

Greater Southwest North America

A Region of Historical Integration, Disjunction, and Imposition

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I was born *con un pie en cada lado*, that is, born with one foot on either side of the political border between Mexico and the United States.¹ It is by chance that I was not born in Sonora rather than Arizona, and that happenstance is repeated literally today by thousands of others like me. For my generation, being born in either Sonora or Arizona did not really matter too much, because becoming a citizen was a simple matter of where parents chose for children to be born or for themselves to become naturalized. For my father's and mother's generation there was little difference between the two areas: only forty-three years before their birth it had all been Sonora.

Fifty years later new borders of many sorts had been imposed, and I became curious and inquisitive about why it always seemed that people from the south were kept separate from the north. I looked at the fence next to which I was born, and it appeared to have only one side, although identical when viewed from either the south or the north. It seemed that while it separated people, the separation was one-sided: the north trying to keep out the south, whereas from the south there was little or no perception of excluding those from the north.

There are different labels for this region—the Spanish Borderlands, the Southwest North American region, the Greater Mexican Northwest, and even Northern Mesoamerica. We prefer Southwest North America, since it encompasses the southwestern United States of America and northwestern *Mexico*, and the two subregions share an extensive ecology of deserts, mountains, and riverine systems. This region's continuing and developing political ecology and increasingly integrated political economy in its present version has been developing since the middle of the nineteenth century as will be shown.

However, this is not a chapter about “place” as such, but rather an attempt to piece together a mosaic of its cultural history and understand the processes by which human beings with their own life plans and views of the, of their, world moved north into this region and especially into the U.S. Southwest and created a sense of cultural space. A long perspective will deal with the original settlers, the second Hispano/Mexican arrivals, and finally the American *entrada*.

“Cultural Bumping” and the Movements of Populations North

There are a number of cognitive fences that must be negotiated, among the first of which creates a misunderstanding of the region’s Mexican population by using a political instead of cultural definition. States provide rights of citizenship but do not necessarily define the material and spiritual cultural systems that people use to survive when facing problems of daily subsistence. The differences between cultural nations are more a matter of how supra-local—in a way distant—states decide who may be “naturalized” (from a prior “unnatural” existence?) and then create a list of acceptable cultural characteristics usually based on myths, language, and ideology. Such norms and normality may have little to do with the way local cultures develop and flourish. Especially when conquest, war, and expansion have decided them, national or imperial prisms will become imposed on others previously present and on those close by but living across a recently drawn borderline. In our case the cultural systems that Mexicans developed are necessary to examine how these men and women organize their lives in social and work-related spheres, what they have to do to earn sufficient income to subsist, and why basic ideas and spiritual views are more important than political frames or even citizenship. It is not that the nation-state has no influence on them, but rather that local versions of culture emerge sometimes in resistance to and sometimes in accommodation of the national prism.

The second fence is the mistaken idea that human populations somehow are culturally pristine. There is no reason to believe that any human population was so isolated that it did not bump into another at one time. The way these processes unfold becomes crucial to understanding the formation of regional and subregional cultural identities and belongings. Sometimes the bumping process is so onerous that it eliminates many of the “bumped” people by a combination of disease, famine, and war. In other instances combinations of repression, accommodation, and integration within specific class groups unfold and reshape the structure of relations within the affected population. At other times even the conqueror changes, and the local versions of a

culture become refreshed and enhanced. Whether divided by geography, language, or culture, human populations may become more distinct over time or more similar after bumping into each other.

In this chapter we discuss first the many “Native” peoples’ or First Peoples’ settling of the region, then the *entrada* of the Spanish, Mexicanized by that time, and finally the most intensive change, the U.S. American *entrada*. The last, on both sides of the border, initiated the formation of an undervalued cultural group, the Mexican residents and their labor, even though these men and women provided the knowledge and training crucial to the economic development of the entire Southwest North American region. Culture and lived identity encompass the ways by which people refer to themselves and to others and by which they define the economic, social, and political relationships that emerge within their groups and between them and their neighbors. One significant identity imposed by the Anglos on Mexicans after the imposition of the border in 1836, 1848, and 1853 is that of being a commodity, with the word “Mexican” becoming a pejorative synonymous with the phrase “cheap labor,” thus stripping layers of culture and humanity simultaneously.² In a capitalistic economic system, labor, materials, and processes can be bought and sold for a price, and power hierarchies establish price-associated groups to be used and discarded similarly to disposable materials—they become “human material.”

After the penetration of American capitalism into the Southwest North American region, not only did Mexicans as a group come to be regarded as cheap labor, but “Indians” were deprived of their ancestral roots and subsistence spaces. Some variations notwithstanding, the history of Anglo-Mexican relations has more often than not been defined by this imposed “commodity identity” and a living space reduced by “barrioization,” a process by which people were compressed into segregated Mexican communities within larger Anglo domains. Despite this, Mexican men and women have developed vibrant communities, with continuous cross-border exchanges and relationships.

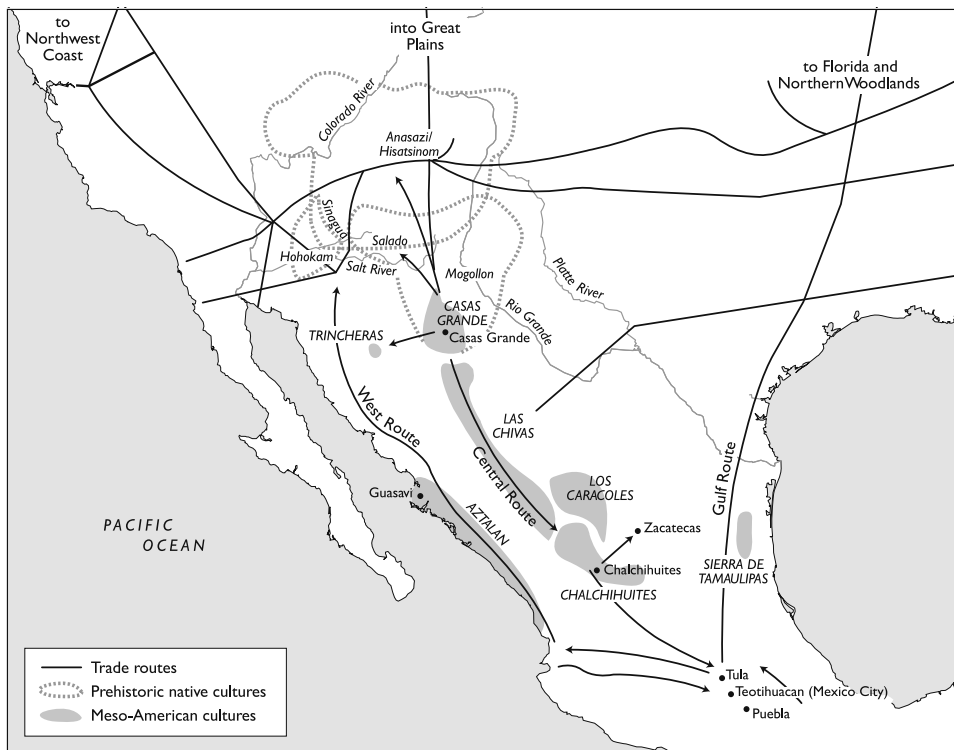
The following discussion questions the postulated cultural interruption between the peripheries of Mesoamerica and the Southwest North American region, from the pre-Hispanic through the Spanish colonial and Mexican periods to U.S. annexation and conquest. Borders do not necessarily define the historical and cultural mosaic of this region or any other borderland. The people living there are engaged in processes of cultural creation, accommodation, rejection, and acceptance—all occurring simultaneously. The analysis will contextualize ideas so that a holistic emotive vision may emerge rather than a simple nomothetic picture of statistical information, numeral protocols, or inferential enumerations. Complex lives demand of scholars different types of lenses and foci. The region is a polyphonic and polycultural mo-

saic; this chapter tries to map its multidimensionality of events and processes, ideas and behaviors. A human-centered anthropological approach recognizes the inalienable right of people to earn a living regardless of location and appreciates people's adaptive capabilities, skills, connectivity, and readiness at a moment's notice to seek more agreeable conditions elsewhere for self, household, and their children who will be the future of societies. In this view people with a highly developed aptitude for change and invention have an advantage over those who cling to dysfunctional monocultural or one-way views of (national) culture. For them the boundaries of cultures are more like a permeable membrane—as have been all imaginary political borders constructed through war and treaty in disregard of human lives, practiced cultures, and lived spaces.

Without Borders: The First Peoples' Lives and Visions in the Original Spaces

It is by now accepted knowledge that major parts of the Southwest North American region were well populated at the time of Spanish expansion in the sixteenth century—a period when European empires divided the land mass between themselves and showed little or no regard to the people living there, later shifting them around or discarding them. Archeological evidence and to some degree oral traditions indicate that the First Peoples (or “Indians”) were concentrated in urban agricultural pueblos and dispersed in often riverine agricultural settlements (*rancherías*). Uto-Aztecans arrived from the central Mesoamerican region, traversing some 1,500 miles (2,400 km) and carrying maize and squash. They bumped into settled populations, hunters and gatherers, from as early as 300 BCE, and at the beginning of the Common Era further peripheral Mesoamerican groups introduced pottery as well as spiritual, ceremonial, and recreational practices (map 5.1). The complex agricultural societies include the triad of the Hohokam of southern Arizona and Sonora (to use today's place names), the Mogollon of Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, and the mountain Mogollon of southwestern New Mexico, and the Anasazi/Hisatsinom of Chaco Canyon and Mesa Verde, as well as perhaps additional small groups like the Sinagua of the San Francisco Peaks (Flagstaff) region and the Salado of the Salt River region.³ Along a south-north migration route with many regional variants over time, these peoples carried with them technological hardware and the cultural “funds of knowledge” (Haury) to establish themselves in the aridity of the Sonoran desert region.

According to archeological findings, many of the region's human groups lived in semi-permanent and permanent villages and towns with platform mounds, earth pyramids, irrigation systems, ball courts, and altars. Agricul-



Cultures and trading routes, 350–1350 CE in Mesoamerica and the Greater North American Southwest

tural techniques included floodwater farming, wetland tilling, and canal irrigation. With normal rainfall a surplus was harvested, sufficient to support craft production and long-distance trade between adjoining populations and stretching from and into central Mexico. The agriculturalists developed hybrids of maize adapted to the arid environment and constructed long-distance canal systems. Artifacts, crematory and funerary practices, and the import of the Scarlet Macaw (*Ara macao*), whose feathers were of ceremonial value, as well as of shells from the Pacific and the Baja Golfe de California coasts, indicate long-lasting trading connections. The astronomical rock etchings in Chaco Valley may indicate cultural, spiritual, and perhaps scholarly exchanges. Cosmologies, imported or locally developed, included concepts of an Earth Mother and Sky Father, perhaps the God of Life and Light, Quetzalcoatl, and the God of Death and Darkness, Tezcatlipoca. In and from Mesoamerica the migration of spirituality and its material expressions seems to have occurred step by step from the coastal regions, incorporating sea and wind, to

the central plateau of Mexico and onward via Tula to northwestern Mexico and the desert. Trading centers with receiving and distributing functions seem to have developed in Casas Grandes (southern Hohokam) and Chaco Valley (Anasazi/Hisatsinom), as astro-archeological artifacts and analyses indicate. The recipients of these influences were agents of their own in extensive exchange systems, especially from 800 to 1100 CE. Turquoise and finished jewelry, cotton, salt, lac, groundstone tools, and pottery were traded south-north and north-south as well as in many multidirectional micro-regional exchanges. Social hierarchies emerged, and turquoise became the choice mineral of the various elites of the Southwest North American regional centers. A vast and lively interactive sphere or, perhaps, plural interactive systems functioned, expanded, and declined.

There is no doubt that these groups lived in complex social and economic systems and that the Spanish bumped into them in the sixteenth century. The idea that the region was only sparsely settled before the arrival of European-origin populations counters the archeological and demographic data. The Pueblos, Opata, and Piams Altos probably numbered some 220,000 before the Spanish Criollos' expansion. The Opata of northern Sonora, perhaps some 60,000, lived in hierarchically stratified systems of *rancherías*, villages, and towns with public monuments and patterns of ceremonial life when Spanish explorers and missionaries first encountered them. European pathogens advancing before actual contact along the First Peoples' long-distance trading routes decimated these three thriving peoples to perhaps 32,000. Even with this population collapse, the early northward migrants of the second *entrada* still described "kingdoms" and chieftainships with well-populated towns. The later Jesuits, in contrast, describe decayed centers and dispersed agricultural settlements—thus an ahistorical gap was created that became the foundation of the stereotype of an empty physical and cultural space taught to generations in U.S. schools.⁴

In addition to the First Peoples, their sequence of cultures, and the arrival of the *segundos pobladores*, two further developments demand attention. First, many of these original cultures seem to have been deeply affected by an extended drought in the thirteenth century—many vanished around 1250—creating another gap, this one in historical knowledge. Second, in an unrelated migration from the far north (today's Yukon Territory in Canada), the Dene-speaking Navajo and Apache peoples arrived perhaps from as early as 1500 and had formed their societies by the 1700s. As hunting, male raiding, and mobile cultures they traded goods produced by the then existing Pueblo Peoples but also conducted slave raids on them to trade human beings, women and children in particular. Bumping and conflict was an aspect of many First Peoples

cultures before the coming of the Euro-Spanish and, in the third *entrada*, the Anglos north-south from Missouri to Santa Fé, New Mexico, and onward east-west to California. Given the ravaging of settled populations by European pathogens, Europeans—with the exception of the very first visitors—would continue to see the region as empty and to be filled with colonizers—an incipient European inundation, as some anthropologists have called it.⁵

North from New Spain: European Empires and the Second Settlers' Expansion

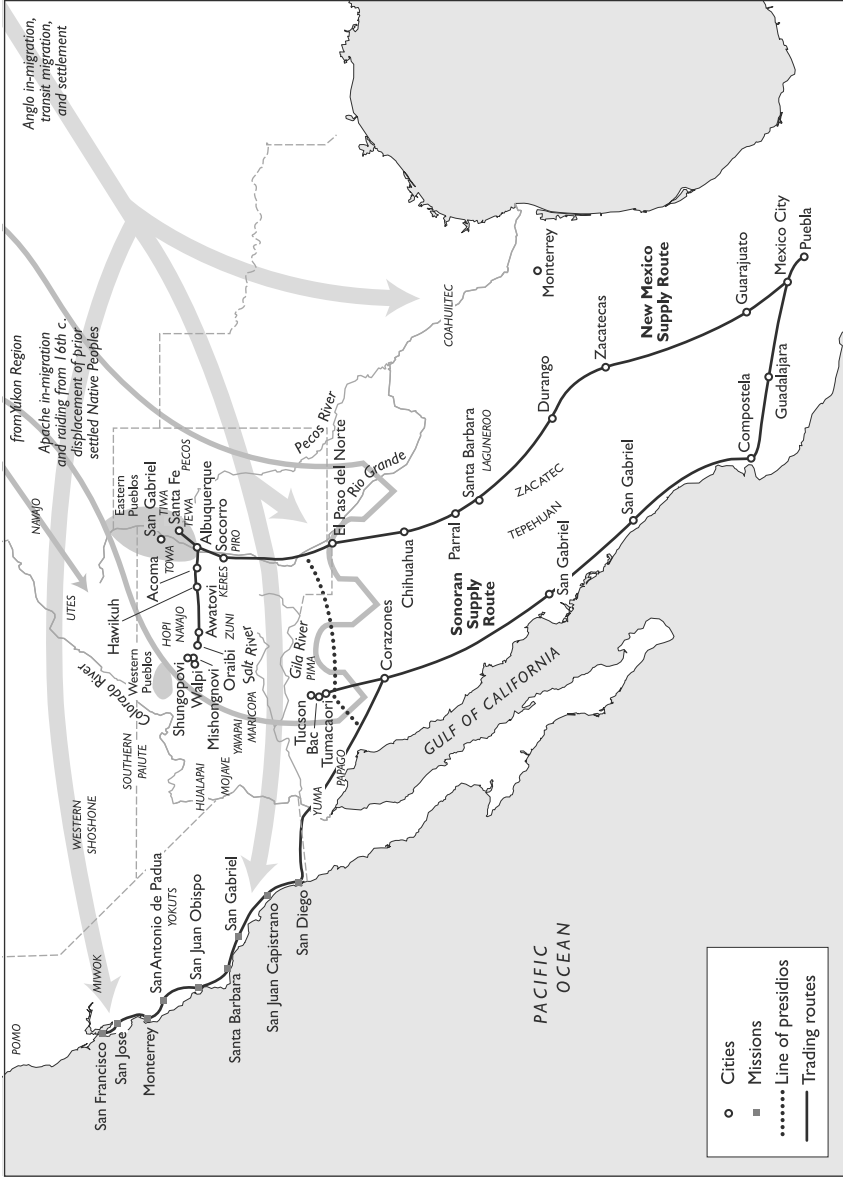
The second *entrada*, this time of the settlers from New Spain, was more direct, intrusive, and destructive than the first because of the armament of those arriving in quest of imagined cities of gold and subsequently of settlers. Often called “Spanish,” most were colony-born *criollos* on whom the Iberian-born *peninsulares* looked down as inferior. The construction of Spanish lineage became one of their identity quests. The northward migration further differentiated them by distance and destination into *Nuevo Mexicanos*, settlers of *Pimería Alta* (Sonora/Arizona), *los Tejanos*, and the missionaries and *pobladores* of *Alta California*. The sequence of northbound moves began with the expedition of Coronado, conquistador and governor of Nueva Galicia. The goal of the advance party in 1539 and the main band of soldiers, 1540–42, was “Cíbola” or the “seven cities of gold”—a mirage in the gold-filtered minds of Europeans. In 1598 Juan de Oñate, with soldier colonists, conquered parts of northern “New Mexico,” committing atrocities on the Native Acoma. The region remained Spanish, interrupted by the Pueblo revolts of 1680–96, which were in fact struggles for self-liberation by those seeking to regain control over their own lives. In a North American–European perspective these settlements predated the arrival of the French in Acadia and the St. Lawrence Valley (1600) and of the religious refugees, the Pilgrims and Puritans (1620)—though the latter claimed the status of “Founding Fathers (and mother and children)” and cemented their story by establishing hegemony over historical writing from their “New England” colleges once the United States of America achieved independence in 1776/83. Mexico would achieve its independence in 1821. Until these struggles for independence, the political history of the Americas is an imperial Atlantic history of a jockeying for power among the European major powers.⁶

After the Pueblo revolt of 1680 Nuevo México was resettled from 1693 by further migrants, *Españoles Mexicanos*. This self-designation indicates a classification outside the caste system of established New Spain and a tempering of the arrival of rampaging displaced soldier-sons and other booty-seekers. The newcomers were farmers, skilled artisans, and wage workers in small-

scale, intensive agrarian systems of subsistence and exchange. Others were traders, mule drivers, and packers in commerce. With animal husbandry developing, they became the agro-pastoralists who characterized the economy of the region for two centuries. The newcomers after the Pueblo Revolt traded with the Native societies, the Zuñi or A:shiwi in particular, in a coexistence that involved copying agricultural funds of knowledge. They used *geni-zaros*, hispanized natives from the Pueblos, or uprooted and displaced former slaves and servants in their continuous fighting with warrior Apaches. Church-sanctioned intermarriage and unsanctioned partnerships with Indigenous women provided access to their agricultural expertise and spiritual visions and led to population growth. The emerging society relied on communal economic self-interest, *confianza* (mutual trust), and reciprocal if not friendly relationships. The voluminous southward trading system to Chihuahua also relied on the combined cultural knowledge of couples of trading men and Indigenous women.

In Pimería Alta, the region of the Pima (later southern Arizona), a similar exchange of Euro-Mexican or Mestizo northern Sonorenses as *paisanos* with the Tohono O'odham and Pima established an agro-pastoral economy which needed to defend itself against the western Apache. This *entrada* or second pioneering lasted from 1591 to the early seventeenth century. It involved import of the Jesuit version of ideological Catholicism until the Jesuits were expelled from the Spanish Empire. Missions, then armed presidios, and finally agricultural settlements emerged along the same riverine system that Native Peoples had used for centuries to eke out their subsistence from the harsh and, as regards rainfall, unpredictable environment. The increasing pressure on resources led to a Pima revolt, and the triangle of settled Native agriculturalists, raiding Native groups like the Apache, and intruding Mexican Creole and Mestizo settlers determined the constraints and possibilities of growing sufficient crops (see chapter 11). A military-merchant-bureaucracy class emerged, reinforcing its position through intermarriage among the families and emphasizing a purity of lineage, a "Spanish" genealogy. The scarcity of women, the value of their labor, and the value among established families of their inheritance, as well as the sequence of spousal relations necessitated by death and long absences of men, permitted women a comparatively active role. The early intrusion of Spanish played itself out in and around Tubac (later Arizona), where missionaries settled in 1751 and soon soldier-farmers established a presidio as an outpost of colonizer power. Tucson, settled in 1776, became the early urban center.⁷

Tejas/Texas—like California—was initially penetrated and settled in response to potential Euro-imperial incursions from the French in the South-



Transitions: New Spain/Mexico — Native Peoples — U.S. Territories

east and the Russians along the Pacific Coast. In Texas the institutional trinity of mission, presidio, and settlement was repeated, and Tlascalan Indians initially served as scouts and auxiliary soldiers on various expeditions from 1688. The new arrivals bumped into sedentary Caddos, who lived in a political structure of three cooperating confederacies. In “international” negotiations the Hasinai, one of the groups, could use the presence of the French to support their independence. But the Spanish, in addition to their faith, carried smallpox. The Caddos, decimated, sent the priests packing. They found unconvincing their explanation of the death as divine punishment. The new-coming settlers were Hispano/Mexicans and, from 1731, Canary Islanders. A ranching, *vecino* economy emerged, totally dependent on Indian labor, and competing with the Franciscans’ subsidized mission agriculture using large-scale irrigation. The majority of the settled Native peoples were reduced to involuntary labor; the mobile Comanches remained independent outside raiders. Given the predominance of migration from Northern Mexico, stratification was based on the language of claims—that is, the attempt to “whiten” a family’s or individual’s social category to gain access to legal, economic, and political privilege. As in all of the northern regions of New Spain and, after 1821, Mexico, stratification along class, caste, and ethnocultural lines became blurred by isolation from the central authority in Mexico City, population admixture, and close economic and physical encounters of all groups. Fictive kinship, *compadrazgo*, crosscut segmentation because of the need for inter-ethnic alliances. The basic cultural and institutional input was from the South, and the bumping process annihilated local cultures.⁸

In Alta California the advance of missions and presidios was meant to counter intrusion from the Russians. Their fishing vessels had moved along the coast from the Aleutians and Russian Alaska, and they had established a small agricultural settlement for purposes of reprovisioning. A more immediate political concern was Indigenous peoples’ “rebellions” in reaction to widespread sexual violations of Indigenous women by presidial troops, and a missionary concern about the morality of the Catholic men. Most of the second settlers sent by New Spain’s authorities came in domestic units to prevent sexual encounters and violence, to produce needed subsistence items, and to fill the cultural space and visions of the original people with Spanish-cultured ways of life and Catholic dogma. To gain a hold over the Indigenous People, the missionaries reduced them from free lives and mobility to supervised settlement in *reducciones* around the missions. The presidio of San Diego was founded in 1769, the mission of San Gabriel—to become the destination of the trail from Santa Fé—in 1771. In Alta California the missionizing agricultural aspects predominated over military ones, since no Native groups prac-

ticed warrior cultures like the Apaches or Comanches further east.⁹ Periodic rebellions by local people were put down by superior firepower and brutal punishment so that small communities of Californios, 3,200 by 1821, which were spread out along a five-hundred-mile coastal corridor, lived among a far larger but declining Native population. As in the other three regions, various cooperative and antagonistic relationships between Native Peoples and Hispanos/Mexicanos made Alta California an arena of constant turmoil but also of dynamic change.¹⁰

The Anglo-American *Entrada* and the Imposition of Barrioization and Commodity Identity on Mexicans

In the struggles for civil rights of the 1960s Hispanos/Mexicanos in New Mexico asked themselves, “Where are our land grants?” Over a century after annexation in 1848 at the end of the U.S. war with Mexico and the almost forced Gadsden Purchase of the Mesilla Valley five years later, one more challenge began to the Republic’s system of property rights under which land, labor power, and cultural practices had been usurped, purchased, annexed, placed in limbo, or destroyed with the connivance of the law courts.¹¹ A cultural redefinition, due to racial hierarchization and economic impositions, had turned the Hispanos/Mexicanos into an unprivileged class with lesser rights and less access to societal resources, except for the elites. We will discuss the Anglo-American *entrada* in the Southwest North American region as a long process in which the United States availed itself of the instability emerging after Mexican independence, of the penetration of U.S. citizens with capital into the region and far into Mexico (see chapter 15), and of communication advantages. Mexico’s north was some 1,500 miles (2,400 km) from the capital and while from 1848 on the annexed territories—Texas included—were even farther from Washington and the commercial and financial hubs of Chicago and St. Louis, the communication routes for mail and trade were faster and safer to travel and the political framework more stable.

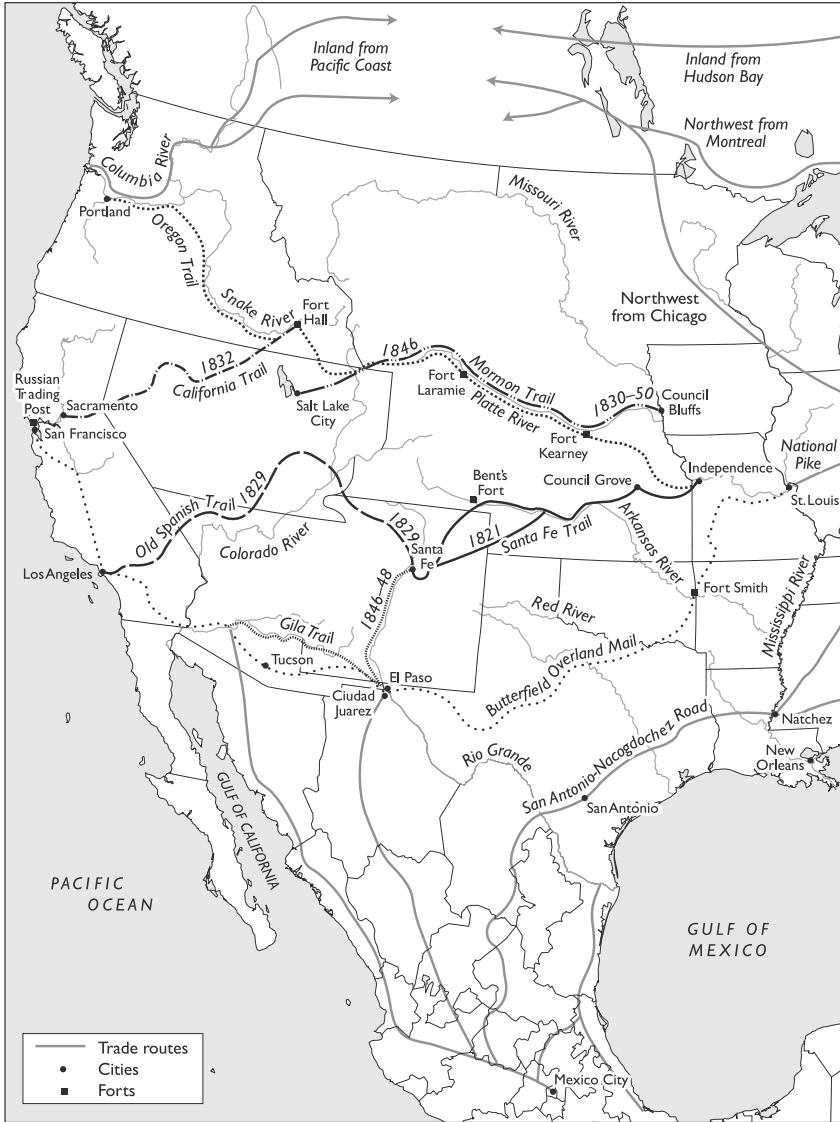
The processes of cultural subordination of the Mexican population over time began before annexation. Three developments stand out: the rise of Anglo trapping and commercial activities in the region from St. Louis southward and Santa Fé westward; the combination of the capital-wielding newcomers with elite Hispano/Mexicano families through marriage, partnerships, and alliances; and destructive U.S. merchants’ arms sales to Apache, Comanche, and Ute as well as to outlaw U.S. American and Hispano/Mexicano men, which undercut lawful economic activity and social stability. Alliances and marriages were based on liberal Mexican laws which granted citizenship to

immigrating foreign citizens of different social statuses. Just as the migrants from New Spain had viewed the agricultural and urban complexity of Indigenous societies with ease, so the early arriving Anglo men married into Mexican families with ease, acculturated to Mexican religion and customs, and lived everyday lives resembling those of Mexicans—they were *Americanos simpáticos*. However, since incoming *men* married Hispano/Mexicano *women*, contemporary gender hierarchies, different concepts of kin responsibilities, and Anglo acquisitive individualism resulted within a few decades in a shift of property from the dowry of Hispanic brides to their Anglo grooms, though it was the women's cultural capital, knowledge of the Spanish language, familiarity with local customs, and family networks that permitted the strangers to insert their economic activities and northward connections into a functioning, southward-affiliated society.

In the decades preceding the war of 1845–48, the widening of U.S. penetration and expansion matched the diminishing impact of the Spanish version of colonial rule. With ever better access to the Southwest North American region, easy access to Mexican citizenship, and commercial ties to the hubs of the U.S. Northwest and Northeast and thus to the Atlantic economies, American traders, merchants, craftsmen, vagabonds, land seekers, political agents, and southern immigrant families from the slaveholding states began to exert ever greater influence. The extensive kinship alliances between the resident Hispano/Mexicano landowner elites and American traders and merchants made commercial and economic relations increasingly dense. The new networks spun off regional political allegiances distant from a political system nominally controlled by continually changing elites in Mexico City and a state hampered by several European invasions (see chapter 7).

In contrast to the elite intermingling in what became the U.S. Southwest within the broader region, the Hispano/Mexican villagers, rancheros, agropastoralists, and wage workers held few pretensions of alliances with Anglos or any expectation of economic advantage. Rather, they were accustomed to confronting the hardships of subsistence survival and the onslaught of Apache, Comanche, and Ute raiding men, whose guns and ammunition were illegally provided by U.S. traders and merchants. The raiding parties, which included some Anglos and Mexicans, took horses and mules and traded them from Texas to Louisiana and from the California missions via Santa Fé to Missouri. This many-cultured illegal economy, which involved slave raiding both on less-well-armed Native groups and on Hispano/Mexican communities, should be considered an important, perhaps major, covert instrument of American expansion and the encroaching capitalist economy.¹²

The U.S. war against Mexico, the conquerors' land policies, the rapid ex-



East-West Routes, 1830s-1860s

pansion of a capitalist market, and the impact, especially in Texas and California, of ethnocentric and racist attitudes compressed and subordinated Hispanos/Mexicanos culturally and politically, except for many of their elites. However, increasingly most changed their attitude toward their new rulers; gone were the days of the *Americanos simpáticos*; instead increasing bitterness took hold. Though most of the wealth, land, and even knowledge of survival for Anglos in the region had come from the labor of Mexican communities, the Hispanos/Mexicanos became “strangers in their own land,” in David J. Weber’s famous phrase, and apart from the always exceptional elites, were reduced to lives in barrios, confined spaces in an Anglo world. They came to be treated as a commodity to be bought, sold, and periodically expelled.¹³

The development and imposition of the Anglo-Mexicano hierarchy thus may be exemplified by the emergence of a stratified community in Tucson, repeated in different ways in Los Angeles, El Paso, Santa Barbara, San Antonio, and Albuquerque. At the root of the process lay economic changes, the introduction of mining, the construction of infrastructures, large-scale cattle ranching, and other land use. A key shift occurred after the Southern Pacific Railroad in 1870 connected Tucson to markets in the east and brought the inevitable process of making Mexicans’ land, resources, and labor part of market forces much beyond local control. In other regions variants of this deep capitalist penetration occurred. Tucson’s wealthiest Hispano/Mexicano elite families of 1870 were from the region, twenty-seven who were from Sonora and another half-dozen who had immigrated from Chihuahua and Sinaloa as well as from Spain and Chile. As merchants most of them traded along the south-north axis. The Mexicano laboring classes, on the other hand, experienced a much larger migratory influx. In 1860 62.6 percent had been born north of the newly established borderline, but in a dramatic shift, by 1880 70.2 percent had been born south of that line in Sonora. Another twenty years later the immigrants had settled and formed families: 58 percent were born north of the line and 42 percent south of it. By migration and trade the transborder region remained integrated, but by class and culture it became increasingly divided. In 1860 agro-pastoralists accounted for 12 percent of the population; by 1890 they had declined to only 2.4 percent. About 80 percent of the population consisted of blue-collar workers, though by 1900 some of their children had entered white-collar occupations, and this emerging middle class expanded through internal growth and migration from Sonora to Tucson.¹⁴

Indeed the structure and profit margins of the economy rested on a large reserve of labor for mines, railroad, construction, and ranching. Much of this work was dangerous and poorly paid. Four of every ten Mexicanos worked at dollar-a-day jobs, and 25 percent of the households were headed by widows.

The jobs did not mean that Mexicano men were unskilled but that a segregated labor market assigned them to jobs with poor working conditions, low wages, and high rates of deadly accidents. Even skilled and knowledgeable Mexicanos became a labor-supply commodity paid less than Anglos—the “Mexican rate”—for comparable work. Their neighborhoods, *barrios*, were based on reciprocity, exchange, and need. The low wages are revealed in the poverty of the *barrio* families and the exclusion of their children from equal education. Mental fences imposed by Anglo societies separated the Mexican barrios from access to the Republic’s ideals and local jobs. As early as 1860 Anglos—often the children of mixed marriages with the old Mexicano elite—constituted only 20 percent of the population but controlled 87 percent of Tucson’s real and personal property, while the 71 percent who were Mexicanos controlled a mere 13 percent. Commodification and reduction from free, mobile citizens to residents of underserviced *barrios* are intricately linked: in the early 1870s Mexican miners in Arizona received from \$12 a month to \$1 a day, depending on the tasks, while Anglo miners received between \$30 and \$70 for the same jobs. This dual labor market structure, distinguishing between “Mexican” and (Anglo) “worker’s” wages, extended across economic sectors and lasted over time. In the 1920s Mexican women in laundries earned \$6 a week, their Anglo sisters-superiors-competitors \$16.55. In department stores they were assigned to “basement” sections and earned half as much as Anglo women.

In addition to labor market segregation, cultural subordination exacerbated the sociocultural hierarchies. The educational systems, staffed by often well-meaning but ethnocentric Anglo teachers, taught Mexicano children that the route to educational success and becoming good Americans was to reject Mexican culture; children who went to school in the years before the Second World War still suffered from this regime.¹⁵ In response the Mexicano elites established their own private Catholic schools in the 1870s—a triple-layer, separate-but-unequal schooling system for Anglos, Mexicano elites, and Mexicano working classes. Stereotyping equated Mexicanos with ignorance, laziness, and racial illegitimacy because of the Indian-Spanish admixture.¹⁶ Imposed stereotypes were countered by self-created ones of pure Spanish descent. Still, this stratification was crosscut by a variety of community and regional mechanisms that gave the Mexican community its dynamic character. The maintenance of kinship systems across the U.S.-Mexico border, which would last until the 1950s, provided resources and mobility. The arrival of intellectuals, writers, and revolutionaries from the Sonoran political conflicts of the nineteenth century gave rise to new political leadership and anti-discrimination struggles.

To combat the institutionalized subordination in employment, education, politics, economy, and even recreation, the barrioized and commodified Mexican families developed household strategies that modified and soothed the harsh impact of discrimination, segregation, and commoditization. The long depression from 1873 to 1896 reduced migration from the south; the population stabilized and, by hard work as well as labor market needs, could accede to some skilled blue-collar and low-ranking white-collar jobs.

However, the beginning of the Mexican Revolution in 1910 sent a million Mexicans fleeing over the mythical border, and Tucson's Mexican population increased by 100 percent within a decade. In 1917 the United States entered the First World War, begun by Europe's empires in 1914, and suddenly labor was needed. A decade after the war's end the Great Depression made workers superfluous. The commodified Hispanos/Mexicanos experienced a form of Americanization of a most peculiar kind, in which populations, to be bought and sold, imported and exported, were sent back across the border. In the United States the attack on Pearl Harbor and the resulting declaration of war increased demand for the labor commodity again—but also for soldiers. As a result, *the* Mexicans—citizens for long—were redesigned as Mexican-Americans.¹⁷

While U.S. ideologues and many common people ascribed identities to Mexicans—as they did to immigrant groups from Europe and, in the worst form, to “Negroes”—Mexicans continued to migrate to seek better options for their lives and those of their children. From the mid-nineteenth century they moved in small- and large-scale migrations to California's gold fields, the developing cattle ranching and marketing in Texas, the mines of Arizona, the founding of numerous ranches in central and southern Arizona set up under the Homestead Act, and the emerging and intensifying trade and commercial activities in Santa Fé, Albuquerque, and Tucson. Emulating their earlier migrating kin, these nineteenth- and twentieth-century men and women moved throughout the region, border or not, westward, northward, and eastward. The Mexican anthropologist Manuel Gamio in the 1920s documented Mexicans' origins across their native country and their spread across the United States. While the majority stayed in the U.S. states adjoining the border, El Paso's railroad node connected them to the United States as a whole. They were enlisted or attracted by farming, mining, and railroad recruiting agents, or pushed out of Mexico by one-sided development strategies of absentee U.S. investors, the Mexican elite's unwillingness to build a viable modernizing economy, depressions, natural calamities, and political instability as much as by the labor-exploiting stability of the Porfiriato, as well as by displacement during the

Mexican Revolution. This became a further great *entrada* from the south to the north and, often, back again. The U.S. Southwest from Texas to California became bilingual.

The Politics of Survival and Struggle for Cultural Dignity after 1848

In the 1930s in Miami, a copper mining town in Arizona, one Mexican child remembered: “on my first day in school . . . I found out that the people outside Grover Canyon [one of the barrios] were not like us. They looked different, spoke a different language, and they did not like us. It was as if a gigantic fence had been built between us. We were inside the fence looking out, and they in. It was their country, their state, their town, their everything. We, the Mexicans, were the intruders. All the teachers were Americans and not one spoke a word of Spanish. We were in a foreign land when we left our canyon.”¹⁸ By 1968 a mere two U.S.-born students of Mexican origin had earned a master’s degree in English at the University of Arizona. Some of Tucson’s junior high schools still prohibited the use of Spanish on the playgrounds, in the halls, or in the classrooms—though several schools were in the middle of Mexican neighborhoods and the student population was more than 50 percent Mexican.

In a personal and memorable book, Eva Antonia Wilbur-Cruce described the passing of a cooperative civility at the beginning of the twentieth century in rural southern Arizona: “Hispánico” was replaced with “greaser” and “spic.” “Mexicans” became “to some an abomination, something to be annihilated from the face of the earth.” Anglos became “gringos,” “topos,” and “basura blanca.” Racial hatred became prevalent, “a poison” which forced Hispanics/Mexicanos into a struggle to survive as human beings, “a poison” which at the same time destroyed the humanity of the Anglos, who reduced their personality to the mere outward marker of skin color.¹⁹ In addition, among the Hispanics/Mexicanos—as the name indicates—a further racialization blotted out the memory of the Indian contribution in favor of a European-Spanish construction.

Resistance and political action by the Mexican-Americans and immigrant Mexicans may be discussed on two levels: the institutional politics of electoral and governance practices and behaviors or struggles against differential treatment (to use a euphemism) in wages, housing, education, occupational opportunities, public accommodation, and healthcare. We will emphasize the second level over four phases: early cultural rebellions, 1846–1922; unions and labor protests, 1883–1940; benevolent civil societies, 1875–1940; and the “Great Chicano Cultural convulsive transition movement,” 1965–75. The last, often referred to as the “Chicano Civil Rights Movement,” was in fact much

more. It was a movement of extensive proportions with layers that were international, national, regional, and local in scale as well as with gendered and intergenerational layers. The century and a half of struggles began immediately after the U.S. takeover. Many families of the Hispano/Mexicano elites had been favorable to U.S. rule, assuming it to be more lawful and stable than the incessant male-ego driven coups that wracked the Mexican polity. They were disabused of their notion of U.S. adherence to law and of U.S. officers' chivalry when these and their soldiers sexually abused Mexican women and resorted to petty chicanery and large-scale theft of lands, cattle, and rights.²⁰

After the annexation and conquest, from California to Texas periodic revolts, wars, border raids, armed and unarmed confrontations, community upheavals, long-term skirmishing, and coordinated rebellions emerged in response to the presence of the military and the economic penetration of large-scale commercial, extractive, and industrial capitalism. Mining and cattle ranching became particularly acerbic arenas of conflict. From California's ephemeral gold rush to the century-long mining for copper and other minerals in Arizona, Mexican miners were discriminated against. In California—which had become foreign soil only one year earlier—the Sonoran miners were attacked and, by the legislature, exploited through a Foreign Miners Tax imposed in 1850. Marauding Texans selling stolen cattle to the miners, drunken explorers (the naturalist J. W. Audubon among them), and the urban political classes saw Mexicans as less than human. Before 1850 some ten thousand Sonorans as well as experienced miners from century-old mining regions of Chihuahua and Zacatecas—and from as far as Peru and Chile—crossed through Los Angeles to the goldfield: a whole district west of San Francisco became known as “Sonora.” Violence was heavily ethnicized: 45 percent of Anglos killed by non-Apaches died at the hands of other Anglos, 20 percent were killed by Mexicans; for Mexicans the rate was 80 percent killed by Anglos and 20 percent by Mexicans. Homicidal deaths among Anglos amounted to 13 percent of the population as compared to 5 percent for the Mexicans (figures for 1857 to 1861). In Arizona mistreated miners fought back, destroyed newly placed boundary markers, or walked off the job back to the Mexican section of Sonora, in the first international labor walkouts. In ranching Anglo foremen whipped Mexican cowboys, and one early Anglo pioneer proudly remembered that Mexicans who forgot their place “lasted as long as a snowball in hell.” Traditionally Mexican agro-pastoralists concentrated on sheep raising while the immigrant Anglos preferred cattle ranching; long-term range wars erupted along ethno-economic lines.

With the exclusion from politics, a different kind of courage became revered, that of cultural leaders, independent heroes, and social bandits. An

example is Joaquín “El Patrio” Murrieta Orozco, who came to California in 1849 or 1850. A social bandit in European class terms (as in the Robin Hood myth), he was also and perhaps more a bona fide cultural hero to Mexicans—a lower-class version of Zorro. Rather than a primitive rebel, he represented a hard-working and innocently wronged (Mexican) population resisting (Anglo) forces of primitive racism. In legends, songs, and documented oral traditions, people passed on the stories of many such heroes, thus undercutting the powerful and the storytelling of their powerful historian gatekeepers, revealed their oppressors’ twisted psychological reasoning, and overturned—if only momentarily—Anglo hegemony.²¹

The second period is characterized by large-scale industrially organized developments in mining, construction, railroads, and agriculture as well as ranching. The reopened silver mines around Tubac, Arizona, for example, used skilled and unskilled Mexican labor, men and women, and Spanish-Mexican silver mining technology. The absentee-owner companies, often directed from the U.S. Northeast, developed a system of peonage in which they owned the land and housing in addition to the mines, and forced the workers’ families to buy in company stores at extortionate prices. In many communities the companies also owned the schools. Thus Anglos exerted tight control over the standard of living, culture, and teaching of traditions and values. Labor on the *traques* (railway tracks) was dangerous and separated men from their families. Industrial ranching and agriculture, called “factories in the fields,” provided jobs at below-subsistence incomes. Such conditions created the basis for work stoppages and protest, and what little change was achieved arose after great struggles, many defeats, and small victories. Mexicans’ cultural and social organization provided a platform for mutual support and the development of leadership capabilities. The gendered community structure, workplaces, and U.S. legal system reduced women to auxiliary roles but could not quell their agency. They were at the core of organizing households into material support bases during strikes and struggles for daily survival. In early ranching agriculture Mexican *vaqueros* organized themselves and elected spokesmen, sometimes along consanguineous or fictive kinship ties. From the 1880s Mexican-Americans organized their own labor unions, since most white unions refused to admit them. Organized Anglo-U.S. labor was deeply imbued with racism in many of its branches. Refugee syndicalists, anarchists, and communal organizers from the Porfiriato and after added their capabilities, and women participated actively. A first union of agricultural workers, the Confederación de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas, was established in 1927. Employers reacted by waging a campaign of terrorism and lynchings against organizers and communities, and against legal institutions by refusing rights to Mexicans, whether

citizens, immigrants, or temporary migrants. By the early 1940s the National War Labor Board commented that the systemic pattern of discrimination, exploitation, and double standards was “woven into the fabric of the entire community, indeed of the entire Southwest. Unions and employers alike have had . . . a significant part in its creation and continuation.” A strike in 1946 led by the radical and integrated International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers ended the infamous double wage system exactly a century after the U.S. war against Mexico.²²

Voluntary benevolent associations and a broad range of organized cultural activity paralleled the agrarian and industrial struggles in the century from the end of the Civil War to the civil rights movement. The historical menu is rich in mutual-aid societies (*mutualistas*), protective associations, fraternal lodges, religious associations, women’s legal assistance groups, and also women’s more informal networking and inter-household or intra-kin groups. Their activities ranged from death benefits and unemployment relief, to rotating credit, to space for community meetings and religious activities, to public and religious events like Cinco de Mayo and saints’ days. The “Penitentes” of New Mexico and Colorado, originally a Catholic lay flagellation confraternity, discarded self-inflicted corporal punishment, and women, excluded from the confraternity, formed Auxiliadoras de la Morada, auxiliaries of the local chapters. The Penitentes were instrumental in the Taos Revolt of 1847 against the new U.S. authority and, as registered Republicans, they helped make New Mexico, from the time of statehood, a bilingual state, with training for teachers in both languages, prohibition of school segregation, and provision for free access to public education (Constitution, Article 7-10). The widespread poverty—part of the systemic structure of U.S. political institutions and the capitalist economy—made *mutualistas* an indispensable part of survival strategies in the face of everyday deprivation and discrimination and during the exacerbated conditions of the Great Depression after 1929. The associations’ officials established the same sort of dense relations characteristic of the familial thickness of multiple relations, intense interaction, and frequent exchange. These multifaceted and multidimensional associations helped balance the systemic “asymmetries” of U.S. society—a euphemism for racism, discrimination, and inequality.

The Chicano movement, active approximately between 1965 and 1975 and best remembered for its grape boycott and farm workers’ strike, and for the names of participants like César Chávez and Gloria Anzaldúa, was in fact a complex cultural, political, social, and psychological movement of protest, rebellion, creation, and determination. It set in motion changes toward cultural pluralism in the nation, the region, and specific states, and within the commu-

nity between women and men as well as parents and children. This movement of persons, ideas, and action we prefer to call “the great Chicano convulsive transition movement,” because it was part of a convulsive worldwide transitional movement of poor and culturally subordinated peoples seeking determined resolutions to their conditions in the light of rising expectations. It was a time of decolonization worldwide, of student rebellions, of African Americans’ struggles, and of women’s rights—of a new articulation of human rights as once formulated in the Atlantic World’s Age of Revolution. For Mexican-Americans in the United States, still “Mexicans in America” in the ideology of die-hard racializers, the struggle had four pillars. First, the traditional quest for land, space, and place was expressed in historical and mythic renditions of the loss of Mexican national territory in 1848 and of family and individual land rights in the war’s aftermath. Second, labor conflicts and lack of representation in the fields, orchards, and vineyards of California became part of a vigorous struggle with worldwide support in the grape boycott. Third, cultural and linguistic erosion, the commodification of a whole ethno-culturally defined population, and the forced assimilation and imposition of Anglo-conformity through schools and the mainstream media were questioned and, in the new Chicano literature and arts, subverted. Fourth, the continued exclusion from representative politics and policymaking—constitutional rights notwithstanding—resulted in a questioning of the biased working of the judicial system and a quest for legal redress of discriminatory and racist practices on the job, in schools, in the housing and financial markets, and in public accommodation—in short, in all aspects of daily life.²³

Having lived through this struggle and participated in it, I wrote this chapter as a rethinking of history and the present that has been shaped by discriminations, struggles, events, and processes. It gained strength from the ideologies that needed to be confronted, from passions and emotions that people in the movement could finally articulate, and it is shaped by the relationships that emerged and the failures that need to be confronted. The south-north theme, the search for cultural space and place, the unmasking of the “Spanish” colonial tradition, and the pointed criticism of racism and ethnocentrism were all given life and born not only in the critique of imposed historical amnesia but also in personal experience and in the whole of the *movimiento*. Human lives are more complex than what traditional historiography based only on written sources of highly literate groups or pretended objectivity can capture. And now this narrative continues with the most recent nativist push, so that populations of Mexican origin can set the historical record in balance and counter the anti-immigrant tendencies of the present day.

Notes

- This chapter is based on Carlos G. Vélez-Ibáñez, *Border Visions. Mexican Cultures of the Southwest United States* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1996), chapters 1–3.
- 1 Carlos G. Vélez-Ibáñez grew up along the border. Dirk Hoerder began his teaching during the civil rights movement and introduced Mexican-American history to American studies in Germany.
 - 2 U.S. historians excluded Mexicans from the memory of the nation until the civil rights struggles of the 1960s and subsequent changes in academia. Vicki L. Ruiz, “Nuestra América: Latino History as United States History,” *Journal of American History* 93, no. 3 (2006), 655–72. The few exceptions include Carey McWilliams, Manuel Gamio, and Paul Taylor; for the last two see the Introduction.
 - 3 The naming of these populations remains contested and indicates mobility. “Hohokam” is a Pima word meaning “the people that vanished,” people who migrated away for reasons unclear or who in cultural and spatial transformations were the ancestors of present-day Native peoples of the region. “Anasazi,” a Navajo term for “ancient people who are not us” or “enemy ancestors,” is being replaced by the Hopi, descended from this population, “Hisatsinom,” which means “people of long ago.”
 - 4 Henry F. Dobyns, *Their Numbers Become Thinned: Native American Population Dynamics in Eastern North America* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1983); Emil W. Haury, *The Hohokam: Desert Farmers and Craftsmen* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1976), and Haury, “The Greater American Southwest,” *Emil W. Haury’s Prehistory of the American Southwest*, ed. J. Jefferson Reid and David E. Doyel (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986), 435–63; Daniel T. Reff, *Disease, Depopulation, and Culture Change in Northwestern New Spain, 1518–1764* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1991), 226.
 - 5 The vast archeological and anthropological literature and the results of Native American History are cited in Vélez-Ibáñez, *Border Visions*, chapter 1.
 - 6 Lester D. Langley, *The Americas in the Age of Revolution, 1750–1850* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996).
 - 7 See for example Mario Barrera, *Race and Class in the Southwest: A Theory of Racial Inequality* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1979).
 - 8 See among many studies Arnolde De León, *The Tejano Community, 1836–1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1982); Mario T. García, *Desert Immigrants: The Mexicans of El Paso, 1880–1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981).
 - 9 With the charting of the so-called Old Spanish Trail and its intensive usage from the late 1820s to the 1850s, the raiding of horses, mules, and slaves by warrior Natives and Mexican and U.S. American freebooters emerged but was militarily quelled in the 1860s. Native women were the primary victims of this human trafficking.
 - 10 See for example Antonia I. Castañeda, *Presidarias y Pobladoras: The Journey North and Life in Frontier California* (n.p.: Rosaldo Lecture Series, 1992).
 - 11 George J. Sánchez, *Becoming Mexican American: Ethnicity, Culture, and Identity in Chicano Los Angeles, 1900–1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Roxanne

- Dunbar-Ortiz, *Roots of Resistance: Land Tenure in New Mexico, 1680–1980* (Los Angeles: Chicano Studies Research Center, 1980).
- 12 Similarly, along the border between the United States and Canada, horse raiding and whiskey smuggling by Americans undermined Native societies and created a hazard for Canadian settlement policies and individual settler families. While many U.S. citizens bought land and blended in as farmers, others noisily celebrated the Fourth of July in Canada as if the three Prairie Provinces were U.S. territory. Dirk Hoerder, *Creating Societies: Immigrant Lives in Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1999), 163–68.
 - 13 David J. Weber, ed., *Foreigners in Their Own Land* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1973).
 - 14 Thomas E. Sheridan, *Los Tucsonenses: The Mexican Community in Tucson, 1854–1941* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1986).
 - 15 See the autobiography of Samuel P. Echeveste, *Grover Canyon: Journey of a Mexican-American from a Small Copper Mining town in Arizona [Miami] to the Reaches of the World* (n.p.: privately printed, 2004).
 - 16 Fredrick B. Pike, *The United States and Latin America: Myths and Stereotypes of Civilization and Nature* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992); Deena J. Gonzáles, “La Tules of Image and Reality: Euro-American Attitudes and Legend Formation on a Spanish-Mexican Frontier,” *Building with Our Hands: New Directions in Chicano Studies*, ed. Adela de la Torre and Beatriz M. Pesquera (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993).
 - 17 “The growth of the modern nation-state implied not only the naming of certain peoples as enemies of the nation, but also the expulsion of significant groups for whom the state would or could not assume responsibility.” Wars “schooled the new masters of the state apparatus: civilians could become dangerous enemies; fighting could not stop simply because they were there; on the contrary, it was best to eject unwanted or menacing groups when they threatened to weaken the beleaguered nation.” “With the First World War, the process accelerated powerfully.” Michael R. Marrus, *The Unwanted: European Refugees in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), quote p. 51.
 - 18 Echeveste, *Grover Canyon*, quote pp. xv–xvi.
 - 19 Eva Antonia Wilbur-Cruce, *A Beautiful, Cruel Country* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1987), esp. 316.
 - 20 Genario Padilla, *My History, Not Yours: The Formation of Mexican American Autobiography* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1993).
 - 21 The California historian Hubert Howe Bancroft, with all sources and perspectives available to him, wrote *White History*. See Padilla, *My Heroes*.
 - 22 From among a wide range of studies see Emilio Zamora, *The World of the Mexican Worker in Texas* (College Station: Texas A&M University Press, 1993); Patricia Zavella, *Women's Work and Chicano Families: Cannery Workers of the Santa Clara Valley* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987); Robert J. Rosenbaum, *Mexicano Resistance in the Southwest: The Sacred Right of Self-Preservation* (Austin: University of Texas

- Press, 1981); Carey McWilliams, *North from Mexico: The Spanish-Speaking People of the United States* (New York: Praeger, 1948; repr. 1990), NWLP quote, p. 180; Vicki L. Ruiz, *From Out of the Shadows: Mexican Women in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998); Juan Gómez-Quiñones, "First Steps: Chicano Labor Conflict and Organizing 1900–1920," *Aztlán: Chicano Journal of the Social Sciences and the Arts* 3, no. 1 (1973), 13–19; and Gómez-Quiñones, *Chicano Politics: Reality and Promise, 1940–1990* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1993).
- 23 The first reinsertions of Mexican-American history into the narrative and analysis of the development of the United States subsequent to the struggles for civil rights and the right to historical memory are Rodolfo Acuña, *Occupied America; the Chicano's Struggle toward Liberation* (San Francisco: Canfield, 1972); and Matt S. Meier and Feliciano Ribera, *The Chicanos* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1972; rev. 1993 as *Mexican Americans: American Mexicans*). In the 1980s "culture wars" initiated by conservative and ultra-right fundamentalists attempted to turn the tide back toward a White America Only.