not in the lowlands, but in the foothills. Relatively more free of frost than any area in California, Southern California is the home and center of the citrus industry. Virtually all of the lemons raised in the state come from Southern California (about 90% of the nation's production), and three-fourths of the orange production is also centered in the region. That oranges and lemons will grow in the region technically justifies its characterization as sub-tropical, otherwise a very misleading description of Southern California.

While the citrus industry extends from Santa Barbara to San Diego, it has several points of concentration. In popular parlance, the citrus belt designates the foothill orange district extending from Pasadena to San Bernardino through the orange towns of Monrovia, Azusa, Glendora, Covina, Pomona, Upland, and Ontario. This inland district, relatively frost-free, is the home of the winter-ripening Washington navel orange. Here the soil is largely decomposed granite, the drainage excellent, and the quality of the water superb. The citrus industry of Southern California had its origin in this district. Early in the present century, groves of the summer-ripening Valencia orange began to be planted in the coastal areas of Santa Barbara, Ventura, Orange, and San Diego Counties, thus providing the industry with a year-round production. In the areas of Valencia production, the soil is largely shale and sandstone, not so well drained, and likely to be injured by over-irrigation. Having a sturdier resistance to frost than the navel orange, the Valencia tree thrives in the coastal sections. The "cities of the plain," such as Whittier, Anaheim, Fullerton, Orange, and Santa Ana, are within the zone of Valencia production, while lemon production is concentrated in the areas around Santa Barbara, Carpinteria, and Santa Paula. The determining factor in citrus production is the zone of ocean-fog penetration. While citrus crops can be raised in this zone, the fruit produced is of an inferior quality.

Throughout Southern California are many similar belts: a walnut belt from Ventura to San Fernando; a walnut belt in Orange County

which produces about one-third of the world's supply of English walnuts; a lima bean belt along the coast; a general farming area extending along the river bottoms from El Monte to Downey; a dairy belt; and a series of truck-farming belts. In none of these belt-areas, however, does one notice quite the same social stratification and the curious mixture of urban-rural cultures that so strikingly characterizes the citrus belt. For wherever citrus production predominates, a rather distinctive social life has long existed. This citrus belt complex of peoples, institutions, and relationships has no parallel in rural life in America and nothing quite like it exists elsewhere in California. It is neither town nor country, neither rural nor urban. It is a world of its own

Basically the orange tree itself provides the key to an understanding of the social life of the citrus belt. For the orange, as Charles Fletcher Lummis once pointed out, is not only a fruit but a romance. The orange tree is the living symbol of richness, luxury, and elegance. With its rich black-green shade, its evergreen foliage, and its romantic fragrance, it is the millionaire of all the trees of America, the "golden apple" of the fabled Gardens of the Hesperides. The aristocrat of the orchards, it has, by a natural affinity, drawn to it the rich and the well-born, creating a unique type of rural-urban aristocracy. There is no crop in the whole range of American agriculture the growing of which confers quite the same status that is associated with ownership of an orange grove. To own a large wheat farm in Washington unquestionably gives a sense of possession and proud dominion; to own a well-stocked corn-and-hog farm in the Middle West undeniably confers a sense of solid well-being and plenty; but to own an orange grove in Southern California is to live on the real gold coast of American agriculture. It is not by chance that millionaire row in Pasadena should be called Orange Grove Avenue.

Carefully trimmed and corseted, the orange tree is like a rather plump middle-aged dowager bedizened with jewels and gems and a corsage of gardenias. The typical grove is as immaculately kept, and as orderly, as the parlor of such a dowager. Plebeian weeds are removed as rapidly as they have the impudence to intrude upon these elegant preserves. Delicate in health, the dowager-orange is carefully protected against even the mild rigors and hazards of climate in Southern California. Elaborate windbreaks of cedar, cypress, and eucalyptus protect the sacrosanct groves where the smudge pots are

lighted at the first threat of frost. The water brought to the trees is examined as carefully as the diet of a diabetic patient in a Santa Barbara hospital. The armed might of California, represented by its famous highway patrol, guards the borders of the state to prevent the invasion of bugs, insects, and blight. A whole retinue of servants waits upon this perennially pregnant lady. The grove in which she lives is not a farm, but a kind of outdoor hothouse guarded as jealously as a Scottish lord's hunting park. (If you doubt this statement, try to pick an orange, sometime, in Southern California.) The dowager-orange is always well groomed, carefully manicured, and willing to receive guests—provided they remain at a distance and admire her discreetly. Like most dowagers, her perfume is heavy, rich, a little overpowering.

Today it is difficult to appreciate that Southern California was, not so many years ago, a semi-desert. It actually comes as something of a shock to find the land described, in the early chronicles, as "a wretched land, barren and bereft"; rimmed by "great mountains, uncompromisingly stern and barren of everything except stone and brush"; "a loveless land, a starved region where every green branch is dearly prized." The appearance of orange and lemon groves in such a land was as pleasing to the eye as the sight of an oasis in the desert. The ever green and fragrant belts of citrus trees tended to compensate for the dryness, the heat, the scorched earth of the long summers. "At all times of the year," wrote Beatrice Harraden in an early novel, "there was that green stretch yonder of clustering trees, nestling near the foothills, which in turn seemed to nestle up to the rugged mountains . . . that belt of green so soothing and restful to the eyes through all the months of the year." In a sprawling and unkempt land, there was something about the precise formality with which the groves were laid out that gladdened the heart almost as much as the refreshing, lustrous green of the trees. Today, when the appearance of the land has changed so much, people have lost the sense of living in a desert, but, even so, they retain a special affection for the citrus groves. Just how important the citrus belt has been in changing the physical appearance of the land can only be sensed by trying to imagine what Southern California would be like were these green belts removed. They have contributed as much, perhaps, as any single factor to the physical charm of the region.

"Of all the trees," wrote Charles Fletcher Lummis, "that man has

corseted to uniform symmetry and fattened for his use, none other is more beautiful and none more grateful than the orange." It has certainly been the gold nugget of Southern California. Not only has it attracted fully as many people to California as did the discovery of gold, but since 1903 the annual value of the orange crop has vastly exceeded the value of gold produced. Since 1894 the citrus industry has produced over two billion dollars in income for the people of Southern California. With an annual average income, from some of the groves, of a thousand dollars an acre, it is not surprising that the orange should be a sacred tree in Southern California.

1. Sunkist

While oranges have been raised in Southern California since an early date, the industry was really founded in 1870 when J. W. North established one of the pioneer colony settlements at Riverside. The tract of land which Judge North purchased at \$3.50 an acre was regarded as desert land. Constructing a \$50,000 canal to bring water to the land, the Riverside colonists demonstrated that the uplands were more desirable for citrus culture than the lowlands and that on well-drained tablelands there was less danger that the tree roots would reach the water level and drown. These discoveries were of revolutionary import in the development of the industry.

The original orange grove in Southern California had been planted to so-called seedling stock which came from the trees about the old Franciscan Missions. Another revolutionary advance was made in the industry when the Department of Agriculture in 1873 shipped two budded trees of the Washington navel orange from Bahia, Brazil, to Mrs. L. C. Tibbetts of Riverside. The navel orange proved to be ideally adapted to the environment, producing a large seedless orange of excellent color and fine flavor. It was not long before the two imported trees were so famous that the Tibbettses had to enclose them with an extra high barbed-wire fence to guard against theft. In 1903 Lummis reported that the original trees were still growing in the backyard of the Tibbetts home in Riverside, "where an old man and his wife have been left to poverty amid the vast riches they helped to create."

From these early beginnings, the industry rapidly expanded after 1880. The completion of the Southern Pacific line to Los Angeles in 1876, the extension of this line to New Orleans in 1881, and the ar-

undertake the huge task of converting a semi-arid region into an agricultural wonderland. The rapid expansion of the citrus industry was responsible for the fact, reported in 1902 by the State Board of Agriculture, that "the very face of nature was changed, and in a few years Southern California became one of the most important sections of the state."

2. In CITRUS LAND

The average orange grove in Southern California represents an investment of from \$1,500 to \$2,000 an acre. Exclusive of the cost of buildings, a fifty-acre citrus grove represents an investment of \$80,000, a ten-acre grove of \$16,000. Cultural costs are, also, exceptionally high, averaging \$154 an acre for oranges in 1938, exclusive of interest, depreciation, and taxes, with the cost of lemon production being still higher, approximately \$244 per acre. It has required men of wealth and ability to bring these groves into production and to operate them, once established.

"The California citrus culture," writes Dr. J. Eliot Coit, "among all horticultural industries, is peculiar in that the people who have built it up have been, in many cases, retired business men or professional men from New England and the Central States," who brought to the industry "needed capital, commercial habits, and business ability." This type of person was attracted to the citrus industry by the circumstance, pointed out by F. O. Wallschlaeger, that "there is a charm to be found in the culture of citrus fruits which can not be found in other outdoor pursuits." In addition, an orange grove is the perfect setting for a handsome suburban estate. From the outset, the attractiveness of the groves as suburban homesites had a tendency to inflate land values and to select the type of person who could afford to own a grove. To the ordinary capitalization of citrus lands, based upon earned net income, there was invariably added, depending upon the location and sightliness of the grove, a capitalization based upon its attractiveness as a homesite. By appealing to the rich and discouraging the poor, this selective process has long given a homogeneous character and a unique social quality to the citrusbelt communities.

Many of the early citrus communities in Southern California, such as Pasadena, Riverside, and Ontario, were the outgrowth of colony

settlements. The colony settlements naturally attracted "people of intelligence and refinement," drawn from many occupations and professions, few of whom were trained or experienced farmers. That the colony settlements were laid out as complete communities, in advance of the sale of acreage units, was a great inducement to people anxious to avoid the rigors ordinarily associated with pioneer existence in a new land. Moving into a colony settlement was rather like buying a lot in an exclusive subdivision. As people of means, these colonists brought the necessary funds to develop an industry.

requiring a heavy initial investment.

That many of these early settlers lacked farming experience proved to be a distinct asset, for it predisposed them to look with favor upon experimentation and the use of novel methods of water preservation, irrigation, and soil cultivation. As Dr. Coit notes, the citrus industry in Southern California has always been characterized by its willingness to experiment, to improvise, to develop its own methods. European methods of cultivating, irrigating and pruning citrus trees have had virtually no influence in the development of the industry. Having made modest, and in some cases substantial, fortunes in business, many of these early citrus growers brought to the industry a wide variety of business backgrounds and experience. From its inception, the citrus industry has made a more extensive use of modern business methods, particularly in the marketing and advertising fields, than any other segment of American agriculture.

Not only were the initial growers a highly selected group to begin with, but the nature of the industry tended to make them increasingly more homogeneous. "Everybody's fruit ripens at about the same time," explains a character in Howard Baker's novel Orange Valley (1931), "and if everybody picks his fruit and ships it the moment that it ripens, a good part of it must go to waste, for there would be more oranges on the market than could be used. We are in a peculiar situation. We all raise the same thing, and we all have to ship our crop to the same market and across the continent. You see, we have to have some sort of system." Many of the settlers in the colony projects came from the same locality, had much the same background, and had worked together in planning the colony before they arrived in Southern California. As a consequence, the colony settlements, out of which the towns in the citrus belt developed, had

a homogeneous character which they have retained through the years. The settlers who built homes in the groves, built them, in most cases, upon the highest point of ground in order to be near their wells. Thus most of the homes are similarly located. With the lands suitable for citrus culture being limited in area and running in belts or strips, settlers in the area were drawn together by the fact that they all raised the same crop, for the same market, and were members, in most cases, of the same colony, packing association, and mutual water company.

Today "the orange empire" extends from Pasadena to San Bernardino through a series of evenly spaced communities, with the whole area being almost as densely populated as a city. Many of the towns are located literally in the heart of citrus groves. In 1929 nearly 16,000 acres of orange groves were still included within the city limits of Riverside. In most cases, the groves penetrate, not to any clearly defined urban boundary, but, along the avenues and highways, right into the center of the towns. Unlike the average American farm community, the towns or colony settlements came first, and the groves developed later. It is this circumstance which accounts, in part, for the highly urbanized character of the citrus belt.

A distinction is to be noted, however, between the communities located in the inland district of the Washington navel orange and those along the coastal areas where the Valencia type predominates. The navel orange districts are older, more densely populated, and have retained the urban character of the early colony settlements. The settlements are wealthier, more urbanized, more largely made up of former city-dwellers than are the more rural communities in the Valencia district. The difference is that between Redlands and Santa Ana, hard to define, almost imperceptible to an outsider, but very real nonetheless. The cities and towns in the Valencia district are less numerous and retain an unmistakably rural coloration. Actually, these settlements are older than those in the foothill districts, but they are newer from the point of view of citrus culture. They were settled by "dirt farmers," by people more concerned with good crops than with fine homes. In the Valencia district are to be found some of the largest commercial growers.

The handsome homes that one sees throughout the foothill districts are not farm houses, they are suburban residences. The olderhomes are ornate and rococo, and built very much in the taste and style of urban mansions in the 'seventies and 'eighties. With good roads, telephones, electric lights, water, fine schools, power lines, and the spread of civic improvement associations, these districts have enjoyed, almost since their inception, every convenience of urban life. Since land suitable for citrus production is limited in area, the citrus-belt districts are devoted to a single crop with every available foot of land being utilized. The groves are solidly, compactly arranged, 'like a cluster of plump umbrellas of dark green leather,' like regiments drawn up at attention in a city square, laid out flush with the streets and highways that knife through the district. Although there are some large estates, the average grove is small in size with many of

the districts being laid out like urban subdivisions.

The typical citrus-belt town is really neither a town nor a city, but a suburban shopping district. With unmistakable urban overtones, these communities frequently have many of the institutions of small cities: a college or university, an art gallery, a museum, a luxury hotel. Many of these city-towns are beautifully laid out. Riverside, Redlands, and Pasadena were the first cities in the West to adopt ordinances regulating the size, character, and arrangement of trees along the streets. Appointing a tree-warden in 1906, the City of Riverside has, over the years, planted 30,000 trees in the city limits. Pasadena, "the Crown of the Valley," was for years "the aristocratic nucleus for the surrounding towns," with few places, as one early novelist recorded, "being so rich in conditions to palliate or allay" the usual conditions of rural life. Something of the appearance and flavor of these citrus-belt towns is to be found in two otherwise uninteresting novels: Jacob Peek: Orange Grower (1915) by Sidney Herbert Burchell and The Eyes of the World (1914) by Harold Bell Wright, both of which describe Redlands, perhaps the most charming community in the district. Like the groves, the citrus-belt towns are characterized by a certain elegance and richness, an air of quiet and complacent charm.

3. ACROSS THE TRACKS

"There are times when bloody murder stalks under the red sun of California, though mostly it sulks in cowardice in the dark of the scented nights that spill such riches so inequitably distributed."

-Carleton Beals

To cultivate and to harvest citrus crops in Southern California requires a vast amount of labor: a monthly average, throughout the year, of about 15,000 field workers. In addition to the field workers, about 22,000 workers are employed in the packing sheds, grading, sorting, washing, packing, wrapping, and shipping citrus fruit. It would be difficult to imagine a sharper line of social cleavage than that which separates these 40,000 workers from, first, the managerial elite who operate the large commercial properties and the various exchanges, and second, the do-nothings who own the groves.

Originally most of the labor in the groves and sheds was performed by gangs of Chinese workmen. From 1900 to 1910, the Japanese supplanted the Chinese, with the peak of Japanese employment being reached in 1909. As late as 1913, all the employees of the Limoneira Company were Japanese, with observers reporting that "the orientals who move so quickly here and there in their work" were exceptionally deft and efficient, "taking a lemon, wrapping it in its tissue covering, and placing it in the box ready for shipment in the twinkling of an eye." In 1915, there were still about 3,500 Japanese employed in the industry. While Mexicans have always worked in the groves, they did not become the dominant element in the labor supply until after 1914. Between 1914 and 1919, the number of Mexicans in the industry increased from 2,317 to 7,004 (30% of the total). Today they constitute two-thirds or more of the workers employed both in the fields and in the packing sheds. They are not migratory workers, but settled residents of the areas in which they are employed (only 17% of the labor supply is non-resident). Many of these Mexican workers have grown up with the industry, being the second and third generation to work in the groves.

While a few of the large commercial growers maintain camps for their employees, the typical citrus worker settlement is the Mexican town or, in the parlance of the region, the "jim-town." From Santa Barbara to San Diego, one can find these jim-towns, with their clusters of bizarre shacks, usually located in an out-of-the-way place on the outskirts of an established citrus-belt town. Needless to say, the settlements are always located "on the other side of the tracks." Being for the most part unincorporated settlements, the jim-towns lack governmental services; the streets are dusty unpaved lanes, the plumbing is primitive, and the water supply is usually obtained from outdoor hydrants. A good gust of wind would blow most of the

shacks into eternity. Some of the older towns in the district have a Mexican section within the city limits, invariably separated from the rest of the community by a through highway or railroad right of way.

Throughout the citrus belt, the workers are Spanish-speaking, Catholic, and dark-skinned, the owners are white, Protestant, and English-speaking. The owners occupy the heights, the Mexicans the lowlands. That both groups are highly homogeneous is a circumstance that serves to widen the gulf of social distance that separates the one from the other. While the towns deny that they practice segregation, nevertheless, segregation is the rule. Since the Mexicans all live in jim-town, it has always been easy to effect residential segregation. The omnipresent Mexican school is, of course, an outgrowth of segregated residence. The swimming pools in the towns are usually reserved for "whites," with an insulting exception being noted in the designation of one day in the week as "Mexican Day," or, as it is sometimes called, "International Day." Mexicans attend separate schools and churches, occupy the balcony seats in the motion-picture theaters, and frequent separate places of amusement. Since the exchanges employ the Mexicans, the growers have little direct contact with the people who work their groves. Even the exchange officials, moreover, deal with Mexicans through a Spanish-speaking foreman or contractor, so that they, too, have only a slight and casual acquaintance with their employees. The whole system of employment, in fact, is perfectly designed to insulate workers from employers in every walk of life, from the cradle to the grave, from the church to the saloon.

Such a system, of course, has always minimized opportunities for acculturation and offered few incentives for assimilation. A variation of the hacienda system of former years, the present dispensation is one under which the Mexican worker, whether he is a citizen (as most of them are) or an alien, tends to remain Spanish-speaking, to live in an isolated Mexican-American environment, and to exist separate and apart from the main stream of community life and activity. Unorganized for social, economic, or political action, the Mexican workers have virtually no voice in community affairs. Occupying the intermediate zone between the Mexicans and the grower-manager cliques are the townspeople: the employees of the chain stores, the filling-station operators, the doctors, lawyers, teachers,

shopkeepers, and clergymen. This in-between element, however, invariably adopts the grower-exchange point of view on all controversial issues, and, during periods of social tension, is quickly neutralized or

goes over, en masse, to the growers.

I well remember, some years ago, my own astonishment in discovering how quickly social power could crystallize into an expression of arrogant brutality in these lovely, seemingly placid, outwardly Christian communities. The occasion was a strike of 2,500 Mexican citrus workers in Orange County. The moment the strike was called the sheriff deputized and armed 400 special guards. Trucks loaded with food supplies for the barricaded strikers were hijacked in broad daylight on highways crowded with traffic and patrolled by the state police. I found over 200 workers, all Mexicans, in jail in Santa Ana, charged with petty traffic violations, assaults, trespass, and a wide variety of trumped-up offenses. In a single raid over 155 workers were arrested. In my presence, a justice of the peace summarily denied this batch of prisoners a jury trial. One of the attorneys for the defendants was given six tickets for alleged traffic violations in a single day, in an effort to drive him out of the community. Visitors attempting to interview the strikers at their camp were turned back by armed guards and highway patrolmen. In the courtrooms of the county, I met former classmates of mine in college, famous athletes of the University of Southern California, armed with revolvers and clubs, ordering Mexicans around as though they were prisoners in a Nazi concentration camp.

During the strike, highway patrolmen established a portable radio station, KAPA, by means of which they directed, with matchless efficiency, the reign of terror by which the strike was broken. Large sums were quickly appropriated, from public funds, to purchase teargas bombs and firearms. Even in the courtrooms, I saw deputies armed with sub-machine guns, shotguns, and rifles. On the morning of July 11, 1936 a workers' camp was bombed with tear gas, as men, women, and children ran for cover in all directions. A patrol of armed guards, extending over an area of forty miles, stopped cars on the highway, turned back all "suspicious" characters, and otherwise took over the function of maintaining "law and order." On July 8, the Los Angeles Times carried a graphic story of these thugs breaking up a strike meeting at the Mexican settlement of El Modena: "Suddenly,

late in the night, three or four automobiles loaded with grim-faced men, appeared out of the darkness surrounding the little settlement. In a few seconds, tear gas bombs hissed into the small building where the asserted strikers were in conclave, and the conferees with smarting eyes broke and ran under cover of darkness and the meeting was at an end. Witnesses said they heard the mysterious automobiles and the night-riders whirring away without leaving a trace of their identity." Actually, there was no mystery about the identity of these night-riders; they were the regularly constituted law-enforcement officials of the county.

On July 7, the Times carried a front-page story, telling in exuberant terms, about how "old vigilante days were revived in the orchards of Orange County yesterday as one man lay near death and scores nursed injuries." On July 11, 115 strikers were taken from jail and herded into vans guarded by "men armed with sub-machine guns, tear gas bombs, pistols, and shotguns." Instead of being arraigned in a courtroom, these defendants were crowded onto a lot in the rear of the courthouse, where an al fresco mock-trial was staged. They were then lodged in a bull pen, or stockade, that had been constructed in Santa Ana in anticipation of the strike. All of this fury was unleashed by a demand of the field workers for an increase in wages from twenty-five cents an hour to forty cents an hour.

Throughout this affair, and it was only one of many similar incidents which have occurred in the citrus belt, the citizens of the county, with few exceptions, remained silent and raised neither voice nor hand against what amounted to an outright usurpation of the local government by private interests. The guiding intelligence behind this affair seems to have been the California Fruit Growers Exchange. From 1936 to date, the exchange has largely financed the activities of the Associated Farmers movement in Southern California

Long frustrated in their efforts to organize, the Mexican workers of recent years have been making remarkable progress in their organizational campaigns and it is only a question of time, now, until the industry is completely organized. In 1941, 6,000 field workers in the Ventura-Santa Barbara area, most of them employees of the Limoneira Company, conducted a long, bitterly opposed, well-man-

aged strike. While the strike was broken, as dozens of similar strikes have been broken, some important organizational gains resulted. Once they have achieved self-organization, the Mexican-Americans will begin to vote. In many areas throughout the citrus belt they

could be a determining factor in local elections.

They will not succeed, however, in organizing the industry without a major battle in which class and status lines will be sharply drawn. The bitterness of the struggle will turn in part upon the question of status. For, over a long period of years, field work has come to be associated with a definite status. "The harvesting, washing, grading, and packing of fruit and vegetables," writes Mr. Teague, "requires a natural aptitude," that is, it is the kind of work that God created Mexicans to perform. A challenge to this concept of status-labor involves, of course, a threat to the social structure which has been erected upon it. In his autobiography, Mr. Teague, to find something nice to say about Mexicans, finally concludes that they are "goodnatured and happy." "They have one trait," he writes, "I have always admired: they are generally willing to share what they have with their relatives when they are in need."

The tension that has developed in the citrus-belt communities of recent years is merely one evidence of approaching social change. Nowadays the children of the grove owners, oppressed by the placid ity of Riverside and Redlands, have begun to leave the area and to settle in the cities. At the same time, young people from outside the area have started to move into the citrus belt as social workers, clerks, teachers, junior executives, doctors, and lawyers. The exchange of young people first became noticeable during the depression. With this infusion of new blood, something of the compact, colony-insulated, homogeneous character of the communities has begun to disappear. As the grove-owners have relinquished the reins of power and have not been succeeded by their sons, all sorts of civic positions have been filled by outsiders. Occasionally the service clubs of the district, largely made up of this newer element, have asserted themselves, on minor issues, in a manner not sanctioned by the older generation. This tendency is likely to become more pronounced in the future as the grove-owners, already divested of many of the functions ordinarily associated with ownership, are removed by death. Seemingly impervious to social change, Citrus Land has finally begun to respond to new movements of thought and opinion.

4. THE FAIREST FRUIT

Around us were trees laded with the little golden lamps of oranges, and as we moved up the foothills, scents of orange-bloom were blown to us, even from the orchards that were in fruit. We wound through the orchards up to the foothills, where one touched once more the original desert of California, a desert whose golden drought seems to have been deliberately designed by some great artist in order to enhance the deliciousness of the great globes and clusters of fruit that it bears."

-Alfred Noyes

The citrus belt, as a sharply defined segment of social life in Southem California, has three dominant symbols: the church, the orange, and the "no trespass" signs that mark all approaches to the groves. Wherever one turns, along every highway, street, and bypath of the citrus belt, the "no trespass" and other warning signs appear. To pick an orange in Southern California, unless you are an employee working under the direction of a foreman, is a perilous undertaking. If performed surreptitiously, it is likely to invite a blast from a shotgun, a jolt from an electrically charged wire fence, or a sentence in jail. Many of the larger concerns employ armed guards to police the sacred trees. According to Charles Fletcher Lummis, ferocious bulldogs were used, at an earlier time, to keep visitors out of the groves. Some years ago, a Mexican boy was killed in Los Angeles County by a blast from a shotgun which a grower, by an ingenious process, had attached to a tree in such a manner that the trigger would be pulled by a disturbance of the wire fence enclosing the grove. Almost every resident and visitor in Southern California has wanted to pick an orange; but few persons can claim the distinction of having done so.

The "no trespass" signs are symbolic of the insularity, the tight social organization, the airless vacuum-like quality of the citrus belt. Not so long ago, I spoke in Riverside on the subject of civil liberties. On the same platform was Dr. E. P. Ryland of Los Angeles who is my idea of a Christian saint, gentle, considerate, full of the milk of human kindness. The Associated Farmers of Riverside County ran a page advertisement in the local press warning the residents of Riverside to stay away from the meeting and hinting at various forms of reprisal that might be visited on those venturesome enough to attend. Present at the meeting were the sheriff, a delegation from the

Associated Farmers, and a stenographer who took complete notes. Members of the Associated Farmers delegation stood up during the meeting and "spotted" various people in the audience, dictating their

names to the stenographer.

In all the citrus-belt towns, Protestant churches are much in evidence, for orthodox Protestantism is deeply rooted among the older residents, a pious and conservative lot. There is a church on each of the four corners of one downtown intersection in Redlands. Throughout the district, the Protestant churches are usually handsome and costly structures, somber and substantial, with ivy-covered walls and elegant rectories. There are no unpainted or neglected churches, such as one sees in so many rural areas in America. In fact, the citrus-belt communities are about the only regular churchgoing towns in Southern California. Some of them were founded as temperance communities, and, in almost every colony settlement, provision was made against the sale of intoxicating liquors. The proud white temperance banners of the W.C.T.U. still fly from some of the church steeples. Some of the colony settlements, in fact, were founded by particular Protestant sects, still another explanation of their homogeneous character. The colleges and universities established in the region reflect the sectarian bias of particular communities. The University of Redlands is Baptist-supported; Pomona was founded by the Congregationalists; LaVerne College by the Dunkers; while Whittier College is a Quaker institution named, as is the town of Whittier, after the poet who once dedicated a poem to the community:

> Dear town, for whom the flowers are born, Stars shine, and happy song birds sing, What can my evening give to morn, My Winter to thy Spring—

A life not void of pure intent,
With small desert of praise or blame,
The love I felt, the good I meant.
I leave thee with thy name.

Not only is it difficult to pick an orange in Southern California, but, as William Allen White once observed, it is almost impossible to get a glass of real orange juice in the region, particularly in the

citrus belt. On three occasions in the last year I have been unable to obtain a glass of orange juice in the hotel in which I was staying in Redlands. Despite the absence of orange juice, however, the orange remains the dominant symbol of the region. Mountains of oranges, "the fairest fruit in the history of the human race," are exhibited at the National Orange Fair held, over a period of two weeks, in San Bernardino each February. Frequently a million oranges, lemons, and grapefruit are used in building the towering columns and curious structures of citrus fruit seen at the fair. Oranges are converted into caricatures of Donald Duck, Mickey Mouse, Minnie, Pluto, the Three Little Pigs, and the Big Bad Wolf. Even during the depression, when the local exchanges were dumping tons of "surplus" oranges into the dry river beds sprayed with oil and tar so that relief clients would not be tempted to salvage any from the decaying heaps, the orange show went on as usual.

The National Orange Fair is, indeed, as Carleton Beals has written, "a great cornucopia of golden glory." Visiting the show in 1939, Mr. Beals found "manikins of Joan Crawford and Marlene Dietrich lolling in the lawn chairs among garden paths laid out with lemons and grapefruit, and pretty-boy Clark Gable in neat white flannels and open-throat shirt under a fake orange tree glistening with two large golden globes . . . the great annual orange fair of San Bernardino showed such gorgeous taste, and yet such hybrid mixtures, that at bottom it was garish, a bit crude, lacking in pure form and subtlety, devoid of finesse, largely boosterism run amuck"—a rather good description of Southern California. Sampling some of the fruit, Mr. Beals, who had known the region in his youth, found that it had lost "a bit of its once half-wild pungency and its virile resistance; the tang has turned to juice and sugar." The fruit was too perfect, if not in

taste, at least in size, uniformity, color, and visual appeal.

Once the groves were a major tourist attraction as thousands of tourists were whisked through them, a mile-a-minute, on the famous Kite-route of the Pacific Electric. Seldom did the eager tourist get more than a panoramic view of the groves, with "the flawless lines of the orange trees wheeling away like endless spokes," each grove maneuvered "like a mile-square regiment glittering in the sunlight," and a fugitive sample of the sweet fragrance of the blossoms. Today oranges are raised, not as a tourist attraction, not to provide elegant backgrounds for suburban estates, not to inflate land values, not

even to provide orange juice for local residents, but as slick standardized commodities produced on an assembly-line basis for sale, and only for sale.

Unquestionably the process has been profitable, but, in some vague sense, I share Carleton Beals's apprehension that all is not well, that some vital quality of the land has been subverted. Perhaps it is, as Charles Fletcher Lummis once said, that "the life of these valleys is drawn not from the number of educated and wealthy people who settle in them; not from the golden crops they yield; not from the railroads, hotels, blocks, or all the labyrinth of enterprise-but from the granite breasts of the Sierra Madre, the Mother Range. And those breasts are going dry." The denuding of these steep slopes through forest fires and a criminal neglect of forest resources, the incessant pumping of underground waters, and the ever-expanding demand for water in large urban centers, makes one wonder just how real and enduring are these beautiful groves. Puzzling over the same question, a character in Howard Baker's novel concluded that "the people were powerless to change the desert very much," over the long reach of the years. Who was it that said that the life of an irrigated civilization was about four hundred years?

"Los Angeles was not like some Middle-Western city that sinks its roots into some strategic area of earth and goes to work there. This was a lovely makeshift city. Even the trees and plants did not belong here. They came, like the people, from far places, some familiar, some exotic, all wanderers of one sort or another seeking peace or fortune or the last frontier, or a thousand dreams of escape."

-from A Place in the Sun by Frank Fenton

CHAPTER XII

THE SOCIOLOGY OF THE BOOM

ALMOST every eccentricity of social behavior in Southern California has been attributed, at one time or another, to the climate or the physical environment. Observers have uniformly explained in terms of the climate what they have not been able to account for in other terms. But, as Franz Boas once said, "the study of the cultural history of any particular region shows clearly that geographical conditions by themselves have no creative force and are certainly no absolute determinants of culture." The volume and velocity of migration, rather than the fabled climate, account for most of the unique features of the region's cultural landscape. To understand these features, one needs a sociology of migration, or, more particularly, a sociology of the boom.

1. THE APPEARANCE OF THE LAND

As a result of the boom-cycle phenomenon, the old and the new exist in curious juxtaposition throughout Southern California. Communities that have grown as rapidly as Los Angeles develop what Richard Neutra has called "an obsolescence praecox." Each wave of migration

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EDITED BY ERSKINE CALDWELL

DUELL, SLOAN & PEARCE . NEW YORK

"Southern California is made up of groups who often live in isolated communities, continuing their own customs, language, and religious habits and associations."

-Charles A. Stoddard (1894)

CHAPTER XV

THE LOS ANGELES ARCHIPELAGO

HROUGHOUT Southern California, social lines do not run L across or bisect communities; on the contrary, they circle around and sequester entire communities. The arrangement of social classes in horizontal clusters, rather than by vertical categories, is, indeed, a striking characteristic of the region. "Migration," wrote Dr. Robert E. Park, "has had a marked effect upon the social structure of California society . . . a large part of the population, which comes from such diverse and distant places, lives in more or less closed communities, in intimate economic dependence, but in more or less complete cultural independence of the world about them [italics mine]." Migration has segregated social classes by communities which run the gamut from lower-lower to upper-upper rather than in tiers within a monolithic structure. When people ascend the social ladder, they do not move into a better home in the same community, they simply move into another community. Thus Southern California is an archipelago of social and ethnic islands, economically interrelated but culturally disparate.

In distinguishing between Northern and Southern California, most observers have repeated the trite notion that San Francisco is cosmopolitan, Los Angeles provincial; the one "foreign," the other "native." "The foreign population of Southern California," writes Lillian

Symes, "has always been small. The large Italian, Portuguese, and Spanish influx and the smaller group of French immigrants, settled farther north among a people friendlier to vino and alien ways. They gave to the northern valleys and to the wind-swept San Francisco district, a distinctly Latin flavor . . . while the south drew its Nordic residents from every state in the union." This general distinction, however, overlooks a basic reality. In the compact social structure of San Francisco, foreign elements function as an integral part of the community (such names as Rossi, a former mayor, and the Giannini banking family, symbolize this relationship). San Francisco is a seaport, a city whose land-area is restricted. In San Francisco foreign elements have been brought into intimate cultural juxtaposition with each other and with the dominant group. The Jewish community, for example, is quite unlike any other Jewish community in America. The Jewish first families of San Francisco have always constituted an important element in the city's social elite.

But in Los Angeles, whose harbor is a remote appendage and whose land-spread is proverbial, foreign elements exist in isolation. There is also this further difference in the pattern: there are many foreign or racial elements in San Francisco, few in Los Angeles. But the groups represented in Los Angeles are present in large blocks or aggregates, and, for this reason, are likely to exert a much more far-reaching influence on the city than the same and other groups have exerted in San Francisco. Cultural heterogeneity has produced in San Francisco a colorful, if somewhat superficial, cosmopolitanism, but the large "foreign" colonies of Los Angeles, although fewer in number, have always remained, as Miss Symes notes, "helot classes," devoid of influence or social standing. They are present, however, in such numbers, and with such a degree of concentration, that they cannot be assimilated without basic modification of the social pattern. San Francisco is a cosmopolitan, while Los Angeles is a racial and cultural rectangle: White, Negro, Mexican, and Oriental.

1. THE MEXICANS RETURN

Largely written off as a "vanquished" element, the Mexican population of Southern California began to increase after the turn of the century. In 1900 the Southern Pacific Company reported that it was employing 4,500 Mexicans on its lines in the southern part of the state. During the year 1906, the Southern Pacific and the Santa Fe

began to import two and three carloads of "cholos," that is, Mexican peons, a week. As thousands of Mexicans were imported, principally from the states of Chihuahua, Durango, Jalisco, Sonora, and Zacatecas, the number employed in the citrus industry, in the desert mines and chemical plants, and in the cement and clay-products plants, steadily increased. The rapid extension of the Pacific Electric system after 1900 also attracted thousands of Mexicans to Southern California. Instead of spreading over the entire state, most of the Mexican immigrants settled in the south; in 1910 and in 1920 the southern counties had 78% of the entire Mexican population. The number of persons born in Mexico but living in California increased from 8,086 in 1900 to 33,694 in 1910 and then soared to 88,771 in 1920. Another enumeration, which included "all persons born in Mexico, or having parents born in Mexico," gave the total as 121,176 for 1920 and 368,013 for 1930. To this total would have to be added, of course, the number of "native Californians," or long-resident Mexicans, a category that has never been estimated. Today there are probably 400,000 "Mexicans," citizens and aliens, in Southern California.

In the years from 1920 to 1930, Mexican immigrants constituted the dominant element in the great migratory labor pool in California. Following the crops throughout the southern and central portions of the state, they would usually be stranded in the San Joaquin Valley at the end of the season. To get them out of the valley, the townspeople would provide just enough gasoline to enable their jalopies to get over the Ridge Route and back to Southern California. Theoretically, the Mexican immigrant was supposed to be a "homing pigeon" who worked in California in the summer and wintered in Mexico. Actually most of the immigrants "wintered" in Los Angeles County. Constituting 7% of the population of Los Angeles in 1925, Mexicans made up 27% of the relief cases and 54% of the general hospital cases. During the depression, Mexicans lost their dominant position in the migratory labor pool and began to settle permanently in Los Angeles. Today Los Angeles has the largest urban Mexican population of any community in the world, with the exception of Mexico City itself. The lowest estimate of the number of persons of Mexican descent in the county has been placed at 211,709, while 300,000 would, perhaps, be a more realistic estimate.

During the depression, the County of Los Angeles repatriated thousands of Mexicans on relief. Arrangements were made with the

Southern Pacific Company (which had imported most of the immigrants in the first place) to ship them back to Mexico at a wholesale per capita rate of \$14.70. I watched the first consignment leave Los Angeles in February, 1931. The loading process began at six o'clock in the morning, when the repatriados began to arrive by the truckload: men, women, and children; dogs, cats and goats; loaded down with suitcases wired together, rolls of bedding, and lunch baskets. It cost the county \$77,249.29 to repatriate one shipment of 6,024, but the savings in relief amounted to \$347,468.41 for the year. In 1932 alone over 11,000 Mexicans were repatriated from Los Angeles. Repatriation was a tragicomic affair: tragic in the hardships occasioned; comic because most of the Mexicans eventually returned to Los Angeles, having had a trip to Mexico at the expense of the county.

From 1907 to 1940 "the Mexican problem" was a hardy perennial in Southern California. Every winter the business interests of the region worked themselves into a lather of excitement over the cost of Mexican relief, hospitalization, and medical care. With the return of the crop cycle in the spring, however, "the Mexican problem" always somehow vanished or was succeeded by the problem of "an acute labor shortage." The immigrant Mexicans were admirable workers, docile and obliging, seldom venturing into the downtown sections, spending their hard-earned wages as fast as they were paid off, difficult to organize because of the language barrier and the prejudice against them. For a variety of reasons, the immigrant generation has clung tenaciously to the imported pattern of Mexican folk-culture. Living so close to the border has made it possible for them to make frequent trips to Mexico and to retain a vivid sense of their Mexican nationality. The vestiges of Spanish influence which have survived in the region and its Mexican background have made it a second homeland in the eyes of the immigrants. Separated from the dominant groups by language, religion, and numerous cultural traits, they have keenly resented the discrimination they have encountered and have rejected the dominant culture as alien and hostile.

By 1940 a large second-generation group had reached the threshold of maturity, American-born children of the immigrants who had crossed the border after 1920. By no means so docile and tractable as their parents, the second-generation Mexicans are typical cultural hybrids. To the usual disadvantages experienced by second-generation immigrant groups, however, is added, in this instance, the deep-seated anti-Mexican prejudice of the region which the Mexican-Americans have inherited. While most of them belong, of course, to the same racial group as the dominant element, they are nevertheless regarded as though they were a racial, as well as an ethnic, minority. By 1904 there were 36,000 "Mexican" youngsters in Los Angeles between the

ages of 6 and 17, 98% of whom were American-born.

Concentrated in large Mexican settlements, set apart from other second-generation groups by their dark skins, these youngsters have shown every indication of profound social unrest. Coming from Spanish-speaking homes and communities, they have experienced special difficulties in the schools in some of which they are a dominant element. Caught in a sharp cultural conflict, it is impossible for them to reconcile the values emphasized in the schools with those admired in the home. Unlike other Catholic immigrant groups, only a negligible number attend parochial schools since their parents cannot afford even the nominal fees required. Separated from their children by a wide cultural cleavage, the parents often use harsh disciplinary measures to impose standards of conduct and patterns of behavior which the children cannot reconcile with what they are taught, what they observe, and what they discover for themselves in the streets and alleys of the east side.

As the imported Mexican folk-culture has disintegrated under the impact of a highly urbanized environment, the Mexican home and the Mexican community have shown a corresponding disorganization which, in turn, is reflected in the disaffection of the second generation. Despite these handicaps, however, the second generation would have adjusted as quickly as other immigrant groups had it not been for the persistent prejudice they have encountered. Rebuffed in the schools and in the community, they have been made to feel that they do not belong, that they are "Mexican," not American, and that they will never be accepted as equals. Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that this generation should be profoundly disaffected or that it should feel a deep hostility toward the dominant group

and its culture.

Following the lead of the Hearst press, the newspapers of Los Angeles launched a violent campaign against "Mexican" juvenile delinquency and "Mexican" crime in the spring of 1942. Featuring every story involving the arrest of a Mexican, they soon had the public clamoring, in semi-hysterical fashion, for "action" and "strong methods." Actually the increase in juvenile delinquency among Mexicans was less than the average increase for the community and below that for one or two other special groups. Mounting in daily intensity and violence, the newspaper campaign culminated in the well-known

Sleepy Lagoon case in August, 1942.

Looking for an excuse to execute a well-planned program against the Mexican community, the police seized upon the murder of a man by the name of Diaz to make a series of dragnet raids and mass arrests. The murder of Diaz took place near a mudhole on the east side of Los Angeles which Mexican youngsters had long used for a swimming pool and which they had christened "Sleepy Lagoon." Over 300 Mexican youngsters, and only Mexicans were arrested, in these mass raids. Later, twenty-three Mexican boys were indicted and placed on trial for first-degree murder, most of the defendants being minors. At the same time, the Sheriff of Los Angeles released a report on "Mexican Crime," devoted to the novel thesis that persons of Mexican descent have a biological predisposition to criminal behavior. In an atmosphere weighed with prejudice, a jury convicted seventeen of the defendants of varying degrees of responsibility for the murder of Diaz. Eighteen months later, an appellate court reversed the convictions and severely castigated the trial judge and the prosecution for the methods which had been used to secure the verdict. The case had widespread repercussions in the community and represented the first major attempt that the Mexican community had made in the direction of self-organization for the defense of their rights. On the day the defendants were finally released, hundreds of Mexicans gathered about the entrance to the Hall of Justice, packed the corridors, and lined the streets.

For a few months after the jury had returned its verdict in the Sleepy Lagoon case, the newspapers modified their campaign. But by January, 1943, the attack had been resumed. Now the newspapers were careful to avoid the use of the word Mexican. Complying with suggestions made by the OWI, the newspapers dropped the word Mexican from their vocabulary; they substituted the word "pachuco" or "zoot-suit." This renewed campaign resulted in the zoot-suit race riots which occurred in Los Angeles in June, 1943. Roaming the downtown streets, a mob of 3,000 hoodlums dragged Mexicans, Fili-

pinos, and Negroes from motion-picture theaters and street cars beat them on the streets and sidewalks, and, in many cases, stripped them of their clothing. During the rioting, policemen watched the violence, made no attempt to intervene, and arrested the victims of the mob after the mob had finally abandoned them. Instead of doing public penance for their instigation of the riot, the newspapers left handedly condoned the violence and placed responsibility for its

occurrence on the Mexican community.

Since the Sleepy Lagoon case and the zoot-suit riots, open warfare has existed between the police and the Mexican boy and girl pachucos in Los Angeles. For the last two years, Mexican youngsters have not been allowed on the streets after curfew hour, although the curfew has not been enforced against other groups, and the number of arrests has reached fantastic proportions. I know of one case in which a Mexican youngster has been arrested 46 times, without a formal charge ever having been filed. The continuance of these absurd police tactics has, of course, crystallized the hostility of the pachucos and solidified their "gang" organizations. The last of this conflict has, by no means, been heard; in fact, it will echo in Los Angeles for years to come. For basically the recent disturbances symbolize the maturity of the American-born generation and their determination to cast off the whole pattern of discrimination and its invidious implications.

Responding to new currents of thought, the Mexican communities have begun to show an inclination toward self-organization and to come of age politically. Thousands of Mexican boys have been called into the services (one township on the east side of Los Angeles has sent 3,000 into the services), and when these soldiers return, an entirely new leadership element will be injected into the Mexican communities. Dormant for decades, the Mexican issue has once again become a dominant consideration in Southern California and the age-old Anglo-Hispano conflict of cultures has been resumed. This conflict is likely to continue until some fusion of the two cultures takes place. For the Mexicans of the Southwest will never "assimilation" late" in quite the same sense that other immigrant groups have been assimilated. They are really not immigrants; they belong to the Southwest in which important vestiges of their culture have survived through the years. While the conditions under which such a fusion might be expected to occur have improved of recent years, they have

not improved sufficiently to relax the current tensions. These tensions will persist until the dominant group is prepared to accept the concept of bi-culturality, that is, until it is willing to let the Mexican alone, to treat him with respect, to recognize his equality, and to sanction the free use of the Spanish language and whatever other cultural traits may survive. Despite the long history of cultural conflict between Anglo and Hispano in Southern California, it was not until 1944 that the public schools of Los Angeles launched a concerted effort to teach Spanish as a second language of the region.

2. THE JAPANESE

In all Southern California there were only 58 Japanese in 1880, but, after 1900, the number steadily increased: from 481 in 1900 to 13,068 in 1910; from 25,597 in 1920 to 44,554 in 1940. Over the years, the Japanese in Southern California have tended to concentrate in Los Angeles County which, by 1940, had a Japanese population of 36,866. In fact, the Little Tokyo community in Los Angeles was the center of Japanese life on the west coast. From the railroads, the Japanese moved into the citrus industry which they dominated for a time to the exclusion of the Chinese and the Mexicans. As late as 1913, the Limoneira Company employed only Japanese workmen.

Not content to remain farm laborers, the Japanese began to buy up the produce lands, which the Chinese had rented for years, and to organize the industry on a highly efficient basis. As they moved from the citrus to the produce industry, they were gradually replaced, in the citrus groves, by resident and immigrant Mexicans (the number of Mexicans employed in the citrus industry increased from 2,317 to 7,004 between 1915 and 1919). By 1940 the Japanese were farming 26,045 acres of Los Angeles County and controlled 90% of the truck crops, such as, asparagus, lima beans, carrots, and cauliflower. Based upon their control of the produce industry, Little Tokyo developed into a more or less self-contained community, an island within an island.

As an immigrant group, the Japanese made remarkable progress in Los Angeles. It would take a book to detail their contributions to the culture and the economy of the region, notably in the produce, floral, and nursery industries. Much of the best landscape gardening in Southern California has been done by skilled Japanese gardeners. In March, 1901, twelve Japanese immigrants, all fishermen, visited

San Pedro in search of employment. On this first trip, one of the men happened to turn over a boulder, near the beach, and, to his astonishment, found an abalone. By November of the same year. the Japanese had laid the foundations for the present-day amazingly profitable fish-canning industry of Southern California. In 1944 over 500,000,000 pounds of fish were brought to the harbor cannenes making the San Pedro-Wilmington district the fish capital of the United States. From 1901 to 1940, the Japanese fishing village on Terminal Island, made up of around 500 fishermen, 150 merchants, and 450 women and children, was one of the most interesting ethnic settlements in Southern California. Pioneered by the Chinese and the Japanese, the fishing industry has attracted other immigrant groups -Italians, Mexicans, and Yugoslavs, who, today, are the dominant group (there are approximately 50,000 Yugoslavs in Southern California). In 1942 the Japanese, of course, were evacuated from the west coast; they began to return in 1945. Despite the manifold difficulties and barriers which they have encountered, the Japanese will unquestionably regain something of their former importance in Los Angeles County, where there is less prejudice against them than in any other portion of the region or the state.

3. THE EAST SIDE

The east side of Los Angeles has always been the area of first settlement for immigrant groups in Southern California: Russians, Armenians, Russian-Armenians, Poles, Mexicans, and Jews, particularly Russian-Jewish groups. As late as 1880, Boyle Heights, on the east side, was a fashionable residential district, but, particularly after 1908. it began to be taken over by immigrant groups. It is, in effect, an incubator which retains the immigrant groups until the influence of the first generation has begun to decline and the second generation has matured. From the east side, the Jewish second generation has jumped over downtown Los Angeles and relocated far to the west in an apartment-house district bounded by Santa Monica and Wilshire Boulevards, from Fairfax to La Cienga, which is nowadays a major area of secondary settlement. The east-side Jewish districts are Yiddish and radical; the west-side elements are prosperous and liberals Today the Jewish community of Los Angeles County numbers approximately 175,000 members.

To the east side of Los Angeles in the year 1905, came the Russian

Molokans, peasants and pacificists who had left Russia on the eve of the Russo-Japanese War. A milk-drinking sect, the Molokans are, perhaps, the one group of newcomers which was not welcomed by the Chamber of Commerce and which had not been enticed to Southern California. They came to Los Angeles by way of Hamburg and Bremen, landing in New York and Galveston, and then making their way westward. "One bright morning in the winter of 1905," wrote Dana Bartlett, "as I was walking along the street near Bethlehem Institute, I perceived many new and strange people, Russian peasants, who, in a short time, converted the district around Vignes and First Streets into a veritable Russian Village." By the end of 1905, more than 5,000 Molokans had settled on "the flats," in a district surrounded by large Mexican, Armenian, Japanese, and Jewish neighborhoods.

Although they do not believe in churches, as such, the Molokans are a religious sect or brotherhood, held together by strong traditional ties and rigid social controls. Despite the homogeneous nature of the colony, however, the imported cultural pattern soon began to disintegrate. For years the bearded "elders" of the community clung tenaciously to their native costumes, customs, language, and institutions, but, with the appearance of the second generation, the usual schism developed. As Molokanism began to disintegrate, the Molokan-American hybrid type appeared and Los Angeles faced one of many similar "problems"—of juvenile delinquency, gang behavior, and the like. By 1929 the Molokan boy-gangs of "the flats" had the social workers busy making studies, charts, and graphs. But, by the midthirties, the older peasants had largely disappeared, most of the youngsters had married outside the group, and Los Angeles had for-

gotten all about its Molokan problem.

Around 1917 a group of 500 White Russians, all self-styled aristocrats, settled in Hollywood. Refugees from the Russian Revolution, they came by way of China, across the Pacific to San Francisco, and then to Hollywood. To this group of aristocrats and officers was later added about a thousand non-aristocrats, students, artists, engineers, and professional people. From this colony came the Russian Orthodox Church, the Russian Officers Club, and the Russian cafes of the early 'twenties: the Double-Headed Eagle, the Russian Bear, the Moscow Inn, and the well-known Boublichki night club on Sunset "strip." The Filmarte Theater in Hollywood was founded by a

member of this refugee group. Lacking internal cohesion, the colony soon disintegrated and is today non-existent. For a time, these Russians emigrés published an interesting quarterly, The Land of Columbus.

4. THE NEGROES

Sympathetic to the cause of the Confederacy, Los Angeles was for years a "bad town" for Negroes. In this respect, however, it merely reflected the tone of opinion in California. California enacted a fugitive-slave statute, refused to accept the testimony of Negroes in judicial proceedings until 1863, and, in 1869, rejected ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment to the federal constitution. A comment in the Los Angeles News of January 25, 1867, indicates the general temper of community opinion toward Negroes, "The soul of the Negro is as black and as putrid as his body. Should such a creature vote? He has no more capacity for reason than his native hyena or crocodile." The early day journals not infrequently carried such doggerel as:

Oh, I'm a darky genuine, But this I know full well, Beside the difrence in de color Der's a difrence in de smell.

In fact, it was not until after 1880 that Negroes began to migrate to Los Angeles. From 188 Negroes in the county in 1880, the number increased to 1,817 in 1890; to 2,841 in 1900; to 7,599 in 1910; to 18,738 in 1920; to 30,893 in 1930; and to 75,209 in 1940. In its beginnings, the Negro community was a typical "Pullman Car" colony, made up almost entirely of railroad employees. With most of the newcomers to Southern California being Republicans from the East and Middle West, Los Angeles by 1900 had outgrown most of its early hostility toward Negroes. A tradition survives that Los Angeles was one of the first, if not the first, city in America to employ Negro firemen and policemen. As the community developed a reputation of being a good town for Negroes, migrants from Negro communities in the Middle West began to arrive in a slow but steady stream. Some early Negro fortunes were made in Los Angeles, in real estate scrap iron, hog-farming, and so forth. According to Arna Bontemps

and Jack Conroy, Negro migrants have made perhaps a better adjustment in Los Angeles than in any other American city (They Seek a City, p. 205), a circumstance they explain by suggesting that the Japanese and the Mexicans "drew off much of the racial hostility which otherwise might have been concentrated on the Negroes."

After 1916 a sizable Negro community developed in Mud Town, or Watts, on the outskirts of Los Angeles, made up largely of migrants from rural areas in Mississippi, Georgia, and Alabama. Another colony sprang up on Temple Street, near an abandoned oil field. Most of the Temple Street Negro families were from rural areas in Tennessee and Georgia. Still later a settlement of Middle Western urban Negroes came into existence in what is now known as the Budlong district, or, in popular parlance, "the green-lawn section." It was not until 1912, however, that there were sufficient Negroes in Los Angeles to constitute a real colony. Originally located near First and Los Angeles Streets, the center of the colony, in response to the pressure of a rapidly expanding non-Negro population, gradually moved further south along Central Avenue. After 1920 thousands of Negroes, most of them from rural sections of Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, Georgia, and Alabama, began to flock westward to Central Avenue, now one of the most famous Negro thoroughfares in America. (Note: The story of the Watts community is recounted in Ama Bontemps' novel, God Sends Sunday (1931), while the rise of Central Avenue is the subject of Sweet Man, a novel written by Gilmore Millen in 1932.)

Early in 1942, the railroads began to import thousands of Negroes, for maintenance-of-way work, from such states as Texas, Louisiana, and Oklahoma, thereby setting in motion a mass exodus of Negroes from the Deep South. Since 1940 about 250,000 Negroes have, in fact, moved to the west coast and the Negro community of Los Angeles now totals around 150,000 people. Pouring into Los Angeles by the thousands, as many as 5,000 a month, Negro migrants preempted the former Little Tokyo section, vacated by the Japanese, and rechristened it Bronzeville. Today there can be no question that Los Angeles is destined to be one of the great centers of Negro life in America.

With a combined population of nearly 500,000, Negroes and Mexicans will have a profound influence on the future of Los Angeles. Although the two groups overlap in a few sections of the city, they

live for the most part in separate districts and, to date, there has been relatively little collaboration between them. Once they began to collaborate on political, social, and economic issues, they will constitute a significant balance-of-power element in the population. The Negro community of Los Angeles is already represented on the bench and in the legislature. Although they outnumber the Negroes, the Mexicans have not yet succeeded in winning similar recognition. If they were as well organized as the Negroes, the Mexicans could elect a congressman, several legislators, and a number of councilmen. In a number of outlying communities, they could be a decisive political factor. Of the various racial and ethnic groups in Los Angeles, these two, the Mexicans and the Negroes, are by far the most important.

From the foregoing sections, it will be noted that the important minority groups in Southern California are concentrated in Los Angeles; that they consist of three principal groups, Mexican, Oniental, and Negro; and that each of these groups became an important element in the life of the community at about the same date, for the most part after 1900. As comparative newcomers to the region, their full importance has not as yet been recognized. European immigrant groups, as such, have not constituted an important element in the population since 1870. It should also be noted that the three minorities in question have inherited, in each instance, a particular prejudice: anti-Mexican, anti-Oriental, anti-Negro. In the population of Los Angeles today are represented important elements of every racial strain that has gone into the making of the American people. The city has become, therefore, one of the most interesting racial melting pots in the nation.

5. Crown of the Valley

In California, as Dr. Park has pointed out, "the disposition of racial and cultural minorities to settle in colonies and to cherish, in the seclusion and security of their own communities, different traditions and peculiar folkways is true of other sections of the population which are also, in some sense, alien, alien at least to those who count everyone a foreigner who was not born in the state." Southern California is famous for its residential suburbs, cities like Santa Barbara and Pasadena ("Crown of the Valley"), where the rich and retired live in a seclusion so complete and so silent that in some of the

residential hotels, it is said, one scarcely hears anything but the tick-

ing of the clock or the hardening of one's arteries.

According to Dr. Thorndike, Pasadena ranks first among the 295 American cities included in his study, in the ratio of radios, telephones, bathtubs, and dentists to population. In 1929 the assessed wealth of Pasadena was fixed at \$186,000,000, high for a city of its size. Tax assessors have estimated that fully 75% of the wealth of Pasadena is owned by women. In 1930 Pasadena had the highest percentage of widows of any city in America: 18.2% against a national average of 11.1% (6,481 widows, 1,059 divorced women). Compelled to remain single by the prevalence of non-remarriage clauses in trusts and wills, the widows of Pasadena have attracted scores of playboys, amateur actors, amateur playwrights, amateur musicians, and amateur writers. "Practically every other house in the scenic Oak Knoll, San Marino and South Orange Grove Avenue sections of the town," observed a writer in Ken magazine some years ago, "is occupied by a lonesome widow who still entertains the notion that life has cheated her."

There is a saying in Los Angeles that "rich people who move to Southern California do not go to Pasadena to live unless they have had money for at least two decades." There are no nouveaux riches in Pasadena, no motion-picture celebrities, no oil field tycoons. Pasadena shows the rather liberal streak, in matters of free speech, and the like, that communities of settled wealth are likely to manifest. It is the wealth of Pasadena that has sustained such institutions as the California Institute of Technology, the Pasadena Playhouse, and the Huntington Library. By their location in Pasadena, these institutions could hardly be more carefully insulated from the rest of Los Angeles if they were surrounded by Chinese walls. Now and again Pasadena scandalizes the rest of Southern California by one of those scandals typical of wealth possessed long enough to have induced decadence. Some years ago a leading citizen of Pasadena was arrested on the morning of the day when he was to have received an honorary degree from a local college. Along with seven or eight other leading lights of Pasadena, all men of advanced years, he was charged with having engaged in a charming assortment of sexual perversions with school-age youngsters. He later committed suicide. The prompt and efficient manner in which this particular scandal was buried under

an avalanche of dense silence remains one of the most remarkable accomplishments of the remarkable Los Angeles press.

Whatever your status, income level, or racial stock, you can find a community in metropolitan Los Angeles made up almost exclusively of people who belong in the same socio-economic or racial niche. Pasadena is an upper-class island of inherited wealth; Long Beach is predominantly middle class, made up of retired Middle Westerners; Glendale is lily-white and white-collar, made up of middle-class and lower-middle-class elements; South Pasadena is middle class proper, Bell Gardens is lower-lower and Okie; Beverly Hills is upper middle class, nouveaux riches; while Bel-Air is definitely upper-upper. Indeed, all Southern California is, as Dr. Park said, "a congeries of cultural insulated communities," an archipelago of ethnic, cultural, racial, and socio-economic islands.

Today these various elements exist in relative cultural isolation, but in a mutually interacting relationship. This is merely another way of saying, of course, that the culture of the region has not yet even begun to achieve integration. When integration is achieved, however, the culture of the region will represent literally all America, every racial strain, every state of the union, every socio-economic class, and every ethnic group. Of the American cities, writes J. P. Priestley, Los Angeles is "the newest and strangest of them all, a vast conglomeration, and gayly-colored higgledy-piggledy of unending boulevards, vacant lots, oil derricks, cardboard bungalows, retired farmers, fortunetellers, real estate dealers, film stars, false prophets, affluent pimps, women in pajamas turning on victrolas, radio men lunching on aspirin and Alka-Seltzer, Middle-Western grandmothers, Chinese grandfathers, Mexican uncles and Filipino cousins." Yvor Winters, the Stanford poet, some years ago wrote a poem entitled "See Los Angeles First," which suggests the hobbledehoy character of the city:

> Rosyfingered cocklehouses burst from burning rock red plaster hollyhocks spit crackling mamas tickled pink.

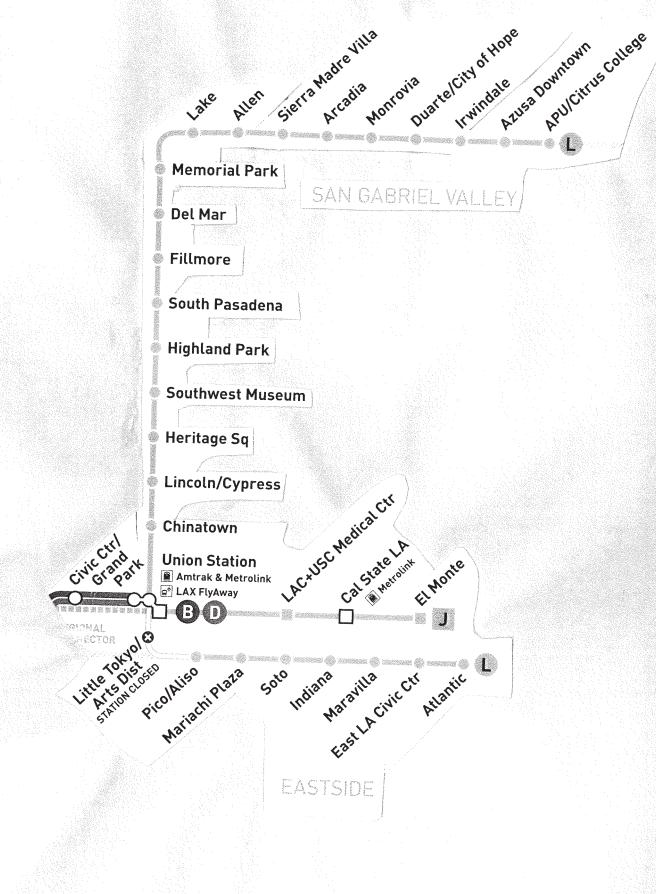
on tiptoe yawn into the dewy dawn dark wettish plushy lawn MIZPAH

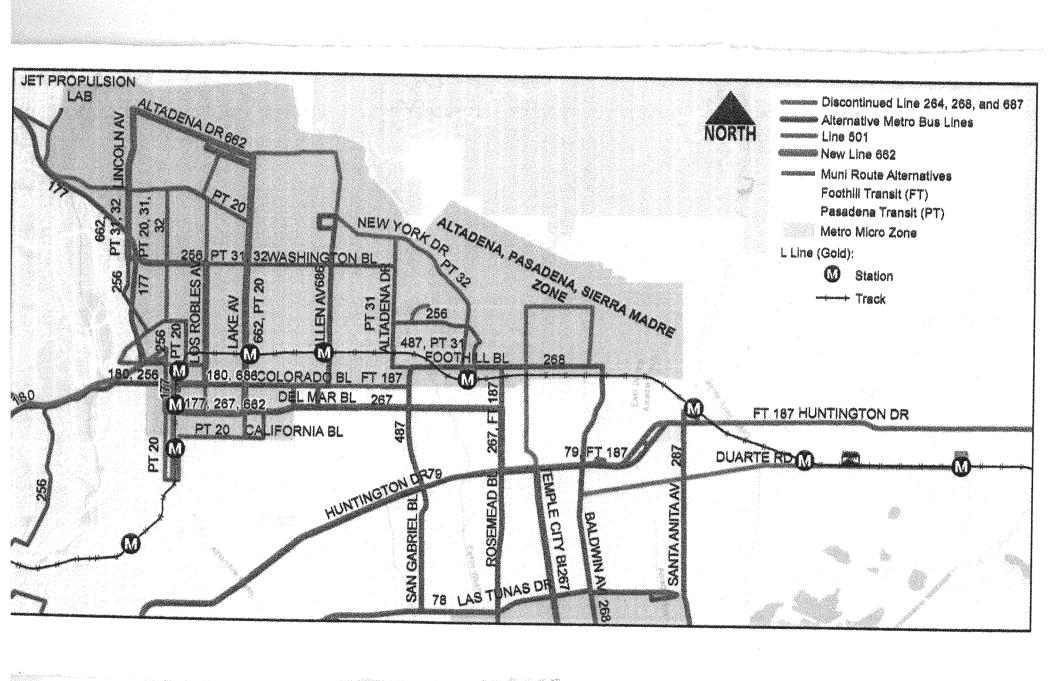
The Temple glittergates
Ask God He Knows
O Pyramid of Sunoil Dates

The mockingbird is singing eighty languages a minute swinging by his toes from highpower

jagged geometric currents
roar along aluminum gashed
Out of gulleys rending
night to one blind
halo for your cold

Concrete Egyptian nakedness
O Waterpower of cleanliness.





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California Rail News

Volume 28 Number 2

May 2018 - August 2018

Metrolink's Plans for Increased Service and Partial Electrification

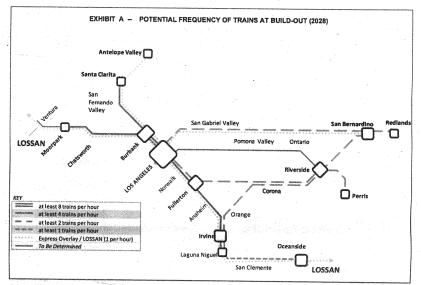
Regional rail agency plans for growth over the next 10 years

By Alon Levy, November 2018 Special to California Rail News

With more than 500 miles of track, yet just 40,000 weekday riders, Metrolink is a large but underutilized commuter rail network. In Chicago, a smaller city with a slightly smaller commuter rail network, the equivalent ridership is 300,000; in Paris, it approaches 3 million.

So what can be done to make Metrolink more useful? The agency - which operates across five Southern California counties - is looking at a modernization program, announced earlier this month in a report entitled Integrated Service and Capital Plan (with Discussion on Electrification). It proposes far-reaching service improvements, including wiring some lines for electric operations. increasing frequency, and coordinating service planning with inter-city rail as well as local buses. What Metrolink is seeking mirrors what some of the most forward-thinking foreign regional rail net-works have achieved, such as those of Switzerland. And yet, some elements in the plan remain lacking.

Metrolink's announcement is in line with the calls of some area transit advocates. Paul Dyson, president of RailPAC, has long called for electrification of Metrolink, putting forth a scheme in 2014 that he dubbed Electrolink. Two years ago, Clem Tillier, a Bay Area-based rail advocate, predicted that this must happen. He looked at the plans for electrification and compatibility with high-speed



Metrolink's plans for a Southern California network radiating from L.A. Union Station.

rail on the San Francisco Peninsula, and said, "Metrolink will become Electrolink, from Anaheim to Burbank and possibly even up the hill to Palmdale. They just don't know it yet."

In 2015, Metrolink issued its 10-Year Strategic Plan, laying out some management goals for growth, but stopping short of making specific policy recommendations. Notably absent from the document was any mention of electrification. Perhaps the most important factor in this change of direction since 2015 is the continued progress of California High-Speed Rail, which is now closer to reality and has forced Metrolink to plan based on what would make it easiest to share tracks

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OPTIMIZING SANTA CRUZ RAIL PASSENGER SERVICE

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SB 1029 Would "Rail Bank" Eal River Tracks, Abolish NCRA

New Passenger Rail Service Possible, Along With Costly Eel River Trail

By Michael D. Setty Editor, California Rail News

In March 2018, State Senator Mark McGuire introduced SB 1029, a bill that would abolish the North Coast Rail Authority (NCRA). The bill would transfer control of the existing railroad owned by NCRA to a new "Great Redwood Trail Authority," which would control the right-ofway between Humboldt County and Willits in Mendocino County.

Ownership and administration of existing tracks between Cloverdale and Willits would be transferred from NCRA to the Sonoma-Marin Rail Transit District (e.g., SMART), which currently operates Santa Rosa to San Rafael commuter rail service.

In Humboldt County, SB 1029 would retain existing tracks between Samoa, Arcata, and Eureka for proposed excursion trains, but contains the poison pill "...except

California Rail News

Published May 15; 2018
Published 2-3 times annually by the
Train Riders Association of California
in cooperation with the
California Rail Foundation

Ronald Jones, TRAC President Michael Setty, California Rail News Editor David Schonbrunn, Copy Editor

Signed articles represent the views of their authors, not necessarily those of the above organizations.

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that the service shall not interfere with or harm the agency's trail." Between Eureka and Willits, the 142 miles of railroad would be "rail banked." That is, rails, stranded rolling stock and other infrastructure would be removed, to be replaced by a proposed trail, with a remote long-term possibility of restoring rail service if ever economically justified.

TRAC opposes SB 1029 unless amended to preserve the rail segment from Eureka to Alderpoint. We agree with the NCRA that this section has commercial potential, and that it is critical to the economic future of the County. (See related article on Page 5.)

According to the NCRA's January 2018 Strategic Plan, retaining and upgrading the 46.5 miles tracks from milepost 237.7 (South Fork) to milepost 284.0 (downtown Eureka) would cost \$47 million, including track and grade crossing repairs, fixing bridges and repairs for three cal tunnels. For the 16.5 miles of line between Eureka, Arcata and Samoa, estimated repairs are \$15 million including fixing track, timber bridges and other infrastructure repairs needed to reopen the line. Funding for track restoration is not addressed. The extraordinary cost of mitigating numerous massive landslides including possibly miles of new viaducts and environmental mitigations makes the reopening of the main Eel River Canyon between Dos Rios and Alderpoint infeasible. Recent estimates for reopening the entire rail line between Samoa, Eureka and Willits are at least \$600 million and possibly up to \$1 billion

No cost estimate currently exists for converting the rail alignment to a trail. However, much of the work required to restore the railroad. e.g., regrading, improving drainage removing train wreck debris from the river channel, and cleaning up other environmental damage and toxic wastes, would also be needed for a trail. It is clear that rail banking and building an Eel River trail woul cost hundreds of millions of dollars, a large portion of which would be spent in the main stretch of the Eel I service, it is not au .novneStreviR sn't connect the Ca

TRAC strongly opposes diversion of any funds meant for rail service c public transit to a trail project. We note that compensation to adjacent land owners may be required if portions of the line have rails removed and are "rail backed!" (See Santa Cruz afticle on this topic on page 7)



Several times per year, the Timber Heritage Association of Humboldt County operates rail transit of a sort, and hopes to graduate to bigger trains soon.

Join TRAC and Help Fight for Improved Trains

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TRAC'S Response to High Speed Refle's Latest Business Plan

By David Schonbrunn TRAC Vice President for Policy

The Capital Costs and Funding chapter of the California High-Speed Rail Authority's draft 2018 Business Plan provides a health assessment of the HSR project for those who can see through the obfuscation: The project has actually been dead for years, but refuses to lie down to be decently buried. In the 2016 Business Plan, the Authority tacitly admitted it could not fund a rail connection to Southern California. The new draft plan admits outright it can't build a rail connection to San Jose. Without the ability to deliver an operating HSR segment, the project as it is currently conceived has no reason to exist.

Instead of addressing this fundamental reality, the plan deflects attention to possible "interim" uses, whereby the Authority's Central Valley tracks are used for Amtrak service, while Caltrain tracks offer somewhat higher-speed travel. While that plan generously spreads the state's funds for Northern California local service, it is not an HSR system: It doesn't connect the Central Valley to Silicon Valley, much less connect the Bay Area and Sacramento to Southern California

The Business Plan discloses that the Authority has no feasible way to fund the missing piece connecting the Central Valley to the Bay Area-the Day tunnels under Pacheco Pass--other than to wait for up to \$18 billion to fall from the sky, delivered by some mythical private sector entity. The lack of any private investment todate is the definitive test of the project's economics, which had been compromised away in CHSRA's early days. At the same time, TRAC is aware of private sector interest in building other, different, HSR routes. Clearly the economics of those routes are, by contrast, quite favorable.

Cap and Trade

CHSRA is also not going to get any free money during a Trump presidency. While it's possible CHSRA could qualify for low-cost debt, it has no investment-grade funding stream to service that debt. The Business Plan's Hail Mary move is to ask the Legislature to double down on HSR at this pivotal moment, locking in a commitment of Cap and Trade funding through 2050.

Not only would this put the State Treasury on the hook for any failure of Cap and Trade, it would prevent future Legislatures from pulling the plug on the funding to the project, no matter how badly things go. For a project so vulnerable to huge cost increases, that is the last thing a responsible legislature would do. Financing HSR with Cap and Trade is also illegal, since paying interest on

debt does not reduce GHGs, which Cap & Trade funds are required to do.

Without this extreme ask, CHSRA cannot even pretend to have a viable project. The Authority claims that building out more of the project will draw in private capital or the federal government (hah!). Given the non-viability of the project, it would be highly inappropriate to invest further public dollars in such a speculative gamble.

CHSRA is obviously trying to get the State to commit so deeply that it won't be able to abandon its investment. When the private sector and the feds refuse to invest, CHSRA will predictably put their hand out again, and ask the State to pick up the entire cost.

When the extension of Cap and Trade is taken off the table, the only option left for CHSRA is to plan an orderly shutdown. TRAC believes that the time is now to bite the bullet, before more billions of dollars are wasted on construction that will never lead to HSR operations.

Proposition 1A Bonds

Because this draft Business Plan is unable to show HSR to be a viable business, it puts a brave face on the fact that CHSRA has no way to forward without a huge political lift. Yet Eventually, it has to run out of money. Proposition 1A, the HSR Bond Act, foresaw that possibility and created provisions to prevent bond money from being wasted on unfinished segments.

Those provisions, termed "a financial straitjacket" by a Court of Appeal, require that all needed funding be in place before funds could be disbursed for construction. While, obviously, all needed funding is not in place, that same Court of Appeal allowed CHSRA to go forward.

One of those conditions, that "the segment be suitable and ready for high-speed train operation" was later modified by the Legislature, enabling the expenditure of bond funding for HSR construction in the Central Valley and for the Caltrain electrification project. A coalition of public entities and non-profits is in court challenging that law, AB 1889, as facially unconstitutional, because it amended a key provision of a voter-approved bond measure.

CHSRA has spent over \$4 billion, and has nothing to show for it in the way of new train service. Worse yet, there is now a strong likelihood that CHSRA will never be able to deliver actual service. For any other transit project, that would be absolutely scandalous. The time will come when California recognizes HSR as the massive scandal TRAC sees it to be.

Coast Observations

IT SEEMS THAT THE SAN JOSE SHARKS hockey team doesn't get transit. Despite the fact that the SAP Center is directly across the street from where most major Silicon Valley transit lines converge, the team expects 80% of fans to drive to games 20 years hence. They sued VTA, claiming the proposed BART extension to downtown San Jose will drive away business... WE HAVE TO SIDE WITH S.F. MUNI on this one: No, the new Muni logo is NOT "Dodger Blue." It is "UC Berkeley Blue" e.g., like the Blue & Gold Fleet ferries... AS CRN READERS ALREADY KNOW, ROBOCARS are not what they're cracked up to be, according to some recent critical articles in the mainstream press... THOMAS ELIAS, **COLUMNIST** who writes on California issues, suggests that a new look be taken at routing High-Speed Rail via I-5, you know, as TRAC has suggested for years. It has yet to be seriously studied... DR. GRAHAM CURRIE OF MONASH UNIVERITY. AUSTRALIA has a new article in the Journal of Public Transportation: "Lies, Damned Lies, AVs, Shared Mobility, and Urban Transit Futures." Its money quote: "It seems to me there is a gigantic lot of nonsense discussed about the future of transport and the future of public transport in particular..." CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR express their views on High-Speed Rail...Democrats want to keep it, but 3 of 4 seem to want to also fix it. Republican Travis Allen wants to kill it; John Cox promises to stop construction, but also seems willing to consider re-routing HSR down the I-5 corridor, presumably if the private sector took over from the state... THE STORY SEEMS TO BE THE SAME EVERYWHERE, WHEN HYPED LOOP comes to town. This time in France, where impoverished cities vie for Hyped Loop's favor... SPEAKING OF HYPE, MORE ARE GETTING WISE TO ROBOCARS, this time an article that points out that robocars would cause more congestion, particularly when their average occupancy will be less that 1.0 person... WITH CALIFORNIA'S INCREASING HOUSING CRISIS, more and more workers are becoming "super commuters" traveling 90 minutes+ to work. Many ACE and Metrolink riders fall into this category, but most super commuters drive... RECOGNIZING THE GROWING HOUSING CRISIS, a new report suggests using vacant San Diego Trolley parking lots for people, not cars. There is sufficient room for 8,000 housing units according to the report... OAKLAND A'S & L.A. DODGERS LIKE GONDOLAS; they suggest constructing gondolas connecting BART to a new waterfront stadium in Oakland and Union Station to Chavez Ravine, respectively... But will they pay for them?

Metrolink Capital Plan (continued from Page One)

between Los Angeles Union Station and Burbank, as Tillier predicted.

However, the upcoming state rail plan may have also played a role. The state is proposed concrete goals, including a policy for evaluating multimodal lifecycle costs in decision making. This policy heavily favors electrification: a Dutch benchmarking study from ten years ago found that electric trains cost about half as much as diesel trains to procure and maintain. Moreover, electrification is the most useful on short-range rail lines with high service frequency, such as Metrolink following the integrated service report's proposed increases in

If anything, Metrolink's proposal for electrification is too timid. The report talks about wiring the Antelope Valley Line up to Santa Clarita, the Ventura County Line up to Moorpark, and the Orange County Line down to Laguna Niguel. While the northern terminals make sense, since there is very little demand for service beyond them, the southern terminal is located nearly halfway from Union Station to San Diego. With hourly Pacific Surfliner Amtrak service, there is an argument for electrifying the entire corridor to San Diego, in collaboration with SANDAG.

Electrification to San Diego is especially useful as part of a blended plan with high-speed trains. In most countries with a high-speed rail network, high-speed trains run not only on dedicated high-speed lines but also on legacy lines at lower speed. Fast trains from Northern California could run to Los Angeles and then continue beyond on the LOSSAN corridor to San Diego, doing the trip between Los Angeles and San Diego in two hours or somewhat less.

But Metrolink's new plan is not just about electrification. Several other steps are included, aimed at the modernization of Metrolink service based on best industry practices. Electrification is the most visible capital infrastructure item, but there are crucial elements involving operations and scheduling.

The furthest-reaching timetable change is known as the pulse, proposed in Goal 1 of the state rail plan. This is common in some small American cities on bus systems, but rare in larger ones. In a pulse, several transit vehicles converge at one point, such as one bus transfer point in a small city, or a train station in a larger one, at a fixed interval, typically once

This article reprinted with permission. Original post with links is located at: http://urbanize.la/post/metrolink-plans-increased-service-and-partial-electrification

an hour on buses. This means that transit is scheduled to arrive at the transfer point, called the pulse point, a few minutes before the hour, every hour, and to leave just after the hour, allowing people to transfer between any two routes with little wait time. On buses, it is difficult to maintain frequent pulse schedules, but on trains, separated from road traffic, it is easy. Switzerland's intercity rail network has half-hourly pulses, and some individual stations have quarter-hourly pulses.

The pulse is not just about Metrolink itself, but also about the entire transit system within Metrolink's range. Buses in suburbs served by Metrolink could be re-arranged to meet the trains. This is feasible even in relatively close-in suburban areas, such as the Valley, but is especially useful in suburbs where buses have little else to go but Metrolink, creating a local bus pulse together with the train.

The problem with this plan is that it assumes middling frequency. The integrated plan report calls for a train every 15 minutes on the core Orange County, Ventura County, and Antelope Valley Lines, but hourly off-peak frequencies elsewhere. This includes the San Bernardino Line, currently the system's busiest. There are no plans to electrify it (whereas Dyson's Electrolink plan does cover it), probably because it is disconnected from any future high-speed rail plans. But it serves relatively dense suburbs in eastern Los Angeles County with no access to other rail transit and has no freight traffic to interfere with frequent passenger rail operations.

Metrolink is proposing investment in the San Bernardino Line—but the kind that makes service worse rather than better. It is calling for constructing an express bypass track, exactly the opposite of what the system needs. Metrolink's stop spacing is extremely wide; I wrote about this earlier this year, calling for infill stops in the Valley, at inter-sections with frequent buses. The same prescription is true on the San Bernardino Line, whose first four stops out of Union Stations take riders 23 miles out, about twice as far as those on Caltrain out of San Francisco or the Long Island Railroad out of New York Penn Station, and three times as far as the commuter lines out of Central Paris.

Metrolink already provides express service. What it needs is to use electrification to speed it up further, and open many urban infill stops using the high acceleration capability of electric trains to limit the time cost of the extra stops. This is especially true off-peak, when the system has to get urban ridership and not just suburban peak-hour commuters. With the proposed timed transfers with buses,

infill stops at the intersections with the main buses are crucial on all lines: on the three lines to be electrified, but also on the remaining lines, especially San Bernardino, with its high ridership

The other missing element is fare integration. The Metrolink plan says nothing about offering urban riders, within reach of Metro's bus system, a rail trip for the same price as a bus or subway fare. This is especially important in the working-class areas served by the Antelope Valley, San Bernardino, and Ventura County Lines If there is a commuter train charging \$3.75 from Burbank to Union Station where the local bus and Metrorail network charges \$1.75, most riders will opt for the cheaper option, even if the train arrives every 7.5 minutes as Metrolink plans.

Metrolink is making steps in the right direction, but it's still missing some critical components of regional rail modernization. The proposed pulse timetable in the state rail plan should lead to substantial increase... in ridership—provided there is good service to connect to. Metrolink is right to plan for electrification and high all-day frequency, but it needs to do so on more than just the lines directly tied to high-speed rail—after all, these investments abroad are typically not about compatibility with intercity trains.

The plan suffers from excessive conservatism and caution, and needs to be bigger. Tillier talked about integration with high-speed trains between Anaheim and San Francisco but by the same token Metrolink needs to integrate its services with intercity. trains to San Diego, and integrate its fares with local public transit throughout Los Angeles County. Without such integration, many people would continue to face difficult choices between an expensive car and a slow bus. Metrolink holds the promise of providing public transit faster than driving on the freeways, but only if it engages in additional investments to ensure it is available for everyone, on

Alon Levy grew up in Tel Aviv and Singapore. He has blogged at Pedestrian Observations since 2011, covering public transit, urbanism, and development. Now based in Paris, he writes for a variety of publications, including New York YIMBY, Streetsblog, Voice of San Diego, Railway Gazette, the Bay City Beacon, the DC Policy Center, and Urbanize LA. You can find him on Twitter @alon_levy.

Editor's Note: TRAC suspects that the future of electrification in California will involve battery-electric and fuel cell-electric trains and not catenary systems.

Excursion Trains & "Very Light Rail" Seem Plausible in Humboldt Co.

By Michael D. Setty Editor, California Rail News

In and around Eureka, restoring existing tracks would enable operation of tourist trains. Currently, an estimated 1.2 million annual visitors are attracted to Humboldt County. Attractions include Redwood National Park and area state parks and museums focusing on the history of the local timber industry. Tourist trains would help increase tourism by attracting more bus tours by Chinese and other international visitors, and enticing some visitors to spend an extra day in Humboldt County.

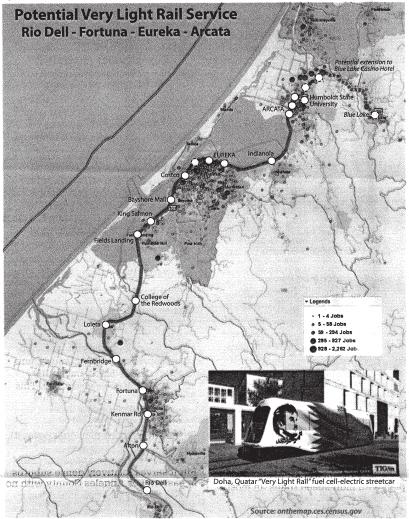
This, of course, brings up the issues being addressed by SB 1029: whether rail should operate in the more stable portions of the Eel River watershed. The North Coast Railroad Authority was created by the State to improve the future economy of the North Coast. TRAC believes rail tourism to be a critical element of Humboldt's economic future.

Toward that end, TRAC strongly objects to SB 1029's penny-wise and pound foolish proposal to tear up the existing rails to put a trail in their place. TRAC proposes a low-cost rail implementation in Humboldt, using existing rails, with a trail alongside. To put rails back "later" would be much more expensive, and would require the trail to be moved. TRAC urges the Legislature to leave the tracks in place, and submitted proposed amendments. While SB 1029 makes provision for... rail operations between Samoa and Eureka, we believe that the rail line from Eureka to Alderpoint also needs to be saved.

While prognostication of potential tourist railroad ridership is more art than science, there are guideposts. Reat Younger (who unfortunately died in 1993), a tourist railroad consultant, was able to plan a large number of financially successful tourist railroads in the 1980s and early 1990s. Based on Younger's empirical observations, about 10% to 11% of the local population within 50 miles of the attraction can be expected to take a ride on a suitable line. In Humboldt's case, that is about 15,000 rides per year.

Another rule of thumb was that 29% of destination overnight visitors in remote rural locations such as Humboldt County could be expected to ride an attractive excursion train, e.g., situations like Fort Bragg. Recent tourism data from Cairns, Australia is consistent with Younger's estimates, e.g., 28% of overseas visitors (mostly from Asia) rode the local scenic train vs. 15%-16% of domestic visitors, who are mostly repeat visitors. This schema is consistent with mature tourist areas, such as the Skunk Train.

These figures suggest a potential of somewhere between 150,000 and 250,000 annual visitor riders, given the current 1,000,000+/- overnight visitors in Humboldt County, with the potential



to stimulate many more overnight visits. Starting in Eureka, visitors could ride through near-coast dairy farms and other farmland and forests, and stop at the Scotia's museum and mill complex. There is also potential for "cannabis tours" since Humboldt County is known world-wide for the quality of its cannabis crop, though how many visitors would be attracted by this now-legal industry is a wild guess.

A longer ride through the Redwoods would be like the Durango and Silverton or the Grand Canyon train in Williams, AZ. Both are major attractions to very scenic areas, and virtually all riders are also overnighters, who have a much higher positive economic impact.

Riding along the Eel River to South Fork or Alderpoint would provide direct access to Humboldt Redwoods State Park. This would be substantially different from the Skunk Train experience, with more inland second growth, a view of the large groves on the west side of the river and the transition to the drier, warmer climate along the river.

Future Transit?

In the longer run, advancing technology for driverless transit

vehicles and GPS-based Positive Train Control may make "very light rail" economically feasible on the 30-mile rail line between Rio Dell, Fortuna, Eureka, Arcata, and Humboldt State University (HSU), e.g., the most heavily populated portions of Humboldt County. Preliminary analysis indicates that fixed infrastructure costs are likely to be less than \$50 million for an upgrade to Class III standards, e.g., allowing 60 mph for passenger trains, constructing new stations and passing tracks, with less than \$5 million needed for an entire GPS-based PTC system available soon from European vendors.

The author's preliminary analysis shows that potential ridership on such a rail line between Rio Dell and HSU is 6,000-7,000 daily one-way trips not including tourists, assuming 30 minute frequencies end-to-end and more concentrated service between College of the Redwoods, downtown Eureka, downtown Arcata and Humboldt State University.

Ridership would also be enhanced by coordinated bus connections between Rio Dell/Fortuna and Garberville in South Humboldt County, as well as frequent connecting buses between Arcata, McKinle, ville and the California Redwood Coast/Humboldt County Airport.

State Awards \$2.7 Billion in Rail, Transit Grants

In late April 2018, the California State Transportation Agency (CalSTA) awarded \$2.65 billion to 28 local agencies from the Transit and Intercity Rail Capital Program, including new funding from Senate Bill 1, the 2017 increase in gasoline and other taxes. This article summarizes the rail awards by agency, amount, and short project descriptions from CalSTA.

4. Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) Transbay Corridor Core Capacity Program, \$144,490,000

Project Total: \$3,409,000,000

Deploys 272 new rail vehicles and completes a communication-based train control system (CBTC), allowing an increase in train frequency to 30 trains per hour through the Transbay tunnel as well as an increase in train length to 10 car trains during peak hours to alleviate crowding. Allows for over 200,000 new riders per day to ride BART.

5. Capitol Corridor Joint Powers Authority (CCJPA) Northern California Corri-dor Enhancement Program, \$80.340.000

Project Total: \$275,041,000

Rail projects to increase ridership by moving Capitol Corridor trains to a faster Oakland to San Jose corridor, saving 10-15 minutes compared to 2018 travel times. Also funds statewide service and ticket integration, providing opportunities for riders on at least 10 rail and transit systems to plan travel and purchase tickets in a single, seamless transaction.

10. Los Angeles County Metropolitan
Transportation Authority (LA Metro)Los
Angeles Region Transit System Integration
and Modernization Program of Projects,
\$330,200,000 cobaseds were as anguluo

Project Total: \$5,767,700,000

Capital improvements that will broaden and modernize transit connectivity in Los Angeles County and the Southern California region by advancing new transit corridors simultaneously: Gold Line Light Rail Extension to Montclair, East San Fernando Valley Transit Corridor, West Santa Ana Light Rail Transit Corridor, Green Line Light Rail Extension to Torrance, and the Orange/ Red Line to Gold Line Bus Rapid Transit Connector (North Hollywood to Pasadena). Includes support for the development of a Vermont Transit Corridor Project and regional network integration with Metrolink, Amtrak, and additional transit services. Projects will add over 120,000 additional riders per day by 2028.

11. Los Angeles-San Diego-San Luis Obispo Rail Corridor Agency (LOSSAN) All Aboard 2018: Transforming SoCal Rail Travel, \$40,412,000

Project Total: \$65,570,000

Improve on-time performance and rail corridor capacity for Pacific Surfliner and Coaster trains by investing in signal optimization, a more robust capital maintenance program and new right of way fencing. These projects prepare the corridor for higher frequency services on the Pacific Surfliner and COASTER. Includes study of San Diego maintenance/layover facility relocation.

12. Los Angeles-San Diego-San Luis Obispo Rail Corridor Agency (LOSSAN) Building Up: LOSSAN North Improvement Program, \$147,930,000

Project Total: \$ 31.669,000

Investments that increase Pacific Surfliner service to Santa Barbara from five to six

round trips, and to San Luis Obispo from two to three round trips, and also improves travel time, reliability and safety for both Metrolink and the Pacific Surfliner in the Los Angeles to San Luis Obispo corridor.

13. Peninsual Corridor Joint Powers Board (PCJPB) (Caltrain) Peninsula Corridor Electrification Expansion Project, \$123,182,000

Project Total: \$203,638,000

Supports all-electric passenger service on the Caltrain system and increases the ridership capacity by expanding electric multiple units (EMUs) rail cars under procurement. Lengthens platforms to accommodate longer trains. Additional funding also improves wayside bicycle facilities and expands onboard Wi-Fi.

14. Sacramento Regional Transit (SacRT) Accerating Rail Modernization and Expansion in the Capital Region, \$40.345.000

Project Total: \$144,350,000

Expanded service to Folsom. Combines with previous TIRCP award to allow for 15 min service during weekdays, plus 3 peak express trains in the peak hour direction. Begins initial effort to replace the existing fleet with low-floor rail vehicles (LRVs). Includes funding 20 expansion and replacement vehicles and an investment in the highest priority platform conversions to allow efficient and accessible boarding to the new vehicles.

15. San Bernardino County Transportation Authority (SBCTA) Diesel Multiple Unit Vehicle to Zero- or Low-Emission Vehicle Conversion and West Valley Connnector Bus Rapid Transit, \$30,000,000

Project Total: \$306,240,000 TOD I VEWINGIN

Pilot effort to develop a Zero Emission Multiple Unit (ZEMU) train set that would operate on the Redlands Passenger Rail Corridor, along with conversion of Diesel Multiple Unit (DMU) rail vehicles used in the Redlands Passenger Rail service, creating the zero emission fleet operations. This conversion includes statewide testing that could impact future equipment acquisition for other rail services, like Metrolink, statewide.

17. San Diego Metropolitan Transit System (MTS) Blue Line Rail Corridor Transit Enhancements \$40,098,000

Project Total: \$50,200,000

Increased ridership through investments allowing Blue Line trolley frequency increases and the addition of a new Rapid Bus service connecting Imperial Beach and the Otay Mesa International Border Crossing for 15-min frequency to the Blue Line Trolley, also includes supplemental funding to acquire eleven, 60-foot articulated zero-emission buses, as well as station improvements.

18. San Francisco Municipal Transportation Agency (SFMTA) Transit Capacity Expansion Program, \$26,867,000

Project Total: \$287,309,000

Increases ridership and reduces greenhouse gas emissions by funding an additional 8 zero-emissions expansion vehicles for the Muni light rail system, bringing the total expansion fleet to 50 vehicles. These vehicles provide for more frequent and longer trains, reducing crowding.

19. San Joaquins Joint Powers Authority (SJJPA) & San Joaquin Regional Rail Commission (SJRRC) Valley Rail, \$426,700,000

Project Total: \$904,600,000

Creates new round trips between Fresno, Merced and Sacramento on the Amtrak San Joaquin line, initiates phased service expansion on the Altamont Corridor Express (ACE) train service beginning with 1 train originating in Sacramento and connecting to San Jose during the peak period. Creates new ACE service out of Ceres with zero-emission feeder bus connections to Merced that will connect with San Jose and Sacramento. These services will connect Merced, Ceres, Modesto, Stockton and Sacramento, as well as between Fresno and Sacramento and allow for ridership growth. Includes numerous new stations, and improved connectivity to Bay Area and Bakersfield services

22. Santa Barbara County Association of Governments (SBCAG) Goleta Train Depot, \$13,009,000

Project Total: \$19,709,000

Improves transit facility for bus, train, bicycle and pedestrians by constructing a modern, multi-modal train station that provides a safe, functional and inviting facility that accommodates improved bus transit service and shuttles from Santa Barbara Airport and the University of California Santa Barbara.

23. Santa Clara Valley Transportation Authority (SCVTA) VTA's Silicon Valley BART Extension, Phase II, \$238,360,000

Project Total: \$4,779,935,000

Extends BART into downtown San Jose and out to Santa Clara, creating 4 new stations. Will serve over 52,000 new riders per day in 2035 and more than 100,000 by 2075 while increasing connectivity to Caltrain, Amtrak, and transit services at San Jose Diridon station.

26. Sonoma Marin Area Rail Transit District (SMART) SMART Larkspur to Windsor Corridor, \$21,000,000

Project Total: \$144.100.000

Completes critical rail segments extending rail service to Larkspur with its regional ferry service, and northward to Windsor Also provides for project, development, light of the extension of service to Healdsburg and Cloverdale.

27. Southern California Regional Rail Authority (SCRRA - Metrolink) Southern California Optimized Rail Expansion (SCORE), \$763,712,000

Project Total: \$2,049,700,000

Delivers more frequent, more reliable rail services throughout Southern California, with station reconfiguration with runthrough tracks for Metrolink and Pacific Surfliner trains at Los Angeles Union Station to improve train movement through the station, and 30-min services on multiple Metrolink corridors in the LA Basin. Includes significant investments to improve the frequency and performance of rail services to Moorpark, Santa Clarita, San Bernardino, Riverside, and Orange County. Part of high-performance long-range vision.

28. Transportation Agency for Monterey County (TAMC) Rail Extension to Monterey County, \$10,148,000

Project Total: \$81,519,000

Extension of 2 round trip passenger rail services from Gilroy to Salinas, including a layover facility and positive train control. Adds 95,000 new riders in the first year, connecting Salinas to the Silicon Valley.

Santa Grus No Rails, "Trail Only" Legal Can of Wormer

By Michael D. Setty Editor, California Rail News

In November 2016, Santa Cruz County voters approved Measure D, a one-half cent county-wide sales tax for transportation. Measure D included an 8% set-aside for maintaining the tracks in the County's 31.48-mile rail corridor. Portions of a pedestrian and bicycle trail parallel to the tracks between Davenport, Santa Cruz and Watsonville are currently under construction.

Four years earlier, the Santa Cruz County Regional Transportation Commission (SCCRTC) purchased the rail corridor from the Union Pacific Railroad.

SCCRTC is conducting a "Unified Corridor Investment Study" scheduled for completion in fall of 2018. This study is examining various transportation options along the three main transportation corridors between Watsonville and Santa Cruz (Highway T. Soquel Ave.) Treedom Blwd and the rail corridor). Options being studied include: Bus Rapid Transit (BRT) along all three corridors; passenger rail in the existing rail corridor (along with improved pedestrian and bicycle facilities); and HOV and/or auxiliary lanes along filighway 1.

While adding a freeway lane in each direction on Highway 1 is the most controversial transportation project being considered in Santa Cruz County, proposed rail service on the rail corridor is second. Two outspoken and apparently very well-fiffalfield propagate of the rail town and "Greenway Santa Cruz," are attempting to convince SCCRTC to abandon the current "rail and trail" plan in favor of a "Trail Only" option that would remove existing tracks.

Support for these groups appears to be coming primarily from residents with property adjacent to the rail corridor, who are opposed to rail transit in Santa Cruz. The Trail Only idea proposes to convert the current rail alignment and embankment to a combination bicycle-pedestrian trail. These anti-rail groups claim that in addition to conventional bicycles, electric-assisted bicycles and scooters would be adequate substitutes for transit (thus ignoring longer-distance commuting between Watsonville and Santa Cruz).

The "Trail Only" idea put forward by rail opponents has major shortcomings and a potentially fatal oversight.

First, the anti-rail faction claims

that the existing rail corridor can be "rail-banked." That is, existing tracks and ties can be removed now, in favor of using the corridor for a bicycle/ pedestrian trail, and then reinstalled at some future date when rail service is determined to be "feasible."

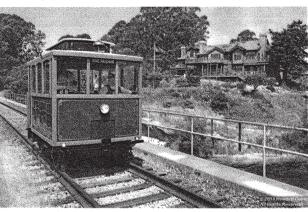
However, we are unaware of any rail service

that has been reestablished in a publicly owned "rail-banked" corridor after the tracks were replaced by a trail. In the few cases where service reestablishment was attempted, trail users and adjacent property owners united and stopped implementation by influencing agency Board members. In short, the call for rail-banking seeks to eliminate the only remaining serious option to prevent Santa Cruz County's descent into total gridlock.

Second, rail opponents claim likely rail ridership would be too low. Given the rapidly growing congestion in the Highway 1 corridor, this claim cannot. be taken seriously. In SCCRTC's 2015 Passenger Rail Feasibility Report, consultants estimated that the highest ridership option would carry from 6,150 to 6,800 daily riders under projected 2035 conditions. The study assumed no service to downtown Santa Cruz or Cabrillo College. In the accompanying article, we show how extending service to those destinations would double the projected ridership.

Third, rail opponents overlook another major problem, which is probably fatal to their Trail-Only proposal. A series of Federal Court rulings regarding the conversion of railroad rights-of-way to trail usage suggest that removing the tracks will spark years of litigation.

SCCRTC has established outright ownership of only 31% (93.09 acres) of the total land used for the railroad right-of-way. The remaining 208.53 acres consist of 10 rail only easements that legally revert to adjacent landowners after abandonment of rail usage, and dozens of other parcels for which no clear title could be established. The status of parcels not apparently owned outright by SCCRTC is ambiguous at best. Should railroad usage be abandoned by removing current tracks in favor of a trail only, it is clear that



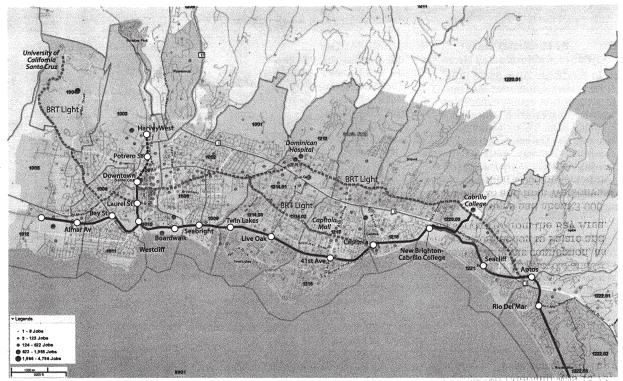
"Daisy the Streetcar" operated on the Santa Cruz Branch Line until recently. Daisy proves that rail may be technically and economically feasible, even with smaller than standard railcars.

constructing a trail would require purchasing the parcels with reversion clauses. In addition, the dozens of additional parcels that have unclear titles are likely to lead to years of litigation to determine ownership and compensation to adjacent property owners.

A key United States Supreme Court ruling on a railroad right-ofway reversion dispute in Wyoming after abandonment was favorable to property owners. In the Marvin M. Brandt Revocable Trust v. United States case, the Court ruled that property ownership granted outright to a now abandoned railroad in Wyoming by the Federal government must revert to an adjacent property owner, despite the fact that their property was granted by the government a significant time after the railroad was granted full ownership through an earlier land grant. This suggests that the current Supreme Court - and the rest of the Federal judiciary - is likely to be favorable to adjacent property owners, particularly where clear reversion clauses exist, or in ambiguous cases such as in Santa Cruz County.

The proposal by Trail Now and Greenway Santa Cruz to rip out existing Santa Cruz Branch Line tracks. replaced by only a trail, would open up SCCRTC and taxpayers to great uncertainty and years of litigation. In addition to the cost of removing tracks, this author's educated guess is that purchasing expanded rights for existing ease-ments originally granted for railroad use could cost \$80-\$100 million. Retaining the existing tracks is the least costly and most prudent action for SCCRTC, whether rail is implemented within the next few years or later in the 21st Century.

This article is based on a longer white paper available online at www.calrailnews.org



Optimizing Rail Passenger Service in Santa Cruz County

By Michael D. Setty Editor, California Rail News

Partly out of curiosity, I followed up on Santa Cruz County's 2015 Passenger Rail Feasibility Report to see if I could increase ridership by optimizing the service pattern. I generated my own ridership projections, applying recent census employment and population data to the direct demand forecasting model. In that model, population and employment located within 0.5 miles of proposed station stops are the most important factors in projecting rail ridership, followed by the number of bus arrivals and departures at a given station.

To test out the model, I applied it to new SMART rail service in Marin and Sonoma Counties that began in September 2017. SMART ridership has been averaging around 3,000 weekday one-way passenger trips during non-holiday periods since beginning revenue service last September. This compares to the 3,200+/- daily one-way trips projected by the model. A 10%+/10% result like this is indicative of a very respectable model.

The direct demand model was applied to the Santa Cruz County rail corridor plan, modified to increase ridership beyond the highest ridership scenarios studied in the 2015 Passenger Rail Feasibility Report:

 Service was extended 0.7 miles north from the Santa Cruz depot, to two additional stations at Chestnut & Laurel and Chestnut & Locust Streets in Downtown Santa Cruz. The Laurel Street stop would connect directly to the Laurel Street buses to/from UCSC that operate every 7.5 minutes in each direction during the school year. The proposed Locust Street station is less than a block from Santa Cruz City Hall, and is about 0.25 mile from the downtown core.

- A new station at the entrance to New Brighton State Beach. This stop would connect to Cabrillo College across Highway 1 with a transit lane on McGregor Drive, and then across a new pedestrian/bicycle bridge that includes a dedicated path for small, low axleweight automated minibuses. The automated minibus would operate from the rail station through the heart of the Cabrillo College campus to the Metro bus stops on Soquel Drive.
- There would be 2-3 local stations not evaluated in the 2015 rail study, in addition to the downtown, Cabrillo College and Pajaro stations.
- In Watsonville, all local buses would be extended beyond the existing downtown transit center to the West Watsonville rail station. This maximizes coordination and provides a choice of more than one route to transit patrons.

Two service scenarios were examined. These were:

 Operate 30-minute frequencies all-day over the line between Downtown Santa Cruz and Pajaro. On top of the 30-minute frequencies all-day, overlay additional service every 30-minutes during the morning (6:00 a.m.-9:00 a.m.) and afternoon (3:30 p.m.-6:30 p.m.) peak periods between Downtown and Rio Del Mar, staggered to achieve 15-minute service between those points:01e service periods of the service periods of th

For the 30-minute all-day frequency scenario, projected ridership was 11,156 daily riders, of which about 4,500 came from downtown, Cabrille College, and the Pajaro extension.

For the 15-minute peak, 30-minute frequency at other times certain, total projected ridership was 13,737 daily riders. These compare to the Feasibility Report's 5,500 to 5,800 daily riders for current conditions.

Again, most of the difference was due to two new stations in Downtown Santa Cruz, a new stop serving Cabrillo College with a direct pedestrian, bicycle and automated minibus connection, as well as a connection to Pajaro and train service to/from the Bay Area.

My projections had about 3,000 daily riders to and from Watsonville versus less than 1,000 projected by the 2015 and earlier studies. The reasons for these low ridership projections are not obvious, but may reflect differing travel times compared to bus, as well as more bus connections.

This article is based on a longer white paper available online at www. calrailnews.org

IMPUNIANI EVENI, SIKEEL GLUSUKE & PAKKING INFUKMALIUN FUK SUNDAY, MAY 15, 2011

Dear Pasadena Resident and Business Owner:

On behalf of our committee, sponsors, participants, and charities benefiting from our event, I invite you to join us as we celebrate the 3rd Annual Kaiser Permanente Pasadena Marathon on Sunday, May 15, 2011.

Everyone is encouraged to come out to the race route to cheer on the thousands of runners, walkers and cyclists that will take part in our event! Festivities begin Friday, May 13, with the opening of the Health & Fitness Expo at the Pasadena Convention Center. Expo hours are from 12:00 p.m. to 7:00 p.m. on Friday, May 13, and from 9:00 a.m. to 6:00 p.m. on Saturday, May 14. Entrance is free.

Approximately 8,000 athletes are expected to participate in the Marathon, Half-Marathon, 10K, 5K, Bike Tour, Kids Run and Wheelchair Stroll. The event begins and ends at Pasadena City College with free parking available at PCC.

Please refer to the following information regarding the event day schedule, street closures, event day parking and instructions for vehicular traffic along the route. You may also refer to our website, www.pasadenamarathon.org for more detailed detour information, including race-day travel instructions to churches along the route.

We hope this information will help you plan your schedule and routes of travel on race day. See you on May 15!

Israel Estrada Race Director

STREET CLOSURES ON RACE DAY

Beginning at 5:00 a.m. on race day, Pasadena Police will secure the route and assume control of the streets. Vehicular access/traffic will be allowed only on streets not affected by the route and at designated intersections along the route. These intersections are indicated on the map by this icon: 📳 , and will be staffed by Pasadena police. Please note the hours when intersections marked with **=** will not be passable.

Streets will re-open on a rolling basis based on a 15-minute per mile pace with a complete course re-opening by 2:00 p.m. Please refer to the reverse map for specific re-opening times according to zone.

Be advised to expect delays when traveling in Pasadena on race day. Your patience and observance of traffic control is appreciated. Please drive with caution!

For more information about specific road closures and special race day travel instructions for churches along the route, please visit our website at www.pasadenamarathon.org.

PARKING INFORMATION FOR RESIDENTS AND **BUSINESSES ON RACE DAY**

No vehicles will be allowed to park along the entire route from 1:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. on race day. Vehicles parked anywhere on the course after 1:00 a.m. will be towed by Pasadena Police.

Parking restrictions citywide will be lifted from 1:00 a.m. to 2:00 p.m. on race day. During this time, overnight parking permits will NOT be required to park on city streets. However, all other parking restrictions and prohibitions will apply, including temporary tow away zones, parking near fire hydrants, and on red zones.

If you live along the route, please park on adjacent streets outside the marked course to avoid having your vehicle towed.

FREEWAY OFF-RAMP CLOSURE ON RACE DAY

The Seco/Mountain on and off-ramps from the 210 Foothill Freeway (northbound and southbound) will be closed from 5:15 a.m. to 11:30 a.m. All other freeway ramps will remain open.

ROSE BOWL / ARROYO ACCESS ON RACE DAY

The Rose Bowl loop will have limited access for general recreational users on race day. Those wishing to jog, bike or walk around the Rose Bowl can access the area via Arroyo Drive; proceed northbound on Arroyo Boulevard and turn right into lot I in front of Brookside Park. Those wishing to visit the Brookside Golf Course & Clubhouse should exit the 210 Foothill Freeway at Arroyo/Windsor; proceed southbound on Arroyo Drive and turn right at Rose Bowl Drive.

Sunday, Permanente Pasadena Marathon Men **Information for Kaiser**

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and parking

Pasadena, CA 91109 P.O.Box 90693



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PASADENA MARATHON NT INFORMATION MAP ш

